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FRONT COVER
Zoe Grams

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EDITORIAL

Identity, in all its complexity, is of interest across the arts, humanities and social sciences.

In a year marked by significant attention to anniversaries including the abolition of the British slave trade and the Treaty of Union between England and Scotland, it is clear that today's identities are influenced by our understanding and commemoration of the past.

Interdisciplinary work while fashionable is problematic. This volume offers a range of articles, broad in scope, bound together by a common theme with distinct epistemological approaches. This includes articles that synthesise the tools of several disciplines; articles that consider the interests of one discipline through the lens of another; and articles that require multiple perspectives to better consider situations, places and people.

Our common identity has been as undergraduate students of the University of Glasgow. This academic community informed our work as authors and editors. The Scottish undergraduate Master of Arts degree has a long tradition of encouraging breadth of thought through the requirement to follow a variety of academic subjects before specialisation, and in the significant numbers of students who graduate with joint honours degrees.

Groundings emerged from within the Glasgow University Dialectic Society. Our campus debating society has, over the centuries, brought together students from all disciplines in a shared pursuit of knowledge through discussion.

Our aim, today, is to further debate on identity and commemoration, in interdisciplinary perspective, through the critical insights of talented undergraduate students.

GROUNDINGS EDITORIAL BOARD

The Impacts of Colonial Law and Policy on Indigenous Family Life in Australia[1]

Fraser A. W. Janeczko

From the moment that Britain colonised the landmass of Australia, the continuation of traditional Indigenous family life was threatened. It has even been argued that the policy and legislation of successive governments attempted to destroy the rights of Indigenous peoples to their children. Indigenous children were removed from their communities. These children are now known as the Stolen Generations. Past colonial law and policy continues to impact upon the enjoyment of traditional family life with disproportionately high removal rates of Indigenous children from their families and communities. Nationwide solutions such as the Aboriginal Child Placement Principle have gone some way in redressing this issue. In its present form, however, it remains a victim of poor implementation, funding, and inadequate consultation with Indigenous communities.

The British colonisation of Australia posed an overwhelming threat to the continued observance of traditional family life by the Indigenous population. In particular it has been stated that colonisation challenged and tried to destroy Indigenous peoples' rights to their children.[2] This is illustrated most significantly by government policies from what is called the Protection Era. At this time, legislation facilitated government policies and practices that removed Indigenous children from their communities. This has undoubtedly contributed to the present day alienation of Indigenous societies within Australia.[3] It is submitted that Indigenous children in contemporary Australian

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1 The Term "Indigenous Australians" is used in this paper to refer to both Australian Aboriginal peoples and Torres Strait Islander peoples of North-East Queensland.

2 Brian Butler, "Aboriginal Children: Back to Origins" in Family Matters 35 (1993), 7-12.

3 National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children

society - who continue to be subjected to the child protection system at a higher rate than non-Indigenous children - are still not free from the effects of past colonial law and policy in the enjoyment of their family life.[4] Today, nationwide child welfare policies such as the Aboriginal Child Placement Principle have been implemented as law in the hope that Indigenous children are kept within their ethnic communities when there is no alternative but to remove them from their family.

TRADITIONAL INDIGENOUS FAMILY LIFE

The characteristics of traditional Indigenous family life are enormously different from those of European cultures.[5] Unlike in European cultures, the core family unit is far greater extended to include the wider community. "In Indigenous societies, the extended family or kinship system traditionally managed virtually all areas of social, economic and cultural life..."[6] The main care givers of a child are not only the parents, but grandparents, other relations and members of the wider community. Socialisation practices also differ greatly. Socialisation is the process by which a person learns about the culture of the society within which they live and the roles which different people within that society play.[7] Given that socialisation practices in Indigenous and European cultures are markedly different, it is unsurprising that this leads to polarised perceptions of the world.

On colonisation, having viewed the radically different perspective taken by Australia's Indigenous peoples towards family life, the British settlers implemented a variety of laws and policy with the aim of removing children from their families and communities. McRae states that one of the main reasons for removing children from Indigenous communities under British colonial law and policy was the "devaluation and ignorance of Indigenous child rearing practices, often perceived by non-

from Their Families, *Bringing Them Home* (1997); available from http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/special/rsjproject/rsjlibrary/hreoc/stolen/stolen03.html; internet; accessed 1 June 2007.

4 Heather McRae, Garth Nettheim, Laura Beacroft and Luke McNamara, *Indigenous Legal Issues: Commentary & Materials* (Sydney: Thomson Lawbook Co., 2003), 589.

5 For a comprehensive discussion of the characteristics of Indigenous family life, see: Judith Healey, Riaz Hassan and R. B. McKenna, "Aboriginal Families" in Storer, *Ethnic Family Values in Australia*, (Sydney: Prentice Hall, 1985).

6 Mick Dodson, "The Rights of Indigenous Peoples in the International Year of the Family" in *Family Matters* 37 (1994), 34.

7 E.g. males learn how and what it means to be sons, brothers, fathers, ect.

Aborigines as being lax and neglectful".[8] The result of this line of thinking is seen in the law and policy of what became known as the Protection Era.

THE PROTECTION ERA: REMOVING INDIGENOUS CHILDREN FROM THEIR FAMILIES

The Protection Era was a period of Australian history marked by missionary and governmental control which lasted from the late 19th century up until the 1960s. The concepts of Social Darwinism circulating at the beginning of this era led to a widespread belief that Indigenous Australians were in many ways inferior to their European colonisers. They seen as a dying race, and their extinction was inevitable.[9] Thus, measures to "protect" the Indigenous population were implemented through various laws and policy. It has been stated that far from "protecting" the Indigenous population, these measures resulted in "Aborigines [being]... controlled by the state and its agents through discriminatory legislation and intervention in their lives".[10]

"Perhaps the most tragic aspect of the Protection Era was the removal of Indigenous children".[11] By the late 19th century, legislation existed in all Australian jurisdictions facilitating the removal of Indigenous children from their families and communities.[12]

In Queensland, the *Aboriginal Protection and Restriction of Sale of Opium Act 1897* was the fundamental piece of legislation governing Indigenous people. This Act provided powers to make regulations for the "care, custody and education of the children of aboriginals [sic]".[13] Under this Act, there was no need for a Court committal process and no right of appeal available to Indigenous parents against removal. Institutionalisation could be for the "term of the child's natural life".[14]

8 McRae, *Indigenous Legal Issues*, 571.
9 Ibid., 30.
10 Bain Attwood, Winifred Burrage, Alan Burrage and Elsie Stokie, *A Life Together, A Life Apart: A History of Relations Between Europeans and Aborigines*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994), 3-4.
11 McRae, *Indigenous Legal Issues*, 36.
12 Ibid, 580.
13 Section 31 (6), see also Section 9 which facilitated removal to Reserves.
14 McRae, *Indigenous Legal Issues*, 582.

Haebich claims "Queensland was the most extreme of the states in its desire to permanently segregate Aboriginal families in institutions."[15] Unlike other jurisdictions, whole families - as opposed to only children - were removed to missions and settlements.[16] However, on arrival at these destinations, the family unit itself was deconstructed. Ruth Hegarty, an Indigenous writer, describes her introduction to settlement life:

> *In about an hour the freedom of my family, the freedom they enjoyed to travel, to work together, was taken away... it would be impossible for us all to remain together as a family. This pattern of separation dogged us for nearly all our lives.*[17]

CREATING THE STOLEN GENERATIONS[18]

Children removed through government protection policies of the Protection Era have been described as the Stolen Generations. It is not unreasonable to claim that the impacts of colonisation on Aboriginal family life have been felt by almost every Indigenous Australian. It has been estimated that "today there may be one hundred thousand people of Aboriginal descent who do not know their families or communities".[19] A 1994 nationwide survey found that "over 10% of persons aged 25 years and over reported being taken away from their natural family by a mission, the government or 'welfare'.[20]

Separation was devastating for those removed, their family and the wider community Forcing children and parents to live apart led to the "destabilisation and destruction of

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15 Anna Haebich, *Broken Circles: Fragmenting Indigenous Families 1800-2000* (Freemantle. Australia: Freemantle Arts Centre Press, 2000)

16 Under powers granted by Section 9 of the Aboriginal Protection and Restriction of Sale of Opium Act 1897.

17 Ruth Hegarty, *Is That You Ruthie?* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1999), 12.

18 This term was first used by Dr Peter Read in *The Stolen Generations: The Removal of Aboriginal Children in New South Wales 1883 to 1969* (Sydney: New South Wales Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, 1981) who believed many of the "ways" in which removals were facilitated could only be described as "stolen or kidnapped".

19 Coral Edwards and Peter Read, *The Lost Children*, (Sydney: Doubleday, 1989), ix.

20 Australian Bureau of Statistics, *National Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Survey 1994, Detailed Findings*, (Canberra: AGPS, 1995), 2.

kinship networks and the destabilisation of protective and caring mechanisms within Indigenous culture..."[21] Many had difficulty grasping why they had been removed and felt deprived of a childhood, and parental love and affection. One Stolen Generations child is documented as stating: "I feel very bitter, hurt and confused over what has happened to me".[22] Further, the absence of role models and family socialisation meant that many were ill-prepared for adulthood.[23] Growing up, many experienced alienation and confusion about their cultural identity.[24]

Removed children were often taught to reject their Aboriginality and Aboriginal culture in an attempt at assimilation to the white community. "Aboriginality was not positively affirmed. Many children experienced contempt and denigration of their Aboriginality... This cut the child off from his or her roots..."[25] A controversial claim is that the aim of these policies amounted to genocide within International law.[26] Article 2(e) of the *UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* defines genocide as the forcible transferring of children of a national, ethnical, racial or religious group with the intent of destroying that group.[27] Arguably, the attempts of the Australian Government during the Protection Era to absorb Indigenous children into the wider Australian community had the intention of destroying the "unique cultural values and ethnic identities" of Indigenous peoples.[28] Article 7 of the *UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* further

21 McRae, *Indigenous Legal Issues*, 492.

22 Aboriginal Legal Services of Western Australia, *Telling Our Story*, (Perth: ALSWA, 1995), 28.

23 Hegarty, *Is That You Ruthie?*, 12.

24 Australian Government Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, "Consultation on a National Plan to Address Threats to Australia's Social Cohesion, Harmony and Security; available from http://www.immi.gov.au/multicultural/mcrg/Discussion_paper.pdf; internet; accessed 28 April 2006.

25 National Inquiry, *Bringing Them Home*; internet; 19. See Heading B.

26 Made by various sources, including the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families, although dismissed by others, see Commonwealth of Australia, Senator the Hon John Herron, Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs, *Federal Government Submission to the Senate Legal & Constitutional References Committee 'Inquiry Into the Stolen Generations'* (Canberra: Federal Government Submission, 2000).

27 United Nations, "United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948)"; available from http://www.law-ref.org/GENOCIDE/article2.html; internet; accessed 1 June 2007.

28 National Inquiry, *Bringing Them Home*, internet.

defines "cultural genocide" as "any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities" and "any form of population transfer which has the aim or effect of violating or undermining any of their rights".[29] Arguably, the practice of child removals constitutes a "population transfer", depriving Indigenous Australians "of their integrity as distinct peoples", of their "cultural values" and "ethnic identity".

THE LEGACIES OF COLONIAL LAW AND POLICY FOR THE STOLEN GENERATIONS: THE "BRINGING THEM HOME REPORT"

Above all, the legacies of this period are the many social problems which affect contemporary Indigenous society. In 1997 the Australian Federal Government produced the *Bringing Them Home Report*, which followed the *National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families*.[30] This comprehensive report documented the experiences of removed children and explained how "for individuals, their removal as children... [has] permanently scarred their lives".[31] The personal experiences of the Stolen Generations are central to the document, and reading through these it is possible to highlight the legacies which are the result of Protection laws and policy on Indigenous family life.

One legacy is the loss of family relationships and identity which can never be replaced.[32] Link-Up (NSW) states that reunion is "fundamental to healing the effects of separation".[33] It is important for the individual in terms of learning where they came from and who they are. Although there have been many positive reunions, the *Bringing Them Home Report* records that "tragically... some people discovered their parents had... passed away while others were denied by distraught parents and not

29 United Nations, "United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (1994)" available from http://www.unhchr.ch/hurdocda/huridoca.nsf/(Symbol)/E.CN.4.SUB-.2.RES.1994.45.En?OpenDocument; internet; accessed 1 June 2007.

30 National Inquiry, *Bringing Them Home*; internet. See Index.

31 Ibid., 3.

32 Ibid., 25.

33 NSW is an Aboriginal organisation established to assist removed or separated Aboriginal people find their way home to their Aboriginal family and culture; National Inquiry, *Bringing Them Home*, internet, 25.

given an opportunity to meet them".[34] Even for those who traced, located and met their families, the lost years and bonds could never fully be recovered.[35]

The lack of family and kinship has further resulted in the production of a generation who, without role models, have grown up ill-equipped for parenting themselves.[36] Consequently, they have experienced difficulties which often resulted in their own children being removed, producing a continuing cycle of removal.[37]

The loss of family and land ties has in many cases precluded Stolen Generations children from mounting successful native title claims.[38] A substantive requirement of claiming native title is the requirement of a 'continuing connection with traditional land'.[39] Through being physically separated from land and family, many Indigenous people do not know where they are from. The separation often left Indigenous communities unable to impart important knowledge about culture and language to their children and thus, any spiritual or cultural link is also impossible to prove.[40]

As well as being deprived of family and traditional culture, removals have also strongly contributed to the modern-day material poverty suffered by Indigenous people, which in turn has contributed to many of their social problems. For example, a link has been proffered between removals and poor housing, which leads to poor education, lowered employment opportunities and in turn income.[41]

A growing body of research also indicates that there is a link between the separation of families and problems such as alcoholism, substance abuse, suicide and mental

34 Ibid., 1; Ibid., 25.

35 Ibid.

36 It has been stated that 1 in 10 Indigenous parents were themselves victims of childhood removal, see above n15; McRae, *Indigenous Legal Issues*, 492.

37 National Inquiry, *Bringing Them Home*, internet, 24.

38 Richard H. Bartlett, "The Source, Content and Proof of Native Title at Common Law" in *Resource Development and Aboriginal Land Rights in Australia*, Richard H. Bartlett, ed. (Perth: The University of Western Australia & Murdoch University), 56.

39 Native Title Act 1993, Section 223.

40 Justice Howard Olney held in *Members of the Yorta Yorta Aboriginal Community v State of Victoria* (2001) 110 FCR 244, at 566, that a link may be "spiritual" within the definition of Section 223 of the Native Title Act 1993.

41 National Inquiry, *Bringing Them Home*, internet, 58.

illness.[42] For example, the Victorian Medical Service found that 65% of Indigenous clients undergoing psychiatric treatment had been separated from one parent in childhood, while 47% had been separated from both, and 27% had been institutionalised.[43]

Another legacy of the removal of the Stolen Generations is their present over-representation in the Australian criminal justice system. Cunneen states that an explanation of such over-representation "involves analysing interconnected issues [including] the impact of the forced removal of Indigenous children".[44] The Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody found that within the period of January 1980 and May 1989, forty-three of the ninety-nine Aboriginal prison deaths whose cases were studied had experienced childhood separation from their families.[45] Furthermore, recent research highlights "at least 52% of Aboriginal women interviewed in NSW prisons had come from a family affected by the Stolen Generations".[46]

For members of the Stolen Generations affected by historical removal policies, the *Bringing Them Home Report* proposes five elements of reparation.[47] These are an acknowledgement of 'the truth' and an apology, guarantees against repetition, measures of restitution, measures of rehabilitation, and monetary compensation.

The Report states an apology is 'the first step' in any reparation process and there is certainly international precedent for institutional apologies.[48] However, the Howard

42 Ibid., 24.

43 Pat Swan, "200 years of unfinished business" in *Aboriginal Medical Service Newsletter* (1988) 12-17.

44 Chris Cunneen, *Aboriginal Justice Plan: Discussion Paper*, (Sydney: NSW Aboriginal Justice Advisory Council, 2002), 33.

45 See figure 2.10, Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. "*National Report Volume One*, (1991)", available from http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/special/rsjproject/rsjlibrary/rciadic/national/vol1/BRM_VOL1.RTF; internet; accessed 1 July 2007.

46 Rowena Lawrie, "Speak Out Strong: Researching The Needs Of Aboriginal Women In Custody", (Sydney: NSW Aboriginal Justice Advisory Council, 2002), 43.

47 National Inquiry, *Bringing Them Home*, internet; 30.

48 For example, in South Africa, the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* "believes acknowledging the truth and expressing regret is the best way to heal the nation of the legacy apartheid", See Australian Human Rights & Equal Opportunities Commission "Frequently Asked Questions about the National Inquiry"; available at

Government, significantly, refuses to make an apology. The reasons for refusal are threefold: firstly, because the current generation should not bear responsibility for the past, secondly, an apology may give rise to legal liability and finally, the Federal Government believes there is a lack of public support for one.[49] The Government's stance may explain the lack of success of claims for monetary compensation, especially considering the refusal to apologise on the basis that this may give rise to legal liability.[50]

In *Kruger, Bray v The Commonwealth*, six plaintiffs challenged the constitutional validity of the *Aboriginal Ordinance (Northern Territory) 1918* under which they had been removed.[51] They claimed that the legislation breached implied constitutional rights and freedoms, including the right of equality, the freedom of religion, of movement and association, and a freedom from Genocide.[52] However, for each argument either the existence of such a right or its violation was dismissed by the High Court of Australia.

In *Cubillo v The Commonwealth*, the Commonwealth defended an action brought by two plaintiffs seeking recompense for "false imprisonment, breach of statutory duty, negligence, and breach of fiduciary obligations" resulting from childhood removal.[53] Again, the High Court held that the plaintiffs had failed to found a case on the four outlined causes of action.[54] The cumulative result of *Kruger, Cubillo* and others has produced a significant "dead-end" for many of the Stolen Generations seeking monetary compensation.[55]

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http://www.humanrights.gov.au/social_justice/stolen_children/faqs.html#ques3 internet; 1 June 2007.

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49 McRae, *Indigenous Legal Issues*, 606.

50 In general, the Howard Government's "new right history" approach to the history of British Colonisation of Australia protects the idealised version of colonisation, and downplays the accuracy of the findings of Reports such as Bringing Them Home in *McRae, Indigenous Legal Issues*, 14-16.

51 (1997) 146 ALR 126.

52 *Supra*, n26-29.

53 (2001) 184 ALR 249; McRae, *Indigenous Legal Issues*, 599.

54 Both at first instance and on appeal to the Full Federal Court.

55 *Supra* n52; *Supra* n53; For example, *Williams v Minister, Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983* (1999) 25 Fam LR 86.

McRae states that cases brought under criminal injuries compensation schemes "appear to be the only successful claims brought by members of the Stolen Generations".[56] For example, in *Linow's Case*, the plaintiff's claim was successful as she could produce evidence from both the police and a psychologist of the psychological trauma suffered as the result of sexual assault she suffered in an institution as a child.[57] However, the monetary compensation arose from the sexual assault suffered as a consequence of removal as opposed to the suffering caused by the childhood removal itself.

At present the Federal Government has provided a $63m package assisting family reunions and health related services, however it does not intend to address any of the other *Bringing Them Home Report* recommendations.[58] Abrahams states that this response "fails to grasp an historic opportunity to move Australia into the next millennium with a clearer conscience and an open heart and mind".[59]

It is certainly clear that "the impacts of the removal policies continue to resound through the generations of Indigenous families".[60] Overwhelmingly, the impact does not stop with the removed children; often it is inherited by their children "in complex and sometimes heightened ways".[61] Today, efforts are being focussed on limiting the reverberation of the legacies of childhood removal through later generations of Indigenous families. In recent years, a particular attempt has been made to end the continuing high rates of removal of Indigenous children through the implementation of the Aboriginal Child Placement Principle (ACPP) into contemporary Australian State and Territory Government policy and law.

56 McRae, *Indigenous Legal Issues*, 602.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid, 604; Abrahams, "Bringing Them Home or Taking Them Nowhere: The Federal Government's Response to the National Inquiry into the Stolen Generations" (1998) 4 (9) *Indigenous Law Bulletin 15*. Abrahams goes on to state that in total the Federal Government has only fulfilled 17 of the 54 Bringing Them Home Report Recommendations.

59 Ibid.

60 National Inquiry, *Bringing Them Home*; internet; 24.

61 Chris Cunneen, "The New Stolen Generations" (paper presented at the Australian Institute of Criminology Conference, Adelaide, 1997); *National Inquiry*, Bringing Them Home, internet; 30

CURRENT INDIGENOUS CHILD WELFARE LAW AND POLICY: A DIFFERENT STANCE?

From the end of Protectionism and Assimilation in the late 1960s, there was a considerable change in government policy, including the emergence of the ACPP.[62] One Indigenous group, the Aboriginal Taskforce on Adoption stated in 1976:

> *We believe that the only way in which an aboriginal child [sic] who is removed from the care of his parents can develop a strong identity and learn to cope with racism is through placement in an environment which reinforces the social and cultural characteristics of aboriginal society. We believe that white families are unable to provide such a supportive environment... We assert that the placement of aboriginal children... should be the sole prerogative of the aboriginal people. Only they are in a position to determine what is in the best interests of the aboriginal child.*[63]

The emergence of the ACPP has been viewed as a key acknowledgement that past policies inflicted suffering on Indigenous people, as well as accepting that Indigenous children are better raised in their own communities where they can retain their own heritage, customs, languages and institutions.[64] It is submitted that the ACPP provides a bulwark against the legacies of Protectionism from reverberating through future generations of Indigenous Australians, and as such there should be a resolute effort to implement its content.

Generally, the principle "outlines a preference for the placement of Aboriginal children with Aboriginal people when they are placed outside their families".[65] Preference is firstly for placement with extended family, then within the child's

62 Largely the emergence of the principle has been due to the efforts of Aboriginal and Islander Child Care Agencies (ACCAs), the first of which was formed in 1977 in Victoria.

63 McRae, *Indigenous Legal Issues*, 614.

64 Law Reform Commission of New South Wales, "Research Report Seven: The ACPP (1997)", available at http://www.lawlink.nsw.gov.au/rc.nsf/pages/RR7CHP3; internet; 1 June 2007; Butler, "Aboriginal Children: Back to Origins", (1993), 35, Family Matters, 7,8.

65 Law Reform Commission, "Research Report Seven"; internet.

Aboriginal community, and lastly with other Aboriginal people.[66] The ACPP also requires Indigenous organisations to be involved in the decision-making process.

All Australian jurisdictions except Western Australia have now implemented the ACPP into their laws. However, the process of implementation was by no means prompt. To take the example of the State of Queensland, the State Government adopted the principle as policy in 1987 however it was not until the Child Protection Act 1999 that the principle was finally given statutory recognition.[67] Although the principle's increasing recognition in the late 1980s and through the 1990s should be viewed as an advance, the Bringing Them Home Report claimed, for example, that in 1993 Indigenous children were thirteen times over-represented in care throughout Australia compared to non-Indigenous children.[68] Even after the statutory recognition of the ACPP throughout most of the country, disproportionately high figures persist.
In 2001 the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare reported that rates of Indigenous children in out-of-home care are nine times higher than those of non-Indigenous children.[69] This continuing high rate suggests there might be impediments to the implementation and success of the ACPP, which must be overcome to ensure its proper functioning.[70]

The first impediment to the ACPP which the Bringing Them Home Report criticises is the fact that Indigenous people "cannot control its implementation", that is to say "they are not assisted or permitted to determine the destiny of their children".[71] Although the ACPP highlights awareness of the cultural needs of Indigenous children and the importance of consultation with Indigenous organisations, this is done within "an established bureaucratic framework".[72] This acts as an impediment to the ACPP's success because the starting point from which the activities under the ACPP are

66 Ibid.
67 National Inquiry, *Bringing Them Home*; internet; 48. In particular, see Sections 6, 82 and 83. For a comparison of the implementing legislation in existence in other Australian jurisdictions see figure 11.3, McRae, *Indigenous Legal Issues*, 622-624.
68 National Inquiry, *Bringing Them Home*; internet; 48
69 Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, "The Health and Welfare of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples", available at http://www.aihw.gov.au/publications; internet; 1 June 2007.
70 McRae, *Indigenous Legal Issues*, 589.
71 Ibid., 617; Ibid.
72 Ibid.

conducted are culturally biased and do not reflect traditional Aboriginal laws or culture.[73] The decision-making process itself "operates as a powerful disincentive to Indigenous families to volunteer to be foster carers".[74] For many, the evaluation schemes appear inappropriate. An example of the perceived inappropriateness of the evaluation scheme is that financial positions are considered when determining suitability. As a result of this consideration, a combination of socio-economic factors has precluded a number of prospective Indigenous foster carers, thus producing a shortage, leading to a high proportion of Indigenous children being placed with non-Indigenous foster carers.[75]

A further impediment is the differing approaches taken by states towards the ACPP.[76] The "extent and style of consultation" required between an ACCA and a government body responsible for the removal of children varies considerably between states.[77] This is attributable to the absence of one unitary piece of Commonwealth legislation providing a global definition of the ACPP. Lack of continuity undermines and confuses the principle and hinders its effectiveness.

Yet another recurring issue is the inadequate funding of ACCAs.[78] The so-called 'partnerships' between government bodies and ACCAs are unequal not only due to such funding deficiencies, but also because "departments retain full executive decision-making power and the power to allocate resources affecting Indigenous children's welfare".[79]

Despite having its impediments, the fact that the ACPP exists marks an attempt at reducing continuing removal trends. Undoubtedly, the proper functioning of the ACPP would be greatly facilitated if the impediments to its implementation outlined above are addressed head-on by all the Australian jurisdictions working collectively.

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73 Ibid.

74 Ibid., 618.

75 Paul Ban, "Aboriginal Child Placement Principle and Family Group Conferences" in *Australian Social Work* Volume 58, Number 4 (2005), 384-388.

76 Both in terms of legislation and government policy. Again, for a diagrammatical illustration of the differences between legislation see figure 11.3, McRae, *Indigenous Legal Issues*, 622-624.

77 Ibid., 617.

78 McRae, *Indigenous Legal Issues*, 618.

79 Ibid.

Although such policies come too late for members of the Stolen Generations, their plight has not been forgotten.

CONCLUSION

It is indisputable that the effects of colonial law and policy on Indigenous Australia "resonate[s] in the present and will continue to do so in the future" .[80] As such, the impacts of colonisation on Aboriginal family life cannot be viewed as confined to the history books. In particular, legacies found in contemporary Indigenous society resulting from the Protection Era have become so complex that no simple answer will bring an end to the continuing disproportionately high rates of removal of Indigenous children from their families and communities. The ACPP provides hope that there is a concerted effort to tackle the issue of childhood removal, but its impediments highlight that much progress is still needed before Indigenous family life is truly free from the effects of past colonial law and policy. Undeniably, the impact of colonisation of Aboriginal family life was - and is - profound.

80 National Inquiry, *Bringing Them Home*; internet; 3.

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Eyes: Identity and Commemoration in British 18th and 19th Century Sculpture

Anna Vermehren

While staring right at us, the varied representations of eyes in sculpture have largely gone unrecognised. Their consideration is essential, however, for the contemporary viewer's perception of, and identification with, the political and mythology subjects of eighteenth and nineteenth century statuary. A historical overview of the depiction of eyes reveals contradictions in neo-classical sculptural practices: a move from the emulation of the antique, with coloured eyes, to the presentation of uncarved marble eyeballs. This is highly significant for the individualisation of a statue is most achieved through the expression of the eyes both in facial appearance and gaze.

Eyes have the power of expression: their representation in sculpture can make the viewer identify with a piece of cold stone or metal. How eyes are sculpted is distinctively varied in regards to their shape, possible colouring or inlays of precious stones. Some eyeballs are deeply carved to represent the pupil, others show carefully rendered low relief carvings. From an early age humans learn to interpret facial expressions as a process of socialisation. The reading of the gaze depends on individual and contextual factors especially because the face and eyes of a human are habitually in motion. The fixation of eyes in sculpture is in comparison unnaturally transfixed and stiff, but does not necessarily appear as such. The exact choice concerning the representation of eyes is ultimately the sculptor's. His intention might vary from depicting a person to his or her likeness to idealising the human appearance in order to elevate a person's dignity and grace for the purpose of heroic commemoration.

After a broad description of how eyes have been depicted in sculpture throughout history the techniques and theories which lead to different sculptural representations will be ascertained. The look and facial features are the key to an identifiable

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appearance allowing the artistic remembrance of a famous person long passed away.The neo-classicist ideals of the eighteenth and nineteenth century strengthened the grandeur and respectability of depicted personalities in sculptural practices.

Ancient Egyptian sculpted eyes in statues and busts were usually left uncarved because they were coloured after completion of the sculpture. Some Egyptian granite statuary had inlays in the eyes, which over time have fallen out and are now missing.[1] As the English sculptor John Flaxman pointed out in his 1829 lectures, Greek sculpture had been derived from the Egyptian model.[2] This is for instance apparent in the representation of eyes; in Egyptian as in Greek sculpture the eyeballs are mostly left blank without any decorative carvings to serve the purpose of a naturalistic style achieved through polychrome colouring.

Peter Stewart argues that the majority of Roman full-length statues present heads which show an individual's identity while the bodies retain repetitively formalised, or are even pre-fabricated. The necessary identification of a figure was essentially achieved through facial features and expression while an idealised body created a framework of more general grandeur. Portrait statues were used as "funerary memorials, marks of honour of deity and individual; they were public, honorific rewards or gifts by state, community, clients, or associates. Portrait busts [...] increased the expressive potential of the portrait", which is also the case in eighteenth and nineteenth century sculpture.[3] The commemorative function of classical sculpture is mirrored in sculptors Francis Legatt Flaxman's and John Chantrey's time since classical sculpture was a means of presenting power and status for political and religious purposes.[4] In Hellenistic Athens "the decree of public honorific statues and other honours [...] have been seen as the state's means of reinforcing wealthy

1 T. G. H. James and W. V. Davies, *Egyptian Sculpture* (London: British Museum Publications, 1983).

2 John Flaxman, *Lectures on Sculpture* (London: J. Murray, 1829); James and Davies, Egyptian Sculpture.

3 Peter Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 83.

4 Sir Francis Legatt Chantrey (1782 - 1841) and John Flaxman (1755 - 1826) were English sculptors and members of the Royal Academy. Further influential contemporaries were Sir Joshua Reynolds and Thomas Wedgwood.

individuals' psychological [...] investment in the community".[5] Sculpture can generate an ideal representation through the illusion of beauty created by standardised proportions, simplicity and symmetry. For Flaxman hundreds of years after antiquity, sculpture still had the function of propaganda to celebrate and commemorate national heroes and patriots.[6]

The Middle Ages were seen by the sculptors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a dark age of primitive art. Flaxman believed that the ancient Britons were unable to progress: in his thought they were not capable of developing 'high' sculpture except for coins. "[T]he Goths, Franks and Lombards, and other uncivilised nations, had nearly exterminated the liberal arts in Europe."[7] He argued that the Romans brought 'culture' to Britain which was then copied by the Britons. This statement is not accepted anymore; but from consulting illustrations of sculptures of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it becomes clear, however, that classical carved eyes were now being represented alongside uncarved eyeballs. The more local and native traditions of carved eyeballs merged with the classical approach.

During the Middle Ages the knowledge that classical sculpture was mostly polychrome became lost. By the time of the Renaissance, excavated Roman statues were seen as an ideal model for contemporary sculpture. The eyeballs left blank were imitated from the antique as an ideal of beauty. The German theorist Johann Joachim Winckelmann acknowledged in 1762 that Roman sculpture found in the excavations of Herculaneum was more beautiful and refined than any sculpture presently produced.[8] Winckelmann said explicitly that ancient art is superior to the art of his own day.[9] Although Martin von Wagner discovered in 1817 that antique sculpture was painted, the whiteness of marble and the representation of eyes left blank was already an established and commonly accepted matter of taste since the Renaissance.[10]

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5 Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society*, 29; all sculptural illustrations in this book are represented with eyes left blank, as far as it can be seen from the images.

6 Flaxman, *Lectures on Sculpture*

7 Ibid., 8.

8 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Johann Winckelmann's Sendschreiben von der Herculanischen Entdeckungen. An den hochgebohren Herrn, Herrn Heinrich Reichsgraften von Brühl* (Dreszden: George Conrad Walther, königlicher Hofbuchhändler, 1762).

9 See *Art History and its Methods*, Eric Fernie, ed. (London: Paidon, 1995), 70.

10 See e.g, Andreas Blühm, Wolfgang Drost and June Hargrove, Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh, *The Colour of Sculpture, 1840-1910* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1996).

Recommendations for eighteenth and nineteenth century sculptors on how to carve eyes are rare to find. The institutionalised British training practice for sculptors was based on continental neo-classicist methods. Winckelmann for example gave some instruction on the proportions of the eye and its surrounding: the size of the eye is dependent on the shape of the cranial bones which enclose the eye-socket. He recommended setting the eye deeper than in 'nature' to aim for more significance when seen from afar. The obtained elevation of the forehead is on the one hand meant to be perceived as intellectual superiority; on the other it shows an introvert individuality and privacy.[11] Along with other writers Winckelmann created the theoretical background of the German period of the Weimarer Klassik. His work gained popularity and was soon translated into English.[12] His contemporary, the cleric Johann Kaspar Lavater, wrote a treatise about physiognomy in which he explained the importance of the eyes in analysing character traits. His assumptions are based on the idea that God made man to equal him. Therefore the perfect physical appearance is considered most godlike, and the ideal body most beautiful. The most attractive body is the most morally sophisticated and the ugliest the immoral.[13] For Lavater the eyes played an important role in the unity between body and soul since for him they are the mirror of the psyche, the essence of the character.

Winckelmann and Lavater pointed out that it is central for the interpretation of eyes, that the eyeball itself does not solely constitute the 'eye'. The surrounding, the eye socket, the shadows under the eye and the eyebrows, are distinctive features of reading the expression of the living and sculpted eye. Although a sculpted eye with a carved pupil allows the spectator to get hold of the figure's gaze, all facial features collectively reveal the emotional expression. Uncarved, pupils left blank appear more anonymous and idealised since the spectator is unable to identify with the figure's look, but nevertheless the facial features convey enough emotion which can be read without the distinct gaze of the eyes.

11 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Karl Ludwig Fernow, et al. *Winckelmann's Werke* (Dresden: George Conrad Walther, königlicher Hofbuchhändler, 1808), 189.

12 Johann Heinrich Füßli translated Winckelmann's *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greek* in 1765. Johann Kasper Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe* from 1772 were also translated by Füßli from 1789 to 1798.

13 Johann Caspar Lavater and Ernst Staehelin, *Ausgewählte Werke* (Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1943).

Flaxman in England like Lavater in Switzerland believed in the unity of appearance and inner feeling:

> *Every passion, sentiment, virtue, or vice, have their corresponding signs in the face, body, and limbs, which are understood by the skilful physician and physiognomist, when not confused by the working of contrary affections or hidden by dissimulation.*[14]

He recommends in his lecture on beauty that emotions should be mirrored in the representation of a sculpture's face. Variety of expression is possible through the modification of beautiful elements. Beauty is, for him, the Greek model in its simplicity and directness:

> *Our present purpose particularly requires we should consider the sentiments of the most celebrated Greeks on beauty, the connection of mental and bodily beauty, and their expression in the human form.*[15]

In eighteenth and nineteenth century British marble sculpture carved pupils were especially common in sculptural busts while uncarved eyes were more often found in life-size statues. Busts were smaller and usually displayed at eye level. By and large, busts show individuals while full-length sculpture habitually depicts a part of a mythical narrative as for instance Canova's Three Graces or a public monumental figure of a politician or national hero which is represented high above the spectator.[16] The further the statue's face is from the viewer the lesser is the effect of the representation of eyes. Busts fulfil the purpose of recognition and identification while full body statues aim for heroic grandeur through idealised form. The uncarved eyes were not just created on the classical model but also served the fashionable taste of idealised beauty of the time. The carving of pupils adds individuality, while uncarved eyeballs appear as typified. The politics of the gaze are an important instrument in creating an interaction between spectator and artwork. Full-length statues propagating power gain more identification with the viewer or a crowd by

14 Flaxman, *Lectures on Sculpture*, 141.

15 Ibid., 144.

16 Antonio Canova, *Three Graces*, marble sculpture, 1814-17, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.

generalising the gaze; through leaving the eyes uncarved the look opens up to any direction and space.

William Pitt the Younger, the highly celebrated British Prime Minister from 1783 until 1801 and from 1804 to his death in 1806, was represented by the sculptors of his time in many statues and busts. Pitt was a figure of power. The full-length statue of him by Chantrey is situated in Hanover Square, London, and was erected in 1831. It stands high up, is monumental and dignified. The eyes are hardly seen but it can be conjectured from documentation that they are left blank, similarly to most of Chantrey's full-length statues. Flaxman's representation in the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum in Glasgow shows Pitt in life-size scale. The face is closer to the spectator although Pitt is elevated on a pedestal. The statue's eyeballs are carved so that the figure's gaze is pointing in one direction. It seems that Pitt is indefinitely looking into the distance instead of catching the spectator's attention by looking at him. The carving of pupils in this case serves to both, individualise and distance Pitt in his shown pose as orator. While Chantrey's sculpture overlooks a square from a high viewpoint, Flaxman's Pitt is situated inside, spot lit with artificial bright light.

In Joseph Nollekens' bust of William Pitt he is shown as an aged man. His facial features are sagging — his eyelids, his cheeks and the corners of his closed mouth, even the hair concealing parts of his ear follow the sloping shape of his shoulders. His facial expressions make him appear critical, knowledgeable and reflective. His representation is less enthusiastic, powerful and youthful in comparison to the other statues. Noellekens does not idealise a man of power; he depicts a wise but resigned man. The eyeballs are slightly carved to indicate a gaze as opposed to achieving a staring look. Pitt seems introspective. Strongly carved pupils would give him a notion of extroversion.

British sculpture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries disengaged from the (neo-) classical model: the representation of eyes in diverse forms is an example of how important the expressivity of the face in a naturalistic manner was in contrast to the creation of idealised form which Winckelmann had proclaimed in his famous expletive "stille Einfalt, edle Größe".[17] Although the nineteenth century discourse

17 Translates as "quiet simplicity, noble grandeur". This can be found in Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst. Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (B. Seuffert. Berlin, B. Behr's Verlag. 20, 1885), 25.

about polychrome sculpture had no far-reaching impact on the sculptors' practices it had broadened the knowledge about antique statues and revealed the notion of classical naturalism. The neo-classical paradigm of idealisation, and its construct of beauty, was superseded by a subjectified naturalism which is visible in the diverse representation of eyes in eighteenth and nineteenth century British sculpture.

From these three examples it becomes clear that patterns in the representation of eyes do not necessarily lead to any generalised conclusion. How we perceive the expressions of a face also depends on learned ways of looking. Adopting a psychological analysis of human facial features is crucial for an accurate interpretation of sculptural representation in terms of spectatorship and the politics of the gaze. Lavater's suggestions about physiognomy were an early attempt to classify facial features. But although the face is still seen as a mirror of emotions it does not evidentially provide clues about inner feelings, not even to speak about personality traits. Even in psychology the meaning and impact of facial expressions is a highly contested area. For an analysis of the depiction of eyes in sculpture this means that individual cases need to be considered in a more or less subjective way: what the art historian reads into a sculpted face depends on his or her experiences and social education. However, there are a few valuable points to be considered in regard to the observation and interpretation of eyes. Light, setting and spatial atmosphere change the appearance of a sculpture. The techniques used enhance the stylistic features and create either a realistic likeness or an idealisation of the depicted figure. The dimensions of the sculpture have an impact on the viewer's response to it. How eyes are carved is a matter of function aimed at a certain expression.

In classical antiquity, as far as is known, coloured eyes left blank were the standard representation. During the Middle Ages different types of eye representations merged, carved and uncarved, coloured or low relief. In the periods following, the classical ideal of naturalistic idealism intermittently was taken up, but the representation of eyes remained varied. Especially in British eighteenth and nineteenth century sculpture, the carving of sculpted eyes was more often evident in the individualised representations of national celebrities; allowing the viewer to identify with the commemorated. Today eyes left blank still seem idealised but in fact they are more realistic in comparison to their carved counterpart as the human eyeball is plain itself.

This perceptive contradiction stems from the time of the Renaissance when the representation of eyes was transferred from the antique model. The response to the representation of eyes is a socio-contextual phenomenon based on the tradition of facial interpretation. Today's public is used to viewing living images through visual media which detach us from stone or bronze sculpture. Time moves on, but although the representations of figures from our history are still found in our cities they are arguably less seen, recognised and experienced by the crowd.

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The Evolution of Morality

Matthew Rutherford

Morality is essential to human identity. Since Darwin and Wallace proposed natural selection to explain the complexities of organisms, evolutionary biologists have sought explanations for all aspects of human nature including morality. One way to establish how far morality is exclusive to humans is to examine moral precursors in closely-related species. The advantage of such a characteristic initially seems contrary to the 'selfish' process of natural selection, however various ways in which such a trait has adaptive value have been proposed. Also, the extent to which morality is actually part of human identity, a product of sophisticated human culture rather than being hard-wired into our minds by evolutionary process, is a fascinating and current area of scientific dialogue.

INTRODUCTION

Influential biologist, surgeon and philosopher Thomas Huxley argued the case, in his famous lecture *Evolution and Ethics* (1894), that human nature is essentially evil: the consequence of a cruel and unforgiving natural environment. Huxley, a staunch supporter and friend of Charles Darwin, suggested that morality was simply a human cultural construction, created in order to counter egotistical human nature.[1] However. it is now clear that moral systems occur and are adhered to universally across cultures, indicating that contrary to Huxley's beliefs morality does have evolutionary origins and is a fundamental component of human nature.[2]

These issues are part of what is arguably one of the most significant debates of contemporary science and philosophy: the extent to which evolutionary processes

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1 Thomas H. Huxley, *Evolution and Ethics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

2 Jessica C. Flack and Frans B. M. de Waal, "'Any Animal Whatever' Darwinian Building Blocks of Morality in Monkeys and Apes", *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 7, No. 1-2 (2000): 1-29.

influence contemporary human behaviour and cognition. Ever since Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace proposed their influential treatises on 'descent with modification', leading evolutionary biologists have put forward the idea that seemingly exclusive human characteristics such as morality are a result of the natural selection process. However, since the arrival of new social scientific disciplines such as psycho-analysis at the turn of the 20th century, there has been a separate school of thought, that all human behaviour is culturally determined, that the mind has essentially evolved into a "blank slate".[3]

The debate can be advanced through various avenues. Examining the behaviour of closely related species to determine if it is analogous or homologous to our own can help establish to what extent morality is a product of natural selection. Consideration of the adaptive value of morality is also crucial to furthering our understanding of the issue.

MORALITY DEFINED

In the response to discussion of their recent review Jessica C. Flack and Frans B. M. de Waal first highlight the difficulty of attempting to define a concept with so many potential interpretations before offering this "broad characterisation":

> *We understand morality as a sense of right and wrong that is born out of group-wide systems of conflict management based on shared values.*[4]

This definition is similar to Alexander's (1987), where morality is characterised as based on systems of indirect reciprocity and Boehm's (2000), which indicates it is the result of common principles imposed on the individual by the group.[5] Flack and de Waal go on to describe an arrangement of regulations and incentives to settle group

3 Debra Lieberman, John Tooby and Lada Cosmides, "Does Morality have a Biological Basis? An Empirical Test of the Factors Governing Moral Sentiments Relating to Incest", *Proceedings of the Royal Society* 270 (2003): 818.

4 Jessica C. Flack and Frans B. M. de Waal, "Being Nice Is Not a Building Block of Morality Response to Commentary Discussion", *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 7, No. 1-2 (2000): 67-77.

5 Richard D. Alexander, *The Biology of Moral Systems* (Hawthorne, NY: Aldinede Guyter, 1987); Christopher Boehm, "Conflict and the Evolution of Social Control", *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 7 (Special Issue on Evolutionary Origins of Morality) (2000): 79-183.

rivalries and disputes in the service of the 'greater good'; the individual benefits from resource distribution and collective action. Therefore, according to this definition, prosocial behaviour is integral to morality.[6]

MORAL MONKEYS?

Considering the degree to which other closely related species possess morals or moral precursors helps us to establish whether our common ancestor was a moral being and contributes to the debate on the extent to which morality is indeed an evolved behaviour or is a cultural phenomenon. Darwin's thoughts on the extent to which animals possess ethical values are related to the creature in question's cognitive ability:

> *Any animal whatever, endowed with well-marked social instincts, the parental and filial affections being here included, would inevitably acquire a moral sense or conscience, as soon as its intellectual powers had become as well developed, as in man.*[7]

Darwin seems quite confident that, provided a creature is sufficiently intellectually developed, it will be able to absorb morality from its relations. In more recent years proponents of Huxley's position (stated above) have suggested a more extreme view of human nature. In 1976 the evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins explained that people are "born selfish" and that in seeking to build a world in which individuals work together in an altruistic fashion we can expect little help from our genetic makeup.[8] Renowned evolutionary biologist George C. Williams accounts for the presence of morality in a slightly different manner:

> *I account for morality as an accidental capability produced, in its boundless stupidity, by a biological process that is normally opposed to the expression of such a capability.*[9]

6 Ibid.

7 Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

8 Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).

9 George C. Williams, "Reply to Comments on 'Huxley's Evolution and Ethics in a Sociobiological Perspective'", *Zygon*, 23 (1988): 383-407.

However, Flack and de Waal question Dawkins in that, if morals are not biologically inherent then what force aided humans in denying their nature and establishing societal norms. They also put it to Williams that if morality is an evolutionary accident, then why has natural selection not dealt with it appropriately as it would any other trait which has no adaptive value. It is the lack of substance of these positions that have encouraged Flack and de Waal to review the existence of foundations of morality in non-human primates. The framework that they apply for addressing such issues proposes that the origins of morality can be explained by evolutionary biology but that the *specifics* of our contemporary moral structures should be analysed in a different manner.[10]

Food-sharing in animal communities can be used as a tool to assess the occurrence of moral behaviour. De Waal has repeatedly investigated the food sharing tendencies of brown capuchin monkeys and chimpanzees.[11] In one experiment, adult capuchins were broken up into pairs and placed in a test compartment separated into two sections divided by a mesh partition. The individual with access to food was free to consume it all by himself or to actively or passively (by allowing the other monkey to have dropped pieces) share it. The set-up was then rearranged so that the second individual had access to the food. Reciprocal sharing was observed, albeit with some variation between the sexes; females were inclined more to reciprocal sharing, while males were less selective in terms of who they shared with and were more liberal with amounts given. Although this experiment was conducted in an artificial environment, similar observations have been made in colonies and in the wild.[12]

This type of sharing can be described as symmetrical reciprocity, that is, a by-product of frequent association. However if calculated reciprocity, which is based on the ability to keep mental note on favours given and received, can be demonstrated, then more cognitively demanding decisions must be undertaken, which point towards the possession of expectations in these non-human primates. Another manner in which calculated reciprocity is displayed is in the retributive behaviour of chimpanzees. This form of reciprocity requires prescriptive rules and expectations which, Flack and de Waal say, "essentially reflects a sense of social regularity, and may be a precursor to

10 Flack and Waal, *Any Animal Whatever*, 1-29.

11 E.g., Frans B. M. de Waal "Food-sharing and Reciprocal Obligations in Chimpanzees, *Journal of Human Evolution* 18 (1989): 433-459; Frans B. M. de Waal, "The Chimpanzee's Service Economy: Food for Grooming", *Evolution and Human Behavior*, 18 (1997): 1-12.

12 Ibid.

the human sense of justice".[13] Their conclusions are criticised, notably by Jerome Kagan, who argues that human morality is defined by intention, not by behaviour and due to the fact that biologists cannot know animal's intentions they should not automatically classify certain behaviour which benefit another as necessarily altruistic.[14] To what extent these reciprocity mechanisms are cognitively mediated remains uncertain, but at least for chimpanzees there is evidence for the function of memory and expectation.

Community concern is another building element of morality which has been observed in certain primate populations.[15] Flack and de Waal cite the example of a female who demonstrates this concern in trying to resolve a conflict in which she played no part and thus restoring a relationship that is not her own. Such examples are probably rare in primates, and many only occur significantly in apes. Also an empathetic behaviour,'active consolation', is well documented in chimpanzees. This consists of a third party advancing towards and connecting with a recipient of aggression following a physical confrontation. An example would be a juvenile approaching and embracing an adult male who has just lost a fight with a competitor.

The question remains, are non-human primates capable of actual concern for others founded on considering an individual's perspective? There is some evidence to advocate that apes are capable of cognitive empathy in a similar way to humans but whether monkeys possess a less substantial model of this ability is still uncertain. The fact that certain 'building blocks' of morality can be observed in non-human primates suggests that our common ancestors were likely to have possessed similar traits and therefore indicates that components of morality are evolutionarily advantageous.

ADAPTIVE VALUE

Despite the fact that numerous moral theorists and biologists are dubious that natural selection can produce components of moral systems such as the capacity for sympathy and empathy or even the capacity for non-kin based cooperation that requires the suspension of short term, independent interests, there also exists a tradition going

13 Ibid.

14 Jerome Kagan, "Human Morality is Distinctive", *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 7, No. 1-2, (2000): 46-48.

15 Flack and de Waal, *Any Animal Whatever*, 1-29.

back to Petr Kropotkin (1902) which suggests that the animals assist each other specifically because by doing so they achieve long term, collective benefits of greater value than the short term benefits derived from straightforward competition. More recently Robert Trivers has forwarded his concept of 'reciprocal altruism' in which unlike simultaneous cooperation, acts are carried out that while being valuable to the recipient, are costly to the performer. This inequality is eliminated as soon as a good deed of equivalent significance is returned.[16]

Bernard Thierry however explains that evidence regarding this phenomenon of calculated reciprocity in chimpanzees is still questioned, but that this does not detract from the potential adaptive value of systems that enhance exchanges and lower conflicts of interest. He crucially cites Stephen J. Gould and Elisabeth S. Vrba (1982): the use of characteristics that were not primarily intended for their current function is a principal mechanism of evolution. These features, such as cognitive skill and motivational dispositions, may have represented a source of raw material for the ensuing development of morality.[17]

Professor of Psychiatry and Psychology at the University of Michigan, Randolph M Nesse is a critic of the position adopted by Elliott Sober and David Sloan Wilson (1998) that for characteristics such as morality and altruism to have evolved, group selection must have been required. Randolph Nesse maintains that, although models have demonstrated that group selection can occur under stringent conditions, it is neither necessary nor sufficient. He suggests that the advantage may come from sexual selection, social selection, or the adaptive value for a capacity for commitment, and also possibly from cooperation and kin selection. On an issue of terminology, interestingly and crucially, he cites the difference between altruism and selfishness and 'evolutionary altruism' and 'evolutionary selfishness', noting that the use of morality as a metaphor in evolutionary biology has lead to a substantial degree of confusion![18]

Darwin was familiar with the philosophy of David Hume and Adam Smith and was aware that Hume's thinking on human nature fitted his own perspective that the two

16 Ibid.

17 Bernard Thierry, "Building Elements of Morality are not Elements of Morality", *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 7, No.1-2, (2000): 60-62.

18 Randolph Nesse, "How Selfish Genes Shaped Moral Passions", *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 7, No.1-2 (2000): 227-231.

aspects of human nature, the dark, competitive side, and the cooperative and compassionate side could co-exist as evolutionary strategies.[19] This position seems to be an appropriate point from which the debate on the adaptive value of morality can be explored.

EVOLVED BEHAVIOUR VS. CULTURALLY DETERMINED

In their investigation of how incest is viewed in terms of morality, Debra Lieberman et al. distinguish between two potential mechanisms of cultural transmission in relation to moral sentiments regarding third-party sibling incest; vertical and horizontal. The vertical model contends that offspring absorb parental attitudes towards sexuality. However when length of co-residence with an opposite sex sibling is controlled for, the relationship between parental attitudes and children's own perception of sibling-incest drops and ceases to be significant. The second route of cultural transmission is through the immediate social environment i.e. peer attitudes. Lieberman et al. suggest that if peer attitudes do have an effect, these would be mirrored in the subject's own position towards sexual behaviour, and the subject's restrictiveness and judgements of moral wrongness related to sibling incest would be correlated. However there was no correlation. Taken together, the conclusions related to horizontal and vertical cultural transmission indicate that morality regarding incest is acquired by other means than cultural transmission.[20]

Sandra and Werner Güth, as well as noting Flack and de Waal's lack of consideration of immorality as an evolved behaviour, tend to favour 'cultural evolution' over genetic. They make the point that to imagine all the social conduct of primates to be based on instinct would require a much too complex genotype. They instead propose that evolution's 'escape route' was to develop a costly brain capable of cognition and calculated choices with the capacity to assess one's social environment and the likely consequences of one's actions. However, they do accept that morality indefinitely requires many genetically determined facilities. To further establish to what extent morality is an evolved phenomenon, they suggest observing primate individuals brought up outside their natural environment interact with zoo or wild populations.[21]

19 Flack and de Waal, "'Any Animal Whatever' Darwinian Building Blocks of Morality in Monkeys and Apes", *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 7, No.1-2 (2000): 1-29.

20 Lieberman et al., *Morality*, 818.

21 Sandra Güth and Werner Güth, "Morality Based on Cognition in Primates", *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 7, No.1-2 (2000): 43-46.

CONCLUSION

As our understanding of what makes us human continues to expand and deepen, and as it becomes clear that so much of our nature is determined by a ruthless, unthinking process such as natural selection, it is crucial to realise that we should not revert to some form of Social Darwinism or use this interpretation of 'nature's way' to guide or justify our behaviour.

Humans may indeed be the only actual moral beings; even though it is arguable that several elements necessary to human morality can be demonstrated in other primates, there is no reason to believe that other animals have moral systems that reflect the intricate nature of our own.

According to the vast majority of traditional religious thought humans were created rather than having evolved. As a result of this we have grown attached to the notion of considering ourselves to be unique and qualitatively superior. It is essential to advancing understanding of our existence that we continue to question such established doctrines.

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Inequality and Identity in Contemporary Processes of Labour Market Restructuring

Andrew C. Forsyth

Contemporary processes of labour market restructuring have resulted in increasing social and spatial inequalities in the United Kingdom. While the well-discussed issues of class, race and gender continue to be correlated to inequality, the decline in numbers of manufacturing jobs andrise in low-level service work has brought a new reality of identity-correlation. To remain employed, workers must increasingly present an identity that is appealing to employers: one that transcends geography and current job role. Thus, in today's labour market with its increasing economic polarisation, previously strong social and work identities are challenged by the logic of capital.

The 'labour market' in the United Kingdom (UK) and much of the industrialised work has experienced significant contemporary change. Over the last thirty years, the labour market, the mechanism through which people are allocated to particular work, has been restructured with increased 'flexibility' now a key trait. While the number of firms adopting flexible practices is often exaggerated, their rise, together with the numerical decline of manufacturing industries, has brought new social and spatial identities. It is evident that flexibility's lean production methods and non-standard employment strategies have resulted in increased employment inequalities.

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IDENTITY

Before considering the interplay of inequality and identity in today's labour market, the concept of 'identity' needs to be considered. "Central to the recognition and articulation of difference", identity, in popular usage, refers to individuals' continuing sense of self.[1] Critical reflection suggests its formation in contradistinction to the 'other'; where the other is temporally, spatially and culturally subjective.

If identity is, at least partially, controlled by individuals' distinction to others, it is always relational and thus embedded in local social and cultural processes. Anthony Giddens' conception of 'structuration' is useful here: human agency exists but choices are made within structures (constructed and replicated by acts of individual agents).[2]

While older theories have presented identity as static, more recently it has been seen as "hybrid (unstable, mixed and multiple)".[3] When identity is declared hybrid or global, there is room for overstatement. The sociologist Tim Phillips, empirically surveying Australians' identities, notes that "the most popular kinds of geographical identity [are] found to be based on local forms, rather than in national or global manifestations".[4] Individuals' sense of self may remain most strongly attached to close geographical locality. The geographer Doreen Massey attempts to account for differences in the local while affirming the reality of global economic processes. She proposes a 'global sense of place' where places exist as specific instantiations of the meeting of global flows; a constructive means to conceptually hold together geographical scales.[5] This provides a useful tool to examine local group identities in an increasingly global labour market.

Equally, studies of identity have often treated self-identity in "non-divisible terms… [where] the individual is presented as attached to a collation of social identities which

1 Doreen McDowell and Joanne Sharp, *A Feminist Glossary of Human Geography* (London: Arnold, 1999), 32.

2 See, e.g., Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984).

3 McDowell and Sharp, *Feminist Glossary* , 132.

4 Tim Phillips "Imaginary Communities and Self-Identity: An Exploratory Quantitative Analysis", *Sociology* 36, 3 (2002): 613.

5 Doreen Massey, "A Global Sense of Place", Marxism Today , 35 (1991): 24-29.

neither overlap nor interact".[6] When considering the role of identity, with inequality, in today's labour market, multiple creative sources must be recognised. Identity may be a multifaceted self-understanding; a discernable social position, the end-result of a process larger than the individual; or an imposed characterisation.

CONTEMPORARY LABOUR MARKET RESTRUCTURING

While it is difficult to fully describe the complex, interrelated factors that create labour market conditions one concept that usefully suggests its current logic is "flexibility".[7] Flexibility is the ability of labour markets to change to meet societal imperatives and economic profits. John Atkinson suggests several major forms: "external numerical flexibility" where employers adjust the numbers of workers employed; "internal numerical flexibility" or "temporal flexibility" where employers adjust the working hours of employees; "functional flexibility" where employers adjust workers' activities and tasks; and "financial flexibility" where employers differentially adjust workers' wages.[8]

Flexibility finds form in many processes of contemporary capitalism; a situation sometimes characterised as the achievement of a move from Fordism to Post-Fordism: "top-down, high-volume, low-cost production" replaced with "high quality customization".[9] 'Just in time' production, introduced from Japan, is one example, where "parts, supplies and workers are delivered to the production process at the very point at which they are needed".[10] 'Lean production', equally, is a management philosophy that seeks the end of waste through flexibility; 'peripheral workers' are "employed on a non-standard basis" allowing employers to take on new workers only when needed and to fire workers easily if demand decreases.[11]

6 Ibid., 599.
7 Harriet Bradley, Mark Erickson, Carol Stephenson and Steve Williams, *Myths at Work* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2000), 31.
8 John Atkinson, "Flexibility, Uncertainty and Manpower Management" in *IMS Report No. 89* (Brighton, UK: Institute of Manpower Studies, 1984).
9 Marvin Finkelstein, *Net-Works: Workplace Change in the Global Economy* (Oxford, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), 63.
10 Bradley et al., *Myths at Work*, 36.
11 Ibid., 40.

This move to non-standard forms of employment is widely recognised as a key component of today's economy. While this change is most noticeable for low-income waged labour, the geographer Linda McDowell suggests that flexibility is found not only in "poorly paid and unskilled 'servicing jobs'" but also in "highly paid and skilled" employment.[12] Decreasing job security is, however, differently experienced: highly skilled workers often find excitement and reward in frequent job changes; for the unskilled it is, instead, exposure to the prospect of unemployment and hardship.

The rise of non-standard conditions for employment is a symptom of "the long decline of manufacturing employment" in the UK.[13] McDowell notes that in the middle of the twentieth century over two-thirds of waged labour was in manufacture while by the turn of the new century this figure had dropped to less than a quarter.[14]

In very simple terms, therefore, the contemporary labour market in the UK exhibits a shift from permanent to flexible working arrangements and a move from manufacture to services. Before considering the societal and spatial impacts of the processes of the contemporary labour market it is worth noting, however, that the newness of these phenomena and their extent are highly contested.

Jamie Peck notes that despite employers' articulation of the rhetoric of the inevitability of flexibility it is often in their interests to maintain traditional patterns.[15] McDowell suggests that flexibility is exaggerated: "despite the rise in non-standard patterns of work… standard full-time jobs still significantly outnumber non-standard contracts (by two to one for all employees in the mid 1990s)".[16] It is essential to remember that work is always located in a particular place. This 'local' Peck conceptualises as a "prior set of possibilities".[17] Local conditions influence the shape of

the labour market; for the labour market is embedded in institutional practices,

12 Linda McDowell, "Father and Ford Revisited: Gender, Class and Employment Change in the New Millennium", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 26 (2001): 455.

13 Linda McDowell, "Masculinity, Identity and Labour Market Change", *Geografiska Annaler*, 86, B (2004): 45-56

14 Ibid., 47-8.

15 Jamie Peck, *Work-Place: the Social Regulation of Labor Markets* (New York & London: The Guilford Press, 1996), 133.

16 McDowell, *Father and Ford Revisited*, 450.

17 Peck, *Work-Place*, 136.

and embodied in workers' identities. These practices and work identities have continued influence despite any imposition of new forms of employment. Tod Rutherford, in examining the restructuring of local labour markets in Canada, for example, questioned employers across regions and found that when asked how they would 'deal with the need for increased production' there were noticeable distinctions by location. "In Kitchener, the most selected strategy was to hire full-time employees with 38 percent of respondents, compared with less than 25 percent in the Sault."[18] Local norms, and workers' identities, still condition responses to global flows of capital.

SPATIAL IMPLICATIONS OF LABOUR MARKET RESTRUCTURING

The moves towards flexibility have brought increasing polarisation of income and job opportunities for workers. While differentials in wealth are intrinsic to the logic of capitalism, since the 1970s the "gap between high and low earners has been steadily widening" in the UK with the income of the poorest tenth declining, in real terms, by 17 percent from 1979 to 1992.[19] Allied with decreasing real income for the poorest is the 'casualisation' of work with increased numbers in non-standard (selfemployed, part-time) jobs. This has increased a division between the "work-rich and the work-poor".[20] This distinction becomes an identity and is socially replicated: children of under-employed parents and grandparents are also statistically likely to be under-employed.[21] This is often understood as a systemic class disadvantage but McDowell suggests that, to some extent, "conventional distinctions of class, race and gender have become less relevant".[22] Instead it is the ability to "construct mobile, portfolio careers" that allows social mobility. Group identity, while powerfully correlated, is clearly not the only factor in success. The ability to construct a mobile, portfolio career, nonetheless, is correlated with the classic barriers or enablers of class, race and gender.

Flexibility has also led to functional changes for workers. Longstanding demarcation of tasks in workplaces has been eroded and replaced with increasing economic

18 Tod Rutherford, "Requiem or Rebirth? Internal Labour Markets and Labour Market Restructuring in the Kitchener and Saint Ste. Marie Regions" in *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien*, 50, 2 (2006): 197-216.

19 Bradley et al., *Myths at Work*, 137.

20 Ibid.

21 Bradley et al., *Myths at Work*, 138.

22 McDowell, *Masculinity*, 46.

distinction between qualified, 'credentialised' workers who must multitask, and those without qualifications or recorded skills.[23] This has been understood as a segmented labour market. Peck outlines segmentation theory as holding that "the social space of the labour market is not only divided into submarkets… but also… the rules governing the behaviour of labour market actors differ from one segment… to the other".[24]A primary set of workers is invested in; a secondary set is recruited directly from the labour market and will not receive expensive training. In the flexible workplace the primary, core, set of staff possess reasonable job security while the unskilled secondary, peripheral, set receives little investment and is always expendable.[25] An individual's opportunities at work depend on their form of recruitment and the group they are deemed to inhabit.

With the decline of manufacturing the geographical availability of work is polarising. It appears that "low-paid, monotonous work in the service sector" is often the only work available for the "geographically restricted".[26] Greater London and the South East are the location of most "high-status, well-paid producer services" jobs and "associated professional occupations".[27] McDowell interestingly suggests, however, that other regional inequalities may be diminishing as the new logic of polarisation sees "service sector expansion in many British towns and cities"; for service sector work often requires proximity to centres of population and is not, therefore, concentrated in particular regions.[28] This is not true in all sectors: since 2000 many well-known British companies including BT, Prudential and Lloyds TSB have transferred call centre telephone information services overseas, particularly to India.[29] The importance of a region's employment identity, moreover, impacts opportunities: Glasgow's twentieth century legacy of declining heavy industry still impacts the popular imagination of the city notwithstanding local authority attempts to present Glasgow as a city that 'Smiles Better' and is 'Scotland with Style'.

23 Bradley et al., *Myths at Work*, 40.
24 Peck, *Work-Place*, 46. I have rendered the US English 'labor' into UK English 'labour'.
25 Ibid., 133.
26 McDowell, *Masculinity*, 47.
27 Ibid., 48.
28 Ibid., *Masculinity*, 47-8.
29 Suman Gupta, "Information Services Outsourcing and Migrational Anxieties"; available from http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/fergusoncentre/archive/roehampton-conf-abstracts-july2004/ RCAsuman21.htminternet; internet; accessed 4 July 2007.

The negative implications of labour market restructuring are not, however, inevitable. Strategies of employers, workers and the state define power relationships that allow societal and spatial inequalities in the new economy. It is evident that 'lean employers' often search out "economically vulnerable environments".[30] Spatial inequalities of labour are reinforced as employers are able to introduce working patterns that favour their interests over workers. Workers sacrifice conditions previously expected because of the lack of availability of other work. Far from employers being forced by economic conditions to adopt new practices it appears that flexibility is often an "ideology" that is embedded as the dominant discourse through its celebration by powerful interests.[31] Work practices favourable for employers are made almost inevitable through persistent articulation of their necessity.[32] Language reinforces the position of those with power: conditions undesired by workers, micro-management of their time and activities for example, are presented as 'quality management' and 'team-working'; diminishing workers' ability to protest and resist.

In such a framework, workers' abilities to control their situations may seem minimal. For non-standard workers there is little leverage: "they can be easily replaced and are less likely to be represented by a trade union than standard workers".[33] Home, temporary and even part-time workers may not come into contact with union officials making it problematic for a trade union to represent their interests. Union officials may even strengthen distinctions between primary and secondary workers in protecting established workers against secondary workers' wish "to gain secure permanent employment".[34] Where workers have sought-after skills that are not readily available to employers they may exercise power but even then their ability to do so will be determined by institutionalised power.

These trends are not universally applicable. Despite increasing globalisation, firms are necessarily located in certain countries with certain legislative identities. The achievability of lean production methods in the UK in the 1980s and 1990s emerged

30 Bradley et al., *Myths at Work*, 44.

31 Peck, *Work-Place*, 137.

32 For the role the media plays in this process see the work of the Glasgow Media Group; available at http://www.gla.ac.uk/centres/mediagroup/publications.htm; internet; accessed 4 July 2007.

33 Bradley et al., *Myths at Work*, 62.

34 Ibid., 62-3.

not simply from global economic trends but with anti-union legislation and the Conservative Government's courting of companies.[35]

In Canada the introduction of 'Employment Insurance' penalised contingent work; perpetuating the existing structural inequalities.[36] While in the United States (US) mid 1990s welfare reform empowered employers as unemployment benefits were restructured to ensure that the unemployed took up work regardless of its quality or their interest in it.[37] Despite this, Joel Blau notes that the US public consistently favours full employment through "interventionist government policies"; with 71 percent in agreement even during Reagan's administration.[38] This contrasts sharply with the opinion of established political and economic interests; "what is at issue… is not markets themselves, but the distinctive American policy towards them".[39] For Blau, government policy on health care, family allowance and day-care preferentially favours employers over employees, expanding inequality.

State economic policy is, of course, experienced right down to the local scale. In the UK, the contraction of council house provision resulted in London's Camden Council "accommodating those with the greatest need and in the weakest labour market position" in the remaining council houses.[40] This spatial concentration of social problems built a powerful local identity of under-employment and state dependency.

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF LABOUR MARKET RESTRUCTURING

In the context of labour market restructuring, the specific experiences of women and working-class young men provide strong indications of the importance of social identity. For Peck, the labour market is socially constructed therefore while flexibility

35 Ibid., 40.

36 Susan Silver, John Shield and Sue Wilson, "Restructuring of Full-Time Workers: A Case of Transitional Dislocation or Social Exclusion in Canada? Lessons from the 1990s" in *Social Policy and Administration*, 39, 7 (2005): 786-801.

37 Sharon Beder, *Selling the Work Ethic: From Puritan Pulpit to Corporate PR* (London: Zed Books, 2002), 183.

38 Joel Blau, *Illusions of Prosperity: America's Working Families in an Age of Economic Insecurity* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999), 203.

39 Ibid., 77.

40 Paul Watt, "Urban Marginality and Labour Market Restructuring: Local Authority Tenants and Employment in an Inner London Borough" in *Urban Studies*, 40, 9 (2003): 1786.

for white men may be "about multiskilling, responsible autonomy, and task redefinition… for many women and black workers it means lower pay, irregular employment, and harder work".[41] Labour markets are not an economic abstraction removed from prejudice or bigotry. Choices only exist when they may be meaningfully exercised. For many women motherhood results in a compounding of experienced inequalities. Low-skilled, low-paid, part-time work is often the only option for mothers who must work to keep out of poverty while caring for their children. This trend, however, reflects traditional class differentiation: while "65 per cent of women in professional and managerial occupations work full-time, only 6 per cent of women in unskilled jobs do so".[42]

Likewise, young working-class men are "turning out to be a liability in the labour market".[43] With the decline of manufacturing industry, unskilled young men compete in the jobs market with young women of a similar background. The jobs available, service jobs at the bottom of the market, place high value on "servility and deference — stereotypically feminine characteristics".[44] McDowell notes that such work "depends on 'service with a smile'".[45] The performance of waged labour, in this context, includes showing deference to clients and superiors, and fulfilling conventional norms in appearance: "weight, height, accent, hirsuteness and decoration… appropriate clothing".[46] The identity of the worker is intrinsic to their utility for the employer.

Young men's "tough, aggressive, sexualised, street credibility" constructed through home and school environments was previously utilised in 'macho' industries but in the restructured labour market it is a major factor in the rise of inequality: young unskilled men are "disadvantaged not only because of class position but because of appearance and attitude to authority vis-à-vis white, young, working-class women".[47]

Employers may even codify their interest in employees' appearance. The Disney Corporation regulates the amount of facial hairmen may have and the number of earrings that employees can wear: a maximum of two earrings for women and one for

41 Peck, *Work-Place*, 136.
42 McDowell, *Father and Ford Revisited*, 450-1.
43 Ibid., 455.
44 Ibid.
45 McDowell, *Masculinity*, 50.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid., 51-2.

men.[48] Legal action in 2002 against the UK Ministry of Work and Pensions was brought by a male Jobcentre employee on the detailed clothing standards issued. He won a sexual discrimination case because the strict guidelines on appropriate dress allowed women a choice while men had only one: to wear a tie.[49]

Cultural and political values even act against the welfare of the white working-class. McDowell argues that in multicultural New Labour Britain there is political disenfranchisement of the white working-class as dominant discourses portray it as "abject, white and racist".[50] The very concept of poverty has changed from an economic indicator to an identity, 'social exclusion', where attitudes and behaviour are deemed outside the mainstream.[51] Progressive interests may perpetuate new forms of inequality in criticising working-class attitudes.

Economic restructuring may bring new social and spatial inequalities through challenges to the state's regulation of the workforce. Michael Quinlan examines the effects of labour market change on occupational health and safety (OHS).[52] Quinlan's first conclusion is that the rise of non-standard work has led to a continual 'disorganisation' in flexible workplaces meaning that it is increasingly difficult to track workers. This is coupled with an increasing pervasiveness of management control. The result is that secondary, peripheral, workers are subjected to "unfettered market forces where OHS is subordinated".[53] The precarious nature of their employment means that these workers are unlikely to complain about work practices; moreover, they are less likely to be members of a trade union that could fight for better conditions.

Quinlan's second conclusion is that the structure of the labour market undermines the "effectiveness of legislation".[54] Socially, there is greater inequality as certain workers are excluded from any "participatory mechanisms" that would allow communication

48 Ibid., 50
49 Ibid., 50-1.
50 Ibid., 52.
51 Ibid., 53.
52 Michael Quinlan, "The Implications of Labour Market Restructuring in Industrialized Societies for Occupational Health and Safety", *Economic and Industrial Democracy* 20, 3 (1999): 427-460.
53 Ibid., 453
54 Ibid.

between workers and employers on conditions.[55] Spatially, multiplication of work settings and high turnover rates result in OHS inspectors having a decreasing ability to ensure compliance with health and safety standards.[56]

CONCLUSION

Contemporary processes of labour market restructuring have resulted in increasing social and spatial inequalities. While flexibility is exaggerated it is clear that, in certain segments of industry and labour, it has major effects. While differences in wealth and standard of living are intrinsic to capitalism, the new labour market has increasing polarisation between the richest and poorest. Class, race and gender continue to be correlated to inequality, however the decline of manufacturing jobs and rise in low-level service work, has brought a new reality of identity-correlation. This is seen in the need for workers to present themselves as unfixed to geography or current job role. Young male working-class workers socialised in an environment still defined by male employment in industries with strict demarcation of work and with fixed, unionised, identities appear particularly disadvantaged in a service-dominated economy requiring 'service with a smile'.

Power relationships between employers, employees and the state in a flexible labour market are shifting. The rhetoric of inevitability of new structures empowers employers against employees; non-standard work acting against collective action by labour. A segmented work-force affords opportunities to particular groups over others; workers' identities being fashioned by the economic logic. The British state in its policies and regulation provides the framework that allows continued labour market restructuring but, as seen in occupational health and safety, the state itself may be challenged by capital's interests.

Those facing inequality in the restructured labour market remain, overwhelming, defined by gender, race and parental class. In today's labour market, however, the effects of flexibility bring increased economic polarisation; challenging once strong social and work identities.

55 Ibid.
56 Ibid.

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Muriel Spark as Auto-Biographer in *Curriculum Vitae*

Anna Kirkwood

Examining Muriel Spark's main aims as an auto-biographer in her work *Curriculum Vitae* brings important resources in the exploration of the genre of autobiographical writing. This, with theoretical engagement, allows consideration of the critical issues surrounding the roles of author and reader in the construction of the literary self. Spark demands the reader participate in the construction of textual meaning; overturning the conventions of autobiography, satirising its claims to omniscience and highlighting the impossibility of an authentic voice with regards to the self.

"How would you describe yourself?"
"I can't"
"Of course you can't! I asked foolishly. The lemon cannot taste bitterness, it only drinks the rain."[1]

Autobiographical writing has been a topic of central interest among literary scholars in recent decades, sparking various theories and criticisms. One main problem is defining and regulating the genre because autobiography, as a hybrid form, unsettles distinctions and offers no stable parameters. Laura Marcus in her Auto/biographical Discourses suggests that autobiography is a major source of interest because of its instability in terms of postulated opposites between self and world, literature and history, fact and fiction, subject and object. She argues that:

In an intellectual context in which, as Raymond Williams has perceptibly argued, these are seen as irreconcilably distinct,autobiography will appear

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1 Alasdair Gray, *Lanark*, (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2002), 67.

either as a dangerous double agent, moving between these oppositions, or as a magical instrument of reconciliation.[2]

Post-structuralist criticism of literature contributes to the idea that apparently unified concepts such as literary texts and the 'self' are in fact fragmented, selfdivided and centreless; therefore the idea of stable 'fixed truths', in relation to these concepts, is deconstructed.. It follows that autobiography can no longer be viewed as synonymous with biography and history because it is a destabilising form of writing and knowledge.

Muriel Spark, in her autobiography Curriculum Vitae and indeed throughout much of her fiction, is concerned with these ideas of 'truth' and 'falsehood' in respect to literature and the concept of the self. In her essay entitled 'The Desegregation of Art' Spark discusses the art and literature of sentiment, arguing that:

However beautiful in itself, however striking in its depiction of actuality, it has to go. It cheats us into a sense of involvement with life and society, but in reality it is a segregated activity.[3]

Spark is interested in absolute truths and therefore views sentimental literature as somewhat inauthentic. Novels, in her opinion, are fictions made up of lies from which a kind of truth emerges and in order to reach this truth one must turn to the arts of satire and ridicule because: "Ridicule is the only honourable weapon we have left".[4] For Spark, art and literature should "liberate our minds from the comfortable cells of lofty sentiment… To bring about a mental environment of honesty and self-knowledge" and this, for her, can only be achieved through satire, irony and derision.[5] Throughout Spark's fiction, she uses these techniques to present existence as essentially fragmented and incoherent, implying that any quest for unity is false.

Many critics have argued that Spark's conversion to Roman Catholicism and her concept of faith are essential features of her work. Judy Sproxton, in her study entitled

2 Laura Marcus, Auto/biographical Discourses: Theory, criticism, practice (Manchester University Press, 1994), 7.

3 Muriel Spark, "The Desegregation of Art" in *Critical Essays on Muriel Spark*, Joseph Hynes, ed. (New York: G.K. Hall, 1992), 35.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., 36.

The Women of Muriel Spark, notes that Spark "identifies an area in human experience that relates to faith" and this can be seen in her quest for authenticity amongst the essential incoherence of life.[6] However, too many critics have labelled Spark a 'Catholic writer' assuming that there is one fixed set of values that informs her work. Whereas, if one reads her fiction, what becomes apparent is that Spark uses her satire to highlight human fallibility and punctuate the mundane without presenting one singular omniscient judgement. Sproxton, also notes that many of the characters in Spark's work have a "misplaced confidence in a single selfish viewpoint and mistakenly assert themselves as the source of power and their own viewpoint as a criterion of truth" and that there are also characters who "have a profound need to acknowledge a truth beyond themselves and who strive to come to terms with the essential inadequacy of a human perspective".[7] With this in mind, it is interesting to note that when Spark becomes the subject (character) in her autobiography she calls on this idea from her fiction and addresses the idea of a constructed self, attacking authors' claims to omniscience and authentic voice. Curriculum Vitae implicitly questions the function of autobiography, Spark is aware that unreliability and the question of intention are already ingrained in the genre and she deliberately sets out to parody and destabilise the structure of autobiography.

In her introduction, Spark purports to write a corrective to put right the erroneous accounts of her life that have been written, she explains that:

Lies are like fleas hopping from here to there, sucking the blood of the intellect. In my case, the truth is often less flattering, less romantic, but often more interesting than the false story.[8]

Unlike in her fiction, Spark is explicitly admitted into the text and she is aware that this operates as a principle of uncertainty. Here, Spark knows that the reader expects 'sentimental' information and psychological insight about her life because now the author is identical with the autobiographical subject. However, she is aware that the author still remains outside the world represented in the text because, as Bakhtin suggests:

6 Judy Sproxton, *The Women of Muriel Spark* (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1992), 154.

7 Ibid., 145.

8 Muriel Spark, Curriculum Vitae: A Volume of Autobiography (Penguin, 1993), 11.

If I tell (orally or in writing) an event that I have just lived, in so far as I am telling (orally or in writing) this event, I find myself already outside of the time space in which the event occurred. To identify oneself absolutely with oneself, to identify one's 'I' with the 'I' that I tell is as impossible to lift oneself up by one's hair…[9]

Spark understands that a continuous, transparent account of the self is not possible and therefore, deliberately avoids any deliberations of self exploration because she regards these as the "false and erroneous statements" referred to in her introduction. This is made more apparent when Spark proclaims: "I resolved, all those years ago, to write an autobiography which would help to explain, to myself and others: Who am I".[10] This statement, when read in relation to the rest of the novel, seems ironic; Spark purports to explain 'Who Am I', yet does so in a detached and evasive fashion with no explicit insight into her character, even the awkward wording of the phrase "Who Am I" suggests this is not going to be a straight forward account. Martin McQuillan, when discussing Curriculum Vitae, states that it is "the least autobiographical of the fragments, and the fictional story is the most successful exploration of the self".[11] In her fiction Spark is able to embody the omniscient voice and construct characters because she is aware that fiction is made up of lies. In her autobiography, however, she holds back, refusing to judge and make an absolute pattern of her life.

The first chapter is full of over-fussy realism, with special focus and long detailed descriptions of the bread, butter and tea in her youth. This is an extension of Spark's satire: she is parodying autobiography and human interest in inconsequential details. This is further compounded, when she refuses to present events in a continuous narrative avoiding falsely 'unifying' her experience. Instead, Spark joins events and people together simply because of her own random experience, not because of any contrived cause and effect. For example, one of her sub-headings in chapter one is entitled 'Mrs Rule, Fish Jean and The Kaiser', this grouping together of random memories emphasises Spark's opinion that causality and linear time are a human mechanism for ordering things in a mundane fashion.[12] Spark purports to write a

9 Mikhail Bakhtin, quoted in Tzvetan Todorov, *Mikhail Bakhtin: The Dialogic Principle*, trans. Wlad Godzich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 52.

10 Spark, *Curriculum Vitae*, 12.

11 Martin McQuillan in *Theorizing Muriel Spark: Gender, Race, Deconstruction*, ed. Martin McQuillan (Houndsmill, Baskingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2002), 89.

12 Spark, *Curriculum Vitae*, 25.

factual autobiography and states that she will write "nothing which cannot be supported by documentary evidence or by eyewitnesses; I have not relied on my memory alone, vivid though it is".[13] However, her continuous overemphasis on memory throughout the work serves to call her reliability into question. For example, Spark, when talking about her early childhood, states that her memory "occurs in bright flashes, illuminating every detail of the scene".[14] She is aware that memory is unreliable so satirises authors' claims to self-awareness and omniscience in autobiographical writing. Spark extends this satire by presenting the facts of her life as befits a Curriculum Vitae: with economical unadorned prose and factual evidence; seemingly undermining the idea that the truth of the self is more complex than 'fact'. However, this is yet another of Spark's devices to overturn the conventions of autobiography: she infiltrates the genre in order to show its essential faults and to highlight the impossibility of an authentic voice in regards to the self.

Throughout Curriculum Vitae, Spark seeks to free the text from authorial omniscience by only presenting the reader with information that can be literary verifiable or corroborated by friends and family. Her mistrust of life narratives and dislike of authors' attempts to portray their history and existence as unified can be seen in the way she relates her own autobiography. Spark withholds information from the reader, relating the facts of her experience without much emotion or personal comment with many seemingly crucial moments of her life described in a few sentences or through her friends' comments. For example, when writing about a family friend called Mrs Rule, Spark relates her death to the reader in one short sentence: "Charlotte Rule died after their return to the United States" then proceeds to dedicate the next two sentences to the irrelevant details of popcorn making.[15] This seemingly cold treatment of her death is in fact Spark's way of calling the reader to take the different fragments of her autobiography and decide for themselves what is important. Spark satirises people's interest in the trivial in concentrating on apparently inconsequential details. In her essay 'The Desegration of Art', Spark writes:

I would like to see in all forms of art and letters […] a less impulsive generosity, a less indignant representation of social injustice, and a more deliberate cunning, a more derisive undermining of what is wrong. I would

13 Spark, *Curriculum Vitae*, 11.
14 Ibid., 17.
15 Ibid., 26.

like to see less emotion and more intelligence in these efforts to impress our minds and hearts.[16]

Spark regards self-conscious emotion and feelings in art as vulgar and a mode of self-justification. Her satirical technique causes the reader to question the text and take an active part in interpretation.

The post-structuralist critic Roland Barthes in his 'Death of the Author' asserts the independence of the literary text from the author's intention:

The reader is the space on which all the quotations that make up writing are inscribed without any of them being lost; a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination.[17]

Here Barthes places the role of the 'author' on the reader, in that the reader must 'read the text against itself', looking for discontinuities in the text instead of unity. Jacques Derrida, another key post-structuralist critic, also takes up this concept in his lecture 'Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences'. Derrida poses a challenge to the idea that words have universal truths and that an inherent meaning is possible. For Derrida, the meanings within a literary work are never fixed and reliable, but always shifting and ambiguous; it is a characteristic of language to operate in subtle and often contradictory way so that certainty is elusive. Spark is aware that language can be distorting and sincerity is impossible to establish. She, therefore, refuses to build up sensuous physical details; instead using the written word economically but poetically. Spark presents her novel as objective evidence about her life and experiences avoiding, as she has written in her earlier novel Loitering with Intent (1981), the three vices of autobiography: "One of them was nostalgia, another was paranoia, a third was a transparent craving…to appear likeable".[18] For Spark, as with Barthes, the text's unity does not lie in its origin, she does not wish to present the reader with a final judgement and make connections which do not exist.

16 Spark, *Desegregation of Art*, 35.

17 Roland Barthes, *The Death of the Author: Image-Music-Text*, ed. and trans. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana, 1977), 148.

18 Muriel Spark, *Loitering with Intent* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1981), 31.

Spark's detached style in Curriculum Vitae can seem like she is portraying events that would seem to warrant more attention in a seemingly cold manner. However, one must not confuse her writing with authorial attitude, Leon Litvack, in his article 'We all have something to hide', argues that it has always been difficult for readers to understand Spark's detachment and evasiveness; yet:

Her technique is, perhaps, more enlightening and acceptable in our post-modern and post-colonial world, with its abrogation of constraining power and appropriation of language and writing for new distinctive uses.[19]

Litvack examines what he describes as Spark's "coherent religious vision" and argues that she uses religion to destabilise structures and to force readers to consider the seemingly decentred, pluralistic nature of society rather than to moralise or to preach.[20] Spark, in an essay entitled 'My Conversion', discusses her faith and writes: "the Catholic belief is a norm from which one can depart. […] It's something to measure from".[21]

If one looks at Curriculum Vitae in this context it could be argued that Catholicism provided the norm for her work as a satirist. St. Augustine described sin as a turning away from God towards the self and this is exactly what Spark strives to avoid in her autobiography. She dislikes the idea that through biography or autobiography one feels they can control and unify their own, or someone else's life. To write a conventional autobiography would be the sin of self-interest; for Spark, confessions or justifications of the self are purely subjective; it is religion and faith which provide objective truth. For example, in chapter four of Curriculum Vitae, Spark only dedicates half a page to how she dealt with her violent husband. She does not want to induce pity in the reader with an emotional account of her experience so she economically presents the situation then moves on. This is also true when she writes about the death of her friend Nita. Spark informs the reader that she was shot by her husband and then goes on to write: "This was the factual origin of my short story 'Bang-Bang You're Dead'".[22] Throughout her autobiography, Spark continually makes

19 Leon Litvack, "'We all have something to hide': Muriel Spark, Autobiography, and the Influence of Newman on the Career of a Novelist", *Durham University Journal* 55:2 (1994), 281-9, 287.

20 Ibid., 287.

21 Muriel Spark, "My Conversion", *Twentieth Century* 170 (Autumn, 1961), 60.

22 Spark, *Curriculum Vitae*, 34

reference to the motivations behind her fiction, alluding to the fact that the events of her life are somewhat like fiction in that author, narrator and protagonist can never be fully united and, therefore, she cannot present an accurate account. It is in her fiction that Spark is able to construct various subjective stances in order to present both the true and fictive fragments of her life.

Many critics have undermined the force field between an author's writing and their life. For example, Nietzsche, in his autobiography Ecce Homo, writes: "I am one thing, my writings are another", suggesting that that what matters is the personality of the philosophies and words, not the person himself.[23] When the reader is presented with a seemingly fragmented text they are demanded to take part in its unification. Spark, in her fiction, is able to embody the omniscient voice and moralise, not to preach or make judgements but to "liberate our minds from the comfortable cells of lofty sentiment" and demand that the reader participates within the text. However, in Curriculum Vitae, Spark presents the written account of her life as an immediate and unquestionable reality making it difficult for the reader to question her unreliability. Spark believes that it is impossible to reach self-awareness in autobiography because the self is essentially fragmented. This idea is taken up in the novel Zeno's Conscience by Italo Svevo which is presented as a fictive autobiography. Zeno's quest for self-awareness manifests itself in his desire for health, however this self-awareness is unobtainable for him and is illustrated when he thinks of the numerous muscles that make up his walk:

I reacted with a start, and my thoughts immediately rushed to my legs, to seek this monstrous machinery. I believe I found it. Naturally I didn't identify the fifty-four moving parts, but rather an enormous complication went to pieces the moment I intruded my attention upon it.[24]

When Zeno consciously thinks of his muscular functions they become 'self-conscious' and he cannot keep them functioning correctly, this is also true with respect to his quest for self-awareness: when his thoughts and actions become self-conscious to him they manifest themselves in bodily sickness. This metaphor illustrates the impossibility of authentically writing about the self. There is always a gap between the

23 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Ecce Homo* (London: Penguin, 2004), 39.
24 Italo Svevo, *Zeno's Conscience* (London: Penguin Classics, 2002), 105.

narrating voice and the subject. Any attempt to unify the two and self-consciously analyse one's experiences results in false justifications and constructions of the self.

Throughout Curriculum Vitae, Spark implicitly questions the function of autobiography; she is aware that unreliability inhabits both fiction and autobiography and, therefore, refuses to attribute to it any absolute truths. Spark, in an interview recorded in 1998, said of her autobiography: "I decided to stop at the point where I started writing novels because in a sense they tell their own story".[25] In her fiction she implicates her own art in the act of lying and is able to portray different subjective ideas, whereas in her autobiography, she satirises its claims to omniscience.

25 Martin McQuillan, "'The Same Informed Air': An Interview with Muriel Spark" in *Theorizing Muriel Spark*, ed. Martin McQuillan (Palgrave, 2002), 229.

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Russian Nationalism: Creating a Civic Identity

Rhiannon J.Price

A shared sense of identity within a state is a stabilising structure allowing a focus for citizens to rally around. As a multi-ethnic state Russia has always been faced with the problem of how to imbue its citizens with a sense of identity that strengthens the state without causing dissent among the majority ethnic Russians or the many different minorities encapsulated within its territory. The choice between a civic based identity and an ethnically based national identity has faced the ruling apparatus for hundreds of years, and still poses a problem for both the people and the government of today's Russia.

National identity is a key component in building strong states. People are more invested in and more committed to the government and institutions of a state when they are able to identify with it on a political or ethnic basis.

In conditions of weak statehood tradition, nationalizing states are required to invest a great deal of institutional capacity in the construction of a new national identity.[1]

National identity and nationalist rhetoric have been used by many states to build a powerful symbol or idea of the nation that people can directly relate to ethnically. An exclusive state makes people feel more patriotic and more willing to work to make the state the best it can be, at least for those ethnically defined to be included by it. In contrast, a civic identity takes a multi-ethnic approach and asks people to identify with the state structures to define themselves. Instead of binding people together along blood lines it claims that living under one government in one territory should be the defining feature of the country. Theoretically, race does not play a part, people

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1 James Hughes, "Managing Secession Potential in the Russian Federation", *Regional and Federal Studies* 11 (Autumn 2001): 36-68.

will invest themselves economically and politically into bettering the state for everyone.

National identity is, in some ways, easier to build on an ethnic basis than on a civic one. This is particularly true in Russia as states throughout Russian history have based their unifying role on concepts of 'Great Russian-ness' and the 'sviaz vremen' ('tie of ages'); whereas the civic concept of the Russian Federation has only existed for fifteen years.[2] The key to identity of any kind for a state would seem to be ideology. In this sense I refer loosely to a base set of principles which provide the foundations of the state. Nationalism is a strong ideology that can very quickly bind a state together; Socialism and Marxist-Leninism were portrayed in a similar light and fostered by the Soviet Union as the key to its identity. However, the Russian Federation can not employ either of these identities to define all of its citizens. Since 1991 different people have made attempts at creating a new concept of identity for the Russian Federation, at different times attempting to incorporate different ideologies, but the pendulous nature of policies has had divisive as well as amalgamating effects.

The Soviet Union, from its very beginning, acknowledged the difficulties posed by the existence of the many different nationalities within it; however this was treated as a positive rather than a negative feature. Initially, people were encouraged to foster a dual identity of sorts, as a Soviet citizen as well as a person from a certain nation. In the long run the individual nationalities were expected to 'whither away' and the identity remaining would lose all ethnic basis and become the political and class identity of the Soviet citizen.

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, better known as Lenin, created a federal system for managing the different regions within the vast expanse that was the Soviet Union. Nations were differentiated and given a measure of national selfdetermination within the confines of the Soviet state. This did not only extend to the national republics such as Latvia and Uzbekistan but smaller territories within the republics were also given ethnic designations even when the titular nation was not a majority in the region. These designations were hierarchical in nature and given less political autonomy down the scale. The official unifying ideology for the Soviet Union was Socialism but

2 Stephen D. Shenfield, "Post-Soviet Russia in Search of Identity" in *Russia's Future: Consolidation or Disintegration?*, Douglas Blum, ed., (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1994), 6.

in the early days of the Civil War Lenin realised that nationalism could be used as a strong motivating factor for people and as a useful tool for strengthening the state. A lesson was learnt from experiences of the Tsarist Empire; nationalism could be a strong destabilising force that added weight to revolutionary movements. By institutionalising ethnic identity Lenin aimed to bring its power under the states control.

The vast numbers of these nationalities deprived of rights, and the sharpness of their deprivations, gave to the national problem in Tsarist Russia a gigantic explosive force.[3]

Lenin was not going to make the same mistake and so founded his federal structure in such a way that allowed for national expression; to some extent, his nationalities policy even encouraged it. The Korenizatsiia (Indigenisation) policy meant that native cultures that previously had no written language could be formalised and allowed greater expression. Each of the national republics was allowed to use their own languages and have institutes of science and culture. During this period the people of the newly formed Soviet Union experienced more freedom than they ever had before. Nations were granted the right to secede from the Union if they chose to do so. Naturally this was more in theory than in practice. Lenin himself said:

To accuse those who support freedom of self-determination, i.e., freedom to secede, of encouraging separation, is as foolish and hypocritical as accusing those who advocate freedom of divorce of encouraging the destruction of family ties.[4]

The final aspect of Lenin's policy towards nationalism involved the eradication of Great Russian Chauvinism. Russia had always held a privileged role in the Tsarist Empire which was the cause of much resentment by the other nations. Lenin undertook to overcome this resentment in many ways, to the point of excluding any references to 'Russia' in official documents after the revolution simply referring to 'the Workers' State'.[5]

3 Leon Trotsky, "The History of the Russian Revolution"; available at http://easyweb.easynet.co.uk/~socappeal/russia/part8.html; internet; accessed 30 May 2007.

4 Rob Sewell, "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination"; available at http://www.marxist.com/lenin-national-question160604.htm; 30 May 2007.

5 Trotsky, *History*, internet.

All Lenin's nationalising policies were meant to bring the different nations together in a voluntary union, not just one enforced from the centre. The identification of different nations was supposed to be transitional, gradually the nations were meant to come together (sblizhenie) and eventually merge (sliyanie), the only identity would be that of a Soviet citizen, nationalism would simply whither away.

Following Lenin's death, arguably, Stalin selected the most negative aspects of Lenin's nationalities policy and ignored those most positive, then proceeded to consolidate the Soviet state under these principles. This is particularly ironic considering his Georgian background. He clearly reinstated Great Russian Chauvinism drawing on Russia's heroes of old to encourage national spirit during 'the Great Patriotic War'. Stalin reintroduced old Tsarist policies of Russification and forced the predominance of the Russian language and culture on the rest of the Union. Lenin believed that the Soviet Union needed one common language for communication but not to the exclusion of all others, which is what Stalin attempted to implement. The concept of Russia as the leader of all the Soviet peoples was officially reintroduced in 1955 in the 'Kratkii filosofskii slovar':

All peoples and nations of the USSR see in the great Russian people their best friend and guide, their elder brother, who played a decisive role in the struggle for the victory of the proletarian revolution and triumph of socialism.[6]

This concept was espoused by all of the subsequent leaders of the party after Stalin and was still mentioned in official propaganda on the eve of the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The idea of an over-arching civic identity as a Soviet citizen was most enthusiastically carried out in the Russian republic. This was the only republic not given institutions for upholding its culture and language, instead the Russians were encouraged to identify with the entire Soviet Union as their rodina (homeland), hence the high degree of out-migration to the other republics.

6 Meredith Roman, "Making Caucasians Black: Moscow since the Fall of Communism and the Radicalization of Non-Russians" in *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* Vol. 18, No. 2 (June 2002), 1-27.

As the Soviet Union began to unravel and the outlying Socialist republics began their 'National Awakenings' to reassert their independence, the Russian republic was in the unique position of having based its national identity on its civic identity as the leader of all of the other nations. The Estonians had been Estonian before Soviet citizens and so reclaiming independence meant throwing off their Soviet identity and creating new state structures within Estonian national identity. The loss of Russia's leadership role and the end of Soviet socialist ideology left Russian identity in a state of limbo.

The loss of their 'big homeland' has consequently had a deeply disturbing impact on many Russian psyches.[7]

Ethnic Russians became an easy target for Yeltsin's appeal to Russian nationalism in his bid to out do Gorbachev.

By 1989 Gorbachev's policies of Glasnost, Perestroika and Democratisation within the Communist Soviet framework had run their course. It no longer seemed possible to reform the system from within. Nationalities had been given a chance to assert themselves and now they intended to take it to its logical conclusion of independence. The March 1989 elections to the new Congress of People's Deputies returned nationalistically minded people from the republics who intended to ally themselves with liberal Russian reformers; Boris Yeltsin being the leading figure. It became clear that Yeltsin's best chance at asserting his influence over Russia was nationalism; getting people to associate themselves primarily with the Russian Republic as opposed to the entire Soviet Union and therefore with his authority as the leader of it instead of Gorbachev's as President of the whole of the USSR.

Yeltsin's resolution of the coal mining strikes in the Kubass and Donbass regions of Russia played a large part in creating and maintaining his image as protector of Russians and had the added effect of making Gorbachev appear superfluous. In 1990 as the Parade of Sovereignties swept the USSR, Yeltsin was elected Chair of the Russian Supreme Soviet and declared its sovereignty as well. After Yeltsin saved Gorbachev in the attempted 1991 coup by the hardliners of the party it became clear that even a new Union treaty would not save Gorbachev and the Soviet Union. Yeltsin had successfully mobilised Russian nationalist sentiment to create the First Russian Republic.

7 Blum, *Russia's Future*, 7.

During the Parade of Sovereignties, while the Russian state was at it weakest, Yeltsin encouraged the republics to 'take as much sovereignty as they could swallow'. The status of several ethnic autonomous formations was even increased: the Adygei, Altai and Khakassia autonomous oblasts were constituted as separate republics.[8]

This idea continued to be upheld as bi-lateral treaties were made with the separate regions giving them huge amounts of autonomy. This period of asymmetric federalism has been characterised as both positive and negative in terms of the creation of post-Soviet identity in the Russian Federation.

Asymmetric federalism has acted as an institutional counterweight to centuries of ethnic Russian hegemonic control and the policies of Russification, coercion and centralization that accompanied it.[9]

This sentiment mirrored Lenin's in his creation of the federal structure of the Soviet Union and attempt to eradicate Great Russian Chauvinism. The difference however, is that in the USSR Russians made up just over 50% of the population, whereas the Russian Federation had a population of more than 80% ethnic Russians.
For this reason asymmetric Federalism was heavily resented by ethnic Russian nationalists and in part contributed to their radicalisation. It was characterised as multi-ethnic bargaining and seen as a betrayal of the Russian nation.[10]

Scholars associate asymmetric federalism with a dangerous 'ethnification' of Russian politics that was seen as an obstacle to the building of a harmonizing 'civic' national identity.[11]

An emphasis was placed on the autonomy of the regions. Many introduced nationalist policies on religion or language that were in direct conflict with the federal constitution.

Nationalizing policies in Tatarstan have a strong cultural dimension (mosque building, rewriting of textbooks and Latinization of the Tatar alphabet).[12]

8 See Anders Aslund and Martha Brill Olcott, ed., *Russia after Communism* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999).
9 Hughes, *Managing Secession*, 39.
10 Ibid., 46.
11 Ibid., 38.
12 Ibid., 43.

Although many of the regions talked about sovereignty and autonomy, a lot of their demands were more to do with economic grievances than the need to define themselves ethnically. Donor regions to the federal centre did much better out of the bi-lateral treaties than recipient regions; those of greater economic importance to the centre had something to bargain with.

During the early period of his presidency, up until 1992, Yeltsin made a concerted effort to foster a civic identity among Russians being careful always to refer to the people of Russia (Rossiyani) and not to the ethnic Russians (Russkie). However, the main focus of this period was establishing the mechanisms of the state and attempting to start economic transition processes. Yeltsin needed to get popular support for these policies and so when it seemed people were no longer responding to the idea of the Russian civic identity he changed his position. He instead focussed on a highly exclusive definition of Russians, emphasising their imperial past, defined by a common language. This promoted the intervention of Russia into the 'near abroad': the embracing of the Russian diaspora living in the newly independent states surrounding her.

This clearly appealed to the old idea of Russia having dominion over these areas; Russia was seen again as the protector of all Russian peoples. Naturally, this approach was not welcomed by the newly independent states and none of them agreed to the joint citizenship proposal Yeltsin put forward: not wanting Russia to have a stake in their affairs. Due to this reaction, Yeltsin took a step back and instead promoted the idea of a universal Commonwealth of Independent States citizenship policy.

This was further championed by Yeltsin during the Russian presidential elections in 1996. By then the consequences of privatisation had hit and his popularity was waning. Yeltsin appealed to Russian nationalism in the form of a common Slavic identity and used the potential Union with Belarus as a major nationalist issue to trumpet his cause.

After he had won the presidency, Yeltsin's nationalist rhetoric died down again. He introduced several new policies that were clearly aimed at taking away power from the ethno-territorial basis of the Federation and moving to a more civic identity. The National Cultural Autonomy Act was passed, aimed at fulfilling the promise of the

Russian Constitution to confer extra-territorial rights on all ethnic groups regardless of place of residence. NCAs were set up throughout the country to address national and cultural rights of citizens; by 1999 227 NCAs had been formed, mainly by diaspora groups outside any national territory.

In 1997, in a clear move towards a civic identity for Russia, the 'fifth point' was removed from Russian passports. People were no longer required to define their nationality or ethnicity as they had been throughout the entire Soviet period. However, the passports were only produced in the Russian language and the Tsarist double headed eagle was put on the cover. This produced anger on both sides of the spectrum. Nationalist Russians were angry that their ethnic identity was being erased. Minorities were angry that their languages were being ignored and feared the threat of further Russian assimilation.

Yeltsin's presidency faced a problem. It was the regional centres of the Russian Federation which supported him in the final days of the Soviet Union and in his 1996 presidential campaign. Yeltsin now required, however, popular support and legitimacy on a national level. An appeal to nationalism would galvanise internal support but risk damaging relations with the regional centres.

In 1999 Vladimir Putin did not owe his position to help from the regions and in fact gained support from the populace on the basis of recentralising the state to make it strong again. Putin closely followed the suggestions of Valerii Tishkov[13] on how to create a civic identity in Russia. Tishkov claimed that the 'dissemination of common civic values and symbols among citizens of the Russian Federation is crucial.' Putin brought back the music from the Soviet national anthem that everyone knew and had the same composer write new words to the same tune. The Red Soviet flag became the flag of the armed forces to appease Russian nationalists, while the tri-colour flag was accepted as the national flag and the double-headed eagle became the new national emblem. While these symbols were still very 'Russian' there was an attempt to move away from the symbols Yeltsin had resurrected such as the music from Mikhail Glinka's first Russian National opera; 'A life for the Tsar'.[14] Putin also took a step back

13 Vera Tolz, *Inventing the Nation – Russia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 249.

14 Vera Tolz, "A Future Russia: A Nation-state or a Multi-national Federation" in *The Legacy of the Soviet Union*, Wendy Slater and Andrew Wilson, ed., (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 27.

from the idea of a common Eastern Slavic identity and changed the citizenship law to only recognise those living in the Russian Federation as citizens instead of all of the ethnic Russians living in the near abroad.

Tishkov's second principle was to reorganise the federal nature of the Russian Federation in such a way that it was no longer based on ethno-territories. He claimed this would avoid 'dangerous terminological confusion, which could trigger the disintegration of the Federation.'[15] Hence Putin introduced seven super-regions which correspond to no ethnic boundaries. Although these are run by his direct appointees they are a step towards a more civic type of federalism if not democratic federalism.

The last of Tishkov's principles has only been implemented in part. He believes that individual rights should take precedence over collective rights, parties based on ethnic principles should be banned yet the representation of ethnic minorities in government should be safeguarded by law. Putin's recent draft law, which comes into effect in time for the 2007 parliamentary elections, will prevent political parties from standing only in specific regions, They will have to have national standing, meaning that, in effect, no minority nationalist parties can form as no diaspora is spread out enough to gain support in enough regions to adhere to the law. This does not affect the Russian nationalists; they still can and do have political parties with support around Russia such as Vladimir Zhirinovsky's Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR). While Putin seems to be consolidating a more civic identity for the Russian Federation he still emphasises Russian nationalism, drawing on it as his support base as much as any other.

Russian Nationalism has been growing since as early as 1987 when Pamyat', a Russian Nationalist organisation was formed; its ideals were to the three traditional Russian values of: 'Orthodoxy, national character and spirituality'.

Pamyat' was formed on the rallying cry of Russia's return to its Slavic roots and a call for the eradication of unhealthy foreign influences from its culture and territory.[16]

15 Tolz, *Inventing the Nation*, 250.

16 Fran Markowitz, "'Not Nationalists, Russian Teenagers' Soulful A-politics" in *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 51 No. 7 (1999): 1183.

Even before that, in the early 1980s, a high up Komsomol official circulated a manifesto demanding the sterilisation of all Russian women who 'give themselves to foreigners'.[17]

Support for Russian nationalism can be seen in new found popularity of the Orthodox Church; in the 1970s 6-10% of the population counted itself as Orthodox, in 1996 it had risen to over 50%: Putin himself converted in the early 1990s after a life-threatening fire in his dacha.[18] This has brought complaints from the Muslim dominated republics concerning the 'Pravoslavizatsiia' or 'Orthodoxisation' of Russia at a federal level.[19]

Further evidence for the rise of nationalist sentiment in Russia is the appearance of neo-Nazi groups such as the Russian National Unity movement. Forty-four people were killed by neo-Nazis in Russia in 2004, as one member said "We must fight ethnic groups that threaten our state and destroy the Russian national culture".[20] It is unclear how a nine year old Tajik girl, who was stabbed eleven times in front of her father by ten neo-Nazis in St Petersburg, threatened the Russian national culture.

Luckily it does not seem that the majority of young people feel this way, many have embraced a new concept of civic identity within the Russian Federation. For them the most important aspects of citizenship emphasised 'soul' or 'dusha' over 'blood'. Being born and/or living in Russia was important but much more so, was speaking some level of Russian and cherishing Russia as a homeland.[21] Upholding Russian values is more important than being ethnically Russian. The very idea of only defining Russians by blood seemed absurd to young people interviewed in 1999.

Lena R.: My own background is like this: one of my greatgrandmothers is Turkmeni, or Tajik. My grandfather, my father's father, is Ukrainian. Many of us are mixed in this way. Russia is a mixture. That's what makes Russia today,

17 Hayda, Lubomyr and Mark Beissinger, *The Nationalities Factor in Soviet Politics and Society* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990), 289.

18 Tolz, *Inventing the Nation*, 263.

19 Tolz, *A Future Russia*, 26.

20 These statistics from Amnesty International are quoted by Anna Badkhen, "A Gathering Storm of Russian Thugs", *San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 August 2005; Ibid.

21 Markowitz, *Not Nationalists*, 1187.

and it is hard to pull this mixture apart. And it shouldn't be. To those who say Russia must be absolutely Slavic, I absolutely disagree.[22]

However, the same young people who proclaimed these inclusive statements also spoke of 'the problem of 'lits kavkazskikh natsional'nostei' referring to the bad attitude of new comers who disregarded what they considered to be the norms of Russian hospitality.[23]

Veronika: No I am not completely against the slogan 'Russia for the Russians' because here in Russia there are refugees who, especially from Georgia, are bringing in guns and drugs and lots of crime. I think, close the border and the crime will go away.[24]

There has also been a new defining of racial stereotypes since the Soviet period. It used to be "Azeris as artists, Armenians as poets, Georgians as musicians and Uzbeks as dancers" now it has become "Azeris as drug-traffickers, Armenians as book keepers, Georgians as car thieves and Uzbeks as weapons dealers".[25]

Institutionalised racism has emerged in such a way that was always abhorred during the Soviet period, when the Soviet Union believed it had 'discovered the cure for racism'.[26] The use of the official registration system for all visitors to Russia has been used as an excuse to crack down on ethnic minorities, particularly in Moscow. Naturally the Chechen war and the apartment bombings have added to the racism towards anyone who looks even slightly Caucasian.

Moscow has been officially re-imagined as white and Slavic.[27]

The police services are often heavy-handed in their dealings with ethnic minorities in the capital.

22 Ibid.
23 Ibid., 1190.
24 Ibid., 1192.
25 Roman, *Making Caucasians Black*, 6.
26 Ibid., 1.
27 Ibid., 3.

Harassment can be so severe that for the person of colour it means being stopped as many as ten times a day for document checks, being fined five times a day, being detained at the police station once a day and being subjected to physical abuse three times a day.[28]

Naturally all of this harassment is seen by the white, Slavic people of the city but this simply adds to the criminal stereotype, as people from ethnic minorities are seen being arrested all the time it is assumed that many of them must be guilty.

The transition from Soviet citizen to citizen of the Russian Federation has been difficult for both the government and the people. For 80 years Russians saw themselves as the leader of a multinational super power nation and previously as the Tsarist Empire they were recognised as one of the Great Powers. Now, their territory has been much reduced, their economic capacity has been destroyed and, for a time, they have been largely ignored on the world stage. Within their own country they have seen minority nationalities gain preferential rights and status than them and in some cases been strongly discriminated against in recompense for their previous Soviet, privileged status. The turn towards Russian nationalism in this context can be understood.

However, Putin has made considerable moves to creating a viable civic identity for the people of the Russian Federation in his steps to create a strong state. A civic identity needs to be based on a sense of common purpose and identification with the institutions of the state. The people of the Russian Federation seem to be showing by voting for Putin, that a strong state matters more to them than democratic ideals. It is a strong state that they can identify with and want to build their own identity upon.

Putin appeals to other facets of the population in other ways, appealing to nationalism in his support of the church: fiscally, politically and spiritually. He risks, however, alienating the Muslim population of Russia through his vocal support for the 'war on terror' as well as the continued military action in Chechnya. Yet intermittently portraying Russia as a close ally of the US does give it a higher ranking on the world stage and therefore more international status; something important to all of the citizens of the Russian Federation.

28 Ibid., 14.

While it is clear that Russian Nationalism is still a force to be reckoned with within the Russian Federation, it seems that Putin is making steps to embed a civic identity among Russians. Hopefully, as the Chechen situation is resolved he will make a more decisive move to get rid of the significant Caucasian racism which is linked to expressions of Russian nationalism. The Russian young people of today, who barely experienced the institutionalised ethnicity of the Soviet Union are comfortable with a civic identity within the Russian Federation. This identification, if encouraged by the government, may hopefully lead to a civic identity which rejects racism and arbitrary ethnic division.

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Making History: Post-Historical Commemorations of the Past in British Television

Laura Smith

The postmodernist re-evaluation of historical study has led to an awareness of the value of the moving image to the historian. Film can present us with glimpses of a past independent of discourse and its unique link with reality carries with it inevitable assumptions of authenticity. Yet the selection and manipulation of material by the filmmaker, and the dependence on causality or the establishment of 'fact', makes historical documentary as problematic as any other mode of historiography. National history is shaped as national identity, and, ultimately, acts of commemoration say as much about the present as the past.

Is history the graveyard of the past? The gulf between the 'past' – what has gone before – and 'history' – how it is recounted and recorded – can be a dark and treacherous terrain. In acts of commemoration ideas of history often descend into a futile negotiation with the dead, an endless *danse macabre*. The advent of postmodernism has brought with it a dismantling of established structures, and particularly a re-examination of the way history is legitimised. New ways of 'figuring the past' must emerge. Roland Barthes moved literary studies from an emphasis on the *context* of the work to the study of the *text* itself — from the external structures to the internal pre-figurations. This was the unavoidable transition from structuralism to post-structuralism: where structures were exposed not as universal 'realities', but as socially constructed discourses. In a

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post-historical mode of history, the past is a text to be interpreted, and subsequently is plunged into the storm of conflicting literary criticism and linguistic analysis that has fuelled the postmodernist debate. Inevitably, we are led from a defence of a particular mode of history to a defence of history itself. Written history often fails to take into account, or put across, the reality of history as lived. Film as historiography or commemoration is itself a posthistorical way of making history: it is unique in its ability to *show* the past. This encounter between television documentary and history is the focus of this study.

The BBC's seminal television series *The World at War*, with its ambitious scope, energy and self-confidence, proclaimed itself as "the definitive story of the Second World War".[1] History as figured by postmodernism is, in contrast, characterised by a refutation of ultimate, final accounts of the past, as well as a dismantling of established ideas of historical scholarship, and a new focus on the individual. *The World at War* opens with shots of a ghost town, a village in France desecrated by the Nazis and never rebuilt. "Its ruins are a memorial," the voice-over tells us. Historical documentary, viewed through the fog of postmodernity, is a series of ruins, remnants of the past. Programmes such as *The World at War*, or the more recent *Auschwitz — The Nazis and the Final Solution*, present history as a monument to the past, as commemoration. "These fragments I have shored against my ruins," says T.S. Eliot in *The Waste Land*. This is the experience of the postmodernist historian, piecing together the kaleidoscopic view of a disunified past that exists only as crumbling vestiges.

In the first episode of the 26-part series, *A New Germany: 1933-1939*, we see leading Nazis such as Göring and Goebbels taking part in a charity street-collection, "for the benefit of the cameras, [showing] themselves as folk comrades". Motive and bias is explicitly underlined, but what of the rest of the images that we see: how much of what is seen is 'for the benefit of the cameras'? The danger of using film as evidence, is to lose sight of *how* such

1 Jeremy Isaacs, Exec. Prod., "Episode 1 and 2 Video sleeve-note", *The World at War* (BBC, Thames Television, 1973).

evidence came to be: why it was filmed and for whom. One example used in *The World at War* is a newsreel depicting German refugees, supposedly victims of Polish brutality: "Nazi propaganda," the voice-over tells us, "filmed them greedily". In another clip, soaring employment statistics are accompanied with the firm pronouncement, "All the Fuhrer's work, that's all you need to know". And yet, is the message of the 'definitive' documentary not inevitably — this is all you need to know?

Included in The World at War's variety of disparate sources are Eva Braun's home movies, with the narrator careful to remind us that even this most innocent of genres is still staged and unreliable. We see "Adolf with children, Adolf with dogs, Adolf with a magnifying glass, Adolf with friends, out for a walk – like a good Bavarian bourgeoisie – on a Sunday". Such a list of incidentals would be meaningless without illustrations and thus, with a suitably ironic 'Ode to Adolf' playing over the clips, the sequence is effective. Laurence Olivier's clear, assured monologue, coupled with his reputation as a 'serious' actor, instils confidence in the viewer: we trust what he tells us. Despite the authoritative, contained narration of events, a note of – rather British – irony is often allowed to the fore: shades of a postmodernism that is characterised by irreverence and parody. We are informed that: "It was perfect weather for a late holiday… or invading Poland", and "In Britain it was snowing too. The censorship tried to hush it up, but the people couldn't help noticing".[2] A catalogue of injustices and freedoms curtailed is narrated over footage of Christmas celebrations: giant swastikas dwarfing the crosses as a choir sing Stille Nacht. The assassination of Hitler's enemies is depicted in a crudely animated firing squad, gunshots ringing over the soundtrack.

The difficulty here is that playing with archive footage in a way that is not explicitly acknowledged can later create unease and confusion. Film's unique link with reality carries with it inevitable claims or assumptions of authenticity. Manipulation of this material calls into question all film evidence. But, of course, this kind of manipulation happens all the time. In Nazi Germany, Leni

2 Ibid.

Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will* (1934) is an example of this kind of stagedhistory on an enormous scale. Riefenstahl writes that "the event was organised in the manner of a theatrical performance, not only as a popular rally, but also to provide the *material* for a propaganda film… *everything was decided by reference to the camera*".[3]

The power of television to incite emotion was lost on neither Hitler nor the Allies. Of the hundreds of films made by the Germans, Americans and British, some were straightforward training films; others provided psychological preparation for troops going into battle, explaining who they were fighting and why. Still others were used to sustain civilian morale: stimulating fear, courage and more abstract notions like honour, patriotism and duty. In a similar way, *The World at War* uses the unique power of the image to provoke a response. German children are shown playing at soldiers and firing real guns: young, eager British soldiers are waved off by tearful sweethearts on their way to the front. We must watch these images with the burden of retrospect: the future seems somehow inevitable.

Another strand of postmodernism exerts the historian to, as it were, stop all the clocks. Frank Ankersmit expresses a widespread view when he declares that: "Historical time is a recent and highly artificial invention of Western civilization".[4] History is no longer in search of lost time. Causality, in historical scholarship, is seen as reliant on a structuralist view of time as something regulated and established: imposing patterns and chains of events that are questionable. *The World at War* presents the period from 1933 onwards as a chronology of falling dominoes, a series of unfortunate events. There is often a temptation to depict the past as a series of stepping stones leading to this moment in time. History must be presented as teleologically convincing. It must flow and make sense. The narrativisation of historical discourse shapes the

3 Quoted in Paul Virilio. War and Cinema: The Logistics of Perception (London, New York: Verso, 1999), 59. (My italics).

4 Frank Ankersmit, History and Tropology: The Rise and Fall of Metaphor (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1994), 33-4.

past into a consumable commodity that can be made sense of; enclosed in books and film canisters; reduced to dates and monuments. For the post-structuralist, such a view of time is controlling and restrictive, favouring Western ideology and legitimising hegemony. History is not just one damn thing after another, it is a mesh of centrifugal forces surrounding each event: past, present and future entangled. The 'fact' spreads concentric circles, rippling into a multiplicity of perspectives and interpretations.

In the more recent BBC docu-drama series *Auschwitz — The Nazis and the Final Solution*, dramatic reconstructions are used, not only to illustrate narration, but to "tell their own story through dialogue". Historical documents such as official memoranda, minutes from meetings, autobiographical accounts, and even audio recordings and transcripts of speeches, are 'brought to life' by German-speaking actors in meticulously re-created sets. This is history as experience, and film is the only medium that can hope to place us *in medias res* — the television as time-machine. The series' drama director, Detlef Siebert, claims that this way of figuring the past provides "insights into [the Nazis'] motives and decision-making — insights that no interviewee could provide".[5] Yet often the dialogue is constructed from a number of documents written at the time to "reflect the thinking of those present at the meeting". Here, the gap between fact and fiction seems increasingly tenuous and claims of accuracy are misleading. Siebert goes on to distinguish *Auschwitz* from fictional representations of World War Two – *Schindler's List* and *Conspiracy* – claiming that the aim to tell a story dominates these works, "at the expense of factual accuracy". But is the Holocaust not, essentially, an imagined construction? Not, of course, the atrocity itself, but the way it is understood and commemorated. Our attempts to name it – Holocaust, Final Solution, Shoah, Churban, German genocide of the Jews – are always an effort to represent the unrepresentable, and contain within the limitations of history or language what history has not prepared us for; what is beyond comprehension.

5 Detlef Siebert, "Historical Accuracy and the Making of 'Auschwitz'"; available from http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/history_drama_01.shtm; internet; accessed 30 May 2007.

The programme-makers of *The World at War*, and particularly the associate producer Jerome Kuehl, wanted the programme to serve as a demonstration of the value of film to the historian.[6] Consequently the overriding concern was accuracy: every scrap of footage was treated as a document to be scrutinised. While Simon Schama, a historian with a greater debt to postmodernism, presents himself as an enthusiastic, entertaining storyteller; *The World at War* offers a more sober, expositional version of film historiography: the emphasis is on accuracy and authenticity. The programme often seems at pains to assert its objectivity: stating without defence that Britain was "the first democracy to sign a pact with the Nazis", and documenting as many failures and blunders as successes. Of course, *The World at War* invites criticism in its confidence — proudly packaged as the 'definitive' account of World War Two. As postmodernism rightly argues, no historian can cover the totality of past events, there can be no ultimate version of the past. For Keith Jenkins, history is merely a manifestation of perspective, entirely alienated from the events that build the past.[7] Often the historian would have us believe that he is merely the oracle of the past. But in the construction of a history, or in any act of commemoration, the historian unavoidably fashions a creation in his own image. "History", Winston Churchill said, "will be kind to me for I intend to write it". These programmes, like any film, say as much about their filmmakers, and the context in which they were aired, as they do about the events they seek to present.

An interpretation of Plato's 'Allegory of the Cave' as an antecedent of film and television, could infer that society, through the ubiquity of images, would become entirely divorced from reality. For Jean Baudrillard this severance has in fact occurred, and we now see the world through its representation. The media, in Baudrillard's view, has created a hyper-reality, where images take the place of events and memories. The television shapes a national consciousness.

6 According to Penelope Houston in her *Keeper of the Frame: The Film Archives* (London: British Film Institute, 1994).

7 See Keith Jenkins, "What History Is" in *Re-Thinking History*, Keith Jenkins, ed. (London: Routledge, 1991), 5-26.

The representation, and by extension, the commemoration, kills the reality. The media, then, *makes* history. In this way Baudrillard can declare that the Gulf War never occurred, because it existed for the majority of the world in a virtual reality, a mass hallucination. Thus film and television can be seen as perpetuating the postmodernist view of history as an infinitely interpretable discourse, without discernible facts. The simulation is so convincing, the past as reality is swallowed up. At this stage of Baudrillard's vision, the historian Alan Munslow has suggested that: "there no longer remains a foundational standard by which we judge the-past-as-history".[8] Structureless-ness thereby becomes a quality of our understanding of the past and of our present.

Structuralism, it seems, is often characterised as a denial of agency to individuals in history and an imposition of a unity that does not exist. Many post-structuralists seek to re-centre the individual as a focus for study. "Above all", proclaims the video blurb of *The World at War*, "[this series] brings to the screen the experiences of ordinary men and women". The filmmakers are careful to delineate the distinction between the experts who write history, the politicians who 'made history', and the 'ordinary people' who *lived* that history. Contributors are given titles such as 'Businessman,' 'Law Student,' 'Printer's Son,' 'Army Officer,' 'Farmer's Daughter.' There is an emphasis on the authenticity of the accounts, these people *were there*. The memories of those who were children at the time of the events recounted would perhaps have been devalued in traditional history. But for contemporary documentarymakers, survivors of the Second World War are increasingly scarce. There is a sense of urgency in the BBC's *Auschwitz*, a cry to 'never forget'. Here commemoration and identity converge. Television fosters what Thomas Elsaesser calls a "sense of sociability, of coming together around shared feelings".[9] In episode fifteen of *The World at War* (*Home Fires: Britain 1940-*

8 Alan Munslow, "Introduction" in *The Postmodern History Reader*, Keith Jenkins, ed. (London: Routledge, 1997).

9 Thomas Elsaesser, '"One train may be hiding another': private history, memory and national identity"; available from http://www.latrobe.edu.au/screeningthepast/classics/rr0499/terr6b.htm; internet; accessed 30 May 2007.

1944), Londoners sit in a pub recollecting their experiences. The series exploits a sense of the past as a *shared* experience: this is the people's war, a collective memory. National history is shaped as national identity.

As history is called into question, the value of memory increases. We are all historians. We collate and interpret our memories, we invent ourselves through our pasts: all that has gone before has brought us to this moment, here, now, this thought, these words. The historian is knocked down from his watchtower over the past into the crowds of 'post-historians' – the 'ordinary people' – and the omniscient narrator is joined by a clamour of innumerable voices. History is people, not dates in books or animated arrows speeding across maps of Europe. With this aspect of postmodernist inquiry, the individual is raised to a place of prominence. Those who have been conspicuous only by their silence through history – women, the working-class, the defeated, the downtrodden, the losers – finally are given the floor. History becomes democratic. The meek really do inherit the earth.

In the Nazi concentration camp at Auschwitz, some Jewish prisoners secretly wrote eyewitness accounts of the atrocities of the gas chambers and hid them in bottles or metal containers buried in the ground. A number of these accounts were discovered after the war. The past, it would seem, is buried deep in broken vessels. Yet it did occur, even if all we are left with is fragments to shore against our own ruins. Keith Jenkins sees history as one discourse – among many – that gives meaning to the world.[10] For the postmodernist, meaning or truth is something that does not exist until it is articulated. Even if we do not subscribe to this view, it must be recognised that the historian's asymptotic pursuit of truth ultimately fails to recognise the inevitable limitations of historical scholarship and, in this case, of the moving image itself.[11] There can be no Final Solution to history. Buried in theorisation, the historical fact disappears from view. Hayden White argues that there is no single correct view of an event,

10 Jenkins, *What History Is*, 5-26.

11 The mathematical asymptote is a line that draws increasingly nearer to a curve without ever actually meeting it.

"…there are no grounds to be found in the [historical] record itself for preferring one way of construing its meaning rather than another…"[12] Thus, the postmodernist would have it, arguments of objectivity are pointless since anything that anyone says is equally valid.

Doubt is necessary for historical, indeed for any kind of, scholarship. But doubt should not be a dead end: it can be the path to truth, or at least to understanding. The twelfth century philosopher Peter Abelard declared that "doubt leads to inquiry, inquiry leads to truth". But in a postmodernist, poststructuralist method of history, inquiry leads right back to doubt. The postmodernist historian delights in this whirlpool of incomprehension, the certainty that we can know nothing for certain. So should the historian and the filmmaker surrender to the impossibility of concrete fact or fundamentals, not drowning but waving? In a criticism of evaluative, interpretative history we should not lose sight of the fact (dangerous word) that the past *has been*. Even if every person involved in an event saw it differently, the truth of its occurrence does not change. Documentaries such as *The World at War* may be just ghosttrains speeding past us, but they commemorate a past independent of discourse, a past of people. Historians have the privilege and the burden of hindsight, and this, in effect, is the value of history: to be able to look at any event, no matter how little evidence there exists, and see it with the eyes of the future. For we can know one thing: that the past has brought us – inevitably or not – to this, here, *now*.

12 Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality" in *On Narrative*, W.J.T. Mitchell, ed. (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 1-23.

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