Groundings

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Growth: Interconnection, Restoration, and Upheaval

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Editorial

After a two year hiatus, it is our pleasure to present the first edition of Groundings since 2019, and the journal's second volume as a publication of the Libraries Committee of the Glasgow University Union. This year's Editorial Committee has worked hard to ensure the continuation of the values of this journal's tradition; a break from publication has, however, allowed for the chance to reconsider the ways in which Groundings is produced and the role it plays in its new home at the GUU. Our theme for Volume 13 emerged from these ideas, and from the strange turbulence brought by the past two years, as: 'Growth: Interconnection, Restoration, and Upheaval'.

Thematic threads run through the following essays, created by the synthesis of these four concepts. Perhaps most predominant is the motif of empire: from impacts on institutions (*Catherine Bouchard*), to linguistic legacies (*Emma Margaret Currie*), to reassessments of our present (*Euan Healey*), and explorations of the past (*Molly Finlay*), many of the following pieces of work examine the ghosts created in the wake of imperial systems. Political revolution, too, emerges as a theme, both in the context of the circumstances that create it (*Xinyao Zhang*) and in its potential for failure (*Duncan Henderson*). Other recurring notions include the variability of artistic interpretation (*Canchen Cao*) and the capacity for research to shed light on individuals and arguments neglected by history (*Bianca Callegaro*). Hopefully this short summary alone offers insight into the vast diversity of content explored throughout this volume.

Creating this collection has brought together individuals responsible for the inception of Groundings, individuals well-established within the GUU, and individuals previously completely unacquainted with either. Their combined effort has allowed us to continue showcasing the very best of Glasgow University's undergraduate, academic writing from the arts, humanities, and social sciences. I hope that the hard work of all involved will ensure this journal's continued growth for many years to come.

Finn Macdonald
Editor-in-Chief, 2021-22

After the Dust Settles: The Role of Universities in Helping Restore, Nurture, and Establish Professional Bodies for Accountants amidst Post-Colonial Influences

Catherine Bouchard

This paper critically reflects on the divergent roles universities can take in the professional development of accountants in countries facing enduring post-colonial influences across the globe. Professional bodies have been cornerstones of colonial empires and reinforced historic power imbalances within colonies; following the collapse of these empires, remnants of post-colonialism still shape professional bodies. As a component of professional education, universities are capable of mobilisation or marginalisation in the face of ideological conflict. They can both support localisation efforts to aid in restorative economic development, or become discredited by legacy qualifications protecting the historic social status of a minority of elite accountants.

Introduction

Professional bodies for accountants can be found in every corner of the globe, ranging from supranational global organisations, to smaller, fragmented professional groups.[1] These organisations, once established, help protect and advocate for the interests of their members, often by achieving social or economic closure.[2] A key concern therefore arises surrounding access to the profession, as historically, professional bodies have adopted extreme models of Weberian social closure to exclude various social groups.[3]

Under colonial rule, most professional bodies established in colonial empires required accountants to hold qualifications from their coloniser's home country, facilitating

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1 Sylvain Durocher, Yves Gendron, and Claire-France Picard, 'Waves Of Global Standardization: Small Practitioners' Resilience And Intra-Professional Fragmentation Within The Accounting Profession', in *Auditing: A Journal Of Practice & Theory* (2015), 35: 65-88.

2 Hugh Willmott, 'Organising The Profession: A Theoretical And Historical Examination Of The Development Of The Major Accountancy Bodies In The U.K.', in *Accounting, Organizations And Society* (1986), 11: 555-580.

3 Max Weber, *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology* (California: University of California Press, 1978).

the direct importation of accountants from overseas, who were subsequently able to exploit host markets by enforcing a statutory monopoly on the provision of professional services.[4] Post-independence however, these paradigms and persisting imperial influences have been challenged, to varying degrees of success.[5] Some former colonies have continued to directly follow colonial traditions, others have been subsumed by neo-imperialist constructs through the proliferation of global qualifications, and some countries appear to have achieved emancipation to establish their own local professional bodies and qualifications.

One of the most important functions of professional organisations remains the education, training and certification of their members as the possession of specific, technical knowledge is part of the discourse used to justify the professions' monopoly on accounting services and the subsequent social and economic gains this engenders.[6] Within this education process, a key stage that often remains overlooked is the role of universities. They have a symbiotic relationship with professional bodies: universities help in the training and education of entrants into the profession, but need legitimised through recognition by professional bodies. In former colonies, indigenous local universities can take on a more significant role[7]: they can be a key actor capable of mobilisation to support the localisation of accounting education, but they can also become marginalised and side-lined. This paper highlights the important role universities have played in shaping the form of emergent professional bodies in countries impacted by post-colonial legacies.

Assessing the Role of Universities Within The Professional Development Process

The role of universities within the professionalisation process of accountants is by no means set in stone and varies in importance between countries. In the UK, university education is perceived as an indicator of institutionalised cultural capital,

4 Terry Johnson and Marjorie Caygill, 'The Development Of Accountancy Links In The Commonwealth', in *Accounting And Business Research* (1971), 1: 155-173.
5 Owolabi Bakre, 'Accounting and the problematique of imperialism: alternative methodological approaches to empirical research in accounting in developing countries', in *Re-Inventing Realities* (10), by Cheryl R. Lehman et al (Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2004), 1-30.
6 Ernest Greenwood, 'Attributes of a profession', in *Social Work* (1957), 2: 45-55.
7 Marcia Annisette, 'Imperialism And The Professions: The Education And Certification Of Accountants In Trinidad And Tobago', in *Accounting, Organizations And Society* (2000), 25: 631-659; Owolabi Bakre, 'Imperialism And The Integration Of Accountancy In The Commonwealth Caribbean', in *Critical Perspectives On Accounting* (2014), 25: 558-575.

where degrees from an elite university, in any subject, are implicitly required to enter a training contract with a Big 4 firm.[8] University entrance has historically indirectly controlled the class of entrants into the profession as the possession of elite degrees serves to maintain the profession's elite social status.[9]

University education is more important in conveying technical knowledge within the professionalisation process in other countries, acting as a key site for developing critical capacity in accountants and encouraging cross-discipline research.[10] They can also help develop new techniques and practices that may be more tailored to the local context: for instance, accounting in the Netherlands has always considered more experimental accounting practices driven by research because of the influence of its universities and their close links to accounting practice and professional bodies.[11]

Additionally, in some countries, such as Hong Kong, a relevant degree in accounting (or at least business or commerce) is required to enter the profession, meaning professional bodies have cultured close ties to university accounting departments to ensure these degrees remain relevant.[12] However, this is not always a genial partnership: professional bodies have exerted their influence over universities in Australia, South Africa, the US, and the UK as members of the accounting profession become entrenched in universities and prioritise their professional qualifications above their academic qualifications, subsequently reinforcing structures that protect the extant professional bodies.[13]

8 Angus Duff, 'Social Mobility And Fair Access To The Accountancy Profession In The UK', in *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal* (2017), 30: 1082-1110.
9 Kerry Jacobs, 'Class Reproduction in Professional Recruitment: Examining the Accounting Profession', in *Critical Perspectives On Accounting* (2003), 14: 569-596; Marcia Annisette and Linda M. Kirkham, 'The Advantages Of Separateness Explaining The Unusual Profession-University Link In English Chartered Accountancy', in *Critical Perspectives On Accounting* (2007), 18: 1-30.
10 T Boyns and J. R. Edwards, 'Do accountants matter? The role of accounting in economic development', in *Accounting, Business & Financial History* (1991), 1: 177-196.
11 J Bouma and D. W. Feenstra, 'Accounting And Business Economics Traditions In The Netherlands', in *European Accounting Review* (1997), 6: 175-197.
12 Elizabeth Gammie and Linda Kirkham, 'Breaking The Link With A University Education In The Creation Of A Chartered Accountant: The ICAS Story', in *The British Accounting Review* (2008), 40: 356-375.
13 Elmar Venter and Charl de Villiers, 'The Accounting Profession's Influence On Academe: South African Evidence', in *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal* (2013), 26: 1246-1278.

Furthermore, Helliar[14] reminds us that accounting education remains a fundamentally social construct, shaped by global historical, economic, political, and cultural influences, thereby reflecting underlying social dynamics and divisions. For instance, in New Zealand, university education is central to gaining admission to the accounting profession, but marginalised communities such as the Maori remain underrepresented in university accounting education, subsequently tracking through to lower levels of participation in the accounting profession.[15] This exclusion is largely due to the persistence of colonial legacies in shaping New Zealand's university and accounting system which has failed to learn from Maori practices and culture.[16] It is hence important to assess the role universities play in deciding who can access local accounting professional bodies and qualifications, to understand which social groups are being excluded from the profession.

The Colonial Development of the Accounting Profession

The accounting profession has historically been intertwined with colonial rule, in being shaped and, in turn, supported by its power structures.[17] This is most evident in the development of professional bodies within colonies, which tended to mimic that of their coloniser; indeed, nearly all of Britain's colonies inherited its accounting education system.[18] This was primarily driven by the economics of British colonies: most businesses established in the early periods of colonisation were funded by British capital, and investors preferred to import management professionals from Britain to run these businesses.[19]

The status of professional accountant was subsequently restricted to qualification from one of the British professional accounting bodies; hence, the qualification

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14 Christine Helliar, 'Global Challenge For Accounting Education', in *Accounting Education* (2013), 22: 510-521.

15 Sonja Gallhofer, Jim Haslam, Soon Nam Kim, and Sharon Mariu, 'Attracting and Retaining Maori Students in Accounting: Issues, experiences and ways forward', in *Critical Perspectives On Accounting* (1999), 10: 773-807.

16 Patty McNicholas, Maria Humphries, and Sonja Gallhofer, 'Maintaining The Empire: Maori Women's Experiences In The Accountancy Profession', in *Critical Perspectives On Accounting* (2004), 15: 57-93.

17 Johnson and Caygill, 'Development'.

18 Richard Briston, 'The evolution of accounting in developing countries', in *International Journal of Accounting Education and Research* (1978), 14: 105-120.

19 Hema Wijewardena and Senarath Yapa, 'Colonialism And Accounting Education In Developing Countries: The Experiences Of Singapore And Sri Lanka', *The International Journal Of Accounting* (1998), 33: 269-281.

was closed off to only a few members of the elite who could travel to Britain for training.[20] These accountants returned to their colonies to form a nucleus wherein elite professional bodies were set up to mimic the ICAEW, (debatably) the dominant British qualification at the time. Once established, these bodies deployed methods of Weberian social closure to continue to protect their monopoly on the professional accounting market and to maintain their social status.[21] Colonies hence became a vital new market for accountants wishing to expand their global reach, as professional bodies competed and differentiated themselves in character and status.[22]

The accounting profession that emerged was geared towards supporting the continued rule of the coloniser, hence they, and the accounting practices they conveyed, were not neutral but rather reinforced extant power structures, even seeking to quell rebellion within colonies.[23] Willmott reminds us that professional bodies remain fundamentally political bodies designed to secure and advance the social and economic interests of their members and, in doing so, socially position themselves in favourable positions surrounding their political and economic context. Accounting education served, under colonialism, to create accounting mentalities that reinforced government structures in reshaping imperial power dynamics with the empire at the centre.[24]

While most existing literature focuses on enduring post-colonial influences from the British colonial empire, largely due to its scale and the historic origins of the first accounting professional bodies within England and Scotland[25], it is worth remembering that post-colonial influences on the development of the accounting profession are not an exclusively British phenomenon. For instance, other colonial empires led by countries like Portugal replicated and translated accounting (and other) technologies to reinforce strong hegemonic images of sovereignty, centring their

20 Bala Balachandran, 'Western imperialism and eastern accounting: the story of Chartered Institute of Management Accountants in Sri Lanka', in *Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Económicas* (2007), 15: 9-27.
21 Johnson and Caygill, 'Development'.
22 *Ibid.*
23 Terry Johnson, 'The State and the Professions: Peculiarities of the British', in *Social Class and the Division of Labour* (1982), 186-208.
24 *Ibid.*
25 Tom Lee, 'Economic Class, Social Status, and Early Scottish Chartered Accountants', in *Accounting Historians Journal* (2004), 31: 27-51; Malcolm Anderson and Stephen Walker, "All Sorts And Conditions Of Men': The Social Origins Of The Founders Of The ICAEW', in *The British Accounting Review* (2009), 41: 31-45.

control over overseas colonies in Brazil and Latin America.[26] The students enrolled in accounting education were encouraged to envision the return of Portugal to its halcyon days of empire building, and in doing so, mobilised Portuguese knowledge to construct a new centre of calculation in Portugal's colonies.[27]

The Impact of Post-Colonialist Legacies on the Accounting Profession

Following the collapse of colonial empires, one would think the accounting profession would be able to free itself from the shackles of colonial dominance. Post-colonial theory, however, highlights the influence these power structures can continue to have on former colonies; indeed, many former colonies continue to follow entrenched colonial models for educating professional accountants.[28] Especially for former British colonies, the model of importing British colonial accountants has partially been subsumed by importing British accounting examinations instead, continuing the colonial influences emanating from Britain.[29] Hence, the accounting professions of many former colonies have not yet achieved the emancipation of which they may have dreamed, particularly in light of emerging neo-colonial trends in accounting paradigms.[30] Universities played a key role in the battleground for the establishment and control of professional bodies and are now capable of being both marginalised and mobilised in the battle for emancipation from post-colonial influences.

After gaining independence, many former colonies continued to model their accounting education systems on the paradigms that existed under colonial rule to preserve the economic and social status gains these conveyed[31]. For instance, in Cyprus (a former British colony), the accounting system inherited from Britain was embraced due to the economic and social status it had historically enshrined, in turn marginalising local graduates and independent accountants.[32] The persistence

26 Margarida Ribeiro, 'Empire, Colonial Wars And Post-Colonialism In The Portuguese Contemporary Imagination', in *Portuguese Studies* (2002), 18: 132-214.

27 Wilde Araújo, Lúcia Lima Rodrigues, and Russell Craig, ''Empire As An Imagination Of The Centre': The Rio De Janeiro School Of Commerce And The Development Of Accounting Education In Brazil', in *Critical Perspectives On Accounting* (2017), 46: 38-53.

28 Wijewardena and Yapa, 'Experiences'.

29 Richard Briston, and M. J. M. Kedslie, 'The Internationalization Of British Professional Accounting: The Role Of The Examination Exporting Bodies', in *Accounting, Business & Financial History* (1997), 7: 175-194.

30 Bakre (2014).

31 Annisette (2000).

32 Christina Neokleous and Orthodoxia Kyriacou, 'Postcolonial influence on accountancy regulatory space: The Arena of Regulatory Arrangements in Accounting Profession of Cyprus',

of the British education system placed the role of universities under the spotlight, breeding nationalist discontent surrounding the ease of recognition of inherited British qualifications whilst local accountants with degrees from the predominant Greek university were sidelined from the profession.[33] Ultimately, this was resolved by the supranational influence of the EU's 8th Directive which served to exclude non-qualified accountants from the professional arena, forcing them to join ICPAC and capitulate to enduring colonial legacies by obtaining a British qualification.

The status of British qualifications and paradigms was also formative in the development of professional qualifications in Sri Lanka, a country which was under British colonial rule prior to gaining independence.[34] Under colonial rule, businesses funded through colonial British capital brought in Western accountants and their methods of management control and professionalisation.[35] Hopeful accounting candidates needed to travel to the UK to qualify with an English or Scottish chartered accounting body, restricting the qualification to those with the means of funding travel, subsequently granting elite status to those possessing a British qualification, and ensuring anything British remains influential and formative in Sri Lanka to this day.[36]

In Sri Lanka, the British CIMA management accounting qualification gained popularity, despite not having any statutory recognition in Sri Lanka, because it was able to portray itself as an elite qualification, whilst also engaging with local universities and recognising their degrees for exemptions, contrasting the exclusive social closure policies pursued by the indigenous professional ICASL body.[37] The CIMA qualification replaced direct colonialism in ensuring British management accounting practices remained unchallenged; the status of British qualifications continues to shape the accounting profession in Sri Lanka.[38] The predominance of

(London: Queen Mary University, 2021).

33 *Ibid*.

34 Balachandran, 'Western Imperialism'.

35 Sewuwandhi Ranasinghe, 'Management control, gender and postcolonialism: The case of Sri Lankan tea plantations', (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2017).

36 Athula Manawaduge, Anura De Zoysa, and Kathy Rudkin, 'Corporate Governance And Post-colonialism: The Experience Of Sri Lanka', in *International Journal Of Corporate Governance* (2018), 9:127.

37 Prem Yapa, 'Cross-Border Competition And The Professionalization Of Accounting: The Case Of Sri Lanka', *Accounting History* (2006), 11: 447-473.

38 Balachandran, 'Western Imperialism'

British qualifications and post-colonial legacies have since hindered the development of a local accounting professional body within Sri Lanka, as the growth of the local ICASL stagnates, whilst unregistered CIMA qualified accountants continue to grow in number as CIMA chooses to engage with and recognise indigenous universities for exemption.[39]

Indeed, British capital has been almost as influential as direct colonial rule on shaping professional bodies. Despite its historic independence, Ethiopia still developed its accounting profession and education under British influence due to the power of British capital inflows and consequent investor preferences.[40] Here, the ACCA (a global accounting qualification of British origin) has had a formative role in shaping the profession, highlighting the neo-imperialistic reach of the body beyond pre-existing colonial networks.[41] In Ethiopia, the development of the profession was a state-led project that ultimately failed to achieve closure because insufficient education and certification resulted in missing 'signals of movement'.[42] Unsurprisingly, the void was again filled by ACCA qualification, but perhaps if the state had focused on establishing and supporting accounting in robust indigenous universities this would have overcome the education hurdle and bolstered the profession against the influence of the ACCA.[43]

The growth of the ACCA in former colonies, particularly those in the Caribbean, has suggested some former colonies have moved from directly importing British accountants to instead importing British accounting qualifications.[44] After gaining independence, some nascent professional bodies turned towards global examination partnerships with bodies like the ACCA to provide accounting qualifications for their members, but after becoming entrenched in new overseas markets, these organisations have tended to marginalise indigenous universities to uphold their own

39 Prem Yapa, 'The imperial roots of accounting closure: The case of Sri Lanka', in *Accountancy and Empire*, 1st Ed by Poullaos and Sian (London: Routledge, 2010), 142-161.
40 Dessalegn Mihret, Kieran James, and Joseph M. Mula, 'Accounting Professionalization Amidst Alternating State Ideology In Ethiopia', in *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal* (2012), 25: 1206-1233.
41 Bakre (2014).
42 Garry Carnegie, 'The Construction Of The Professional Accountant: The Case Of The Incorporated Institute Of Accountants, Victoria 1886', in *Accounting, Organizations And Society* (2001), 26: 301-325.
43 Mihret, James, and Mula, 'Ideology in Ethiopia'.
44 Marcia Annisette, 'Importing Accounting: The Case Of Trinidad And Tobago', in *Accounting, Business & Financial History* (1999), 9: 103-133.

control of the market for accounting qualifications.[45]

For example, the indigenous university in Trinidad and Tobago (the University of the West Indies) was sidelined from participating in the education of its accountants, as the local professional body, ICATT, instead turned to the ACCA to develop joint examination partnerships.[46] This was notably a breach of the ICATT's mandate of indigenisation but was permitted due to the ACCA's ability to portray itself as a knowledge body capable of providing net status benefit to its profession; the Big 4 were also able to penetrate the accounting market of Trinidad and Tobago under a similar perception of possessing competence-enabling accounting knowledge.[47]

Local accountants had a vested interest in the ACCA qualifications as it aligned with the aims of the international capitalist elite to permit economic emancipation through global mobility.[48] The desire to preserve international status and mobility previously developed over colonialism made the marginalisation of indigenous universities an acceptable price to pay to protect the interests of these elites in Trinidad and Tobago. A similar phenomena occurred in Jamaica, where continued localisation attempts by the ICAJ were stunted by the ACCA, whose initial role as 'caretaker' of qualifying exams morphed into continued educational subjugation facilitated by the desire of the elite global members of ICAJ who sought to protect their perceived international mobility the ACCA qualification purported to convey[49].

Resistance to Post-Colonial Legacies

Resistance to post-colonial influences is possible, however, through either ideological or practical discourse.[50] The accounting profession can become tied to other political movements and ideologies that mobilise sufficient support to repaint the cultural contexts of nascent professional bodies in opposition to globalisation and colonial influences.[51] In this case, accounting bodies become ideological sites of conflict, and

45 Bakre (2014).
46 Annisette (2000).
47 Annisette (1999)
48 Gabriel Kaifala, Sonja Gallhofer, and Margaret Milner et al, 'Postcolonial Hybridity, Diaspora And Accountancy', in *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal* (2019), 32: 2114-2141.
49 Owolabi Bakre, 'Accounting Education, Training And The Profession In The Commonwealth Caribbean: Integration Or Internationalisation?', in *Accounting Forum* (2006), 30: 285-313.
50 Maria Dyball, Chris Poullaos, and Wai Fong Chua, 'Accounting And Empire: Professionalization-As-Resistance', in *Critical Perspectives On Accounting* (2007), 18: 415-449.
51 Suki Sian, 'Inclusion, Exclusion And Control: The Case Of The Kenyan Accounting

this plays out within the identity of their professional members. Similarly, universities can be sites to roll out targeted education initiatives upskilling local accountants to support economic recovery and infrastructure.[52] Universities take on a key role in supporting state economic and social agendas to counteract continued post-colonialist sway. The development of a strong, localised profession can be an important step to create ideological projections of national identity alongside supporting economic development in former colonies.[53]

Accountants have been able to mobilise support for the localisation of accounting education through appealing to economic narratives. Despite being previously colonised, Singapore perceived foreign accounting bodies as outdated and not suitable for Singapore's local context upon gaining independence; hence, the establishment of local higher education institutes was deemed necessary for producing trained accountants capable of guiding the country through the process of economic development.[54] It was Singapore's professional body who identified this requirement and helped guide local universities through the creation of separate accounting departments, resulting in educational institutions who remain responsive to labour market needs and innovations in practice.[55] Recognised university degrees in Singapore exempt their bearers from further professional exams; as a result, this policy facilitated a rapid growth in the number of qualified accountants poised to help guide Singapore through economic recovery.[56]

Educational efforts from universities in former colonies were not always geared towards organised attempts to form professional bodies to resist colonial influence, however, and instead often represented the start of incremental efforts to upskill and educate local accountants. The Philippines was able to use universities to gradually educate local accountants and eventually enable them to mobilise against the authority of the occupying US colonial invaders.[57] The University of the Philippines

Professionalisation Project', in *Accounting, Organizations And Society* (2006), 31: 295-322.

52 Teck Meng Tan, Yang Hoong Pang, and See Liang Foo, 'Accounting education and practice: the Singapore Experience', in *The International Journal of Accounting* (1994) 29.2: 161; Dyball, Poullaos, and Chua (2007).

53 Bakre (2006).

54 Wijewardena and Yapa (1998)

55 Tan, Pang, and Foo, 'Singapore Experience'.

56 *Ibid*.

57 Maria Dyball, Wai Fong Chua, and Chris Poullaos, 'Mediating Between Colonizer And Colonized In The American Empire', in *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal* (2006), 19:

developed courses in commerce to meet the needs of local businessmen and public officials in understanding the accounting and business problems facing the Philippines, equipping them with proficiency in bookkeeping. This was furthered by the establishment of the Jose Rizal College which specialised in accounting, business, and finance.[58] However, graduates from these institutes were directly absorbed by local businesses and the government rather than organising themselves into a formal professional body or accounting firms.

Graduates would likely have struggled to compete against the colonial capital of American accountants, but, instead, universities played a vital role in beginning to impart accounting knowledge to local accountants and in cultivating a developed sense of self in Filipino accountants.[59] This then subsequently enabled Filipino accountants to work within their colonial legislative framework to gradually introduce incremental moves towards professionalisation: Act 3105 was eventually passed elevating Filipino accountants to new positions of power.[60] The act's success was ultimately due to its ability to problematise the professionalism of Filipino accountants in the eyes of the coloniser, addressing American concerns with the inadequate financial management in the public sphere of the Philippines.[61] Universities had been vital, therefore, in slowly developing graduates within the Philippines that were then equipped with the necessary business and bookkeeping skills to challenge and resist the American supremacy of the accounting arena.[62]

Other examples serve to question the extent to which colonialism continues to influence the education process of professional bodies. In the example of Nigeria, literature has painted a somewhat shallow narrative of a country merely inheriting colonial practices from Britain post-independence, but Britain had, in fact, deliberately suppressed the development of Nigeria's accounting profession in order to directly import British accountants.[63] Its indigenous profession eventually emerged

47-81.

58 *Ibid*.

59 Dina Aburous, 'Understanding Cultural Capital And Habitus In Corporate Accounting: A Postcolonial Context', *Spanish Journal Of Finance And Accounting* (2016), 45: 154-179.

60 Dyball, Poullaos, and Chua (2007).

61 Dyball, Poullaos, and Chua (2006).

62 Prem Yapa, 'Professionalisation Of Accounting In Developing Countries: 25 Years Of Research', in *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal* (2021), 35: 439-462.

63 Olusegun Wallace, 'Growing Pains Of An Indigenous Accountancy Profession: The Nigerian Experience', in *Accounting, Business & Financial History* (1992), 2: 25-54.

five years after independence, on the back of the state's desire for 'Nigerianization', but its monopoly has continued to face external pressure due to its failure to rotate its presidency through Nigeria's main three ethnic groups, the decision to exclude IIA members, and a number of high profile frauds in audited companies.[64] Decidedly non-British quirks have since emerged in Nigeria's financial system, such as the requirement for audit reports to be approved by legal professionals, questioning the extent of enduring British influence on Nigeria's accounting profession.

In the Islamic world, professional bodies have begun to develop resistance to historic Anglo-American ideologies and the perceived imperialism of globalisation by returning to embracing their Islamic heritage and culture.[65] The formation of AAIOFI, a professional body developing standards and offering qualifications in Islamic finance, has been depicted as an alternate paradigm for global business conduct: the promulgation of Islamic finance, and AAIOFI accounting standards suited to these contexts, may stand as one of the only alternatives to IFRS that has received any degree of acceptance on the global stages as it moved against harmonisation.[66]

Here, rather than universities legitimising professional bodies, knowledge legitimacy originates from Shari'a scholars, who affirmed the new standards' compliance with the scriptures of Islam, with economic discourse such as practicality and cost effectiveness deployed to rationalise policy choices that stray from Islamic principles but favour salient stakeholders.[67] This has, however, arguably served only to re-embed Islamic accounting standards within the global accounting nexus and, by capitulating in seeking global neo-liberal acceptance of these standards, sacrifice certain Islamic principles and ethics.[68] The scholars maintain their elite status as the 'interpreters' of Islamic principles and protect any difficult decisions from arising in the financial institutions they also monitor; hence, they gain both economically and socially from the development of unchallenging AAIOFI standards.[69] When universities compete

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64 *Ibid.*
65 Rania Kamla and Faizul Haque, 'Islamic Accounting, Neo-Imperialism And Identity Staging: The Accounting And Auditing Organization For Islamic Financial Institutions', in *Critical Perspectives On Accounting* (2019), 63.
66 Rifaat Karim, 'International Accounting Harmonization, Banking Regulation, And Islamic Banks', in *The International Journal Of Accounting* (2001), 36: 169-193.
67 Rania Kamla, 'Critical Insights Into Contemporary Islamic Accounting', in *Critical Perspectives On Accounting* (2009), 20: 921-932.
68 *Ibid.*
69 Kamla and Haque, 'Islamic Accounting'.

for influence with other educators like Shari'a scholars, universities can remain sites of ideological battles amidst cultural flux.[70]

Localisation and indigenisation can also bypass the role of universities in accounting education. In attempting to resist post-colonial influences, it can be important for nascent professional bodies to align themselves with opposing ideologies to mobilise popular and state support.[71] Universities played a lesser role in the formation of a national independent accounting body in Kenya, because, in this case, the formation of the professional body was tied to the state's ongoing Africanisation agenda.[72] Sian highlights how professions can become racialised and how in Kenya policies of social inclusion were pursued for the ICPAK to gain widespread social acceptance, combating the colonial method of Weberian social closure.[73] Through gaining the support of the Kenyan state and populace, therefore, the organisation gained sufficient legitimacy to support itself in opposing British colonial legacies without drawing on local universities.

Limitations to the Influence of Indigenous Universities on Accounting Professions

Along with the continued contribution of colonial influences, there are other factors holding indigenous universities back from aiding in the construction of a strong profession. In developing countries, low levels of literacy and technology are likely to hinder the prevalence and influence of universities, especially research universities, across all subjects and professions, not just accounting[74].

More ominously, the rise of 'global standards' and the ongoing harmonisation agenda may constrain the beneficial potential of indigenous universities. The appeal of these institutions lies in their ability to offer the tailored, localised educational programmes needed to construct a robust domestic accounting profession.[75] Global harmonisation

70 Sonja Gallhofer, Jim Haslam, and Rania Kamla, 'Educating And Training Accountants In Syria In A Transition Context', *Accounting Education* (2009), 18: 345-368.
71 W Chua and C. Poullaos, 'The Dynamics Of 'Closure' Amidst The Construction Of Market, Profession, Empire And Nationhood: An Historical Analysis Of An Australian Accounting Association, 1886–1903', in *Accounting, Organizations And Society* (1998), 23: 155-187.
72 Sian (2006).
73 Sian, (2007).
74 Philip G. Altbach, 'Peripheries And Centres: Research Universities In Developing Countries', in *Asia Pacific Education Review* (2009), 10: 15-27.
75 Patrick Devlin and Alan D. Godfrey, 'Exporting Accounting Education To East Africa -

efforts, however, that have resulted in the emergence of IFRS as the dominant reporting standards foundation, constrain localisation efforts and reinforce the diffusion of neo-liberal forms of Western shareholder capitalism.[76] The proliferation of colonial accounting paradigms and technologies that prioritise shareholders and the creation of economic profit over other stakeholders such as employees, communities, or sustainability may be unsuited to developing countries.[77] This may stunt the growth of a developed accounting profession and continue to suppress new ideas and ideologies emerging from indigenous universities.

Concluding Remarks and Reflections

Colonialism was a formative influence on the emergence of professional bodies for accountants across the world, and, albeit to varying degrees, post-colonial legacies still shape the emergence of localised professional bodies. In this sense, the spectre of colonialism relegates accounting professional bodies to host a small elite group of accountants seeking to enshrine remnants of social status and economic privilege associated with legacy colonial qualifications. This stops professional bodies and, more broadly, accounting, from adapting to national circumstances to aid in emancipatory economic development.

An (arguably) previously overlooked component of establishing and supporting nascent professional bodies in former colonies is the role of universities. In cases like Singapore, universities have helped modernise legacy professional bodies to centralise accounting within a local context with the support of the state.[78] In other cases, as in the Caribbean, universities have been marginalised and discredited by global professional bodies to protect their own economic market for qualifications inherited from colonial empires.[79]

Whilst it can be tempting to reduce the post-colonial dialectic to one of globalisation versus localisation, or adoption versus marginalisation for universities, the individual

Squaring The Circle', in *Accounting Education* (1998), 7: 269-285.

76 Martin Walker, 'Accounting For Varieties Of Capitalism: The Case Against A Single Set Of Global Accounting Standards', in *The British Accounting Review* (2010), 42: 137-152, Trevor Hopper, Philippe Lassou, and Teerooven Soobaroyen, 'Globalisation, Accounting And Developing Countries', in *Critical Perspectives On Accounting* (2017), 43: 125-148.

77 Mfandaidza Hove, 'Accounting practices in developing countries: Colonialism's legacy of inappropriate technologies', in *International Journal of Accounting* (1986), 22: 81-100.

78 Tan, Pang, and Foo, 'Singapore Experience'.

79 Bakre (2014).

accountant is unlikely to see themselves as a binary vessel for either colonialism or indigenisation: they develop their own distinct identity and make educational choices based on a variety of cultural and economic contexts.[80]

Whilst these issues may seem only of historic significance, this paper highlights several important findings. The localisation of accounting education can help professional bodies gain support and legitimacy should they come under challenge: the status of 'professional' is constantly re-embedding, and professional bodies need to obtain organisational legitimacy to survive. Whilst immediately after independence, inherited colonial practices may have been adopted for the status they convey, as professions continue to experience audit scandals and other external threats, indigenisation may present a solution to these challenges.

Universities can in turn play a key role in helping to develop local practice and build up critical skills, rather than the mechanic adoption of global qualifications and standards, which promote accounting paradigms that may be unsuitable for domestic needs, especially in developing countries. As countries continue to grow economically and the role of tertiary education widens, states should continue to invest in indigenous universities to help train accountants within their local cultural context, aiding in the creation of a strong and skilled profession capable of supporting local economic development.

Abbreviations

AAIOFI - Accounting and Auditing Organization for Islamic Financial Institutions
ACCA - Association of Chartered Certified Accountants
CIMA - Chartered Institute of Management Accountants
ICAEW - Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales
ICAJ - Institute of Chartered Accountants of Jamaica
ICAN - Institute of Chartered Accountants of Nigeria
ICASL - Institute of Chartered Accountants of Sri Lanka
ICATT - Institute of Chartered Accountants of Trinidad and Tobago
ICPAC - Institute of Certified Public Accountants of Cyprus
ICPAK - Institute of Certified Public Accountants of Kenya
IFRS - International Financial Reporting Standards

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80 Kaifala, Gallhofer, Milner, and Paisey.

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A Failed Upheaval? Evaluating the Success of the Scottish Parliament's 'New Politics' Aspirations

Duncan Henderson

Opposition to the adversarial politics of the Westerminster Parliament was closely interwoven with the campaign for Scottish devolution. Upon its foundation, the initial proponents of Scottish devolution intended for the new Scottish Parliament to embrace a more consensual 'new politics'. Evaluating the success of these aspirations through the framework of the Consultative Steering Group's principles of power-sharing, accountability, access and participation, and equal opportunities, this essay argues that the Scottish Parliament has not delivered the 'new politics' expected upon its foundation.

Introduction

Opposition to the Westminster model and its confrontational style of politics was central to aspirations for a devolved Scottish Parliament. Reflecting this discontent and the associated desire to reject the Westminster model and create a 'new politics'[1], the Scottish Constitutional Convention articulated its desire for the Scottish Parliament to be 'radically different from the rituals of Westminster: more participative, more creative, and less needlessly confrontational'.[2] The Consultative Steering Group sought to translate this ambition into practice following the public endorsement of a Scottish Parliament in the 1997 referendum, establishing four principles for itself and the nascent Scottish Parliament: power-sharing, accountability, access and participation, and equal opportunities – each reflecting an aspect of the 'new politics' desired in the Scottish Parliament.[3] The extent to which the Scottish Parliament

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1 James Mitchell, 'New Parliament, New Politics in Scotland', from *Parliamentary Affairs* (2000), 53.3: 605, Emily St Denny, 'The Scottish Parliament', in *The Oxford Handbook of Scottish Politics*, ed. Michael Keating (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 482.
2 Scottish Constitutional Convention, *Scotland's Parliament: Scotland's Right* (1995), 11, <https://paulcairney.files.wordpress.com/2015/09/scc-1995.pdf> [Accessed 11 December 2021].
3 Consultative Steering Group, *Shaping Scotland's Parliament: Report of the Consultative Steering Group on the Scottish Parliament*, (Edinburgh: The Scottish Office, 1998), 2-6, <https://archive2021.parliament.scot/PublicInformationdocuments/Report_of_the_Consultative_Steering_Group.pdf> [Accessed 11 December 2021].

has successfully fulfilled these founding aspirations of a 'new politics' is a topic of extensive and ongoing academic debate.[4] Whilst the Parliament's institutional design, procedures, and ability to near-singlehandedly transform Scotland's political culture have been extensively reviewed and critiqued previously, no works thus far have used the Consultative Steering Group's principles as a framework to evaluate the success of the 'new politics' aspirations. [5] Overall, this paper argues that, in addition to the deficiencies previously addressed in the literature, the Scottish Parliament has failed to fulfil the Consultative Steering Group's principles, consequently failing to live up to the 'new politics' desired upon its foundation.

In advancing this argument, this paper refers to the principles of power-sharing, accountability, access and participation, and equal opportunities, seeking to explain how the Consultative Steering Group intended for these principles to be fulfilled and how this is reflected in the Scottish Parliament's structures. Considering each principle in turn and citing evidence from throughout the Scottish Parliament's existence, this paper analyses the extent to which each has been successfully fulfilled. It concludes that the Scottish Parliament has failed to live up to its 'new politics' aspirations in each of the four principles.

Power-sharing

Selecting the Mixed Member Proportional Representation (MMP) electoral system for the Scottish Parliament's elections was closely aligned with the power-sharing principle, intended to eschew the single-party governments and executive dominance common in the Westminster model and instead embed power-sharing as a political necessity in the Scottish Parliament.[6] Reflecting the contemporary wisdom that it would be extraordinarily difficult, if not impossible, for any single party to win a parliamentary majority in an MMP election, its use in Scottish Parliament elections was intended to reduce executive dominance and require broad political support for any executive to be able to pass its policies.[7] Whilst a single-member plurality electoral system commonly results in dominant single-party majority governments in the Westminster Parliament ('elective dictatorships'[8]) the use of MMP was

4 St Denny, 'Parliament', 489.

5 James Mitchell, 'The Narcissism of Small Differences: Scotland and Westminster', from *Parliamentary Affairs* (2010), 63.1: 99.

6 St Denny, 'Parliament', 482.

7 Ibid, Mitchell, 'Narcissism', 103.

8 Deborah Mabbett, 'Testing the Limits of Elective Dictatorship', in *The Political Quarterly* (2020),

intended to require multi-party coalition governments or minority governments in the Scottish Parliament.[9] Theoretically, this would result in the sharing of executive power amongst a wider range of MSPs and allow for greater parliamentary influence over the executive and its policy-making.[10]

The 2007 -- 2011 Scottish National Party minority government provides the best example of the power-sharing principle of the Scottish Parliament being successfully met.[11] Whilst Scottish Labour won a majority of constituency seats in the 2007 Scottish Parliament election, and therefore would have won a majority under an identical single-member plurality system in identical circumstances, the Scottish National Party benefitted from the proportionality of the MMP system and won one seat more than Scottish Labour.[12] The Scottish National Party subsequently formed a minority government, commanding 47 seats in the 129 seat legislature[13]: the only substantial minority government to date.

During the 2007-11 Scottish Parliament, the SNP were consequentially required to rely on the support of other parties to pass legislation,[14] forming temporary alliances with other parties on an issue-by-issue basis.[15] Opposition parties inflicted some significant defeats, including blocking proposals for a referendum on Scottish independence during the 2007-11 parliamentary term,[16] but the SNP minority government successfully implemented most of its proposals through negotiation and compromise with other parties.[17] Although Harvey argues that this political cooperation was out of strict political necessity rather than a substantive commitment to the prince of power-sharing, Crawford states that 'minority government has

91.4: 704.

9 St Denny, 'Parliament', 482.

10 Ibid.

11 Bruce Crawford, 'Ten Years of Devolution', from *Parliamentary Affairs* (2010), 63.1: 93.

12 Scottish Parliament Information Centre, *Election 2007* (2007) <https://archive2021.parliament. scot/SPICeResources/Research%20briefings%20and%20fact%20sheets/SB07-21.pdf> [Accessed 4 March 2022].

13 Ibid.

14 Thomas C. Lundberg, 'Politics is Still an Adversarial Business: Minority Government and Mixed-Member Proportional Representation in Scotland and in New Zealand', in *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* (2013), 15.4: 617.

15 Crawford, 'Years', 92.

16 Severin Carrell, 'Alex Salmond's Scottish independence referendum bill 'dead in the water', *The Guardian*, (2009), <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2009/mar/05/snp-independence-referendum-plan-rejected> [Accessed 15 February 2022].

17 Crawford, 'Years', 93.

worked well for Scotland' and highlights significant cooperation during the 2007-11 parliamentary term.[18] Consequentially, the Scottish Parliament was closer aligned to Lijphart's consensus model of democracy, with this period representing an example of the 'new politics' intended from the Scottish Parliament.[19]

Whilst there has only been one single-party majority government since the establishment of the Scottish Parliament,[20] the power-sharing and consensus-seeking during the 2007-11 SNP minority government is a historical exception. Other governments, including multi-party coalitions, have more commonly displayed majoritarian traits. After the Scottish National Party won a majority of seats in the 2011 Scottish Parliament election, it largely ceased the consensus-seeking that had characterised its 2007-11 minority government and adopted a significantly more majoritarian approach. Instead, it governed akin to a typical Westminster majority government with the First Minister retaining ultimate authority over government policy and opportunities for accountability, notably Minister's Questions and First Minister's Questions, being solely 'an opportunity for partisan point-scoring [...] rather than a significant attempt to hold the government to account'.[21] This continued adversarialism and executive dominance indicates that the Scottish Parliament has failed to substantially embed power-sharing and move beyond majoritarian governments.

Best exemplified by the 1999-2007 Labour-Liberal Democrat coalitions, parties typically only engage in the power-sharing and consensual aspects of the 'new politics' when it is a political necessity for them to do so, the same as in the Westminster Parliament. Whilst narrowly fulfilling the principle of power-sharing by virtue of being a two-party coalition, the 1997-2007 Labour-Liberal Democrat coalitions failed to display a substantive commitment to power-sharing, generally observed to have been governing in a majoritarian manner.[22] Taken together, both of these examples represent a failure to embed meaningful power-sharing into the Scottish Parliament

18 Malcolm Harvey, 'Devolution', in *The Oxford Handbook of Scottish Politics*, ed. Michael Keating (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 378.
19 Lundberg, 'Adversarial', 618, Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999
20 Lundberg, 'Adversarial', 617.
21 Harvey, 'Devolution', 378.
22 *Ibid*., Mitchell, 'Narcissism', 112, Paul Cairney & Anders Widfeldt, 'Is Scotland a Westminster-style Majoritarian Democracy or a Scandinavian-style Consensus Democracy? A Comparison of Scotland, the UK and Sweden', *Regional and Federal Studies* (2015), 25.1: 9.

beyond circumstances where it is a political necessity, in turn indicating that the Scottish Parliament has been unsuccessful at fulfilling the power-sharing principle.

Accountability

The Consultative Steering Group intended to embed accountability into the Scottish Parliament through regular questions to Government Ministers, replicating the adversarial system used in the Westminster Parliament, and the creation of notionally powerful committees.[23] Intended, in part, to replace the scrutiny and 'check and balance' functions typically expected of the upper house in a bicameral legislature (such as the House of Lords in the UK Parliament),[24] the Scottish Parliament's committees hold comparatively more powers than committees in other western European legislatures[25], reflecting the intention for powerful committees to fulfil the principle of accountability and for them to be a core component of the Scottish Parliament. Further reflecting the contemporary wisdom that MMP should prevent single party dominance, the political composition of the Scottish Parliament's committees is reflective of the political composition of the Scottish Parliament as a whole: intended to prevent any single party from obstructing the work of committees or dominating committee investigations.[26]

In addition to the uncommon power to initiate legislation,[27] the Scottish Parliament's committees are also empowered to scrutinise and amend proposed legislation, hold inquiries on any relevant of topics of interest, and take witness evidence to aid legislative scrutiny and inform inquiry reports.[28] In line with the 'new politics' expectations for the Scottish Parliament, these powers are intended to embed committees and accountability more broadly into the Scottish Parliament.[29] Scholars such as Cairney have cited the success of committees in amending legislation, scrutinising government proposals, and exerting informal pressure on the executive to alter its proposals to

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23 Mitchell, 'Narcissism' 109, St Denny, 'Parliament', 483, Alice Brown, 'Designing the Scottish Parliament', *Parliamentary Affairs* (2000), 53.3: 549.
24 Hector MacQueen, 'A Second Chamber for the Scottish Parliament?', from *Scottish Affairs* (2015), 24.4: 438.
25 Paul Cairney, 'The analysis of Scottish Parliament committee influence: Beyond capacity and structure in comparing West European legislatures', in *European Journal of Political Research* (2006), 45.1: 183.
26 Brown, 'Designing', 459.
27 Cairney, 'Committee', 185.
28 *Ibid*, 184-185.
29 *Ibid*, 181.

avoid lengthy amendment processes.[30] Although not universally accepted, [31] this indicates some successes for the Scottish Parliament's committee system in fulfilling the aspirations for a 'new politics'.

Despite intention that these powers would embed accountability into the Scottish Parliament's legislative process, the accountability aspect of the Scottish Parliament's 'new politics' aspirations remain unfulfilled. Committees have failed to meaningfully exercise the powers assigned to them and, in some cases, lack powers that would aid inquiries and enable greater accountability. Whilst legislation has been influenced by the relevant topical committee and amended accordingly[32] – thereby partly fulfilling the scrutinising function – committees have been markedly less effective in fulfilling their other functions, particularly those aligned to the 'new politics'. [33] For example, committees have the power to initiate legislation, but this is rarely used. Only three Committee Bills were introduced in the 2016 - 2021 session of the Scottish Parliament – in contrast to 17 Private Members' Bills and 63 Government Bills,[34] with committees typically lacking the financial resources and time required to research issues, consult with interested groups, and draft legislation – severely limiting their ability to exercise this power more frequently.[35]

Additionally, the difficulties faced by the Committee on the Scottish Government Handling of Harassment Complaints further indicates the ineffectiveness of the investigative powers granted to committees, with the inquiry frequently unable to proceed to due to the inability of the committee to compel witnesses to give evidence.[36] This reflects a wider failing in the institutional design of the Scottish Parliament and its committees; this power is held by notionally less powerful committees in the Westminster Parliament.[37] Moreover, indications of executive dominance are

30 *Ibid*, 187.
31 St Denny, 'Parliament', 490.
32 Cairney, 'Committee', 184.
33 St Denny, 'Parliament', 490.
34 Scottish Parliament, *Bills and Laws*, (2021), <https://parliament.scot/bills-and-laws/bills> [Accessed 14 December 2021].
35 Cairney, 'Committee', 185
36 BBC News, *Alex Salmond inquiry 'cannot proceed due to obstruction'* (2020), <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-54343018> [Accessed 14 December 2021], BBC News, *Alex Salmond urged to appear at Holyrood inquiry* (2021), <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-55663514> [Accessed 15 December 2021].
37 Hannah White, 'In contempt? Witnesses before select committees', from *Institute for Government* (2016), <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/blog/contempt-witnesses-select-committees> [Accessed 15 December 2021].

increasingly identifiable in the Scottish Parliament's committees, largely as a result of the political composition of the committees mirroring that of the Scottish Parliament as a whole.[38] As the Scottish Parliament has often had a majority government – either formed by a single-party or the result of a two-party coalition or other formal agreement – this majority is, as a result, guaranteed in the committees intended to hold the Scottish Government to account. Resulting, therefore, from failings in the institutional design of the Scottish Parliament and the limited use of existing committee powers, the Consultative Steering Group's principle of accountability is unfulfilled.

Access and Participation

Alongside the conventional and largely limited means of participation such as school visits and a publicly accessible viewing gallery,[39] a novel public petitions system was intended to fulfil the Consultative Steering Group's principle of access and participation.[40] Intended to increase participation from groups that do not typically participate in conventional political activities, the Scottish Parliament's public petition system is designed to allow anybody to raise an issue and propose a change in the law.[41] All submitted petitions are considered by the Scottish Parliament's Public Petitions Committee with no minimum signature threshold.[42] In contrast, petitions submitted to the Westminster Parliament must receive at least 10,000 signatures to receive a response from HM Government and at least 100,000 for Westminster's Petitions Committee to consider a parliamentary debate on the topic.[43] These differences between the Scottish and Westminster Parliaments would suggest that the Scottish Parliament's petitions system is evidence of the principle of access and participation fulfilled, providing an example of the 'new politics' in practice; indeed, Carman importantly identifies significant changes to existing legislation and amendments to proposed legislation as a result of the Scottish Parliament's public petitions system.[44]

In truth, the Scottish Parliament's public petitions system is less effective at enabling

38 MacQueen, 'Chamber', 483.
39 Brown, 'Designing', 549.
40 Christopher Carman, 'Barriers are Barriers: Asymmetric Participation in the Scottish Public Petitions System', from *Parliamentary Affairs* (2014), 67.1: 152.
41 Consultative Steering Group, 'Report', 63.
42 Carman, 'Barriers', 157.
43 UK Parliament, *How petitions work*, (2021), <https://petition.parliament.uk/help> [Accessed 15 December 2021].
44 Carman, 'Barriers', 152.

access and participation than the above points would suggest, and particularly in regards to enabling access for those who do not typically participate in conventional politics. Despite the intention that the public petitions system would enable participation from a diverse range of people and groups,[45] there is little evidence that this objective has been fulfilled. As Carman highlights, public knowledge of the petitions system is poor and a majority of Scots do not know about the system at all.[46] Knowledge among those who are aware of its existence, those most likely to be politically engaged, is further limited to a basic awareness of its existence rather than any substantive knowledge of its functions of processes.[47] As a result of this lack of genuine awareness among the vast majority of the Scottish population, the public petitions system is used near-exclusively by the 'usual suspects' who engage with most other forms of political participation.[48] Specifically, petitioners are typically well-educated, politically informed, middle-class men, far from the broader range of people and groups the public petitions system was intended to attract.[49] Whilst the Scottish Parliament's public petitions system has theoretically enabled some access and participation by allowing anybody to submit a petition and have it considered by the Public Petitions Committee, the system has been unsuccessful at increasing access and participation in practice.

Equal Opportunities

Reflecting the role of women's groups in the devolutionist movement, a commitment to equal opportunities was established as a principle for the Scottish Parliament, including a microcosmic view of political representation.[50] Seeking to embed equal opportunities, the institutional design of the Scottish Parliament was intended to enable all MSPs to balance political and family life and allow a larger number of women to pursue a political career by removing or mitigating previous barriers.[51] This includes the provision of a parliamentary crèche, restricting parliamentary business to family-friendly working hours, and aligning parliamentary recesses to school holidays.[52] Additionally, the MMP electoral system was intended to contribute

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45 *Ibid*, 159.
46 *Ibid*, 152.
47 *Ibid*.
48 *Ibid*, 159.
49 *Ibid*.
50 Mitchell, 'Narcissism', 103.
51 Brown, 'Designing', 550.
52 Meryl Kenny & Fiona Mackay, 'Women, Gender, and Politics in Scotland', in The Oxford Handbook of Scottish Politics, ed. Michael Keating, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020),

to equal opportunities and microcosmic representation by allowing parties to 'twin' constituencies and place women and other underrepresented groups in advantageous positions on regional lists to enable their election.[53]

These measures were initially relatively effective: at least, in relation to women's representation. Women made up 37% of MSPs in the 1999-2003 session,[54] rising to 40% of MSPs in the 2003-2007 session,[55] with the initial proportion of women MSPs being significantly higher than the proportion of women MPs.[56] After these large proportions of female MSPs were elected in 1999 and 2003, Mackay & Kenny described the Scottish Parliament as 'one of the world leaders' on female political representation.[57] Additionally, the proportion of women elected to the Scottish Parliament is higher compared to the proportion of women elected as local authority Councillors,[58] indicating that increased female representation in the Scottish Parliament is at least somewhat independent of broader societal shifts in political gender norms. Although not achieving any full equal representation instantly, this initial progress seemingly evidences the Scottish Parliament's success in fulfilling the equal opportunities principle, with increased women's representation and a general trend towards microcosmic representation.

The Scottish Parliament has thus far failed to achieve microcosmic representation for other minority groups, however, and no further progress on women's representation was made until the 2021 Scottish Parliament election.[59] Indeed, despite the initial ambitions for 50:50 gender representation among MSPs,[60] little progress on women's representation was made between the 2003 election and 2021 election. Noting this lack of progress, Mitchell alleged that the lack of development on microcosmic representation indicates that the equal opportunities principle has 'fallen off the

53 Brown, 'Designing', 551, Kenny & Mackay, 'Women', 63.
54 Brown, 'Designing', 551.
55 Kenny & Mackay, 'Women', 63.
56 Brown, 'Designing', 551.
57 Fiona Mackay & Meryl Kenny, 'Women's Representation in the 2007 Scottish Parliament: Temporary Setback or Return to the Norm', from Scottish Affairs (2007), 60.1: 80.
58 Esther Breitenbach, 'Scottish Women and Political Representation in the UK and Scottish Parliaments (1918–2020)', from Open Library of Humanities (2020), 6.2: 20.
59 Timothy Pearce, 'The Journey to a More Diverse Scottish Parliament', from Centre on Constitutional Change, <https://www.centreonconstitutionalchange.ac.uk/news-and-opinion/journey-more-diverse-scottish-parliament> [Accessed 17 February 2022].
60 Kenny & Mackay, 'Women', 63.

agenda'.[61] A decrease on the peak of 40% of MSPs in 2003, women made up 36% of MSPs in the 2016-2021 session, a lower figure than the Welsh Senedd (47%) and similar to the proportion of women MPs (34%).[62]

Furthermore, the initial progress on women's representation obscures broader failures in securing microcosmic representation and ongoing underrepresentation of other minority groups. If the Scottish Parliament was perfectly representative of the demographics of Scottish population – as the Scottish Constitutional Convention indicated it should in declaring a commitment to equal gender representation[63] – approximately 5 MSPs would be from an ethnic minority group, reflecting 4% of the population.[64] Yet, just two ethnic minority MSPs were elected in 2016 and, prior to the 2021 election, only four ethnic minority MSPs had ever been elected, all of whom were from the same ethnic background.[65] This discrepancy further indicates that the Scottish Parliament has not fulfilled its equal opportunities principle and that, once again, aspirations for a 'new politics' have not been met.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Scottish Parliament was founded with aspirations of a 'new politics', exemplified in the principles of the Consultative Steering Group as analysed in this essay: power-sharing, accountability, access and participation, and equal opportunities. Drawing on the existing literature and citing relevant examples, this paper considered how each principle was intended to be fulfilled and evaluated the practical fulfilment of each principle in turn. Significant deficiencies were found in relation to each principle, with the principle of power-sharing compromised by a tendency towards majoritarian rule; accountability similarly compromised by executive dominance of committees and ineffective powers for these committees; access and participation compromised by a lack of public knowledge about the public petitions system intended to be at the principle's core; and equal opportunities compromised by a failure to achieve or make significant progress towards the goal

61 Mitchell, 'Narcissism', 111.
62 Elise Uberoi et al, 'Women in politics and public life', from House of Commons Library, HC 01250, 2019-Present, (2021), <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/sn01250/>[Accessed 15 December 2021], 12.
63 Scottish Constitutional Convention, 'Right', 22.
64 National Records of Scotland, Scotland's Census 2011: Ethnic groups, Scotland, 2011 (2011), <https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/bulletin-figures-and-tables> [Accessed 15 December 2021].
65 Kenny & Mackay, 'Women', 66, BBC News, Why are there so few ethnic minority MSPs?, (2020), <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-53322950> (Accessed 14/12/2021)

of microcosmic political representation. Whilst progress has been made in fulfilling some principles as highlighted, and whilst some failures are more significant for the 'new politics' than others, the Scottish Parliament has failed to meaningfully fulfil each of the Consultative Steering Group's principles and consequently failed to fulfil the aspirations for a 'new politics'.

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The Debate Surrounding Black Linguistics: An Assessment of the Origins and Growth of African American Vernacular English

Emma Margaret Currie

'*We cannot claim that Black Lives Matter if Black Language does not matter!*' (Baker-Bell, et al, 2020).

This paper provides an assessment of the origins and growth of African American Vernacular English. It presents background on AAVE by discussing its users and its cultural role in the Black community and explores the two main theories in the debate surrounding the subsequent development of the vernacular, with focus on specific linguistic evidence relating to the variable copula absence.

1   Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to explore the debate surrounding the origins of African American Vernacular English (AAVE). To do this, it provides background on AAVE, by highlighting its primary users and geographical usage, as well as its role in the growth of the Black community in America. It then introduces the debate surrounding the subsequent development of the vernacular, and the two main theories relating to this: the Creolist Hypothesis and Anglicist Hypothesis. To effectively analyse these theories and provide a balanced account of the development of AAVE, the paper provides focus on specific linguistic evidence relating to the variable copula absence.

2   Contextualising AAVE

To investigate the origins of AAVE, it is first necessary to define it by explaining who it is used by and where it is used. AAVE, less formally known as 'Black English', refers to a variety of English that is often natively used by African Americans.[1] Therefore, it is a key aspect of African American culture, and has contributed to the growth of the

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1 Lisa Green, *African American English: A Linguistic Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Natalie Schilling-Estes and Walt Wolfram, *American English: dialects and variation* (Malden: Blackwell, 2006).

Black community's cultural identity.[2] A number of academics, such as Alice Filmer, argue that 'greater appreciation, or at least recognition, of the rich linguistic tradition of the African American vernacular must be cultivated in every domain: social, educational, political, legal, etc.'[3] According to John McWhorter, AAVE is largely misunderstood by non-African Americans as is simply regarded as 'a lot of slang and bad grammar'.[4] Furthermore, it is at times unfairly perceived due to the prejudice that exists towards the Black community in America, with some using slurs such as 'ghetto talk' to refer to the vernacular or using it ironically when discussing the "undesirable' parts of society like poverty, drugs, violence, and gangs'.[5] In more recent times, AAVE has frequently been used incorrectly by non-Black speakers, 'under the guise of 'Gen Z' language', for comedic effect.[6] Consequently, racial equality movements have spoken out against such prejudice and cultural appropriation, and affirmed its legitimacy and its ownership to the Black community.[7] The main linguistic variables that are often associated with this vernacular are: 'consonant cluster reduction, the absence of the copula, invariant or habitual be, time reference markers and multiple negation'.[8] Examples of these variables include 'firs girl' instead of 'first girl' (consonant cluster reduction), 'he my friend' (the absence of the copula), 'she be telling him that' (invariant or habitual be), 'he been married' (time reference markers), and 'there ain't no way' (multiple negtation). AAVE is a legacy of the forced movement of West Africans to anglophone regions of the Americas during the transatlantic slave trade of the 16th through 19th Centuries, which left them 'thrust into a linguistic situation in which they had to learn English'.[9]

2 Kendra Franklin, 'The Rebranding of AAVE: Modern Day Minstrel', in *Reclamation Magazine*, from <https://reclamationmagazine.com/2021/02/18/the-rebranding-of-aave-modern-day-minstrel/> [Accessed 27 February 2022].

3 Alice Filmer, 'African-American Vernacular English: Ethics, ideology, and pedagogy in the conflict between identity and power', in *World Englishes* (2003), 22.3: 267.

4 John McWhorter, *Talking Back, Talking Black: Truths About America's Lingua Franca* (New York: Bellevue Literary Press, 2016), 1.

5 Taylor Jones, 'What is AAVE?', from *Language Jones*, https://www.languagejones.com/blog-1/2014/6/8/what-is-aave [Accessed 26 February 2022] Eleanor Tremeer, 'Is It Cultural Appropriation To Use Drag Slang And AAVE?', from *Babbel Magazine*, <https://www.babbel.com/en/magazine/cultural-appropriation-drag-slang-aave> [Accessed 26 February 2022].

6 Franklin, 'Rebranding'.

7 *Ibid.*, April Baker-Bell and others, 'This Ain't Another Statement! This is a DEMAND for Black Linguistic Justice!', *Conference on College Composition and Communication*, July 2020, <https://cccc.ncte.org/cccc/demand-for-black-linguistic-justice > [Accessed 18 January 2022].

8 Salikoko Mufwene and John Rickford, 'Introduction', in *African-American English: Structure, History and Use*, eds. Guy Bailey, John Baugh, Salikoko Mufwene and John Rickford (Oxon: Routledge, 1998), 1.

9 Schilling-Estes and Wolfram, *American English*; Green, *African American English*, 8.

2.1 Debate over the subsequent development of AAVE

There has been much debate over the origins and subsequent development of this vernacular. Partly due to its inherent questioning of AAVE's legitimacy and ownership, this debate is rather emotive and surrounded by ambiguity, meaning it is often deemed controversial.[10] One of the main theories on the development of AAVE from African slaves is the Creolist Hypothesis, which argues that the vernacular is a creole language created as a result of early contact between English and African languages.[11] A creole language is one which develops as a result of contact between two different languages.[12] Therefore, in the case of AAVE, this refers to when the African languages of slaves came into contact with the English being spoken by the colonials and settlers in the plantations, creating a new language which looks very different to both the original English and the African languages. Through time, this distinct language has become more like English.[13]

On the other hand, the Anglicist Hypothesis asserts that AAVE developed from the British dialects brought by British settlers to North America.[14] This hypothesis argues that because individuals were taken from their native countries, they were forced into learning the language of their captors and thus learned those English dialect forms. Furthermore, the Anglicist Hypothesis argues that as the generations went on, the slaves began developing their own variety of English.[15] For that reason, this forms a particularly emotive angle of the debate, as it argues that as well as having their families, homes, and freedom taken from them, their ownership of their language was removed.

3 Exploring the subsequent development of AAVE: The absence of the copula

To effectively explore the subsequent development of the vernacular and the robustness of both hypotheses, it is vital to look at the linguistic evidence. In the case of this paper, this refers to the aforementioned linguistic variable: the absence

10 Schilling-Estes and Wolfram, American English.
11 Ibid, Green, African American English.
12 Gillian Sankoff, 'Derek Bickerton, Dynamics of a creole system', in Journal of Linguistics (2008), 13.2.
13 Schilling-Estes and Wolfram, American English.
14 Green, African American English.
15 Schilling-Estes and Wolfram, American English.

of the copula (i.e. the omission of the copula verb or the auxiliary verb 'be' from a clause).[16] Examples of this include, 'he a real one' and 'she cool'. However, this variable is not arbitrary; it has systematic patterns of use.[17] For example, some forms that cannot be deleted include: past tense *was* and *were*, the form *be*, and first-person present tense *am*.[18] Therefore, the following sections explore the variables patterns of use by assessing how it appears in the vernacular in comparison to Standard English and other creoles. This feature of AAVE has been thoroughly researched over several decades, as it can be used as a key argument to support the Creolist Hypothesis.[19] This is because of the fact that it is present in AAVE, and creole, but not in mainstream English or American English, and thus, according to Creolists, 'cannot be identified as a legacy of English'.[20]

3.1 Creolist findings

One of the earliest Creolist studies on the absence of the copula in AAVE and its implications on the subsequent development of the vernacular was carried out by Beryl Bailey, who compared the grammatical rules of Standard English, Jamaican Creole and AAVE.[21] In this study, Bailey articulated that despite 'the surface resemblances to other dialects of English', there is a 'deep structural relationship' between the three.[22] Although there are clear similarities between Jamaican Creole and AAVE, as both feature absence of copula, Bailey noted that there has 'not been an identical development of the systems', as there are differences in the rules associated with the variable.[23] She outlines that while in AAVE nominal predicates are spoken without the use of copula, the Jamaican Creole's rules are more complex 'with zero [copulas] before adjectives, an obligatory a before nominals, and a de which is

16 Ibid, Miriam Meyerhoff, Introducing Sociolinguistics (Oxon: Routledge, 2011).
17 William Labov, 'Contraction, deletion, and inherent variability of the English copula', in Language (1969), 45.4.
18 Ibid, Green, African American English.
19 Tyler Kendall, 'Data in the Study of Variation and Change', in The Handbook of Language Variation and Change, eds. Chambers and Schilling-Estes (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2013), Walt Wolfram, 'Ethnic Varieties', in The Routledge Companion to Sociolinguistics, eds. Llamas, Mullany, and Stockwell (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2006).
20 Schilling-Estes and Wolfram, American English, Alexander Kautzsch, The Historical Evolution of Earlier African American English: An Empirical Comparison of Early Source (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), 89.
21 Beryl Bailey, 'Toward a New Perspective in Negro English Dialectology', American Speech, 40.3 (1965).
22 Ibid, 172.
23 Ibid, 175.

often deleted before locatives'.[24] However, it is notable that studies have since found Bailey's assertion regarding the rules on the absence of the copula in AAVE to be an 'idealisation'.[25] Despite this, it is a key study relating to the use of copula absence within AAVE, as it provides the foundations for how the variable can be used to explore the subsequent development of the vernacular.

This is developed by John Holm's study, which provides a more substantial analysis of the relationship between AAVE and creole with regards to copula absence, by examining the Gullah Creole as well as Jamaican Creole.[26] By drawing evidence from both his own findings and previous studies, Holm asserts that the fact copula absence occurs in both AAVE and creole (see Graph 1) is evidence of creole underpinnings.[27]
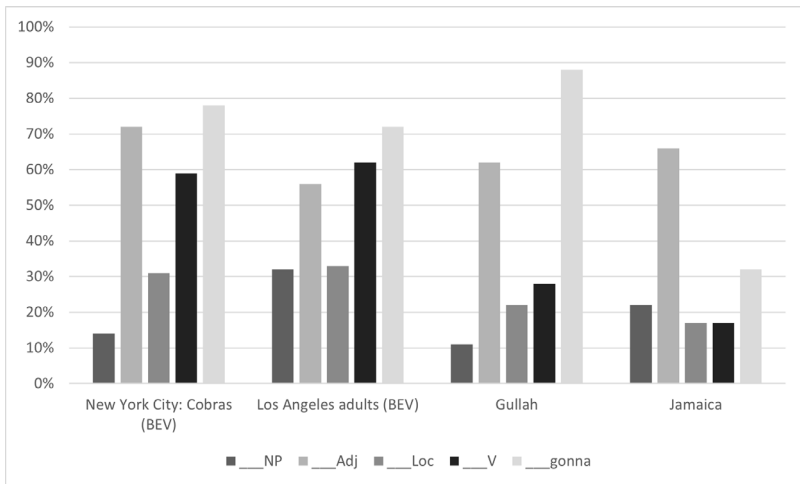
Graph 1: *Percentage Deletion of 'is' for Four Black Dialects.[28]*

24 Ibid, 174.
25 Ibid, John Rickford, 'The Creole Origins of African-American Vernacular English: Evidence From Copula Absence', in African-American English: Structure, History and Use, eds. Guy Bailey, John Baugh, Salikoko Mufwene and John Rickford (Oxon: Routledge, 1998), 173.
26 John Holm, 'Variability of the Copula in Black English and its Creole Kin', in American Speech, 59.4 (1984).
27 Ibid.
28 Adapted from: Holm, 'Variability of the Copula', 301.

However, like Bailey, Holm notes the differences in rules and context surrounding the use of the variable.[29] For instance, he states that the absence of copula occurs most often in both creole languages when there is a following adjective, whereas in AAVE, this is where it is less likely to take place. Nevertheless, he justifies the differences in rules between AAVE and creole by postulating that they are down to 'external influence', such as differing 'geographical and historical' context, or as a result of a 'blurred [process of] decreolisation'.[30] He further suggests that these differences can also arise from the continuum of use that features in AAVE, Gullah and Jamaican Creole, which means that use of copula absence is on a sliding scale, with some speakers frequently using the variable more than others and vice versa.[31]

Perhaps one of the most prominent linguists in the Creolist debate is John R. Rickford, who has carried out numerous studies relating to the topic of the development of AAVE. In his 1998 study, he further delves into how copula absence can be used as evidence for the Creolist Hypothesis. By synthesising the findings of other academics, he states that although he feels that there will never be an absolute decision on the subsequent development of AAVE, there is enough evidence to affirm that AAVE has creole foundations.[32] This can be seen in the evidence on past tense copula absence in ex-slave speech, as although 'it does occur in Caribbean creoles', it does not occur in modern AAVE, which suggests creolist roots.[33] He also finds that the frequency of use of copula absence in present-day AAVE coincides with creoles and greatly differs from other varieties of English which can be seen in table 1. Therefore, this can be seen to directly contradict the Anglicist Hypothesis, as it shows clear differences between creoles and the development of dialects which developed from English dialects.

29 Ibid, Bailey, 'New Perspective'
30 Holm, 'Variability of the Copula', 298, 292, 295.
31 Ibid.
32 John Rickford, 'The Creole Origins of African-American Vernacular English: Evidence From Copula Absence', in African-American English: Structure, History and Use, eds. Guy Bailey, John Baugh, Salikoko Mufwene and John Rickford (Oxon: Routledge, 1998)
33 Ibid, 165.

Dataset	Order of predicate contexts (lowest to highest rate of zero copula)
A AAVE	NP < Loc < Adj < V-*ing* < *gonna*
B Creole	NP < Loc < Adj < V-*ing* < *gonna*
C Indian English (Indo-Aryan L1s)	*gonna* < Adj < NP < Loc < V-*ing*
D South African Indian English (Mesthrie 1992, Indo-Aryan L1s)	Loc < Adj < NP < V-*ing*
E South African Indian English (Mesthrie 1992, Dravidian L1s)	Loc < Adj < V-*ing* < NP
F Singapore English (Platt 1979, Malay-medium)	V-*ing* ≈ NP < Adj < Loc
G Singapore English (Platt 1979, Chinese-medium)	V-*ing* ≈ NP ≈ Loc < Adj
H Singapore English (Platt 1979, English-medium)	Loc ≈ NP < V-*ing* < Adj
I Singapore English (Ho 1986, Chinese L1)	Loc ≈ NP < Adj ≈ V-*ing*
J Spanish Learner of English (Butterworth & Hatch 1978)	NP ≈ Adj ≈ Loc < V-*ing*
K Spanish Learners of English (Shapira 1978)	PredP < V-*ing*

Table 1: *Frequency of Copula Absence by Following Environment in Creoles, AAVE, and Various Studies of the Acquisition of English by Speakers of Other Languages.*[34]

Additionally, he asserts that the findings reflect that 'copula absence is widespread in AAVE, but not in White Englishes outside of the American South' (i.e. varieties of English used by White speakers outside of the South of America).[35] Therefore, this does 'suggest that at least some of the predecessors of modern AAVE arose from a restructuring process similar to that which produced the English-based creoles'.[36]

3.2 Anglicist Findings

Although the findings which suggest that copula absence is evidence of creole foundations in AAVE are persuasive, there are a number of studies that have been put forward by other linguists to challenge the Creole Hypothesis. Salikoko S. Mufwene argues that, although there is evidence that suggests AAVE has creole underpinnings, with some English dialects (in this case, white American non-standard English (WANSE) varieties) the situation is more complex.[37] This is because of the fact

34 Devyani Sharma and John Rickford, 'AAVE/creole copula absence: A critique of the imperfect learning hypothesis', in Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages (2006), 24.1: 76.
35 Rickford, 'Creole Origins', 189.
36 Ibid.
37 Salikoko Mufwene, 'Ideology and Facts on African American English', from International Pragmatics Association (1992), 2.2.

that copula contraction occurs in both AAVE and WANSE, when a linking verb is contracted: for example, 'she's my sister' rather than 'she is my sister'.[38] Therefore, this could suggest that the absence of copula which occurs in AAVE may simply be an extension of copula contraction in WANSE varieties. However, Mufwene himself questions the cogency of the Anglicist position by stating that it 'fails particularly to account for [the] features (especially structural) that cannot be traced to either colonial English nor any non-standard variety of British English'.[39] Despite this, he states that the Creolist assertion that decreolisation is responsible for the differences in rules and context between AAVE and other creoles regarding absence of copula is a 'failed account'.[40]

The argument that the absence of copula in AAVE may simply be an extension of copula contraction in Standard English rather than a creole origin is also expounded by Shana Poplack and David Sankoff.[41] In their study, the main linguistic features and variables of Samaná English - a variety of English language which is spoken by descendants of the African Americans who emigrated to the Samaná Peninsula throughout the early 19th Century - are analysed.[42] The theorists argue that if both 'Samaná English and AAVE were creole-like, we would expect Samaná English to evidence patterns of copula deletion quantitatively more advanced than those of present-day AAVE', as Samaná English is older than AAVE.[43] However, after studying the copula in both AAVE and Samaná English, the authors concluded that Samaná English is 'no more creolized than modern AAVE, at least insofar as its copula usage is concerned'; moreover, they state that the use of the variable in Samaná English, 'bore no more resemblance to English-based West Indian creoles than modern AAVE, and indeed, less'.[44] Rather, they state that the findings 'suggest that copula absence or deletion is simply an extension of the Standard English contraction process' (see Graph 2).[45] Therefore, this rebuts the Creolist Hypothesis argument surrounding copula absence, as AAVE 'would have no underlying copula in some environments,

38 Ibid.
39 Ibid, 158.
40 Ibid.
41 Shana Poplack and David Sankoff, 'The Philadelphia Story in the Spanish Caribbean', in American Speech (1987), 62.4.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid, 297
44 Ibid, 310.
45 Ibid, 299

or a copula system otherwise very different from that of Standard English'.[46]
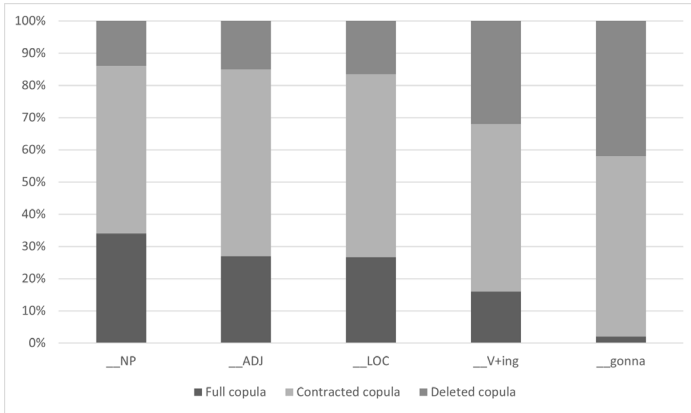
Graph 2: *Frequency of Contraction and Deletion of the Copula According to Following Grammatical Environment.[47]*

This is further expanded upon in Poplack's study with Tagliamonte, which investigates African Nova Scotian English (ANSE) - the variety of English language which is spoken by the descendants of African Americans who emigrated to Nova Scotia throughout the 18th and 19th Centuries.[48] Similarly to Samaná English, the authors argue that ANSE has featured little Creole influence, and again 'parallels the order for white English contraction' (see Graph 3).[49] This compounds the Anglicist contradiction of the key argument of copula absence in AAVE which is used to support the Creolist Hypothesis.

46 Ibid.
47 Adapted from: Poplack and Sankoff, 'The Philadelphia Story', 305.
48 Shana Poplack and Sali Tagliamonte, 'African American English in the diaspora: Evidence from old-line Nova Scotians', in Language Variation and Change (1991), 3.3.
49 Ibid, 320.
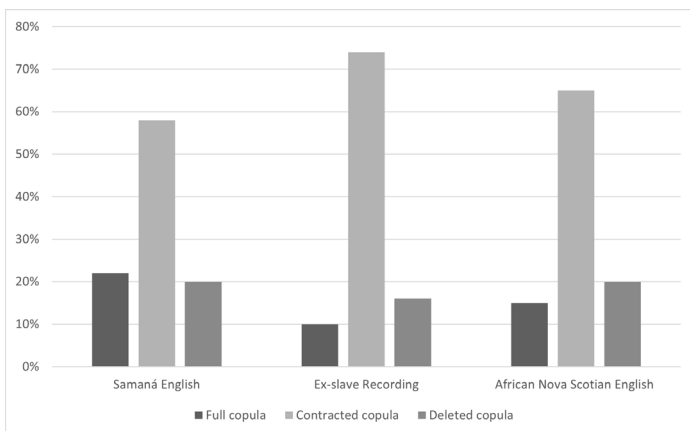
Graph 3: *Contribution of factors selected as significant to the probability of copula contraction in Samaná English, the Ex-slave Recordings, and African Nova Scotian English.*[50]

4 Concluding remarks

This paper has provided a contextual understanding of African American Vernacular English, by highlighting its primary users and geographical usage, as well as its role in the growth of the Black community and has assessed the debate surrounding the origins of AAVE by exploring the use of copula absence within the vernacular. It has investigated sociolinguistic studies by the linguists Bailey, Holm, Rickford, and Singler who argue in support of the Creolist Hypothesis by claiming that the use of copula absence suggests a structural relationship between AAVE and creole. Furthermore, the paper has provided the findings of studies by the linguists Mufwene, Poplack, Sankoff, and Tagliamonte, who claim that the Anglicist Hypothesis provides the best explanation and state that the variable is simply an extension of copula contraction rather than of creole origin.

To conclude, due to the vast size of the debate and persuasive nature of the findings on both sides, as stated by Rickford, there may never be a clear assessment on the origins AAVE. However, it is vital to recognise the ambiguity surrounding the debate, in the sense that it also relates to the vernacular's legitimacy and ownership, as it questions whether it is its own creole language or an English dialect and explores

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50 Adapted from: Poplack and Tagliamonte, 'African American English in the diaspora', 319.

who is responsible for its creation. Therefore, when exploring the origins of AAVE, it is essential to state that although there is prevalent debate, AAVE is legitimate and is not simply poorly spoken English, and that, regardless of origins, it belongs to the Black community. If they fail to do so, linguistics risk not recognising the culturally significant features of AAVE and reinforcing the systemic issues that the Black community are faced with.

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Let Women be Unfettered from the Moon: The Metamorphoses of the Moon from Oscar Wilde's *Salomé* to Mina Loy's *The Lost Lunar Baedeker*

Canchen Cao

The moon, for Oscar Wilde and Mina Loy, in contrast to its traditional mythologised conception, is a symbolic representation of female subjective consciousness, as indicated by the forms of female sexual desire lying beneath the surface of Loy's poetic language and Wilde's allusions. This paper converts the moon motif into a critical apparatus that allows for tracing of both the misogynistic provenance of the metaphorical association and its reformulation in the hands of writers alert to these problematic notions; as the title suggests, 'metamorphoses' not only indicates the phases of the moon as a reflection of women's natural growth, but also alludes to the development of the symbolism of the moon from a traditional figuration of femininity into a critical feminist discourse.

Introduction

The Latin verb *lucere*, which means 'to shine and to emit light,' is the root of the feminine noun *luna*, signifying both the moon and its personification in the form of a goddess; Selene, for example, is the female-gendered personification of the moon in Hesiod's *Theogony*. These etymological origins have produced derivations closely associated with qualities deemed feminine, such as the adjective *lunatic*, which refers to a state of intermittent insanity that is caused by the phases of the moon (and a synonym of which is *moonstruck*).

This is exemplified by descriptions of the lunacy of Bertha Mason in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*; Rochester's hyperbolic and unfeeling characterisation of Bertha presents female insanity with imagery of the moon:

> The moon was setting in the waves, broad and red, like
> a hot cannon-ball – she threw her last bloody glance
> over a world quivering with the ferment of tempest.
> [...] I heard every word – the thin partitions of the
> West Indian house opposing but slight obstruction to

her wolfish cries.[1]

The madwoman's link to the moon also can be found in Daphne du Maurier's *Rebecca*, as Rebecca haunts the second Mrs De Winter's dreams: 'A cloud, hitherto unseen, came upon the moon, and hovered an instant like a dark hand before a face.'[2] The most important of the similarities *Jane Eyre* and *Rebecca* share is the ghostly mourning of a madwoman associated with lunar imagery.

Yet, while relating perceived female emotionality and sentimentality to the phases of the moon has served as a model enabling writers to portray female characters' bodies, personalities, and behaviours, it has, concurrently, reinforced stereotypes of the nature of women. Idealizing feminine beauty, symbolic depictions of the moon have promoted the male fetishization of the sexualised female object. We may ask, as Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar have done: 'Where does such an implicitly or explicitly patriarchal theory of literature leave literary women? If the pen is a metaphorical penis, with what organ can females generate texts?'[3] Inspired by this question, this essay will consider how narratives of the moon have been used as a device to reflect women's rebellion and power in opposition to the misogyny of such traditional symbolism. Although the patriarchal conceptualization of the moon may appear to appreciate the female in a romantic sense, it is grounded in a phallogocentric discourse that manipulates portrayals of women and continues to perpetuate 'lunatic' female characters in literature. This paper will explore how Oscar Wilde and Mina Loy rectified this misogynistic representation in their writings, including how the traditional figuration of femininity ascribed to the symbolism of the moon has been appropriated and altered by critical feminist discourse.

'Unveiling' the Moon

In Filippo T. Marinetti's early twentieth-century manifesto *Let's Murder the Moonlight*[4],

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1 Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre* (London: Penguin Classics, [1847] 2006), 354.
2 Daphne Du Maurier, *Rebecca* (New York: Haper, [1938] 2006), 3.
3 Sandra M Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth Century Literary Imagination* (London: Yale University Press, 1979), 7.
4 Filippo T. Marinetti, 'Let's Murder the Moonlight!' in *Futurism: An Anthology* ed. by Lawrence Rainey, Christine Poggi and Laura Wittman (New Haven: Yale University [1909] 2009), 54-61.

misogyny is promoted through the expression of an explicit disdain towards women and their moon-like nature that threatens to draw men into the realm of irrationality and weakness simply through proximity. Such discourse is imbued with the author's male gaze towards female bodies – his longing to 'murder the moonlight' may be said to reflect his fear of being subjugated by female beauty and feminine power. If moonlight is taken as a metaphor for the allure of female beauty, then the female body, such as that of Wilde's Salomé, can be likened to the moon of a misty night; the more elusive and mysterious a woman such as Salomé is, the more the instinctual curiosities of a man like Herod will be aroused. Elaine Showalter offers a feminist analysis of the descriptions of female bodies in *fin de siècle* literature, emphasising that the mystical imagery of 'veiling and unveiling' is an apparent sexual metaphor in literary texts that represents a symbolic incarnation of lust among both men and women[5]. We may liken the metamorphoses of the moon to Showalter's theory of 'veiling and unveiling', so as to highlight the growth of feminist consciousness in Wilde's allusions and Loy's poetics.

For Wilde, the changing images of Salomé are signified by the three colours of the moon: white, red, and black. Each colour not only respectively alludes to the changing identities of Salomé from the male gaze (virgin, sexual companion, and corpse), but also symbolises Salomé's subversion of the male gaze and her detachment from the patriarchal authority. For example, the depiction of the white moon is a proclamation of Salomé's defiance that replaces the male gaze of female beauty (the moon) with Salomé's own observation. In the opening scene, Salomé describes the white new moon as a virgin: 'She is cold and chaste. I am sure she is a virgin. She has the beauty of a virgin [...] She has never defiled herself. She has never abandoned herself to men, like the other goddesses'[6]. Salomé regards the moon as a deviant goddess who would never surrender to any man, which foreshadows her ultimate fate in this story, namely: that of an innocent virgin turned dead woman. By associating the moon with Salomé's desire and power, Wilde lifts the mysterious veil of the patriarchal narrative of the moon.

The moon also promotes the growth of Salomé's female subjective consciousness to express her sexual desire. For instance, the moon encourages Salomé to unveil

5 Elaine Showalter, 'The Veiled Woman', in *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (London: Bloomsbury, 1991) 144-168, 149.
6 Oscar Wilde, *Salome: A Tragedy in One Act* (Auckland: The Floating Press, [1894] 2016),19.

her desire for Iokanaan's love, which is explicitly expressed through her longing to touch Iokanaan's body: "Thy body is white like the snows [...] nor the breast of the moon when she lies on the breast of the sea... There is nothing in the world so white as thy body."[7] Notably, the whiteness of the moon is stressed in Salomé's praise of Iokanaan's body, a dream-like vision of the observed, eroticised male form. In Salomé's imagination, Iokanaan's delicate body is an object to be longed for and fantasised about, the whiteness of the moon illuminating his caressed body as a sacred shrine, further associated with Salomé's pure longing for love and sexual pleasure. Put differently, the whiteness of the moon serves not only as an allusion of pure desire and an undefiled body, but also as a sign of Salomé's growth; an expression that explicitly unveils female desire. Salomé's articulation of desire unfetters herself from the cage of phallogocentric discourse: it has a titillating female tone that liberates feminine consciousness from the male eroticisation of the moon, thereby allowing her to present her own erotic universe to viewers.

Wilde's allusion of the white moon is reminiscent of Loy's poetic depictions of the moon in *Songs to Joannes*, which similarly describes a playful sexual fantasy through imagery that amalgamates the moon, female body, and 'milky' fluids: 'And laughing honey / And spermatozoa / At the core of Nothing / In the milk of the Moon.'[8] The 'laughing honey' imbues an explicit love scene with joyful, domestic feeling, and the texture of the milk provides silky, tactile sensation to the reader; these lines refer to the moon through an erotic rhetoric that portrays a messy image of sexuality and ascribes a sticky tenderness and warm texture to the female body. Furthermore, the imagery of the moon includes a biblical connotation that refers to the Promised Land of Judaism, which is perceived as a realm for the Jewish people's salvation.[9] It corresponds to the whiteness of the moon described in *Salomé*: the sexualised body is rendered into a symbolic and sacred place that a lover seeks to reach.

In Loy's poetic language, the colour of sperm and milk serves as a sexual metaphor dissociated from the traditional veiled image of the white moon. In other words, Loy not only presents an 'unveiled' female body but also an 'undressed' man to the reader.

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7 Wilde, Salome, 2016, 34.

8 Mina Loy, The Lost Lunar Baedeker, *Poems of Mina Loy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, [1909] 1996), 56.

9 The Jewish Publication Society of America, *The Holy Scriptures* (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1917), 20.

An unveiled female body subverts the otherwise obscure and 'veiled' discourse of women and their bodies, thereby conveying female desire for sexual gratification and delight. The description of fluids presents a binary gendered image of the moon: it pertains to both male production of sperm and to motherhood, rather than a single gendered representation of femininity. Moreover, the imagery of moonlit milk conveys a sweet and slippery impression of bodies, reminiscent of 'the breast of the moon'[10] referred to in *Salomé*, which portrays a woman who is immersed in her imagination of sexual pleasure. Both Wilde and Loy endow female characters with the capacity to imagine or fantasise an eroticised male body or sexual behaviour, which Mary Anne Doane describes as "female spectatorship"[11]; such female spectatorship possesses a subjective power that can convert masculine perceptions of sexuality into a feminine perspective.

Further Phases

Loy's use of the colour white and its association with the image of the moon reoccurs in other ways in *Songs to Joannes*, such as in depicting the pain of love experienced by a woman: "To the recurrent moon / Bleach / To the pure white / Wickedness of pain".[12] In this case, the colour white is used to depict a weak and despairing woman. As Rodger L. Conover suggests in his preface, this poem might be a reflection of a combination of Loy's unpleasant relationship experiences with past male lovers, such as Fillipo T. Marinetti and Giovanni Papini.[13] The name 'Joannes', for example, refers to Giovanni Papini; in *Songs to Joannes,* Loy's love of Papini can be said to have started from a vision of sexuality, and then progressed into the quarrelling of lovers and chaos, until the end of this relationship. In the above passage, the speaker utilises the imagery of the moon to describe her heartrending separation from Joannes (Papini): 'the recurrent moon' alludes to the capricious love between her and Joannes, while the pain of love is the 'bleach' that turns her body 'pure white.'

The pure white colour of the body echoes Salomé's death and pale corpse. Hélène Cixous' analysis of Medusa can be seen as parallel to Wilde's Salomé, which points out

10 Wilde, Salome, 2016, 34.

11 Mary Ann Doane, 'Film and the Masquerade: Theorising the Female Spectator' in Screen 23, 3-4: 74-88.

12 Loy, Lunar Baedeker, 1996, 62.

13 Rodger L. Conover, 'Introduction' in The Lost Lunar Baedeker, Poems of Mina Loy (New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1996), xi-xx.

that the *femme fatale* motif in literary texts poses a threat to masculine domination.[14] Yet, this paper argues that Wilde intended to portray Salomé's death as a resistance towards the patriarchal control of sexual autonomy; that is, in denoting that women have the right to decide on their sexual relations. The whiteness of both the moon and Salomé's dead body present her 'life-in-death and death-in-life'[15]; just as the moon was eventually revealed in the final scene, so too was Salomé's libido retained into the night, as it is only activated for Iokanaan. For Salomé, 'the mystery of Love is greater than the mystery of Death'[16]. Hence, the imagery of the disappearing moon indicates that the cost of Salomé's escape from phallocentric control is ultimately death: a female corpse remains in the mystery of Love.

Returning to Loy, we can observe again that she compares herself to the moon to express the pain of love, as exemplified when she declares: "And I am burnt quite white / In the climacteric / Withdrawal of your sun / And wills and words all white".[17] The voice of a shrivelled, dead heart floats around the figure of the moon, withdrawn from the 'sun'; Loy's detachment from an unhealthy relationship is represented as the moon disengaged from this glaring sun. According to Robert Graves, since men represented their virility through the power of the sun and its respective deities like Apollo, moon-inspired writers depicted women as a symbol of the moon to express their sexual homage to an 'auxiliary state personnel'.[18] In other words, the moon acts as an off-centric female assistant that was placed secondary in majesty to the grandness of the sun. Correspondingly, by affirming the primacy of the phallus, the 'auxiliary state personnel' is a misogynist perception that regards women as a sexual companion or a faithful consort. Incorporating this idea, it can be suggested that in the above passage, Loy describes herself as the moon in terms of a burned-out satellite of the earth; when night shifts to the day, her moon is 'abandoned' by the 'sun.'

In this sense, Loy puts forward a new and unique figuration of the moon as the unveiling of a woman's powerful emotions and intense, passionate love, by portraying her pain. We may look further to: "And the white dawn / Of your New Day / Shuts

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14 Cixous, Hélène, 'The Laugh of the Medusa', trans. Cohen and Cohen, in Signs, 1,4: 885.

15 Joan Navarre, 'The Moon as Symbol in Salome: Oscar Wilde's Invocation of the Triple White Goddess', in Refiguring Oscar Wilde's Salomé (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 71-86 (82).

16 Wilde, Salome, 2016, 92.

17 Loy, Lunar Baedeker, 1996, 64.

18 Graves, Robert. The White Goddess: A Historical Grammar of Poetic Myth (London: Faber & Faber, 1948), 4

down on me".[19] The moment described here as day meeting night symbolises a joyful form of pain through which flesh is fulfilled, yet also an irreversible breakdown between man and woman has occurred. As these lines reveal the vulnerability and fragility of a female heart, they can be interpreted as constituting a self-revelation on the part of Loy, whose poetic voice relies on the image of moon to disentangle herself from both the male force and the painful relationship. Therefore, this metamorphosis of the moon also symbolises the growth of Loy's mind, demonstrating how a woman has escaped from a male erotic universe.

Destroying the 'Moonlight Duets'

To shed further light on the image of the moon in Loy's feminist critique, it is necessary to turn to another female futurist critic, Valentine de Saint-Point, who wrote *The Manifesto of the Futurist Woman* (1912) in response to Marinetti's glorifications of misogyny and militarism. In another feminist work titled *The Futurist Manifesto of Lust* (1913), Saint-Point expresses her intention to destroy the phallocentric vision of women as follows:

> We must destroy the fatal rags and tatters of romanticism, counting daisy petals, moonlight duets, a false and hypocritical sense of shame. Let people who have been drawn together by physical attraction dare to express their desires, the allure of their bodies, their presentiments of joy or disappointment at the prospect of fleshly union, instead of talking solely about the delicacy of their hearts.[20]

In this statement, Saint-Point disregards the patriarchal tradition of vilifying female desire, and encourages women to realise the power of their lust. As Re points out, Loy takes the quest for futurist, feminist women in Saint-Point's writings as a perspective for offering her satirical critique of the misogynist rhetoric of futurism[21]. Both Loy and Saint-Point's writings attempt to provide a reconsideration of female bodies, asserting the legitimacy and value of female sexuality and lust. Saint-Point dares to

19 Loy, Lunar Baedeker, 1996, 65.
20 Valentine de Saint-Point, 'Futurist Manifesto of Lust' in Futurism: An Anthology (New Haven: Yale University, [1913] 2009), 131.
21 Lucia Re, 'Mina Loy and the Quest for a Futurist Feminist Woman', in European Legacy, 14,7: 799-819 (808)

discuss both female desire and the fragility of a woman's heart, whose writings deeply shaped Loy's vision of female sexuality. For instance, Saint-Point regards lust as a potent force rather than a sin of vanity; Loy applied this conception of lust to express her 'painful joy of flesh fulfilled'[22] in *Songs to Joannes*.

Indeed, Loy empowers herself via the imagery of the moon, light-heartedly emancipating female sexual desire and sentimentality from patriarchal interpretations of pleasure. These genuine emotions derived from 'fleshly union' are an essential part of a woman's experience of love and sex, and constitute a feminine power to be reckoned with. Although Loy does not regard lust as a force in the same terms as Saint-Point, she is in agreement with her vision that feminine strength involves possessing the qualities of courage, energy, and wisdom[23]. Therefore, Loy can be said to have provided a feminist critique of the mystification of the moon in her poems, freeing herself from the traditional masculinist realm of literary production.

In her poem titled *Giovanni Franchi*, Loy further encourages women to be 'unfettered' from the 'darkness' and move into the 'brightness' by breaking down the patriarchal interpretations of the moon and offering a satirical critique of the gender stereotypes that surround it. As the editor's notes make clear, *Giovanni Franchi* is a satirical poem that mocks the Italian journalist and futurist Giovanni Papini's foolishness and madness, as he engaged in a love affair with Loy in Florence while she was still involved with Marinetti.[24] Both Marinetti and Papini stress the inferiority of female eros in their writings, which sparked Loy's reflections upon the opposition between the masculine mind and feminine body. In *Giovanni Franchi*, we see Loy provide a feminist critique of masculine illusions of a virginal body:

> She chased by moon-and-morn light
> Philosopher's toes
> As virginal as had he never worn them
> Clear of 'white marks mean money'
> All quicks and cores
> They fluttered to her fantasy

22 Valentine de Saint-Point, 'Futurist Manifesto of Lust' in Futurism: An Anthology (New Haven: Yale University, [1913] 2009), 130.
23 Re, 'Quest', 2009, 812.
24 Conover, 'Introduction', 1996, xi-xx.

Fell into her lap.[25]

Through this passage, Loy offers a disdainful view of Papini that satirises the male fetishization of virginity and self-righteousness in sex; 'white marks mean money' refers to the materiality of men even gaining a sense of 'possessing' a female body through payment.

In this poem, therefore, moonlight is a reflection of both the fetishized female body and the fetishizing male desire. The 'fantasy', for men, is just a hymen that they are longing to 'unveil'; but for women, the 'fantasy' is the membrane-like substance of their bodies. The moonlight and the 'fantasy' refract the concept of *écriture féminine* (woman's writing) coined by Hélène Cixous; to be specific, women's writing about women that disrupts the oppressive order of mythologised imagery of the feminine.[26] Loy's depictions of the female body is not as an appendage for men, but rather a physical substance that women themselves have the power to use, to write with, and to sustain themselves through. Obviously, Loy's *écriture féminine* rejects the romantic transcendence of the mystification of sexuality; yet, in doing so, it does not devalue this mystical nexus between women and the imagery of the moon, but rather utilises this imagery to liberate the power of women from patriarchal renderings of the moon.

Lust and Lunacy: A Masculine Fear of Moonbeams

While uncovering feminine power through the imagery of the moon, Wilde's discourse pinpoints men's fear of the metamorphoses of the 'moon' through its depiction of Herod's sense of dread towards Salomé. According to Johannes Burgers, the moonlight is a transitive medium that elicits Salomé's female sexual desire and takes her out of the 'darkness' of a man's control.[27] Certainly, the moon is a place where female sexual desire has traditionally been hidden; for example, Loy expresses her objection to sexual bias in *Love Songs*:

> Evolution fall foul of
> Sexual equality
> Prettily miscalculate

25 Loy, Lunar Baedeker, 1996, 31.
26 Cixous, 'Medusa', 1976, 875.
27 Johannes Hendrikus Burgers, 'The Spectral Salome: Salomania and Fin-de Siècle Sexology and Racial Theory', in Decadence, Degeneration and the End (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 168.

> Similitude
> Unnatural selection
> Breed such sons and daughters
> As shall jibber at each other
> Uninterpretable cryptonyms
> Under the moon.[28]

Loy criticises the suggestion that men's sexual desire is superior to women, and the female eros and sexuality should be veiled in the forms of sentimental mystification, echoing Saint-Point once again, who writes that women should 'strip lust of all the sentimental veils that disfigure it'.[29] Phallogocentric discourse has covered the moon with a mysterious 'veil' that objectifies women's sentimentality and sexual appeal by pictorial tradition.

Wilde's moon counters this, used as a device that challenges the deeply entrenched masculine discourse, endowing Salomé with such power that she can frighten the empowered masculine in the story. Herod regards her as mad and monstrous when the moonlight has a strange shine, and becomes claimed by his fear of this in the final scene: 'I will not suffer things to look at me. Put out the torches! Hide the moon! Hide the stars! Let us hide ourselves in our palace, Herodias. I begin to be afraid.'[30] Wilde transforms the moonlight into a striking source of power that can cause fear and anxiety in men. His 'ray of moonlight'[31] deconstructs the masculine aesthetics of the moon by depicting Salomé as a sexually deviant woman, who, through her own power, successfully destroys the association between men and virility.

Indeed, Salomé acts as a virile hero who dominates her sexual desire, the heroic image of which is not inherently 'feminine' in the phallocentric sense. Her lust is not her weakness, but rather a means through which she possesses a powerful body and mind, just as Loy and Saint-Point have emphasized. Salomé exists as a fascinating prototype of cross-gender acting, blurring the boundary between virility and femininity. In other words, the image of Salomé is aligned with the *femme fatale* that imbued the figure with aggressivity, attractiveness and autonomy, but embodies aspects of Mary Ann

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28 Loy, Lunar Baedeker, 1996, 226
29 Saint-Point, 'Manifesto of Lust', 2009, 132.
30 Wilde, Salome, 2016, 93.
31 Ibid, 94.

Doane's *masquerade*, which doubles representation of women with a realignment of femininity.[32] In this context, to masquerade a female character is to de-fetishize the phallus that carries a threat, disarticulating male systems of viewing and writing.

Conclusion

The writings of both Wilde and Loy present the growth of female autonomy, along with women's capacity to convert the masculine mythologisation of the moon. An appropriate way to conclude this essay is to answer to the question posed at its opening by Gilbert and Gubar: "If the pen is a metaphorical penis, with what organ can females generate texts?"[33] Loy's poetry demonstrates how *écriture féminine* can be generated by depicting the female body without shame and fear. Her poetics of the metamorphoses of the moon record an evolution of a feminist consciousness, tracing a growth from the object of a love affair to a feminist-thinking poet. For Wilde, the depictions of the metamorphoses of the moon serve to 'castrate' the penis of patriarchy, to refine the gender stereotypes of literary narratives, and to reflect women's natural growth and decline in a feminist manner. Both of their portrayals of the moon not only unveil the female desire behind love and depict a daring vision of female sexuality, but also encourage a self-unveiling of feminine power that transcends male discourse.

32 Doane, 'Film and the Masquerade', 1982, 82.
33 Gilbert and Gubar, Madwoman, 1979, 7.

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Regressive Modernity? Understanding the Role of the Caribbean in the Construction of the West

Euan Healey

Modern: a byword for new, sleek, or desirable. This paper discusses the origins of Western modernity and argues that contemporary understanding frequently ignores the painful past which has allowed for a modern world to exist. This essay argues that what we consider the hallmarks of modernity and the capitalist economy originated not in Europe but in the plantations of the Caribbean, discussing and contextualising these oft-ignored colonial roots.

Inherent to the historian's 'Early Modern' period is the suggestion of an arrival of 'modernity'. This departure from the 'middle' which gives the medieval period its name, and into a new epoch, implies a period of significant change and transition. What this change is, who perpetrated it and how it took place is an open question, and one that has been dogged by historiographical baggage since the birth of historical study. The challenge for post-modern analysis is how to unpick this concept of modernity from deeply misguided, now unpopular Whig ideas that history is a process moving in a particular direction towards the present as the perfect ideal, thus viewing change as necessary 'progress' to reach the capitalist ideal society.[1] This period, characterised by the development of the nation state, that stretches from the reformation to the industrial revolution saw the continual development of ethnonational identities. These delineations were constructed around ideals presented in academic writing and political declarations such as the English Bill of Rights in 1688 or the 1579 Union of Utrecht in the Habsburg Netherlands, with Europeans as new citizens of new nations asserting their universal claims to rights as individuals.[2] This

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1 There is extensive literature on the shortcomings of Whig methodologies, but none have surpassed Herbert Butterfield's 1931 essay: Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1931).
2 Jack Greene, 'Liberty, slavery, and the transformation of British identity in the eighteenth-century West Indies', in *Slavery and Abolition* (2000), 21.1: 1-3.

'progress' was hailing in the Europe of 'modernity'; but at what cost?

Until very recent decades (as post-colonial and sub-altern studies have entered ascendancy and imperial historiography has in turn ebbed), the Europe of the Age of Enlightenment was viewed in total isolation to the plantocracies of the West Atlantic. The progress achieved in Europe was described as if unrelated to the horrors and experiences being suffered by African and American peoples in the 'paradise' of the Tropics. This demands a course correction: progress and change studied without careful critique of its causes and actors is to erase their agency in impacting the lives of others. 'Progress' at all times must be remembered as an active process.

This essay will build on recent important scholarship identifying the clear relationships between European modernity and the Caribbean, arguing that the progress of Western modernity cannot be separated from the systematic enslavement of Africans, an economic system in complete conflict with the supposed narrative of Enlightenment values and development. These contradictions and consequences can be seen clearly in economic progress and the development of capitalism, moral-political progress in the form of enlightenment political theory and the Age of Revolutions, and in scientific progress through apparent medical and biological breakthroughs alongside the pseudo-science of race. By means of these topical sections, this article will iterate the ways in which dominant historical narratives of modernity must be corrected.

First and foremost, in questioning our concept of modernity, attention must be given to the way in which the enslavement of Africans in the occupied Caribbean allowed for the development and inception of industrial capitalist hegemony. It has been well established in literature through the work of influential Caribbean scholars Eric Williams and Hilary Beckles that industrialisation was not developed and tested first in the major smoky cities of Europe, but in the fields of the Caribbean archipelago.[3] Throughout the proto-industrial early modern world, the metropole was still largely reliant on the putting-out system by which manufacturing work was sub-contracted to rural artisans through slow urban-rural economic relationships.[4] Meanwhile,

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3 Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, [1944] 1994]), 98; Hilary McD. Beckles, 'Capitalism, Slavery and Caribbean Modernity', in *Callaloo* (1997), 20.4: 777-778.
4 Elizabeth W. Gilboy, 'Demand as a Factor in the Industrial Revolution', in *The Causes of the Industrial Revolution*, ed. R. M. Hartwell (London: Methuen, 1967), 170.

Caribbean planters were developing massive sugar, cotton and tobacco complexes worked by bondage labour with integrated growth, preparation and shipping centres on the same sites focussed on high-speed mass production, which would become indicative of the industrial capitalist workplace.[5]

These "landmark experiments", as described by historical anthropologist Sidney Mintz, were not merely test cases for a new business model, but also locations in which new hierarchical structures of labour were proposed, populated by enslaved 'workers' each of whom had a specific and limited role.[6] It was here that capitalist principles of labour as a tool, as a means for profit, were first realised fully.[7] Capitalism, the supposed crown-jewel of developmentalist histories for liberal and Whig scholars and twentieth century Western economic historians, was developed not in Europe but in the Caribbean. This economic structure, pre-dominant through to today's world, supposedly providing the citizenry with better opportunities for work, was perfected around the suffering bodies of the enslaved worker in clear contradiction to the narrative offered in popular culture, something championed by European capitalists seeking a disposable workforce.[8]

Another way in which economic modernity must be rethought as a result of Caribbean study is the way in which the globalised economies and planetary empires notorious in the Early Modern period were pursued by and for slavery. Maritime empires developed as domestic traders raced to find ways to ship more slaves, at higher speed and lower costs from Africa to the Caribbean to fuel the plantation economies, while government (and private chartered companies) sought to expand its colonial possessions to increase a market for the Caribbean production beyond their domestic borders.[9] The interconnected international economy dominated by export profits and imported luxury goods was the direct and explicit consequence

5 Joseph Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 481.
6 Sidney W. Mintz, 'Enduring Substances, Trying Theories: The Caribbean Region as Oikoumene', in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (1996), 2.2: 295.
7 Lindon Barrett, *Racial Blackness and the Discontinuity of Western Modernity*, eds. Justin Joyce, Dwight McBride and John Carlos Rowe (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 11-12.
8 Carla Gardina Pestana, Marlene Daut, Stephen Wilkinson and Ada Ferrer, 'Is Caribbean History the Key to Understanding the Modern World?' in *History Today* (2021), 71.5: paras. 1-2, 9.
9 David Scott, 'Modernity that Predated the Modern: Sidney Mintz's Caribbean' in *History Workshop Journal* (2004), 58: 191.

of African kidnap and dehumanisation. Eric Williams goes to great lengths to clearly identify how this new globalised market allowed for the expansion of the businesses – such as banking and heavy industry – which would come to typify the success of the capitalist economic model in the 'modern' eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[10] The wealth created here was inseparable from slavery, and so then was the modernity this wealth represented. A 1789 pamphlet in support of the Royal African Company's monopoly on slave trading aptly makes this connection arguing there was 'no other way to occupy their Grounds, raise their Products, or manufacture their Commodities, but by hard Labour, and that not to be endur'd in such a sultry Climate by any but Negroes'. Contemporaries understood that the Caribbean, and the commodification of black bodies therein, was transparently the means to their modern world's ends.[11]

Beyond economic conceptions already considered, we must next consider the philosophies that were formed concurrently with capitalism, in order to understand the Caribbean's impact on those ideas in the early modern world. As described, European citizens increasingly asserted their rights as individuals throughout this period, pushing for varying forms of freedom, republicanism, and democracy across the imperial continent. In each of these forms the 'enlightened' of the Age of Enlightenment claimed that individuals were entitled to provisions and privileges by virtue of their birth as humans, citizens, or countrymen. The most influential European political thinkers were all hugely influential in this process, such as John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, and Voltaire who designed and progressed the theories of liberalism, empiricism and rationalism which drove the predominance of the intellectual and promotion of scientific methodologies.

Simultaneous to these arguments, all three advocated for the freedom and liberty of the individual, but at the same time also sanctioned the ownership of slaves often referring to the ancient Greek traditions of barbarian enslavement.[12] This showcases the cognitive dissonance employed by thinkers in Europe placing a racialised and geographic delineation between the rights of Europeans and others, in order to exempt the Caribbean from the revolutionary and transformative ideas their work

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10 Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, 98.
11 *A True State Of the Present Difference Between the Royal African Company, and the Separate Traders* (London: 1710), 32.
12 David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), 391-393.

inspired. The post-reformation framework of both religious and secular humanist morality was celebrated as progress over the historic rule of divine right of kings and serfdom, instead promoting a society in which each voice was (at least in theory) equal and everyone had intrinsic identity. This was felt by contemporaries and later historians (particularly nineteenth century proponents of 'great man theory') to be a huge forward movement in the development of the social order. This 'progress' nonetheless was of little relevance to the practicalities of life in the West Indies in this period, as four black Africans continued to be imported to the Americas for every white person that arrived up until as late as 1830.[13] As Europeans were staking claim to their own humanity, Africans were continuing to be exchanged as commodities.

This imbalanced concept of liberty flooded political discourse and became an essential part of debates around justice and society. Communication between colonial legislatures and the metropolitan parliament was one producer of this kind of language, as plantation owners in plantocracies bemoaned their alleged mistreatment and a loss of rights. One such document is a 1651 declaration from Barbadian politicians in complaint about the English Parliament's enaction of legislation which would hollow-out Caribbean political assemblies in favour of centralised control from London. The Governor of Barbados, which at the time was the richest British Caribbean possession and the prison for some 20,000 African slaves being held by a white population of the same number, complained: 'Shall we be bound to the Government and Lordship of a Parliament in which we have no Representatives [...] In truth this would be a slavery.'[14] Once again we recognise an assertion of political rights typical of this period, as dominant philosophies encouraged resistance against power, but an assertion by white Europeans refusing to acknowledge the political rights of the 'other'.

In the same vein we can identify a number of American revolutionary leaders demanding their rights as citizens while simultaneously being slave owners at the dawn of the Age of Revolution, with these same leaders then going on to be silent in the black-led Haitian revolution. For example, General Rochembeau (a decisive figure

13 David Brion Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 73.
14 Richard Dunn, 'The Barbados Census of 1680: Profile of the Richest Colony in English America', in *The William and Mary Quarterly* (1969), 26.1: 8, Francis Willoughby and the Council of Barbados, 'A Declaration of Independence' (London: Brown, 1651).

in latter parts of the American revolutionary war and the French Revolution of 1789) even went on to lead troops to oppose the self-emancipated slaves asserting their rights to self determination on the battlefield.[15] Haiti is illustrative of how Western modernity's revolutionary movements were almost entirely exclusionary of black and Caribbean voices and were not struggles for their rights, but instead narratives of European revolutions seldom include conversation about the significance of Haiti despite its aims (a struggle by oppressed people against an occupying power which resulted in the creation of an explicitly black nation) baring similar intellectual origins as the revolutions fought in Europe. This must form a stark reminder for the early modernist that abolition was not a political movement that originated in European humanism as revisionist narratives would suggest, instead abolition and freedom were achieved by the painful and dangerous praxis of Afro-Caribbean people bloodily asserting their rights, a true foil to the European radical and revolutionary movements.[16] The Haitian Revolution was a statement that liberty must mean liberty for all, or it is not liberty, but Western historiography has excluded it from the rich tradition of revolutionary study. The story of the French Revolution is told in popular culture in total isolation from the Haitian Revolution, despite the deep colonial connections, a fact which influential theorist Michel-Rolph Trouillot extends to historiography, arguing Haiti has been placed on the 'historical backburner'.[17] What a rethinking of modernity demands is a consideration of how active opposition to the Haitian national struggle resulting in black, self-emancipated slaves being ignored despite their nation pre-dating major modern nations such as Germany, Belgium and Italy.

Furthermore, as the west's ethics and economics were contorted to justify slavery, so too was society's new saviour: science. The scientific enlightenment, driven into popularity by the spread of empiricism, saw research in physics, chemistry, botany, and human medicine expand in all directions, increasing in speed throughout the early modern period. Enslavers used the destruction of the population of indigenous populations, and then high mortality rates of Africans on plantations, to justify the continued slave trade, suggesting an inherent weakness and poverty of skills

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15 Davis, *Problem of Slavery*, 3-4.
16 Beckles, 'Caribbean Modernity', 781-782, Pestana et. al., 'Caribbean History', paras. 4, 9-12.
17 Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), p. 9

amongst the black population.[18] This corroborates Ibrahima Thiaw and Deborah Mack's study of interacting systems that produced the context for slavery to succeed arguing that scientific knowledge systems were 'strategically mobilised to intrude, search, analyse, dissect, and ultimately consume Black bodies according to European demands, needs, and standards.'[19] In addition, the Caribbean itself was characterised as 'inherently diseased' by planter-scientists unfamiliar with the new climate and diseases experienced by settlers.[20] As a result of this definition, it was argued then that black bodies were the most suitable for work in the archipelago: polluted bodies for a polluted place. Here we see an academic methodology attempting to co-opt new forms of thinking to justify the continual oppression of Black individuals; the sciences of modernity were hijacked by the enslaving class, with the express intention of using racialised empiricism to scientifically justify inhuman practices.

One key example of the way in which science and medicine were openly used to justify racism was in the case of the creation of racial difference between white and black people, inventing a way to enforce slavery as a native or natural state for Africans.[21] One anonymous Jamaican slave-owner wrote 'it is better to be the Slaves of Christians, than the Victims of Heathen Ferocity'[22], while a missionary seeking to describe the black existence wrote 'all the nègres of Guinea are extremely limited; many seem idiotic [...] machines that must be rewound whenever one wants to make them move'.[23] These are just two examples from an archive rich with writings of a pseudo-scientific nature, populated by Europeans fascinated by Africans, once again trying to consume each part of the existence of black people they encountered to feed their own greed.[24] This scientific greed sought to discover everything in the natural world

18 Davis, *Human Progress*, 66.
19 Ibrahima Thiaw and Deborah Mack, 'Atlantic Slavery and the Making of the Modern World: Experiences, Representations, and Legacies', in *Current Anthropology* (2020), 61.22: 145
20 Emily Senior, *The Caribbean and the Medical Imagination, 1764-1834: Slavery, Disease and Colonial Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 8.
21 Toyin Falola, *The African Diaspora: Slavery, Modernity, and Globalization* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013), 6.
22 A. Planter, 'Commercial Reasons for the non-abolition of the Slave-Trade in the West India Islands by a Planter and Merchant of many Years Residence in the West Indies' (London: W. Lane, 1789), 10
23 Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix and Jean-Baptiste Le Pers, *Histoire de l'isle Espagnole ou de Saint-Domingue*, Vol. 2 (Paris: H.-L. Guérin, 1730–31), 499.
24 The archives in question are almost exclusively populated by elite writings. The primary material referenced in this paper are entirely written by white hands either across both metropolitan Europe and the colonial possessions themselves. Almost all of the records we have of enslaved life in the Caribbean (particularly in a literary sense) are of this sort in the form of formal and informal 'top-down' writings of the invading white populations.

that could be exploited. Horrifyingly, the pseudo-scientific consensus on black people was that they could be used up like animals due to their alleged lower intellect, with the language of seasoning: that is, training a black body to be used for slavery in terms akin to the processes of animal husbandry. It should be noted that these practices also came to corroborate eugenicist ideas which were increasing in popularity through the early modern period, arguing that some humans were genetically predisposed to certain traits, with slave owners pursuing these ideas in terms of breeding strategies and quality of 'product' among the slaves they owned.[25] Similarly, medicine saw the opportunity for its own consumption of black bodies as many planters and ship's doctors assaulted, tortured and murdered black enslaved men, and frequently women and children, for the 'progress' of their 'modern' medicine.[26] Even a cursory glance over the manipulation of science for the ends of slavers is enough to indicate a real need for the rethinking this essay has been discussing, as we grapple with the way the pillars of medical modernity were developed at the expense of black lives.

In conclusion, Europe's 'golden age' of expansion, globalisation and knowledge was evidently a direct product of slavery. This paper has traced the ways in which existing literature has highlighted the global consequences of state sanctioned ethnic violence against African and indigenous Caribbean peoples, drawing that research together into a direct critique of the methodologies by which we view our contemporary world and history. The interaction of wilful ignorance, active intolerance, and capitalist greed across all the areas of society which interacted to allow chattel slavery to take place is clear; any analysis that omits the Caribbean from the 'progress' in Europe must be understood as an active erasure of black lives, deaths and sufferings. In the roots of science and medicine, throughout the work of continually influential political philosophers, and engrained deep in the racialised capitalism we see Western modernity poisoned by roots that run deep inside the devastating history of colonialism and Caribbean oppression. These ideas of racial difference were driven wide open by capitalism and other forces which sought to exploit them for economic and political gain, and as a result, these narratives persist to this day long after the abolition of transatlantic slavery.[27] As a consequence, understanding our own

25 Richard B. Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves: A Medical and Demographic History of Slavery in the British West Indies, 1680–1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 227.
26 Kirsten Block, 'Science and slavery in historiographical evolution', in *Slavery and Abolition* (2018), 39.4: 757.
27 Catherine Hall, 'The Slavery Business and the Making of "Race" in Britain and the Caribbean', in *Current Anthropology* (2020), 61.22: 175.

modernity cannot be done without analysing the path Western societies have taken since Columbus' invasion on the beaches of Ayiti, and a blind or unthinking response to this fact is a deeply privileged disrespect for the historical record.

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Social Upheaval in pre-1789 France: Connecting the French Wars of Religion, the Flour War, and the French Revolution

Xinyao Zhang

This essay explores the French Wars of Religion and the Flour War, comparing them with the French Revolution, in its study of social upheaval in France before 1789. Research surrounding this has been conducted for many years, and different scholars have offered different interpretations. In this essay, the case study method is used, with these three popular protests. Through studying these cases, the essay hopes to draw broader lessons about how these popular protests are interconnected and how they challenged the social order. This essay argues that both the French Wars of Religion and the Flour War caused social upheaval and have similarities with the French Revolution in terms of the political and social impact.

Introduction

There are only a few revolutions in history that constituted so great an upheaval they can now be identified simply by association with the country of their occurrence: the French Revolution, however, is one. Even before 1789, France had experienced much political instability and social unrest, due to various conflicts between the King and his people; the most influential of these were the French Wars of Religion and the Flour War. The old system before the revolution was, as Le Goff has said, an extension of the Middle Ages.[1] A corrupt monarchy and a selfish aristocratic class were united for their own interests while the remainder of civil society was led by a wealthy and ambitious bourgeoisie; it was the French Revolution, in contrast with popular protests before 1789, that succeeded in destroying this monarchic structure and in spreading the progressive ideas of liberty and democracy.[2] This essay will analyse how

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1 Jacques Le Goff and Paul Archambault, 'An Interview with Jacques Le Goff', in *Historical Reflections* (1995), 21.1:155-185
2 Yves-Marie Berce, *Revolt and Revolution in Early Modern Europe: An Essay on the History of Political Violence* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 198.

the popular protests before 1789 challenged the social order. It will attempt to shed light on the lesser-known causes, conflicts, and social impacts of the French Wars of Religion and the Flour War, before discussing the relationship between these cases the eventual French Revolution. Through this comparative analysis, it will seek to reveal a wider picture of social upheaval and reflect the nature of protest and conflict in France at the time.

The French Wars of Religion

The French Wars of Religion were conflicts between the royal power (the King) and feudal forces, led by the nobility, and were characterised by an intensification of tensions among religious factions between 1562 and 1598[3]. The feudal economy was still dominant, and ninety percent of the population was engaged in agriculture.[4] In France, the process of the King's constant struggle against aristocratic authority and separatist forces gradually achieved the enhancement and consolidation of royal power. This led to the emergence of capitalism and the bourgeoisie; capitalists became part of the upper class by purchasing dilapidated nobles' properties and titles and accepting official positions. Their economic and political interests were inseparable from the King's authority: they supported the King's power to restrain the nobility internally and expand their power externally, in order to develop wealth.[5] However, the nobility was unwilling to have their power limited, and strove to maintain their privileges and control over the King by challenging his power. As the King gradually became the head of the aristocracy and the church, the nobility split into two broad groups which both opposed the monarchy.[6]

In the 1540s, Calvinism had began to spread in France; the theology, promoted by John Calvin, a Protestant reformer, and developed by his followers, emphasised the idea of *sola fide* (salvation by faith alone), denied the authority of the Holy See and feudal hierarchy, desired to abolish religious rituals, idolatry, pilgrimage and fasting, and elected clergy members to establish a simplified, pure, and cheap church.[7]

3 'The Wars of Religion, Part I', from *Le Poulet Gauche* (2004) <http://www.lepg.org/wars.htm> [accessed 20 October 2020].
4 'Medieval Europe: The Feudal System', from *TimeMaps*, <https://www.timemaps.com/encyclopedia/medieval-europe-feudalism/> [accessed 20 October 2020].
5 'Wars of Religion, Part I', *Le Poulet Gauche*.
6 Ibid.
7 'The Rise of Protestantism in France (1520-1562)', from *Musee Protestant*, <https://www.museeprotestant.org/en/notice/the-rise-of-protestantism-in-france-1520-1562/> [accessed 20 October 2020].

Simultaneously, Calvinism promoted the spirit of capitalism; Zafirovski has argued that Calvin's first adherents were capitalists.[8] Calvinism attracted a large number of skilled workers, especially publishers, tradesmen, peasants, and lower priests, who accepted the above teachings and became Calvinist Protestants; these people were known as the Huguenots.[9] Indeed, much of the nobility in southern France became Calvinists and used the Reformation to seize church estate. They had a profound conflict of interests with the Catholic aristocrats in the north, which eventually evolved into a long-term civil war.[10] In the 16th century, eight individual conflicts between Catholics and Protestants caused great damage to France. The established royal power collapsed, the aristocratic separatist forces rose, and there was an interregnum: France had fallen into a period of anarchy. These were the French Wars of Religion, and they led directly to the death of approximately 3 million people due to violence and famine.[11] In terms of European conflicts up to this point, the casualties of the French Wars of Religion were second only to the Thirty Years War, which killed over 8 million people[12].

The Wars ended with the Edict of Nantes document, issued by Henry IV in 1598.[13] Both Catholics and Huguenots benefited from the French Wars of Religion, the conclusion of which contributed to an ultimate revitalisation and strengthening of royal power, and created conditions for the unification of the nation-state and a revival of the economy. The Edict of Nantes was the first evidence of a Christian European country implementing a policy of religious tolerance, as it both granted French Protestants religious freedom and civil rights, and reconciled Catholicism[14]. Pope Clement VIII condemned the Edict of Nantes, declaring people's freedom to choose their religion as highly harmful.[15] Such a strong reaction from the Pope indicates that the Wars broke the monopoly of Catholicism in French society, and succeeded in consolidating

8 Milan Zafirovski, 'Calvinist Predestination and the Spirit of Capitalism: The Religious Argument of the Weber Thesis Reexamined', from *Human Studies* (2018), 41.4: 565-602 (585).

9 'The Wars of Religion, Part I', *Le Poulet Gauche*.

10 *Ibid*.

11 David El Kenz, 'Massacres during the Wars of Religion', from *SciencesPo*, (2007) <https://www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-resistance/en/document/massacres-during-wars-religion.html> [accessed 21 October 2020].

12 'The Thirty Years' War', from *History*, (2018) <https://www.history.com/topics/reformation/thirty-years-war> [accessed 21 October 2020].

13 Allan A. Tulchin, 'Ending the French Wars of Religion', in *The American Historical Review* (2015), 120.5: 1696-1708 (1698)

14 Ibid, 1708.

15 Antoine Arnauld, *The Arrainment of the Whole Society of Jesuits in France, Holden in the Honourable Court of the Parlement of Paris* (London: Charles Yetsweirt Esq., 1594), 7.

support for new ideas among the population. However, although the Edict of Nantes had shaken the dominance of Catholicism, it had not completely resolved religious conflicts with its restrictions. The French Wars of Religion had clear social impacts, reshaping the very conception of religious tolerance in French society, and ingraining ideas about citizenship and democratic rights; as a civil upheaval, however, it did not change the country's fundamental royal power and social systems.

Here we may draw contrast with The French Revolution, which similarly used violent means to target the power of the king, but had far wider social implications. Aristocrats and religious privileges were attacked by liberal political organisations and people's protests, and protestors claimed that the priesthood needed to speak for the People.[16] But further to this, the feudal system, with its unequal taxation and feudal rights determined by social structure (clergy, nobility, and peasants), was abolished, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man was announced as part of the constitution, symbolising the end of old ways of thinking, subject to gradual transformation by the idea of natural human rights (liberty, property, and security) and the separation of executive, judicial and legislative powers, before the eventual establishment of a republic government.[17] Thus, the French Revolution can be understood as a 'real' revolution in comparison to the French Wars of Religion, as it resulted in both new religious tolerance but also wider social change.

The Flour War

Alongside religious disputes, a more fatal, domestic problem in France was the issue of food shortages. As early as 1529, poor grain yields caused riots in the city of Lyon: in the Grande Rebeyne Uprising (also called the Great Rebellion), thousands of people ransacked and destroyed the houses of wealthy citizens, and threw grain from the municipal granary onto the streets.[18] Since the 1660s, the King had been advised by the Physiocrats, a group comprising mainly of economists, who controlled land development and the value of agricultural products, and believed that domestic goods ought to have higher prices. As a result of their suggestions, the Royal Government attempted to lift controls on domestic grain trade and introduced a form

16 Roland Stromberg, 'Re-evaluating the French Revolution', from *The History Teacher* (1986), 20.1:87-107 (99).
17 Ibid, p. 101.
18 Una McIlvenna, 'How Bread Shortages Helped Ignite the French Revolution', from *History* (2019), <https://www.history.com/news/bread-french-revolution-marie-antoinette> [accessed 22 October 2020].

of free trade in late April and May 1775.[19] This form of free trade proved to be even more detrimental to national stability as it gave some merchants greater freedom to speculate; as a result, some areas suffered from famine, while in others the price of food remained stable. Grain reserves were exhausted before the spring harvest of 1775, further contributing to the famine. Due to food shortages and high prices, there was an outbreak of public anger in the towns and villages of the Paris Basin. Over three weeks, more than 300 incidents of riots and grain looting were recorded; the rioters invaded Versailles, spread to Paris, and then out into the countryside. This wave of popular protest was called the Flour War. The government took steps to suppress it; 25,000 soldiers were dispatched and 162 people were arrested, with a 28-year-old wig maker and his 16-year-old apprentices executed in De Griff Square.[20]

During the Flour War, the food rioters showed a paradoxical nature, demonstrating economic and moral outlooks embodying the concept of moral economy, as described by historians E.P. Thompson and Charles Tilly[21]. During the Flour War, rioters 'acted on the basis of moral judgments about markets', revealing their beliefs about social norms, proper economic functions, and criticism of the government policy: rioters were acting on the assumption that they were safeguarding traditional rights or norms, and they were supported by a broader majority of the community. Their specific complaints were founded on a broad agreement as to what were valid and illegitimate marketing methods and predicated on a coherent conventional conception of social norms and duties. They exercised two opposing logics in the moral economy: the law of property and the logic of morality.[22]

This was one of the reasons why the Flour War ultimately failed: even if the government's measures alleviated the social conflicts caused by the famine to a certain extent, such measures were insufficient, and lack of bread served as a catalyst for revolutionary ideas. This lack brought a great challenge to social order, leading to even greater polarisation: a small group of elite farmers opposed the poorer farmers. The Flour War was part of the wider social and political crisis, serving as a prelude to

19 Ingo Barens, Volker Caspari and Bertram Schefold, *Political Events and Economic Ideas* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2004), 150.
20 Bernard Vincent. *Louis XVI. France: Gallimard Folio Biographies* (Paris: Gallimard, 2006), 111.
21 John Bohstedt, 'The Moral Economy and the Discipline of Historical Context', in *Journal of Social History* (1992), 26.2: 265-284 (265-267).
22 Ibid, pp. 265-267.

the French Revolution.[23] Due to the limitations of the aforementioned measures taken by the government to tackle famine, the struggle between the emerging bourgeoisie and the royal family escalated, and people lost confidence in the government.[24]

While the French Wars of Religion introduced the concepts of citizenship and democratic rights, the Flour War developed these conceptions further and gave them a more explicitly material and secular basis in terms of rights to bread.[25] Lack of food became increasingly acute in the 1780s. With a significant increase in population (approximately five to six million more people in France in 1789 than in 1720) there was no corresponding increase in local food production.[26] The French people's complete reliance on a grain-based diet further exacerbated the problem. Before the Flour War, bread accounted for sixty to eighty percent of a peasant's budget, so even a small increase in grain prices had the potential to trigger public outcry.[27] The tone was set, therefore, for the subsequent outbreak of the French Revolution.

Concluding Comparisons

Both the French Wars of Religion and the Flour War caused social upheaval. In the Wars of Religion, Catholics and Huguenots fought eight times, destabilising French society. Henry IV issued the Edict of Nantes in 1598, from which both sides benefited. However, it also established a policy of religious tolerance, which challenged the social order and threatened the dominant status of Catholicism at that time, granting people more freedom to choose their belief. Compared to the French Revolution, the French Wars of Religion settled the conflicts between the old and the new. Even though it failed to solve their issues completely, it laid the foundation for future social changes. During the Flour War, errors in policy formulation led to an unstable grain market. After riots broke out, the Royal Government's attempt to use the army to suppress them as a means of solving the problem weakened people's confidence in the royal family and intensified the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the royal family. The Flour War extended the gap between the poor and the rich and acted as a key stepping stone to the French Revolution. Therefore, the Flour War was, ultimately, more closely related to the French Revolution than the Wars of Religion. In revealing

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23 McIlvenna, 'Bread Shortages'.
24 Ibid.
25 Berce, *Revolt and Revolution*, 101.
26 McIlvenna, 'Bread Shortages'.
27 Ibid.

a broader political and social crisis, based on the intensification of social conflicts among the royal power, bourgeoisie, and peasants, the Flour War pointed out that the problems of the French hierarchal system caused internal instability; this sowed the seeds of upheaval that would lead to the overthrowing of royal power and the advocation of equality during the French Revolution.

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The Darkened Cinema of Elvira Notari: In and Out of the Archives

Bianca Callegaro

In recent years, a process of historical revision (by way of re-evaluating archival materials) has uncovered the stories of silent cinema's women pioneers, whose legacies and contributions had previously gone uncredited. Amongst these figures is Elvira Notari, Italy's first woman director and production company founder. Her taking on of different roles led to a rich production catalogue of which only a few traces remain. In examining the features and contexts of Notari's cinema, and the causes for its subsequent neglect, this paper argues for her central importance in Italian cinema as a director and considers how her omission from the archives can be addressed.

Director, actress, screenwriter, producer, and distributer, Elvira Notari (born in 1875 near Salerno), is celebrated as the first, and most prolific, Italian female director, with an extremely rich production catalogue that amounts to approximately sixty feature films and over a hundred short films and documentaries, realised between 1906 and 1930.[1] In addition to directing films, she founded the Dora Film production company, which quickly became one of the most important film companies in Italy, even opening a branch in New York City to cater to the Italian community living there. However, little of her production has survived to this day, with just the extant films *È piccerella* (1922), *'A santanotte* (1922), *Fantasia 'e surdate* (1927) stored in the Cineteca Nazionale, the Italian national film archive. According to Bruno, the extensive production of Elvira Notari 'has not only been forgotten but lost to the historical archive.'[2]

This essay will argue for the central importance of Notari's incredibly prolific production and legacy in Italian cinema, particularly in consideration of the director's omission from the archives. Notari's exclusion from the histories of Italian cinema,

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1 Giuliana Bruno, Streetwalking on a Ruined Map: Cultural Theory and the City Films of Elvira Notari (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 3.
2 Ibidem.

starting with the 1940 text on silent cinema written by Eugenio Palmieri, (in which regional film production is marginalised)[3] culminates with the position taken by scholar Roberto Paolella, who, despite the extensive discussion of Dora Film in his book *Storia del Cinema Muto* (1956), credits Nicola Notari, Elvira's husband, and work partner, as the director of the production company. An analysis and evaluation of this seminal figure will allow for a more complete, unbiased understanding of film history, uncovering the deep-rooted mechanisms of oppression that predate women's filmmaking, the neglect of female creators' agency, and the denial of an equal visibility to their male counterparts. By exploring the case of Notari, and the recent wave of attention directed to her work, it is hoped, looking towards the future, to possibly encourage women's entry into production in the contemporary film scene. The paper will open with a theoretical introduction on the marginalisation of women directors in film archives, with particular attention to the silent period. Then, a case study will follow, presenting Elvira Notari through biographical information and considering the themes and style of her production through the analysis of her film *'A santanotte* (1922). Finally, the (lack of) promotion of Notari in the film archives scene in recent years will be examined, along with wider consideration of the archival treatment of female directors', in arguing for the archive's potential to give greater space to marginalised voices.

Feminism, as defined by Amelia Jones, is a 'political or ethical engagement with questions of culture'.[4] Indeed, both the cinema and feminism historically represent new ways of seeing the world and, as such, the cinematic metaphor is key to the feminist agenda, proving that feminist theory and film history are closely linked with one another.[5] This idea was at the core of Laura Mulvey's seminal work, *Visual Pleasures and Narrative Cinema* (1975), in which the author exposed cinema's codification of the gaze as being constructed for the male viewpoint. Through scopophilia, the objectification of passive female characters, women are conceived of as images, or icons, of visual pleasure. Mulvey considers the aesthetic political, underlining the need to break up the patriarchal order, by adopting new methods of representation, informed by feminism and avant-garde cinema, to discuss questions of representation and sexuality, 'freeing the camera look into its time and space

3 Palmieri, Vecchio Cinema (1940).
4 Vicki Callahan, 'Introduction: Reclaiming the Archive', in Reclaiming the Archive: Feminism and Film History, ed. by Vicki Callahan (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010), 14
5 Ibid., 16.

materiality and the audience look into dialectics, passionate detachments.'[6]

Central to feminist reflection on the historical oppression of women in film is the silent period, as the early phase of the medium appears to be a 'rich terrain for assessing women's participation in the aesthetic, industrial, and cultural shape of the cinema'.[7] Thanks to the increased digitisation of historical materials, collaboration among members of the International Federation of Film Archives (FIAF) and public interest in silent cinema, there has been renewed attention to the role of women in the early development of the film industry, allowing for the work of women producers, directors and screenwriters to finally become visible, as evidenced by the research of Jennifer M. Bean, Diane Negra, Amelie Hastie, and Jane M. Gaines on early cinema female filmmakers.[8] Going beyond textual analysis to use a wider range of historiographic materials, these 'marginalized filmmakers are being excavated from the footnotes of film history',[9] as their contribution to cinema's development is recognised. Indeed, the pre-studio era allowed for greater female participation in the industry, characterised by greater experimentation and innovation. Although it makes it difficult for contemporary film historians to officially recognise their roles, given the relative scarcity of surviving films and the often-missing crew designations, the lack of a fixed system of credits in the silent era seems, on the other hand, to have fostered women's practices of filmmaking, as they were able to take on more demanding positions given the less hierarchically dominated systems of production.[10]

However, early women filmmakers were barely mentioned in filmographies and historical documents.[11] As stated beforehand, it is therefore essential to move away from this partial, gendered vision of history, which posits women's contributions to filmmaking as qualitatively inferior. Recent shifts in critical historiography have increasingly challenged dominant power relations, seeking to recentre the directors

6 Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', Screen (1975), 16.3: 18.

7 Jennifer M. Bean, 'Introduction: Toward a Feminist Historiography of Early Cinema' in Feminist Reader in Early Cinema, ed. by Jennifer M. Bean and Diane Negra (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2002), 2.

8 These scholars collaborated in the editing of the volume Feminist Reader in Early Cinema (2002).

9 Radha Vatsal, 'Reevaluating Footnotes. Women Directors of the Silent Era', in Feminist Reader in Early Cinema, ed. by Jennifer M. Bean and Diane Negra (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2002), 19.

10 Ibid., 123.

11 Ibid., 128.

that have been marginalised, laying on the margins of film history, studying, in the words of Jane Gaines, 'an unfortunate object, misused and left alone, the subject of earlier neglect'. [12] As filmmakers, women actively become subjects of the gaze, and the cinema therefore grants them the possibility of representing themselves in a such a way that 'their own bodies, their own individual beings, defined and sexed, can be looked at and recognised without being subsumed into a need or idealised dream',[13] therefore adopting a female gaze that seeks to subvert established gender roles, echoing Mulvey's influential 1975 text.

In 1970s Italy, feminism experimented with a political practice closely connected with the female experience of knowledge, both individual and collective, questioning subjectivity, identity, sexual difference, and pleasure, and thus necessarily involving a discussion of the cinematic apparatus, by considering how women filmmakers had been eclipsed by sole virtue of their gender. In the case of Italian cinema history, 'zones of repression and suppressed knowledge'[14] are to be found in relation to documenting women's filmmaking, with a particularly glaring lacuna regarding the figure of Elvira Notari: not only have most of her films and writings been lost, partly due to the historical context and insufficient film preservation strategies, but there is also a quasi-total lack of analytic studies and information on this pioneering director. In this context, a rewriting of film history highlighting women's perspective proves necessary, in order to underscore 'the existence of a film pioneer lost in a male-dominated culture' and shed light on her contribution to the cinematic art, amidst a fragmentary textual body and the silence surrounding her work.[15]

In the attempt to present a tentative picture of film pioneer Elvira Notari using the fragmentary evidence that is available nowadays, a biographical introduction can foster an understanding of her position within the Neapolitan filmmaking scene, as well as in the national film industry and history as a whole. Elvira Coda, unlike many women of the time particularly outside upper-class circles, was sent to school to receive an education, and her entrance into filmmaking did not depend on class

12 Sarah Hill and Keith M. Johnston, 'Making Women Amateur Filmmakers Visible: Reclaiming Women's Work Through the Film Archive', Women's History Review (2020), 29.5: 876.
13 Giuliana Bruno and Maria Nadotti, Off Screen: Women and Film in Italy (London: Routledge, 1988), 26.
14 Ibid., 152.
15 Bruno, Streetwalking on a Ruined Map, 4.

privilege or previous involvement in acting.[16] After moving to Naples for work, she met Nicola Notari, whom she married in 1902, subsequently starting to work with him in the photographic colouring business.[17] Soon, they turned to colouring moving pictures, thereby entering the burgeoning Neapolitan film industry and, from 1906, they started to make their own films: these were initially opening or closing shorts for cinematographic shows, and they later expanded the production to short and feature films. By 1912 they had become a fully-fledged production company, with their own studio (which included a laboratory and an acting school), thereby competing with Naples' biggest production houses, Lombardo Film and Partenope Film. The division of work at Dora Film was very clearly demarcated: nicknamed 'The General', Elvira wrote the scripts and directed the films, as well as leading the acting school, while Nicola took on the technical side of production as cameraman, sharing responsibility with Elvira for production and editing. Notari's extremely prolific oeuvre was so successful that it crossed national borders, reaching the Italian community in the USA with great commercial success. However, Dora Film would see its end in 1930, due to the advent of sound film, as well as the (imposed) popularity of a new filmmaking style brought about by the Fascist regime.[18]

In terms of production, style and content, Elvira Notari's practice embodies a different vision, one which stands in stark opposition to the extremely successful historical and epic narratives of the super-spectacles produced in the North. Vis-à-vis the dominant studio and star system, Notari favoured an artisanal filmmaking, creating independent street films shot on location which employed local types and nonprofessional actors, including members of her family, like her son Edoardo, who features as one of the lead actors in *È piccerella* (1922). A popular production house, the moving pictures of Dora Film presented women's stories *dal vero*, using landscape as a 'predominant element of formal structure and as a component of dramatic action'. [19] This aspect, together with filmic improvisation and a natural acting style opposed to the mannerism and grandiosity of the divas in studio productions, granted Notari the label of 'unheralded inventor of neorealist cinema'.[20] Realistic modes of representation were indeed rooted

16 Ibid., 80.
17 Ibid., 83.
18 Maria Procino, 'Elvira Notari,' in Enciclopedia delle Donne https://www.enciclopediadelle-donne.it/biografie/elvira-notari/ [Accessed 28 February 2022]
19 Mira Liehm, 'First Encounters (Before 1942)', in Passion and Defiance: Film in Italy from 1942 to the Present (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 12.
20 Gwendolyn Audrey Foster, Women Film Directors: An International Bio-Critical Dictionary

in Neapolitan cinema, whose popular aesthetic was 'grounded in the economics of production: the poverty of means led to an imaginative use of the city's natural resources'.[21] Extremely sensitive towards the woman's condition, Notari 'articulated a female address to the narrative [...], operating within the shadow of the Italian film industry',[22] amidst a history in which women remained out of sight. She exposed the values of local, regional and popular culture, using dialect and the vulgar language of the common people in melodramas that centred on the condition of women and the underprivileged, exposing the poverty, neglect and abuse they experienced. The women of Notari's films refuse to conform to societal standards of behaviour and are often depicted as mad, violent, and erotic, involved in crimes of passion, betrayal, and torment - characteristics embodied in Margaretella, the protagonist of *È piccerella*. In Notari's narratives, a dualism of women's image is prominent: 'woman as occasion of sin and woman as creator of organised society coexist in her imaginary world as a polarisation of forces which seem to tear the feminine essence to pieces'.[23] It appears that she played out this conflict and dualism herself, oscillating between a longing for creative freedom and her matriarchal role in the family.

These features can be best examined in one of Notari's extant films, *'A santanotte,* dating to 1922. Inspired by a popular Neapolitan song with the same title, the film is a particularly representative example of Notari's production, as it encapsulates the director's; *leitmotifs* and recurring formal approaches. As the film's subtitle states, this 'popular passionate drama' centres around the character of Nanninella, a working-class girl that is exploited by her father and faces the tragedy of his murder. Her lover, Tore, is imprisoned after being accused of the killing by Carluccio, Tore's love rival who seeks to marry her. To find out the truth, Nanninella is forced to become Carluccio's wife, a choice that will come at a high cost for her, following the tradition of the Neapolitan *sceneggiata*. In *'A santanotte*, the acting style mirrors the narrative's melodramatic tone, with highly stylised facial expressions, accentuated by make-up, which are nonetheless combined with an authentic performance, as the lead actors are accompanied by non-professional actors that form a realistic background to the story, a choice forerunning the Italian Neorealist movement of the 1940s. Moreover, the recurring presence of actors such as Elvira's son Edoardo helps to reinforce

(London: Greenwood Press, 1995), 282.
21 Bruno, Streetwalking on a Ruined Map, 20.
22 Ibid., p. 5.
23 Bruno and Nadotti, Off Screen, 153.

the characters' familiarity and humanity, consequently bringing them closer to the audience.

Almost a character in and of itself, the Neapolitan landscape serving as the drama's backdrop is also realistically depicted. The scenes shot on location have a verisimilar, documentary feel, and they help situate the story in the city's context of the period. The most significant aspect of the film, however, is the unique perspective it adopts in portraying the daily reality of women from the poorer strata of the population, revealing and denouncing the exploitative conditions and the entrenched patriarchal violence to which they are exposed. Refusing to conform to society's gendered codes of behaviour, Nanninella is depicted as a woman with agency, as she consciously exploits her position of 'power,' manipulating Carluccio to discover the truth. Despite this, the film's ending reveals what appears to be the ineluctable destiny of women, especially those who are destitute, namely their murder enacted by men. Often justified on the grounds of jealousy and love issues, the phenomenon of *femminicidio* still represents a significant issue in modern-day Italy, mirroring the deep-rooted and institutionalised sexism. Therefore, despite the different historical context characterising the period of Elvira's filmmaking activity, her portrayal of female characters and social issues can powerfully speak to contemporary audiences, exposing the patriarchal system of oppression that is still pervading.

Given the issues addressed by her innovative filmic work, Notari's films encountered great resistance. Whilst not being explicitly politically committed, the realist texture of her work, which clearly displayed the poverty of Italy's underclass, clashed with the Fascist commitment of disseminating an image of national order and wellbeing.[24] Opposing autonomous regional traditions in favour of a standardised linguistic and cultural unity, the Fascist regime realised the potential of the film medium, exploiting it to promote a national identity cleansed of the regionalism and the issues of sexuality, violence, and poverty so prominent in Notari's cinema. Indeed, the Fascist regime sought to address the cinema industry's crisis with subsidies to national production and the restricted distribution of foreign films, a policy that culminated with the establishment of the LUCE Institute (1924), aimed at the production of propaganda documentaries, and of the Venice Film Festival (1932), intended to showcase the highlights of national film production. Examples of this propagandistic control of

24 Liehm, 'First Encounters', 16.

the medium are the films *Vecchia Guardia* (Blasetti, 1933), *Lo squadrone bianco* (Genina, 1936), *Scipione l'Africano* (Gallone, 1937) and *1860* (Blasetti, 1934).

The subsequent development of a centralised film industry, whose monopoly was held by Rome and the North, facilitated the marginalisation of Southern cinema, causing the decline of the Neapolitan school and the disappearance of early regional production companies. Because of their popular ideology, iconography and linguistics, her films were increasingly scrutinised by the censors, and Notari's economic survival in the 1920s was ultimately guaranteed by the emigration of her cinema to America, where it sustained 'displaced southern cultures in their transition to a new territorial identity'.[25] The films produced for the Italian-American community in New York mostly belonged to the *sceneggiata* genre, popular Neapolitan tragedy, and presented the stories of characters attempting to negotiate social survival, a relatable subject matter that echoed the immigrant condition experienced by the films' intended audience. This way, Notari's films bypassed the Fascist regime's censorship to reach an international audience, representing a full-fledged transnational phenomenon that helped cement an emerging hybrid identity for Italian émigrés, particularly prominent in the American context, through cinematic products that aimed to entertain the public but also expose through realism the struggles that immigrants themselves experienced. Together with the sexist nature of film criticism that encouraged a 'monolithic view of male-dominated Italian cinema'[26] these factors all contributed to the effective erasure of Notari's oeuvre. Foster equates Notari's omission from film history to the suppression of the work by Alice Guy-Blaché in France, stating that her films 'document an alternative cinematic history of personal filmmaking, community filmmaking, and an important cultural moment of Neapolitan filmic counter history'. [27]

A process of re-evaluation to enhance the visibility of pioneer women filmmakers can be initiated from current archival practices; as Sobchack stated, 'we cannot engage in either the past or the future of feminism in relation to media unless we begin in the present'.[28] In relation to this, the archive plays a fundamental role, representing not

25 Bruno, Streetwalking on a Ruined Map, 18.
26 Foster, 283.
27 Ibid., 284.
28 Quoted in Callahan, 12.

a passive receiver of history but rather, with a view to the future, 'a dynamic agent of change and space of becoming'.[29] As the constitution of archives is largely determined by conflicting discourses and institutions of power, there appears to exist a symbiotic, interdependent relationship between the archive and the construction of history. [30] Archiving should therefore be seen as a feminist issue, as its practices 'affect and produce the kinds of histories that can be written' to uncover the invisible voices of women filmmakers that have contributed to cinema's development.[31] Alongside this, the ongoing shift towards archives' digitisation has prompted greater audience engagement online, thereby overturning traditional demarcations between archivists as gatekeepers and a (passive) receiving public, which is now called on to actively investigate the materials and footage present in archives. This in turn has altered established boundaries in the consumption of knowledge, giving agency to the public and permitting audiences to freely access archives' materials and discover overlooked histories and figures.

However, despite greater accessibility to archives, improvements should still be made on the part of archivists, whose urgent responsibility is to uncover more work by women filmmakers and make it visible, revising preservation, cataloguing, and presentation policies to be more inclusive and challenge reductive canonisations. For example, Hill and Johnston (2020) suggest including metadata and search fields that allow for the identification of thematic categories (such as women filmmakers), a practice already adopted by the Moving Image Archive, which dedicates several sections of its digital portal to Scottish female filmmakers. Another way to address the lack of minorities' representation in archives is to organise retrospectives that, rather than isolating the filmmakers' works by virtue of their 'diversity' (for example, for having been directed by a woman), instead stress the connections with the wider historical context and highlight the parallels and differences with the work of their contemporaries. In addition to that, a point should be made in regard to archives' access: despite being theoretically open and available to anyone with an Internet connection, social barriers still significantly limit the archives' fruition to a reduced portion of the population. Therefore, archives should prioritise their communication strategies to target as wide an audience as possible, through initiatives that, for

29 Callahan, 18.
30 Jan Christopher Horak, 'Constructing History: Archives, Film Programming and Preservation', in Journal of Film Preservation, 102 (2020), 27.
31 Hill and Johnston, 877.

example, engage the youth with the national film heritage, alongside a large-scale promotion of their programmes, by collaborating with other cultural and political institutions.

In the specific context of this paper's case study, as Bruno states, 'the configuration of discourses in this ruined map reveals various levels of suppression':[32] firstly, the scholarly neglect of Italian silent cinema until the 1980s, which then involved a disregard towards regional film production and the suppression of Elvira Notari's work. As a result, the 'eclipse of Notari takes shape as an act of subjugation vis-à-vis the hegemonic culture and [...] vis-à-vis the dominant historical and literary epics and the national film industry - forces that became instrumental in the formation of fascist cinema'.[33] Repressing social memory, a whole production of national silent cinema has been transmitted through a limited number of historiographic sources, which only included canonised works and excluded popular filmmaking, thus reflecting the institutionalisation and legitimisation of cinema as part of the state's cultural politics.[34] Film criticism and the patriarchal culture equally share responsibility for the obscuration of Notari's work, the former through disdaining reviews from the Northern press, and the latter through the attribution, in official records, of the directing credits to her husband.

However, after over thirty years of critical silence, a remapping of the period is currently being pursued by contemporary Italian historians, thereby attracting greater interest towards the pioneering figure of Notari, a trend demonstrated in several academic publications by Giuliana Bruno (1993), Monica Dell'Asta (2008) and Kimberly V. Tomadjoglou (2013). In practice, this has taken the shape of retrospectives and dedicated film programmes not only in Italy, but also in other European film archives. In 2018, for the Festival del Cinema Ritrovato in Bologna, the film programme *Napoli che canta: Omaggio a Elvira Notari e Vittorio Martinelli* presented live musical accompaniments with the screenings of two Notari films, one of which had been digitally restored in 2008.[35] This programme continued the work surrounding Notari that began the year before in Frankfurt by the Kinothek Asta

32 Bruno, Streetwalking on a Ruined Map, 12.
33 Ibid., 18.
34 Ibid., 14.
35 Il Cinema Ritrovato (Film Festival in Bologna), Retrospective in the 2018 edition titled 'Naples Singing: Homage to Elvira Notari and Vittorio Martinelli', https://festival.ilcinemaritrovato.it/sezione/napoli-che-canta-omaggio-a-elvira-notari-e-vittorio-martinelli/.

Nielsen: with the festival programme *Transito: Elvira Notari, Cinema of Passage*, the archive screened her three surviving feature-length films, accompanying them with specifically composed scores, followed by a dedicated academic conference.[36] The film *È piccerella* was screened once again this year at Sound for Silents festival in Rome, which centred on women in early cinema, either in the role of filmmakers or actresses[37]; this is clear evidence of increasing attention being directed to the extant work of Elvira Notari. However, what is yet to be realised is the production, with the mediation of film scholars, of a more comprehensive account of women's contribution to cinema in the role of directors, particularly with regard to the silent period. This would help the public to gain greater insight into the history of Italian cinema, to visualise and overcome the gendered biases that have accompanied it until its recent revision.

In summary, this essay has explored how, despite the shared mission for access and preservation of collective memory, archive practices are 'as complex and contradictory as the discursive relations that govern' them.[38] As a woman, Elvira Notari 'managed, between the forces of customary external denial and internal self-censorship within the rules of a production house, to appropriate discourse and even its means of production and circulation',[39] thus representing one of numerous cases of women filmmakers active in the silent era that have been effectively removed from filmographies and history, despite their outstanding contribution to the development of the medium. Ultimately, it appears that Notari's work is increasingly coming to the forefront of cinematic discourses, as arises from her growing presence in the public programming of several film archives. However, this seeming visibility is still relegated to niche initiatives that do not attract a wider range of audiences, but instead target a more specialised, scholarly public. As such, further projects could be implemented to share the work and history of Notari (and other women pioneers), to increase her visibility on a national scale, recognising her role amongst the other milestones of Italian cinema.

36 The Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia, Italy's national film school, published an article about this retrospective in 2017: https://www.fondazionecsc.it/la-cineteca-nazionale-a-franco-forte-con-una-rassegna-su-elvira-notari-3/.
37 Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia (2021), https://www.fondazionecsc.it/evento/sound-for-silent/
38 Horak, 28.
39 Bruno, Streetwalking on a Ruined Map, 138.

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È piccerella. Dir. Elvira Notari. Dora Film, 1922

Children of Empire: How Discourses of Empire Permeated British Victorian Childhood Before and After the 1870 Education Act

Molly Finlay

While the British Empire is acknowledged to have functioned from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was during the nineteenth century that its greatest expansion in terms of size, population, and wealth occurred.[1] Dominating the nineteenth century, the Victorian Era (1837-1901) is considered by scholars such as Amy Lloyd and Peter Marshall to be the period in British history in which the monarchy became increasingly identified with empire.[2] Queen Victoria was granted the title of Empress of India in 1876; this, as well as occasions such as Queen Victoria's Golden and Diamond Jubilees 1887 and 1897, continued to rouse imperialism towards the end of the nineteenth century.[3] In the context of this essay, discourses of empire can be understood as texts, discussions, and ideals concerning imperialism; Pramod Nayar suggests in *Colonial Voices: The Discourses of Empire* that discourses are not only a reflection of events, but serve to define reality for viewers, giving insight into lived experiences.[4] Accordingly, this article will examine the way in which discourses of empire permeated Victorian experiences of childhood before and after the 1870 Education Act.

The 1870 Elementary Education Act, in principle, established the right of every child in England and Wales to some form of schooling.[5] Though it did not provide

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1 Thomas Winter, 'Victorian Era', in *American Masculinities: A Historical Encyclopaedia* (2004), 473, Peter J. Marshall, eds, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 26.
2 Amy J Lloyd, 'The British Empire', *British Library Newspapers*, (Detroit: Gale, 2007), Marshall, *Illustrated History*, 325.
3 Ginger S. Frost, *Victorian Childhoods* (Dawson Books, 2009), 118.
4 Pramod K. Nayar, *Colonial Voices: The Discourses of Empire* (John Wiley & Sons, 2012), 2
5 Derek Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State*, 5th edition, (London: Palgrave,

universal, free, or compulsory education, it did address some problems in a deficient education system by establishing a set of school boards responsible for building and managing elementary schools where there was clear educational need.[6] Historians such as Harris have argued that the 1870 Education Act was a major turning point in nineteenth-century Britain, leading to a significant expansion in the provision of education.[7] Others have highlighted the way in which the Act awarded the state power over education, arguing it overtly functioned as a form of social control.[8]

This essay will build varying theoretical views such as these into its analysis of the extent to which discourses of empire permeated Victorian childhood before and after the implementation of the Education Act. In its comparison of the preponderance of imperialist ideology in childhood before and after 1870, it will explore the ways in which discourses of empire were imparted through channels of informal education, formal education, and some non-educational means, paying particular attention to the ways in which gender and class problematised the extent to which children received imperialist education. Overall, it will conclude that while Victorian children were exposed to a degree of imperialist discourse before the Education Act, this increased markedly after 1870, through both formal education and extraneous routes.

Imperialism in informal education before the 1870 Education Act

Before the regulation of education in 1870, children from across classes would have accessed informal education in various ways.[9] Working-class children were likely to have attended beneficent Sunday schools as students. These not only taught religious curricula but enforced social control and individual betterment through charitable events and organisations affiliated with the church.[10] Recollections in the autobiographies of working-class children highlight the importance of Sunday schools in enhancing their quality of life. Bessy Wallies recalls, in her memoirs, the 'tea days' bestowed upon her community by her Sunday school, and the importance

2017), 97.

6 *Ibid*, 98.

7 Bernard Harris, *The origins of the British welfare state: society, state and social welfare in England and Wales, 1800-1945* (Macmillan International Higher Education, 2018), 147.

8 William B. Stephens, *Education in Britain, 1750–1914*, (Macmillan International Higher Education, 1999), 15.

9 Walter Armytage, 'The 1870 Education Act', in *British Journal of Educational Studies* (1970), 18.2: 128.

10 Trygve Tholfsen, 'Moral Education in the Victorian Sunday School', in *History of Education Quarterly* (1980), 20: 78.

of these occasions to the working-class and destitute children attending:

'Food left over was carefully divided amongst the helpers, few of which ever tasted ham or cake except on Tea Day'.[11]

Informal institutions in education such as Sunday schools undoubtedly influenced working-class children, encouraging their continued commitment to organisations through food and 'treat' offerings.[12] While Tholfsen suggests the operation of philanthropic institutions such as Sunday schools in Victorian Britain 'contributed to the achievement of national and imperial purposes', imperialist influence on Victorian childhood through this particular channel is largely considered minimal.[13] Provision of valuable academic skill or the instillment of imperialistic ideals is widely debated, and historians such as Fraser have gone as far as to argue that some charity schools were considered 'no more than childminding establishments', ineffective in influencing children to any significant extent.[14]

Middle-class engagement in Sunday school education was comparatively different. For girls especially, Sunday schools functioned as an outlet for teaching and individual betterment, rather than as an institution in which they might receive teaching. Sunday schools allowed middle-class girls to engage in apprentice roles, positively interacting with education in a way that was charitable 'without compromising their class status or marriageability'.[15] Arguably, the altruistic notion behind middle-class girls assisting the most destitute further elevated their position in society.[16] It is important to note that before the 1870 Education Act, education and class were clearly interconnected; working and middle-class children were accessing the same informal education systems, but in these divergent means demonstrated, perpetuating class inequalities and allowing a power imbalance to persist. Had discourses of empire been as prominent in informal education as Tholfsen has argued, imperialism would, then, have influenced the working and middle-class in an irregular manner.

11 John Burnett, *Destiny Obscure: Autobiographies of Childhood, Education and Family from the 1820s to The 1920s* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1982), 328.
12 Tholfsen, 'Moral Education', 78.
13 *Ibid*. 94.

14 Fraser, *Evolution*, 90.
15 Frost, *Victorian Childhoods*, 109.
16 Joan Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*, (London: Routledge, 2016), 1.

Imperialism in formal education before the 1870 Education Act

Alternative, formal education before the introduction of the 1870 Education Act could be accessed through fee-paying and boarding schools.[17] This form of education was primarily accessed by middle and upper-class children, on account of the requirement for fees, but also due to the economic necessity for working-class children to contribute to family income rendering schooling an impossibility.[18] Working-class children would be able to access a degree of formal education through workhouses and industrial schools, while the most destitute, or 'paupers', were provided with informal teaching and free food by charitable 'ragged schools'.[19] Nonetheless, working-class children were far less likely to receive a broad education than their middle and upper-class counterparts.[20]

Consequently, middle and upper-class Victorian children were more likely to consume imperial commentary through their education and the knowledge that teachers and textbooks imparted. This theory is supported by the increasing number of books produced and intended for 'middling school children' between 1837 and 1901.[21] These textbooks were 'a supply in some sort to teachers' demands', and provide some evidence in their content that discussion around empire was indeed a part of the middle- and upper-class curriculum[22]. Bernard Porter has found that textbooks successfully analysed for imperialist messages were found to have been seldom used in working-class schools, enhancing the argument that discourses of Empire were most likely to shape the childhoods of middle- and upper-class children.[23]

Such analysis of the extent to which imperialism permeated Victorian childhood on the basis of class reveals additional implications when observed in the context of gender. Though middle-class girls were more likely to participate in education

17 Jane McDermid, *The Schooling of Working-class Girls in Victorian Scotland: Gender, Education and Identity*, (London: Routledge, 2013), 11.
18 Michael Childs, *Labour's Apprentices: Working-class Lads in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, (Montreal: McGill Queen's Press, 1992), 6.
19 Sally Mitchell, *Victorian Britain: An Encyclopaedia*, (London: Routledge, 1988), 241, Frost, *Victorian Childhoods*, 34.
20 McDermid, *Schooling*, 11.
21 Bernard Porter, *The Absent-minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 65.
22 Ibid, 67.
23 Ibid, 67.

than working-class or destitute girls, either formally or charitably, the perception that education was unimportant for women continued to obstruct female access to education even in the upper-classes.[24] This is illustrated by the fact that middle-class girls had access to education through the aforementioned informal organisations such as Sunday schools, which preserved their marriageability, rather than through the formal, fee-paying schools their male counterparts were offered.[25] This reduced access to education, especially amongst working-classes, will inevitably, by this essay's previous analysis, have reduced their exposure to discourses of empire.

Importantly, though Porter highlights that imperial messages featured somewhat in the textbooks utilised in middle and upper-class education systems before the introduction of the 1870 Education Act, he has gone on to explain that in comparison to other topics, few textbooks published before the 1880s awarded a significant amount of attention to empire.[26] Dunae supports this argument, writing that the scattered references to the Empire in publications before and during 1870 suggest 'imperial sentiment [in education] was relatively limited'.[27] While the topic clearly permeated educational discourse somewhat, these assessments are indicative of an absence of imperial discourse in education throughout Britain before 1870.

Imperialism in non-educational institutions

While it has been illustrated that the absence of children, particularly girls, from comprehensive education subsequently reduced their exposure to discourses of Empire, it must be stressed that this was not consistently the case. Michael Childs explains that in Britain's industrial age, 'illness, death, accident, slackening of trade or a strike could plunge a family from relative comfort into a hand-to-mouth existence'.[28] As already alluded to, this precarity required the children of some working-class families to contribute to the household economy through waged labour. While the staple industries of textiles and iron continued to dominate the composition of British exports throughout the late-Victorian era, children contributed to economic

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24 McDermid, *Schooling*, 1, Carol Dyhouse, 'Towards a "feminine" curriculum for English schoolgirls: The demands of ideology 1870-1963', *Women's Studies International* (1978), 1: 297.

25 Mitchell, *Victorian Britain*, 241.

26 Porter, *The absent-minded imperialists*, p.67.

27 Patrick Dunae, 'Boys' Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870-1914', *Victorian Studies*, 24, (1980), p.106.

28 Childs, *Labour's Apprentices*, 6.

augmentation, accessing wages in textile factories, mills, and mines.[29] It has been argued that children and families employed in exportation industries such as cotton textiles and coal would have been made directly aware of the British Empire; namely, through their roles in transforming raw imported cotton and the subsequent exportation of cloth.[30] For this reason, it could be suggested that working-class children removed from education were exposed through different, non-education channels, to discourses of empire, as cogs in the wheel of an expanding and industrialising British Empire.

Notably, Victorian boys were more likely to access manual and waged labour in order to stimulate their family economy than female children; in families unable to afford their education, girls would likely have been expected to correct a domestic imbalance caused by the return of adults in the household to the labour market.[31] Considering the lens of gender ones again, it is clear that, in Victorian Britain, male children could expect to be exposed to discourse of Empire to a greater extent than females. When excluded from education, imperialism permeated Victorian boy's childhood through industrial labour linked to the British Empire, while girls excluded from education could expect to remain within the domestic sphere performing caring roles, comparatively unexposed to imperialistic ideals.

Importantly, historians such as Humphries have highlighted declining rates of child labour over the nineteenth century, attributing this to improved technology as well as the implementation of legislation such as the Factory Acts and the 1870 Education Act which gradually reduced child employment and increased their access to formal education.[32] As the 1870 Act became fully implemented, and especially by 1880 when education had become universally compulsory, attendance at school had removed children from work environments that might have exposed them to discourses of empire in this manner.[33] Thus, the decline in child labour even before, but especially after, 1870 will have served to limit the discourses of empire that permeated Victorian

29 Jane Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 7.
30 Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century, 1815-1914* (Springer, 2002), 22, David, Edgerton, *The Rise and Fall of the British Nation: A Twentieth-century History*, (Penguin UK, 2018).
31 Humphries, *Childhood*, 7.
32 *Ibid*, 5.
33 Nigel Middleton, 'The Education Act of 1870 as the Start of the Modern Concept of the Child', in *British Journal of Educational Studies* (1970), 18.2: 174.

childhood to some extent.

Imperialism in non-education after the 1870 Education Act

It was not until after 1870 that the significance of empire began to markedly increase throughout Britain. Certainly, Amy Lloyd emphasizes that in the 1870s, Britain entered what has been termed the 'Age of Imperialism'.[34] After Queen Victoria's ascension to Empress of India in 1876, 'Britons were captivated by the reporting of the Indian Mutiny and the Boer War', illustrating the increased permeation of imperial discourse into Victorian society towards the end of the nineteenth century.[35]

This premise that imperialism intensified toward the late nineteenth century aligns with Queen Victoria's return to the public eye after her private and extended period of mourning. Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887 was a 'magnificent celebration', while her Diamond Jubilee in 1897 focused 'almost exclusively on a celebration of the British Empire, and the Queen's role as its head'.[36] Families of all backgrounds were encouraged to honour Victoria's personal achievements as Queen, and these occasions 'helped shape children's view of the rightness of British rule'.[37] Steinbach and Porter provide convincing evidence that information, knowledge, and discourses of Empire percolated through social classes, arguing that class mobility was a novel advancement in Victorian Britain.[38] The participation of children across classes in Queen Victoria's imperial celebrations suggests that discourses of empire permeated Victorian childhood across classes after the 1870 Education Act, not through educational channels, but through national and cultural engagement in discourses of empire that grew towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Furthermore, Lloyd has suggested that in the late nineteenth century 'empire was a prevalent theme in popular fiction and children's magazine' as 'Imperial exhibitions [...] and an expansion of music-hall entertainment where patriotic songs celebrating the Empire were a staple element' allowed discourses of Empire to permeate Victorian

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34 Lloyd, 'The British Empire', (2007).
35 *Ibid*.
36 Greg King, *Twilight of Splendor: the court of Queen Victoria during her diamond jubilee year*, (John Wiley & Sons, 2007), 19.
37 Frost, *Victorian Childhoods*, 118.
38 Susie Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, culture and society in nine-teenth-century Britain*, (London: Routledge, 2016), 138, Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*, 67.

childhood to a startling extent.[39] While historians may be inclined to assume that periodical literature would primarily have been accessed by the middle and upper-classes, Porter has suggested that contemporary ideals would have 'trickled down', stressing that class boundaries in Victorian Britain were in no way solidified.[40] Thus, discourses of empire permeated Victorian Childhood through a number of social and cultural channels after 1870.

Imperialism in education after the 1870 Education Act

By investigating the schooling experience of working-class Victorian children in English elementary schools from the late nineteenth century to 1939, Brad Beaven has concluded that school curricula, physical exercise, and extra-curricular activities systematically delivered to children after the 1870 Education Act 'were fertile ground for planting the seeds of imperial fervour'.[41] While agreeing with Porter that until the late 1880's 'board Schools and schools in the voluntary sector appear to have followed curricula relatively free from imperial propaganda', Beaven suggests that eventually 'international competition and anxieties over the security of the Empire brought the teaching of patriotism to national attention'.[42]

He goes on to argue that from the late 1880s, the curriculum took on a distinctly imperial edge as military drill and imperial ceremony were introduced, citing songs such as 'Hail Britannia' and 'England's Queen' listed among St Michaels Church of England School log book.[43] Primary evidence such as that cited by Beaven suggests that discourses of empire undoubtedly permeated Victorian childhood to a considerable extent after the 1870 Education Act. This can be attributed to the surge in imperialism towards the end of the nineteenth century, as described, translated through a regularising education system.

Conclusion

Though informal education opportunities provided by Sunday schools scarcely offered imperialism an opportunity to permeate Victorian childhood, they did

39 Lloyd, 'British Empire', 2007.
40 Porter, *Absent-minded*, 84
41 Brad Beaven, 'Educating the future citizens of Empire: Working-class schooling, 1870–1939', in *Visions of Empire*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 125.
42 *Ibid*, 130.
43 *Ibid*, CRO, CEE/log/15/1, 'St Michael's Church of England School log book', 9 March 1883, 3 March 1897.

work to emphasise inequalities compounded by class and gender. While working-class children might have expected to receive an informal, parochially compiled curriculum as well as charitable sustenance, middle-class girls were able to access informal education in pedagogical roles.[44] But had discourses of Empire permeated Sunday school curricula as Tholfsen has suggested, imperialism surely would have directed working and middle-class children in divergent ways, which it did not.[45]

Formal educational institutions such as fee-paying, boarding schools have been identified by Porter as institutions that adopted some imperial teaching materials prior to the 1870 Education Act.[46] The relatively limited imperialist ideals found to be presented through educational textbooks were, however, limited to permeating the childhoods of middle and upper-class children on account of monetary requirements for fee-paying and boarding schools. More links between class and gender may be observed: while middle and upper-class boys were afforded a private education that taught imperial principles, the expectation of middle-class girls to preserve their marriageability and remain within the domestic sphere made them less likely to experience discourses of empire through formal education systems.[47]

Although an absence from education before the 1870 Education Act might have suggested an exclusion from discourses of Empire, work such as Edgerton's has suggested that working-class children performing waged labour in industries such as cotton textiles and coal would have been aware of the Empire due to the distribution of goods.[48] In their absence from industrial labour and trade for favour of the domestic sphere, girls' exclusion from discourses of empire can therefore be seen as multiplied.[49] Crucially however, Humphries has highlighted the way in which declining rates of child labour over the nineteenth century as a result of the Factory Acts and the 1870 Education Act comprehensively reduced the exposure of both boys and girls to discourses of empire, reducing the value of this argument.[50]

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44 Frost, *Victorian Childhoods*, 109
45 Tholfsen, 'Moral Education', 94.
46 Porter, *Absent-minded*, 67.
47 McDermid, *The Schooling of Working-class Girls*, 1, Dyhouse, 'Towards a "feminine" curriculum for English schoolgirls', 297.
48 Hyam, *Imperial Century*, 22, Edgerton, *The Rise and Fall of the British Nation*.
49 Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour*, 7.
50 *Ibid*, 5.

Discourses of empire do appear to permeate Victorian childhood to a greater extent after the 1870 Education Act. Historians such as Beaven have illustrated the introduction of military drills and nationalist hymns into Elementary school curricula, suggesting an increase in imperial discourse in education towards the end of the nineteenth century.[51] Though suitable evidence has been provided to support the argument that discourses of empire permeated Victorian childhood to a greater extent after the 1870 Education Act, it is important to consider the extent to which imperialism in Britain was accelerating towards the end of the nineteenth century on account of trade expansion and the identification of monarchy with Empire. Queen Victoria's role as Empress of India as well as her nationally celebrated Golden and Diamond Jubilees undoubtedly allowed discourses of Empire to permeate the lives of Victorian children.[52] Importantly, national perpetuation of imperialistic discourse as well as the prominence of Empire in popular fiction and society seems to have been experienced by those across class and gender spectrums. On account of this, as well as sufficient evidence that imperial discourse permeated Victorian childhood most significantly towards the end of the nineteenth century, (though not entirely through elementary schooling), it is reasonable to argue that discourses of Empire permeated Victorian childhood to the greatest extent after the introduction of the 1870 Education Act.

51 Beaven, 'Future Citizens', 130.
52 Frost, *Victorian Childhoods*, 118.

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