



HiPo: The Langara Student Journal of History and Political Science





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We are proud to present the third edition of *HiPo: The Langara Student Journal of History and Political Science*. The *HiPo* journal provides students at Langara the opportunity to have their work be published. It also offers the editors the valuable experience of learning how to build and publish an academic journal. This year features a variety of papers across each of *HiPo*'s covered subjects, and we are excited to present a series of history essays that span time and touch on many different parts of the world, a series of poli-sci essays drawing attention to contemporary environmental issues, a couple of art history papers for the cultured reader, and two accounts of womanhood under Nazi rule. We are pleased to offer this mix of theme and variety, and hope you will be too.

The process of making this year's edition has truly been a joy. We would like to thank all the students who submitted to the journal. Many wonderful essays were submitted this year on a wide variety of topics. We were incredibly lucky to have such an enthusiastic and dedicated team of editors. Without them this publication would not have been possible. We would also like to thank our Faculty Advisor Sean Maschmann who supported us throughout this entire process. This journal would not be possible without the History, Latin, and Political Science Department. We would like to thank them for their support and encouragement. We hope that you enjoy this year's edition, just as we enjoyed creating it.

ARDEN JANSEN & ADAM THOMAS
Editors-in-Chief

It is a great honour to have the opportunity to write this letter for the third issue of *HiPo*. This is a big year for the journal, as it will soon be appearing in university, college, and high-school libraries across BC. Langara has also recently promised to provide support for the journal and those involved in its production on an ongoing basis. These successes are testimony to the outstanding and diligent work that the student editors, contributors and faculty advisors have put in to enable the journal to flourish, as well as the gracious support that we have received from advocates in the college administration. On behalf of both myself and the department I would ask everyone involved to accept my heartfelt thanks and congratulations. And let us give particular acclaim to the students; we are immensely proud of you all.

NIALL CHRISTIE, PHD
Department Chair
History, Latin and Political Science



ECSTATIC CONNECTION: SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THE BACCHANALIAN RITES AND SUFISM

LILY BAKER

This paper focuses on the parallels between Islamic Sufism and the Bacchanalian rites of ancient Greece. Very little has been said about the two subjects together, despite their similarities in ritual practices and forms of worship. Both practices developed in a time when certain individuals or societal groups felt disconnected from a major aspect of antiquity: religion. Despite both societies involving heavy influence from their distinct religious beliefs, influences which had a profound effect on daily life and societal practices, not everyone was able to worship in the same way. From the disparity between social classes which privileged the rich when religious rituals were performed, to the lack of opportunity for women to participate in religious ritual, Sufism and the Bacchanalian rites provided opportunities for disenfranchised members of society. The analysis is by no means exhaustive but touches on the major similarities between these two historic religious phenomena.

The rituals of Islamic Sufism and the Bacchanalian rites of the ancient Greek mystery cult of Dionysus have distinct parallels between them. Key commonalities include a reliance on ritualistic expression of emotion through physical action and performance. As well, both share common themes of death and rebirth in certain customs, along with practitioners facing discrimination from more mainstream cultural gatekeepers. These two practices, separated by time, distance, and culture, illustrate a shared human desire for spiritual and emotional connection above all else, even in the face of opposition and suppression.

In order to understand the contents of this essay, it is first necessary to have a basic grasp of the subjects. Sufism is the mystical branch of the Islamic religion and has been around since the early days of Islam. In the early years of its formation, Sufism

meant living an austere and pious life to the extreme. Due to the diversity of its rituals and practices, and the longevity of its history, Sufism is notoriously difficult to define.¹ Sufis were said to have “devoted extraordinary amounts of time to Qur’anic recitations and prayer,”² which led to a reputation of extreme piety in the form of asceticism. Yet at the heart of this seemingly austere practice were rituals of ecstatic dance and dramatic pageantry. From fire breathing to juggling, Sufi Masters and practitioners have used a wide variety of methods to express their devotion. The unconventional practices of Sufis were frequently viewed as heretical and blasphemous, and in direct opposition to religious order. At the time, one of the fundamental precepts of Islam included expressing one’s faith through prescribed actions and laws. Many Muslims would rely on the *Hadith*, anecdotes regarding the life of Muhammad, which offered guidance in understanding certain practices or laws. In contrast, Sufism emphasized inward piety and the uniqueness of each individual’s connection with the divine. This personal relationship with Allah was valued far more than following conventional expressions of devotion through imposed tenets of the faith. Conventional Islamic law held little to no value to a Sufi because it was seen as following an empty set of precepts, as opposed to devoting oneself to the guidance and love of God.³ Mystics followed Allah without finding it necessary to consult the Qur’an, although they still made reference to it, preferring to express their faith through a personal quest for inward piety. As a result, Islamic law, which relied heavily on its own Qur’anic interpretation, was far less important to a Sufi’s way of life. While Islamic law provided intellectual stimulation for the elite and formally educated, Sufism allowed the common Muslim to connect on an emotional level. Unlike the majority of Islamic practice, which was far more reliant on intellectual pursuits, Sufism’s unique pageantry and emotionalism establish a firm connection to the ecstatic rites of Dionysus.

When it came to a personal connection with the divine in ancient Greece, there was very little opportunity for the common citizen. Daily and communal rituals were a way to appease angry gods or goddesses, or an attempt to win their favour, but they did not provide a close spiritual connection. The closest one could come to communing directly with deities, was through an audience with one of the Oracles or participation in the mystery cults. The cults largely formed as a reaction to widespread fears of an unpleasant afterlife. In ancient Greece, the concept of life after death was largely understood as eternity spent in the Underworld, either wandering the dark lands of the dead, being tormented in Tartarus, or basking in the pleasures of Elysium. Because Elysium admitted very few, and only the extremely exceptional, many Greek citizens were faced with the unappealing

¹Lloyd V. J. Ridgeon, *The Cambridge Companion to Sufism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), xvi.

²Ibid, 3.

³Vernon Egger, *History of the Muslim World to 1405: the Making of a Civilization* (New Jersey: Pearson Education, 2004), 123-124.

prospect of eternity in stagnation or suffering. Naturally, many searched for an alternative possibility, and the mystery cults were born. Focusing around gods, goddesses, and heroes who were related to a cycle of death and rebirth, the cults were extremely popular. Dionysus was one such god with a wide following, and the Bacchanalian rites were the ritual practices of his cult followers. The cycle of death and rebirth is largely represented through the seasons, and the resulting decline and regrowth of plant-life. Due to the cyclical nature of vegetation, in connection with rebirth and the appearance of immortality, and the easy accessibility citizens had to nature, it was plant-based gods and goddesses who inspired the most popular cults. A staple of the ancient Mediterranean world was wine, and its obvious connection to the grape vine and the god himself made Dionysus integral in the lives of Greeks and Romans. Centralized in the town of Eleusis, not far from Athens, the Bacchanalian rites spread rapidly throughout the ancient world.⁴ It was this major cult which made the town one of the foremost focal points of Greek religion.⁵ Unfortunately, the mystery cults were well named, and very little information about them was ever written down or even shared with outsiders. Scholars have long debated whether available sources portray these cults in a factual way, or if plays like Euripides' *Bacchae* are merely theatrical versions, distorted to appeal to ancient audiences.⁶

Throughout human history, groups and individuals alike have fought to express themselves. It is a fundamental aspect of human nature that if we lack outlets we will create them. In antiquity, the Greeks and the followers of Islam were no different. When their religion and societal structures began to feel too constricting, and the common citizen felt they had little power and even less connection with their deity, Sufism and the Bacchanalian rites gave those individuals freedom of expression and the ability to reconnect with divine power. In each society, religion had become a staple of daily life, entailing repetitive actions which appeased deities but did not provide the emotional connection many craved. Though separated by space and time, both alternative religious practices drew followers through the promise of intense religious ecstasy and a direct, individual experience which conventional rituals had not provided. Both Maenads and Sufis would chant and dance, and lose themselves in the passion of worship, in order to connect with the divine beings they revered. Through their rituals, practitioners would enter into a state of extreme emotion known as religious ecstasy, which is, in essence, a euphoric connection with the divine. Individuals in the midst of religious ecstasy experienced an altered state of being, in which visions and extreme emotional states

⁴Edith Hamilton, *Mythology Timeless Tales of Gods and Heroes* (New York: Grand Central Publishing, 1942), 53.

⁵A. G. P. Lang and H. D. Amos, *These Were the Greeks* (Chester Springs, Pa: Dufour Editions, 2006), 77.

⁶Vassiliki Panoussi, *Brides, Mourners, Bacchae: Womens Rituals in Roman Literature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019), 117.

were common. What is especially fascinating is the shared aspect of death and rebirth. The Mevlevi order of Sufism was founded by the son of Rumi, a renowned Sufi Master and mystical poet. Within their ritual, called the Sama, are specific symbolic representations of shedding ego and gaining the simplicity of truth and perfection via the love of and for Allah.⁷ It is this shedding of the ego which is akin to death, and rebirth connects to the acceptance of God's love suffusing every aspect of their lives. The eventual goal of being one with Allah, leaving individuality behind and becoming a part of the whole of God's love, thereby connecting with the eternal, is its own form of immortality. The Bacchantae and followers of Dionysus similarly desired immortality through their connection with the god, although the understanding of the end result is quite separate. Maenads and male followers of Dionysus paid homage to the cyclical aspect of his power, which allowed plants to die and be reborn each year. It was the awe-inspiring power of the plant's rebirth, the return of such an integral aspect of human survival, which first led the Greeks to worship Dionysus as a figure linked to immortality, and it was their hope that he would provide them the same benefits.

Both the mystery cult of Dionysus and Sufism provided a rare opportunity for their followers to go against societal norms. For women, especially, the Bacchanalian rites were a chance to shed the constricting Apollonian values of Greece, which favoured the logical and rational, and embrace the Dionysian aspects of human nature. Through wild, careless displays of passion and revelry, the Maenads had a chance to experience life outside the narrow confines of their daily lives. Sufism, too, had a strong female influence from its early days. Though textual evidence is rare, women clearly had the opportunity to participate in, and shape, Sufi practices and ideology. Rabi'a was one such historical figure, an early Sufi mystic who made integral contributions to Sufism. Of course, neither practice was limited to women, and men too were afforded the opportunity to enjoy profound connections, both spiritual and social.

Unfortunately, as a result of their unconventional behaviour, practitioners faced suppression. Sufis were discriminated against for their disregard for Islamic law, and the followers of Dionysus were feared due to their adherence to Dionysian values and behaviour. Interestingly, the growing numbers of influential and wealthy individuals within the religious groups meant very different things for the two practices. While Sufism was ultimately accepted by everyday society after high status Muslims converted and began practicing, Dionysus' cult was seen as too

⁷Shems Friedlander and Nezih Uzel, *The Whirling Dervishes: Being an Account of the Sufi Order Known as the Mevlevi and Its Founder the Poet and Mystic Mevlana Jalaluddin Rumi* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), xix.

much of a threat to Greek society, and was suppressed completely.⁸ Both social movements gave voice to discontent among individuals who felt powerless and disconnected, and their resulting visibility made governments and religious leaders afraid.

While there were distinct differences between the two, namely the ascetic lifestyle of the Sufis in opposition with the more hedonistic tendencies of the Bacchantae, the mystery cult of Dionysus and Sufism were fundamentally similar in their search for spiritual connection and freedom from strict societal structures. Although Islamic law and Greek society both created stricture on the individual, the unique practices of both Sufism and the Bacchanalian rites provided the opportunity to step outside the confines of daily life and create a more individualistic, emotional connection with Allah or Dionysus respectively. Not only did they provide integral group dynamics in cultures where community and family meant everything, but both practices also supplied a liberating opportunity for self-expression.

⁸Tesse Stek, *Cult Places and Cultural Change in Republican Italy a Contextual Approach to Religious Aspects of Rural Society after the Roman Conquest* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 19-21.

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THE WINDIGO, WEMSTIKOSHIW, AND WAR: THREE DAY ROAD AND THE INTERGENERATIONAL STORY OF INDIGENOUS CANADIANS

DECLAN BURKE

The history of relations between the Indigenous populations of Canada and its colonial government is an inherently militaristic one. Charting an intergenerational story of this relationship from the early post-Confederation era, to the end of World War One, Joseph Boyden's historical fiction novel "Three Day Road" provides a historically accurate and poignant reading of the oft-unreflectively celebrated early years of Canada from a uniquely critical perspective. This paper further expands the fictional interactions of the novel's characters, and their historical inspirations, with analysis and comparison to other colonial examples from across the British Empire. In particular, it examines and compares the approaches of policing and education in the cultural unmaking of Indigenous peoples. Culminating in Canada's 'baptism in fire' of the Great War, the experiences of indigenous soldiers also find parallels with those of the other soldiers serving across the Western Front, further underscoring the issue's historical complexity.

Canada's founding is a story most often framed as one of relative peaceful development, bound by good governance, and punctuated by our exceptional rising to the task of supporting King and Country in the Great War. But the establishment of Canada and its national baptism in the fires of the First World War can easily be seen instead as the unmaking of its Indigenous population as a nation and culture. In this respect Joseph Boyden's historical fiction novel *Three Day Road* represents a poignant reading of Canadian history as a story of the destruction of Indigenous autonomy and identity through European nation building, and the war experiences of its characters as a glimpse at both the unique suffering and struggles of Indigenous soldiers, and the first winds of change that would soon rewrite the landscape of Europe and Canada.

Three Day Road is a story of Indigenous endurance, both literally and metaphorically, told by two major characters across a vast swathe of Canadian history. In late 1918, the elderly Oji-Cree medicine woman Niska travels home through northern Ontario by river, along with her veteran nephew Xavier Bird. Recently returned from the Great War, and addicted to morphine after losing his leg, Xavier is haunted by the memories of his experiences overseas alongside his now-dead friend Elijah Whiskeyjack. Niska commits to saving Xavier during their voyage, sharing her story of life in the wilderness of Canada to remind him his roots, while Xavier opens up about his experiences during the war in France. The two narratives weave a cross-generational picture of Indigenous relations at home and beyond, illustrating the depths to which Indigenous people were transformed by Canada.

As Canada established itself, its approach towards Indigenous peoples was marked by a combination of legislated marginalization, and often harsh enforcement of this second-class status to ensure compliance. In contrast to other British colonies of the period, Canada's frontier was defined by established fur trading ties, as well as various treaties that nominally defined jurisdiction and ownership of the land.¹ As settlers began to move into frontier areas, the need to establish direct jurisdiction and effective enforcement of law became paramount to the Canadian government.² To that end, the Northwest Mounted Police was formed to spearhead Indigenous 'civilization' through magisterial authority to try and sentence suspected lawbreakers on the frontier, and to avoid repeating incidents like the Cypress Hills massacre that had originally prompted the force's creation.³ To this end, the NWMP were a highly visible and empowered tool of the Canadian policy of frontier expansion and development, and one that the Indigenous communities there disproportionately felt the presence of.⁴ This was further underlined by the 1876 Indian Act, which formalized the legal position of Indigenous people as second-class dependents whose status and rights were defined exclusively by the Canadian state.⁵ Informed by the same colonial 'benevolence' as the NWMP, the Indian Act interfered directly in Indigenous self-governance by establishing band councils with no consideration for the actual composition of the populations they were meant

¹Amanda Nettleback and Russel Smandych, "Policing Indigenous Peoples on Two Colonial Frontiers: Australia's Mounted Police and Canada's North-West Mounted Police," *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology* 43, no. 2 (2010): 359.

²Ibid. 357.

³Ibid. 358, 360-361

⁴Jeffery Monaghan, "Mounties in the Frontier: Circulations, Anxieties, and Myths of Settler Colonial Policing in Canada." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 47, no. 1 (2013): 123, 125-127.

⁵Sana Z. Shahram, "Indigenous Pregnancy, Birthing, and Mothering in Colonial Canada," in *Indigenous Experiences of Pregnancy and Birth*, ed. Hannah Tait Neufeld and Jaime Cidro (Toronto: Demeter Press, 2017), 17.

to represent.⁶ When resistance arose, the NWMP would step in to enforce the Act through whatever tactics were necessary, combining their wide ranging powers with the dictatorial letter of the law to brutal efficiency.⁷ Following the defeat of the 1886 Northwest Rebellion, the overall stance of the Canadian government hardened further. While records support that the NWMP did minimize violence in prosecuting their duties, and maintained supportive relations with Metis and other Indigenous groups that mirrored earlier fur trading dynamics, this changed noticeably following the Rebellion and its hysterical aftermath.⁸ Records of NWMP correspondence, as well as the general pressure of rumour and fear of Indigenous ‘savagery’ among settlers show the common conception of Indigenous people as a hostile ‘other,’ to be dealt with as an inherent antagonist, rather than an equal.⁹ In *Three Day Road*, Niska’s childhood is interrupted from its ordinary flow following her father’s killing of a ‘windigo’ mother and baby. The following autumn the NWMP appear to arrest him to stand trial for murder according to Canadian law.¹⁰ Illustrative of both the division between Indigenous and settler beliefs and practices, as well as the de facto preeminence of the Canadian government to unilaterally determine and enforce moral standards, this event is summed up best by Niska herself; “At the time of my birth, the wemistikoshiw were still dependent on us... until the day came when suddenly it was we who answered to them.”¹¹ This shift in dynamics was most infamously embodied by the Residential School system. Included along with the establishment of reserves and promises of support in the Indian Act, the schools were an attempt to eliminate Indigenous culture at the proverbial roots.¹² In the novel, the reasons for each character’s involvement vary dramatically, as do their outcomes. Niska is taken against her will, her sister Rabbit goes willingly, while Xavier and Elijah are directly raised in the school.¹³ Each would face abuses either physically, mentally, and in Elijah’s case sexually, that have come to typify the legacy of the system.¹⁴ But beyond individual cases, it was cultural genocide combined with pathological abuses that elevates residential schools in the pantheon of colonial crimes.¹⁵ Disillusioned and wounded, the constructed family Niska creates with Xavier and Elijah is an effective facsimile for the resilience of Indigenous Canadians as a whole, just as their experiences in the war would serve as a microcosm for both Indigenous, and broader effects of the Great War.

⁶Timothy C. Winegard, *For King and Kanata: Canadian Indians and the First World War*. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), 19.

⁷Ibid. 19-20.

⁸Nettleback and Smandych, 361, 363-364.

⁹Monaghan, 126-127, 129, 133

¹⁰Joseph Boyden, *Three Day Road*. (Toronto: Penguin Canada Books, 2005), 47.

¹¹Boyden, 48.

¹²Winegard, 19.

¹³Boyden, 91-92, 214, 222-223

¹⁴Shahram 21-22.

¹⁵Ibid.

Where the imperial dimension of the creation and composition of Canada cast a long and noticeable shadow prior to 1914, Xavier and Elijah's service highlights both the unique context in which the 'alien' soldiers of the Empire existed, as well as highlighting some of the most tragic dimensions of the war suffered universally. At the outbreak of the War, Canadian recruitment policy followed closely on that of Britain; namely adopting a guarded pragmatism towards Indigenous inclusion balanced between fear of 'savage indians' disrupting order, and harnessing such presumed savagery for military and propaganda purposes.¹⁶ This also served to perpetuate the marginalization of Indigenous soldiers along the lines of existing domestic and imperial policy.¹⁷ In terms of service, Indigenous Canadians fought across every branch of the military, except the new Royal Tank Corps, including two predominantly Indigenous units: the 114th and 107th battalions.¹⁸ In the case of the 107th, language was a noticeable issue as the majority did not speak English, resulting in the wise decision by Lt. Colonel Glen Campell to push for Indigenous language administration.¹⁹ In the novel, the language barrier offers Elijah and Xavier a degree of individuality beyond their fellow soldiers, and particularly commanders, while highlighting their 'otherness' to these same people. Interestingly, a similar sentiment of isolation and unit camaraderie developed in Welsh speaking units, as testified by Captain L. Wyn Griffith, whose unit became "an enclave within a community", in which Welsh served as a barrier between the military world of English and became a retreat and private dimension to their shared experience that no English speaker could fully access.²⁰ In a similar respect the stereotyped specialization of Indigenous soldiers as scouts and snipers, and its recorded 'success' in the field, reinforced barriers as much as breaking them down. Both Corporal Francis Pegahmagabow and Lance Corporal Henry Norwest would reach record setting tallies over one hundred kills each, with the former reaching an unofficial 378. Pegahmagabow is referenced several times throughout the novel as a sort of supernatural legend, one that mirrors the racially located legends that followed Indigenous soldiers on both sides of the trenches²¹. Thus the war came to define Indigenous Canadians as preternatural killers, while serving to instill a sense of both mortality and humanity in others. While the novel's British commanders such as Lieutenant Breech are portrayed as either stereotypically combative or regimental in their own right, the experiences of Lieutenant Basil Wiley speak to a grand disillusionment of the principles and virtues of King and Empire instilled since childhood.²² In particular, Wiley's experience of his men on the front quickly

¹⁶Winegard, 30-32.

¹⁷Winegard, 30-32.

¹⁸Ibid. 67-68, 117.

¹⁹Ibid. 71.

²⁰L. Wyn Griffith, "The Pattern of One Man's Remembering," in *Promise of Greatness: The War of 1914-1918*, ed. George A. Panichas (New York: The John Day Company, 1968), 287-288.

²¹Winegard, 110-112, 117.

²²Basil Willy, "A Schoolboy in the War," In *Promise of Greatness: The War of 1914-1918*, ed. George A. Panichas,(New York: The John Day Company, 1968), 323-324.

eroded his classist prejudices, while the brutality of the war did the same for much of his imperial fervour.²³ The reality of the war was harsh and uncompromising, and in his account of the opening days of 1915, French soldier Henri Massis noted that he and others would never see the countryside without “peopling it with these bloody realities.”²⁴ While Indigenous Canadians would serve an integral role in the war, as well as suffer unique struggles thanks to the legacy of their historic marginalization, Xavier and Elijah also reflect the common humanity and tragedy that befell millions of young men in the trenches of Western Europe. As one of Massis’ men would put it: “We are all here for misery.”²⁵ Though few others could fully grasp the depths of that misery for the indigenous soldiers.

It is impossible to separate the creation of Canada from the unmaking of the First Nations of the Indigenous peoples of North America. Through a mixture of overt and cultural imperialism, the generations that Boyden’s Niska represent were brought first into compliance, then subservience by the relentless march of Canadian and British Imperialism. Yet paradoxically, the experiences of the ‘seminal tragedy’ faced by Xavier and Elijah would mark both a recontextualization of Indigenous narratives, as well as a more profound shift in the mentalities of both soldiers and civilians the world over. While Xavier would return broken from the Great War physically, he would end the story a whole greater than the sum of his experiences and losses; and in this way, serve as a fitting representation of the weight of history on Indigenous Canadian’s shoulders.

²³Ibid. 325-327, 329-331.

²⁴Henri Massis, “The War We Fought.” In *Promise of Greatness: The War of 1914-1918*, ed. George A. Panichas, New York: The John Day Company, 1968), 278.

²⁵Ibid. 283.

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Berber Versus the World: An Analysis of Moroccan History and Cultural Identity

MOLLY LEE

In studying the Berber people of Morocco, this article will analyze events throughout Algerian history from the Arab colonization occurring in the 5th century A.D. to the French Protectorate that was established in 1912. These historical events have led to the lack of a Berber national identity and the break-down of Berber cultural identity. Investigating these historical events leads us to an understanding of the generational repercussions that affect the Berber people to this day. Examining the political structure of the Moroccan government reveals the constraint put on the Berber national voice, the fragmentation of the original Tamazight language and the hybridity of different cultural lifestyles beginning with the colonization by the Arabs.

Last summer I backpacked through Morocco and while exploring the country it became apparent to me that there is a sense of disunity between the indigenous people (the Berber) and the other ethnicities that populated the country, notably the Arabs. I wondered why these groups of people sharing the same country felt this great distrust toward one another. After speaking with the people who lived in the Berber villages along the Atlas Mountains, I discovered that many ethnic Berbers held a tremendous feeling of resentment aimed at the Arabs as well as the French. The destruction of the Berber national identity through the process of acculturation perpetrated by the French and the Arabs coupled with policies that promoted disintegration of the Berber language resulted in cultural identity fragmentation for the Berber people. I will be highlighting the concept of “Orientalism,” as defined by Edward Said in postcolonial studies, as well as the term “cultural hybridity,” coined by Robert Dale Parker, to further illustrate the degradation of Berber culture. This article will include the topics of: Berber acculturation into Arab traditions, Morocco as a French protectorate, religious hybridity, ethnic strife and language loss.

The Berber people are indigenous to the geographical region in North Africa that now comprises the country of Morocco, or “El Maghrib.” The Arab population first arrived in Morocco in the fifth century A.D. Since then Arab culture and religion dominate the land. Because of the influx of a massive population of Arab migrants, the Berber people were pushed to the fringes of the Atlas Mountains while the Arabs occupied the central areas of Morocco in cities such as Casablanca, Marrakech and other urban areas. The two cultures would interact over the coming centuries, whether the Berbers were willing participants in the exchange or not. As a consequence, Berber people adopted many aspects of the Arab lifestyle. However, the acculturation the Berber people experienced was not seamless. It resulted in “racial tensions [that] continue(s) to present major obstacles to the territorial integration of both pre and post-colonial Morocco.”¹ Mingling of these separate cultures and traditions hybridized the Berber and Arab lifestyles. The term cultural hybridity can be defined as “the way that colonized people and colonizers have taken on many of each other’s ways of living and thinking.”² During the process of Arab acculturation, Islam became the official religion of Morocco and Arabic the language spoken by the majority. Parker states that: “people sustain and change the cultures they bring with them, they sustain and change the cultures where they live, so that supposedly separate cultures are no longer separate.”³ Cultural hybridity is inevitable when multiple distinct ethnic groups occupy a single area. While travelling through Morocco, an individual will find that the majority of citizens living in cities like Marrakech and Casablanca have both Berber and Arab ethnic origins, yet most speak Arabic. The hybridity of a culture and language that was predominantly Arab resulted in an identity that can never be singular Berber or Arab. This contributed to the break-down of the traditional Berber cultural identity.

The struggle for Moroccan independence from the French was especially challenging for the Berber People because the very existence of a Berber nationality was questioned by both the French and the Arabs. The French protectorate of Morocco, which existed “from the 1912 Treaty of Fes to independence in 1956,”⁴ allowed for “clandestine slave trad[ing] along with domestic slavery”⁵ until 1956. It was a common practice in which “light-skinned Berber females were preferred in the slave trade.”⁶ The existence of a slave trade that favoured certain members of the Berber population over others allowed for feelings of alienation and division

¹Anita Vukovic. “On the Move in Morocco: Historical Geographies of Race, Space, and Mobility, 1300s – Present.” *UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. (2018): 29.

²Robert Dale Parker. “How to Interpret Literature: Critical Theory For Literary And Cultural Studies.” (New York: *Oxford University Press* 2014), 288.

³Parker, 297.

⁴David R. Goodman. “Expediency, Ambivalence, and Inaction: The French Protectorate and Domestic Slavery in Morocco, 1912–1956”. *Journal of Social History*. vol. 47 no. 1 (2013): 101–131.

⁵Goodman, 101.

⁶Goodman, 115.

to foster within the already deeply oppressed Berbers. The “French Protectorate enabled a defining institution of social inequality to endure and adapt,”⁷ which put the Arab and Berber populations under the thumb of the French elite. The French protectorate also manifested an attitude of normalization towards slavery and slave-trading practices in which “domestic slavery was a basic feature of everyday elite Moroccan household life.”⁸ The Moroccan people (both Arab and Berber alike) were persecuted in the domains of “human geography(,) and contemporary social organization, [and] their numbers and conditions were deemed officially invisible by the Protectorate.”⁹ An effect of this subjugation was “popular nationalist movements in France’s three North African Maghreb territories in the 1920s and 1930s.”¹⁰ Slave-trading practices were the norm amongst North Africans for decades and persisted until the 1950’s. Throughout the period of the French protectorate “international forums continued to widen and reframe their attention to slavery.”¹¹ International organizations such as the United Nations began investigations into the practice of slavery in Morocco. Eventually this led to the confrontation of slave culture in Morocco that was compounded by the Moroccan nationalist movements. “In 1955, one year before Moroccan independence, the Director of Cherifienne Affairs extensively edited Lapanne-Joinville's report for the International Convention for the Abolition of Slavery in 1956.”¹² Because of the systematic economic exploitation under the French protectorate, the Moroccan economy was left in pieces. This economic climate stoked the flames of resentment that already burned amongst all Berber and Arab people living under the French. These forces led to the fall of the French protectorate in 1956. It should be noted that “slavery in Morocco did not end during the French Protectorate period, but continued to transform and decline until it ultimately ended as a social institution in the decades following independence.”¹³ The annexation of Morocco at the hands of the French intensified the injustices against Berber people because of the normalization of the enslavement of Berber women since they were considered more desirable.

The national movements that gained strength during the protectorate years were initially confined to “communist parties in the three Maghreb territories,”¹⁴ though they rapidly expanded and gained popularity throughout the entire country. The movement was underpinned by the belief that the only solution to overthrowing European power was the establishment of a pan-Moroccan identity. These

⁷Goodman, 101.

⁸Goodman, 102.

⁹Goodman, 115.

¹⁰Martin Thomas. “France’s North African Crisis, 1945–1955: Cold War and Colonial Imperatives.” *University of Exeter*, 92. No. 2(306) (2007): 207-234.

¹¹Goodman, 121.

¹²Goodman, 115.

¹³Goodman, 122.

¹⁴Thomas, 214.

communist-led movements were driven by an Arab majority in their parties. This was not the best position for the Berber population because their needs came second to the Arab's needs. One of the parties in the movement was the Istiqlal party, led by Allal Al-Fasi. When the "French pressured Sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef to comply with French demands [it] was counterproductive. In January 1951 the Sultan ignored Juin's threat of deposition and endorsed the Istiqlal as the legitimate voice of the Moroccan people."¹⁵ Allal Al-Fasi led an Arab majority conservative party. From Allal's perspective "rural populations and subaltern classes had only cameo roles"¹⁶ in the story for Moroccan independence. As mentioned earlier, the Berber people were forced to migrate towards the Atlas Mountains, which was largely rural territory. The Berber's role in the freedom movement has historically been overlooked and considered insignificant when compared to Arab contributions. During the protectorate there was increased national cohesion because the Moroccan people, both Arab and Berber, decided to work toward a national identity with the goal of independence from France. In 1946 "the three Maghreb territories reversed their previous position and openly identified with the cause of national independence."¹⁷ The movement gave a voice to the Arabs to claim an identity for themselves. However, the national movement was not beneficial for the Berber people because their voice to claim identity was essentially shut down after the French recognized Morocco as an Arab country. The nationalist movement was an Arab-led movement. Because it was led by Allal Al-Fasi, a staunch Arab nationalist, the Moroccan government was dominated by Arab influence since inception, which resulted in the underrepresentation of Berbers, further heightening inequality between Arab and Berber peoples.

From the Moroccan perspective, it is believed that the Moroccan national movement is an integral part of their history because it was their independence movement. However, the French view it as an insignificant footnote in the long history of France. "French historians see Algeria's history as occurring off-stage, rather than as an inalterable part of the history of France."¹⁸ This is closely linked with the concept of "Orientalism." The term "Orientalism" refers to an imaginative Western notion of the East having "Oriental" qualities which carry largely negative connotations. Edward Said, the eminent scholar of post-colonial studies, states that the East was "constructed as sensual, lazy, exotic, irrational, cruel... and oriental discourse also constructed a West that was everything the East was not."¹⁹ The West in turn viewed itself as having features of "masculinity, superiority and often associated themselves with being brave and intelligent."²⁰ The East was the mirror

¹⁵Thomas, 230.

¹⁶Burke, Edmund. "Theorizing the histories of colonialism and nationalism in the Arab Maghrib." *Arab Studies Quarterly (ASQ)* 20, no 2 (1998): 5-19.

¹⁷Thomas, 214.

¹⁸Edmund.

¹⁹Parker, 294.

²⁰Parker, 295.

image; “inferior, feminine”²¹ and small minded. Orientalism defined and perpetuated European colonial attitudes toward the East and created a racial division leading to racial discrimination. The French were emboldened to invade and colonize Morocco because of Orientalist thinking. To this day the legitimacy of Moroccan history is being undermined; “books on North Africa go mostly unreviewed.”²² The implication being that Western history is more important than North African history, and more specifically, Berber history. This inevitably ignores the legitimacy of African history and, from a post-colonial perspective, underlines the idea of Orientalism in such a way where we prioritize Western history over others. The Europeans forced their own traditions and language upon the Moroccans, while also neglecting the importance of their distinct history. The end result was the loss of Berber agency and expression of cultural identity.

The spread of Islam was a cornerstone of the initial Arab conquest and later acculturation of Morocco. Many Berbers converted to the newly arrived faith. However, in 813 B.C. the first wave of Jewish people arrived in Morocco by migrating along a network of trade routes spanning the Mediterranean to Africa. In 586 B.C., “the first temple of Jerusalem was destroyed.”²³ After that, a second wave of Jewish people fled to Morocco for safety. Inevitably there was a mixture of different religions and ethnic identities that occurred and “local Berber tribes adopted Judaism.”²⁴ The Berber tribes further incorporated Jewish customs which reinforced cultural hybridity. “Muslims and Jews lived together but had little contact until the French protectorate, when the French came, they saw that the Jews were receptive to French culture.”²⁵ According to Gunther, a new identity of “Jews living in a French society and French colony”²⁶ emerged. Two thousand and eight hundred years of Jewish residency in Morocco ended with a dispersion of Jewish people. “In the 1940’s there were 400,000 Jews and now 6500 remain.”²⁷ Mixing of native Berber practices with Judaism as well as the contact of Islam and Judaism resulted in new traditions that dominated over original Berber traditions. The ethnic and religious mixing enabled a cultural hybridity that contributed to the fragmentation of Berber traditions and identity which continued through the generations.

The original language of the Berber people, called Tamazight or Amazigh, no longer exists in its original form after centuries of cultural integration. “According to the census 2004, 89.8% of the population use Moroccan Arabic, 28% are native

²¹Parker, 294.

²²Edmund.

²³Richard Gunther. “Morocco’s Last Jews”. *Judaism: A Quarterly Journal of Jewish Life and Thought*. 46, no 4 (1997): 489-491.

²⁴Gunther, 489.

²⁵Gunther, 489.

²⁶Gunther, 489.

²⁷Gunther, 490.

speakers of the Berber languages, [and] 33% of the population speak French.”²⁸ The language Tamazight relied on an oral tradition passed down from generation to generation. Because Tamazight was not a written language, “Berber-speaking families (are) predominantly oral.”²⁹ The cultural hybridity of different ethnic groups migrating to Morocco impacted the Berber language significantly. Waves of immigration and overlapping languages resulted with the “spreading of European languages and the Amazigh language that was enriched by many borrowing from Arabic in the distant past and from French to new time.”³⁰ Tamazight is now an endangered language that is no longer singularly Berber and this loss of a distinct language contributes significantly to the loss of cultural identity for the Berber tribes.

During the French protectorate, the European administration designed school systems that only taught French and Arabic. Furthermore, the French declared that the official languages of the country were French and Arabic rather than Tamazight. This was deliberate oppression of Berber people because the large population of Tamazight speakers were being neglected, thus they felt subordinate to the Arabs. The Arabs and French did not like the idea of language reclamation because it “can become a form of resistance to the hegemonic forces of dominant languages and cultures.”³¹ Morocco’s post-colonial journey is ongoing to this day. Street signs, government facilities and documents are still written in French. Schools in Morocco still require their students to learn French as their second language.

Throughout Algerian history, the Moroccan Berber nation has been deprived of their own national identity through the oppression of their language, “the first years of Algerian independence; the Algerian legal system denied and ignored the Kabyle and Berber language in the name of Arabization of Algeria.”³² It was only recently that Tamazight received recognition in the constitution according to Laidani: “On March 6th, 2016, Tamazight (Berber) languages were recognized by Article 4 of the Algerian Constitution as “official languages.”³³ The legal system has ignored Berber rights through not respecting the legitimacy of their language. Language and culture are homologous. Without language, a culture is difficult to maintain, understand, and practice. For that reason “legal reform cannot repair the fact that in Algeria the Tamazight languages remained ignored for a long time by the legal

²⁸J, Baghana. D.V, Tupeyko. “The Language Context in Modern Morocco.” *Russian Journal of Linguistics*. No 2 (2015): 9-15.

²⁹Baghana, Tupeyko, 11.

³⁰Baghana, Tupeyko, 11.

³¹Kristen Tcherneshoff, Daniel Bögre Udell. “Clearing space: Language reclamation, decolonization and the Internet.” *Book 2.0*. 9. No 1, 2 (2019): 105-119.

³²Amar Laidani. “The Recognition of the Tamazight Languages in the Algerian Law.” *Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai*. No 3 (2019): 28-57.

³³Laidani, 28.

system.”³⁴ Although Tamazight is now officially recognized as a national language in Morocco, there has not been a meaningful resurgence of Berber agency because of strong post-colonial French and Arab influences. Without meaningful recognition, Berber cultural identity will be unable to progress therefore contributing to the break-down of identity.

Through the 19th century into the modern era of the 21st, the Berber people have faced many challenges regarding their own identity and post-colonial influences from the French and the Arabs. In recent years, following the recognition of Tamazight as a national language, there has been more movements for Berber national recognition. Despite that, according to Edmund, “Maghribis have long been regarded by U.S. Arabists as “not quite real Arabs.”³⁵ As I mentioned earlier, most works that have been written on post-colonial Morocco have gone unreviewed, and especially works on Berber culture and history. Another reason is that due to all the cultural hybridity Morocco has been through, it is no longer a singular Arab or Berber society. “Serious historians of colonialism in the Maghrib have worked mostly in the shadows, and histories of the colonial Middle East take the British experience as normative, while largely ignoring French, Spanish and Italian colonialism,”³⁶ meaning that there is even less coverage on Maghrib’s postcolonial situation. Contemporary Morocco is a complex puzzle of many different cultures and religions, resulting in less traditional ways of living and a modern society, “Modern, in the sense that it is the result of a complex layering of heterogeneous cultural practices, strongly influenced by the European Enlightenment.”³⁷ Berber cultural identity cannot be singular in the near future for the reason that there are French and Arab cultural practices along with other religions and ethnic cultures amalgamated into the Berber lifestyle. This is the main obstacle for Berber national and cultural identity reclamation today, and because of ignorance of Berber history by the Western world and media, the Berber’s find it extremely difficult to achieve this goal: “rights of Imazighen (Berber) in Algeria as in all the Maghreb countries is part of the complex problem of national minorities in African countries, resulting from a process of decolonization.”³⁸

21st century Morocco is still facing major internal problems regarding distrust and resentment against the other’s ethnicity, especially the Berber’s attitude towards their Arab counterparts. According to Vukovic, “to ask a Moroccan about race is to arouse a certain visible anxiety and response of denial that, when taken at face value, can prove surprising to an American traveler.”³⁹ The identity fragmentation

³⁴Laidani, 30.

³⁵Edmund.

³⁶Edmund.

³⁷Edmund.

³⁸Laidani, 56.

³⁹Vukovic, 29.

of the Berbers was not a singular event but a series of events spanning centuries, beginning with the acculturation and colonization by the Arabs who created cultural hybridity within the land. The French protectorate of 1912 enslaved Moroccans and implemented French influenced institutions and French laws. The consequence of the protectorate was the oppression of Tamazight and Berber national identity. During the Moroccan independence movement, there was no meaningful resurgence of Berber agency because the French declared Morocco to be an Arab country. The Western world and media saw Morocco as an Arab country rather than acknowledging the indigenous Berber nations that were there first. The extinction of the original Berber language, Tamazight, was also a major factor contributing to the breakdown of cultural identity, due to the reason that culture and language are homologous. All these events that occurred during the centuries of Arab acculturation and French colonialism resulted in the oppression of Berber lifestyle and language, the consequence is cultural and national identity fragmentation. The topic of Berber history is important to analyze and question in our society today because there are many negative effects of colonialism alive in our modern world. We must be aware of the history of colonialism and understand the mistakes taken place in order to collectively advance our society and decrease human suffering.

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THE EFFECT OF THE COLD WAR ON THE AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

ADAM THOMAS

In the aftermath of the Second World War, hundreds of thousands of African-Americans kicked off their combat boots only to find that the freedoms they fought for in Europe were now denied them at home, and thus the foundation was laid for the civil rights related upheavals that shook America in the 1950s and 60s. Internationally, the United States found itself competing against the Soviet Union for the hearts and minds of newly decolonized people across Africa and Asia. These nations watched as the United States denied basic civil liberties to its own minority citizens. This paper explores how the United States' need to gain the favour of these nations played a role in shaping civil rights reform during the early years of the Cold War.

The superpower standoff at the heart of the Cold War affected nearly every nation in the world. Each side sought to bolster its position at the expense of the other by gaining the favour of Third World countries, many of which had just escaped the grip of colonialism.¹ The anti-imperialist rhetoric of the Soviet Union inclined some newly decolonized nations to drift towards the Soviet camp. To combat Soviet influence in the Third World, the United States positioned itself as a champion of freedom, democracy, and human rights. This stance, and the international reputation of the US as a whole, was damaged by America's domestic oppression of its own minority citizens. As civil rights were increasingly understood as a Cold War issue, America's need to protect its image abroad opened up avenues for civil rights activists to gain institutional support for reform.

The United States' long history of racism began to occupy more space in the

¹Although today the term "Third World" is viewed as derogatory, within the context of the Cold War it was used to categorize nations that were not firmly aligned with either the Western or Eastern blocs.

American collective conscience after the Second World War. After all, approximately 405 000 Americans had just given their lives in a titanic struggle to liberate the people of Europe and Asia from oppressive regimes.² Though combat roles were mostly denied to them, approximately 350 000 African-Americans served overseas in the U.S. military in all-black segregated units.³ Many fought under the impression that victory against fascism in Europe would coincide with a victory at home against racism.⁴

Upon demobilization, African-American veterans discovered that their hopes for equality were unfounded, and in some regions they faced even greater oppression than they had before the war. In many instances, skilled labour positions given to black workers during the war were now denied them in order to open up positions for white veterans.⁵ The GI Bill, designed to help educate, house, and employ veterans, had exploitable loopholes used to deny black veterans access to its full benefits.⁶ Black veterans who were able to improve their situation with their due benefits were sometimes met with resistance from racist whites; in one instance, two black veterans were lynched in Georgia for starting successful farms with their GI money.⁷ The growing discontent towards societal and institutional racism, coupled with a new found sense of black unity formed during the war, inspired increased demands for civil reform just as Cold War battle lines were being drawn.

The problem of racism in America was not unknown on the international stage, and the Soviet Union attempted to use it for propaganda purposes at every opportunity. In line with Marxist values, there was, at least according to its constitution, no racism in the Soviet Union.⁸ With their legally enshrined equality in place to bolster their argument, the Soviets were able to use American domestic racism to undercut American rhetoric concerning liberty and democracy.⁹ Domestically, the Soviets pushed the narrative of the working-class black man being exploited and kept down by America's white capitalist elite, fueling Soviet perceptions of America as a

²U.S. Department of Veteran's Affairs. *America's Wars*. Washington, DC: Office of Public Affairs, 2016.

<https://www.va.gov/opa/publications/>

³Clayborne Carson. "African Americans At War." In *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, ed. I.C.B. Dear and M.R.D. Foot (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 6.

⁴Mary L. Dudziak. "Desegregation as a Cold War Imperative." *Stanford Law Review* 41, no. 1, (1988): 72. www.jstor.org/stable/1228836.

⁵Hilary Herbold. "Never a Level Playing Field: Blacks and the GI Bill." *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no. 6 (1994): 105. doi:10.2307/2962479.

⁶Ibid, 105.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Maxim Matusevich. "Black in the U.S.S.R." *Transition*, no. 100 (2008): 56.

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⁹Renee Romano. "Moving Beyond "The Movement That Changed the World": Bringing the History of the Cold War into Civil Rights Museums." *The Public Historian* 31, no. 2 (2009): 35. doi:10.1525/tph.2009.31.2.32.

prosperous nation where the wealth was only accessible to a privileged few.¹⁰ Abroad, they used this to undermine the United States' standing in newly decolonized nations in Africa and Asia whose people were forming and rediscovering their own national and racial identities.¹¹ Within America itself, the Soviets gained influence by declaring support for left-leaning civil rights organizations.¹²

Soviet propaganda concerning American racism was often exaggerated but rarely fabricated. American newspapers often printed openly racist articles, giving the Soviets all the proof they needed to declare America an immensely unequal society.¹³ In the early 1950s, the focus on American racism was so prevalent in Soviet propaganda that the U.S. State Department estimated that nearly half of Soviet propaganda focused on race.¹⁴

From the onset of tensions, American politicians understood the damage that America's race issue had on its international reputation. As early as 1946, Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson wrote:

An atmosphere of suspicion and resentment in a country over the way a minority is being treated in the United States is a formidable obstacle to the development of mutual understanding and trust between the two countries. We will have better international relations when these reasons for suspicion and resentment have been removed.¹⁵

Despite Acheson's attitude, the government attempted to keep America's racial policies from becoming an embarrassment by downplaying the problem at international conferences.

In the early days of the United Nations, the NAACP, with full support of the Soviet Union, petitioned for the poor treatment of African Americans to be investigated as a human rights issue.¹⁶ Both Republicans and Democrats framed race as a domestic affair as they sought to keep the UN from influencing domestic policy. Even

¹⁰Konstantin Valentinovich Avromov. "Soviet America: Popular Responses to the United States in Post-World War II Soviet Union." PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2012. 58. <https://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/handle/1808/10286>

¹¹Mark Newman. "Civil Rights and Human Rights." *Reviews in American History* 32, no. 2 (2004): 248. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30031843>.

¹²Newman, "Civil Rights and Human Rights," 249.

¹³Avromov, "Soviet America," 59.

¹⁴John David Skrentny. "The Effect of the Cold War on African-American Civil Rights: America and the World Audience, 1945-1968." *Theory and Society* 27, no. 2 (1998): 245. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/657868>.

¹⁵Skrentny, "The Effect of the Cold War on African-American Civil Rights," 247.

¹⁶Mary L. Dudziak. *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000). 45.

President Harry Truman and former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, both considered allies of the NAACP, endeavored to keep the UN at a distance.¹⁷

This did not mean, however, that Truman ignored the link between foreign affairs and civil rights. A 1947 report released by a presidential committee on civil rights, *To Secure These Rights*, stated that U.S. foreign policy was designed to “make the United States an enormous, positive influence for peace and progress throughout the world . . . But our domestic civil rights shortcomings are a serious obstacle.”¹⁸ As a result of the report, Truman superseded Congress and issued two executive orders: one desegregated the U.S. military and the other desegregated the federal workforce. Though domestic pressures and the work of civil rights organizations were the primary drivers for reform, it was now apparent that civil-rights was a Cold War issue.

Opportunities opened up for minority Americans as more politicians began viewing civil rights through the lens of the Cold War. In an effort spearheaded by the State Department, a growing number of African Americans began to be hired into government positions. There was a desire to appoint African Americans to foreign embassies, especially in countries with a majority black population.¹⁹ By 1953, there were sixty African Americans and seven Asian Americans working for the State Department internationally.²⁰ By appointing non-whites to government offices around the world, the State Department hoped to make America appear more equal on the world stage. Well intentioned as these measures were, they were not enough to slow the race-based Soviet propaganda being trumpeted to the world.

International opinion on American racism took on an increased importance as a wave of decolonization began sweeping the world. In the zero-sum politics of the Cold War era, both blocs deemed it necessary to gain influence with newly independent nations at the expense of the other. Public opinion in the Third World was highly critical of American racial policy. Supreme Court Justice William Douglas recognized that India considered the treatment of non-whites by other nations as an important factor in India’s foreign relations.”²¹ In Pakistan, he was informed that the Soviet Union was viewed more favourably because the United States was not seen as an advocate for social justice.²² The connection between civil rights and foreign public opinion was apparent in Douglas’ mind when he

¹⁷Newman, "Civil Rights and Human Rights," 248.

¹⁸President’s Committee on Civil Rights. “A Program of Action: The Committee’s Recommendations,” in *To Secure These Rights* (1947),146.

<https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/to-secure-these-rights#139>

¹⁹Skrentny, “The Effect of the Cold War on African-American Civil Rights,” 248.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 105.

²²Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 105.

participated in the *Brown v. the Board of Education* case in 1954. It was the *Brown* case that began to repair America's prestige in the Third World.

Desegregation, the success of which depended heavily on the legal workers and activists leading the charge, became a Cold War objective as the world turned its attention to the issue. In the lead up to the *Brown* case, segregation in particular stood out as the race issue that damaged U.S. foreign relations the most.²³ A Justice Department brief at the start of the case noted that "the existence of discrimination against minority groups in the United States has an adverse effect upon our relations with other countries."²⁴ Further briefs concluded that the "only reason for government participation in the case was that segregation harmed U.S. foreign relations."²⁵ During the case, Acheson noted that discrimination "remains a source of constant embarrassment to this Government in the day-to-day conduct of its foreign relations; and it jeopardizes the effective maintenance of our moral leadership of the free and democratic nations of the world."²⁶ Foreign newspapers around the globe indicated that the world was watching the case, and foreign public opinion was being shaped by the outcome.

The outcome of the *Brown* case, which declared segregation in public schools as unconstitutional, was not just a huge step forward for civil rights; it was also a major propaganda victory for the United States abroad. The West African newspaper *Afrique Nouvelle* printed the headline "At last! Whites and Blacks in the United States on the Same School Benches."²⁷ The Indian *Hindustan Times* declared that American democracy and prestige was strengthened by the ruling.²⁸ The U.S. State Department was eager to publicize the ruling as widely as it could, and reported immense positive feedback from around the world. In 1956, the department declared that the ruling was responsible for a sharp decline in international criticism.²⁹ The positive feedback from foreign nations had two easily perceptible effects on American civil rights advancement: civil rights activists now understood the power of using foreign relations to gain concessions, and the opinion of the international press mattered. This was made clear in 1957 at Little Rock Central High School in Arkansas when, in the presence of the international media, the military was deployed to enforce desegregation, superseding the authority of

²³Mary L. Dudziak. "Brown as a Cold War Case." *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 1 (2004): 34. doi:10.2307/3659611.

²⁴Brian K. Landsberg. "The Federal Government and the Promise of Brown." *Teachers College Record* 96, no. 4 (1995): 628. <https://scholarlycommons.pacific.edu/facultyarticles/278/>

²⁵Dudziak, "Brown as a Cold War Case," 35.

²⁶Ibid, 34.

²⁷Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 108.

²⁸Dudziak, "Brown as a Cold War Case," 35.

²⁹Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 109.

Arkansas governor Orval Faubus, who attempted to keep black students out of the school.³⁰

After Little Rock, the importance of international opinion could not be ignored. The 1960 election saw competing presidential candidates John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon, in an attempt to court black voters, allude to worldwide public opinion as a necessary reason to support civil rights.³¹ Kennedy won that election, but at the start of his presidency was described by some of his aides as uninterested in civil rights.³² His primary concern was winning the Cold War. Civil Rights activists were able to use this concern to put pressure on Kennedy. An NAACP memorandum to the president declared that civil rights reform should not be postponed in pursuit of other domestic or foreign goals, as civil rights were an inseparable aspect of both.³³

1960 also witnessed seventeen African nations declare independence, exacerbating the need for America to resolve its race issues for the sake of Cold War supremacy. Kennedy was very aware that racism in the United States could lead newly decolonized nations to side with the Soviet Union.³⁴ Despite the public relations victory of desegregation, the Soviets continued to focus on American racism, and several events during Kennedy's presidency gave them fuel for their propaganda machine.³⁵

Kennedy paid close attention to how the foreign press portrayed the ever growing number of protests taking place across the country.³⁶ When a series of high profile embarrassments involving discrimination against African ambassadors at American restaurants made international headlines, Kennedy was moved to take a harder stance on civil rights reform.³⁷ Though he faced opposition from powerful Southern Democrats, he was able to use the Cold War to leverage support for what he hoped would be his administration's major contribution to civil rights, the Civil Rights Act.³⁸ Kennedy never saw the bill become law. He was assassinated while trying to drum up support for it in 1963. His successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, passed

³⁰Romano, "Moving Beyond "The Movement That Changed the World," 36; Kevin Gaines. "The Civil Rights Movement in World Perspective." *OAH Magazine of History* 21, no. 1 (2007): 60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25162103>.

³¹Skrentny, "The Effect of the Cold War on African American Civil Rights," 261.

³²Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 155.

³³Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 156

³⁴Romano, "Moving Beyond "The Movement That Changed the World," 36.

³⁵*Ibid*, 36.

³⁶*Ibid*.

³⁷Jed Handelsman Shugerman. "Rights Revolutions and Counter-Revolutions." *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 13, no. 2 (2001): 540.

<https://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/yjlh/vol13/iss2/6/>

³⁸Shugerman, "Rights Revolutions and Counter-Revolutions," 541.

a refined version of the bill in 1964, and racial tensions exploded as the Civil Rights Movement reached brand new heights through the 1960s.

The progress made up to the Kennedy assassination laid the foundation for the major civil rights advancements of the 1960s. The bulk of the successes should, first and foremost, be accredited to the activists and politicians who worked tirelessly in the face of aggressive and often violent opposition to make reform happen. It is important, however, to understand that Cold War politics did have an influence. The need to combat Soviet propaganda, the influence of foreign public opinion on American politics, and the need to protect American prestige abroad as competition with the Soviet Union for the hearts and minds of Third World nations took on increased importance, all factored into government decisions concerning civil rights reform. As stated in *To Secure These Rights*, “the United States is not so strong, the final triumph of the democratic ideal is not so inevitable that we can ignore what the world thinks of us or our [civil rights] record.”³⁹

³⁹President’s Committee on Civil Rights, “A Program of Action: The Committee’s Recommendations,” in *To Secure These Rights* (1947),148.

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ART OF DESPAIR: AN INTROSPECTION OF MADNESS THROUGH 19TH CENTURY POST-IMPRESSIONISM

COREY MORRELL

By the late 19th century, the Impressionists had already been experimenting with evolving artistic techniques to convey the natural beauty of the world, but it was the visceral response of Post-Impressionists like Vincent Van Gogh and Edvard Munch that transcended the new movement by internalizing the world around them to use it as a window into the souls of the artists themselves. It was the later works of Munch and Van Gogh, however, that would encompass the feelings that much of Europe had been holding onto during this time. The art created by these two artists would express these bubbling emotions and bring to light the hardships felt by the people during such an unstable and uncertain time. Within the grips of madness and despair, both VanGogh and Munch recorded their pain and mental instability through their art, and it was the art that would foreshadow their trauma and tragedy to come.

Despite being a time of great technological advances with a steadily rising middle class, Europe faced many social issues and challenges in the late 19th century. The rise of the Industrial Revolution had created new jobs and a better outlook for the future, but the socioeconomic changes during this time created strain and uncertainty within the population.¹ Stemming from the Napoleonic era, the rising population and decline of village life and farming contributed to this crisis,² affecting people in many ways—including their mental health. Once having been cast out by society, the mentally ill were now seen in a new light with the help of

¹Bergquist, James M. "Social and Political Unrest in Europe: 19th Century." *Daily Life through History*, ABC-CLIO, 2018, [dailylife2.abc-clio.com/Search/Display/1380908](https://www.abc-clio.com/Search/Display/1380908). Accessed 21 Oct. 2018.

²Bergquist.

developments in new technology and treatments.³ Artists of this time, including Munch and Van Gogh, struggled to cope with these changes as they sought to express their perspective of the world through movements like Post-Impressionism. Although differing in context and subject matter, the two artists drew various similarities relating to their own illnesses within the framework of their art. The work of Van Gogh and Munch could be treated as windows into the souls of two damaged and troubled men adjusting to the immense social change during their time and, through their art, we can strive to understand the ways in which they communicated their mental illness to the world.

The asylum, once an institution of abuse and mistreatment, was about to be revamped,⁴ allowing patients to not only be seen as individuals, but to also receive treatment with the aim of returning patients back to society as productive citizens. In 1908, Munch was treated for a “psychotic episode”,⁵ but his recovery allowed him to gain new perspective, leading to some of his more mainstream works while abandoning the morbid subject matter he came to be known for earlier in his career.⁶ Van Gogh’s hospitalization in 1889, to the same extent, enabled him to produce some of his most manic and expressive work, exploring new depths of the human psyche and experimenting with themes of death and illness.⁷ These works, however, would not come without consequence.

Van Gogh’s *Wheatfield with Crows* (see Fig. 1) can be seen as his own interpretation of a suicide note, as it is often attributed as his last known work (the likelihood of this, however, is uncertain).⁸ Viewing this piece allows one to confront death head on in the vast field with dark skies looming over. The crows themselves taunt the viewer as they sweep across the sky, one after another, reminding us of an inevitable death to come. In the distance, the horizon flows in as if to swallow the viewer, leaving no room for escape.⁹ The neon-indigo coloured sky threatens the only possibility to break free, this being the two small clouds, perhaps symbolizing hope in the face of death.¹⁰ The wheat field itself—a symbol of life—battles with the angry sky fighting for room in the limited amount of space available in the frame. In an almost biblical subversion, we get dark from above domineering over light from below. Only one can prevail, but which is it? Perhaps

³Goldin, Grace. “Asylum.” Grove Art Online, 2003, Oxford Art Online, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/view/10.1093/gao>. Accessed 21 Oct. 2018.

⁴Goldin.

⁵Baughman, Marjie L., and McCay Vernon. “Art, Madness, and Human Interaction.” *Art Journal*, vol. 31, no. 4, 1972, pp. 413-420. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/775545>. Accessed 21 Oct. 2018, pp. 415.

⁶Baughman & Vernon, pp. 415.

⁷Ibid, pp. 413.

⁸Sund, Judy. *Van Gogh*. Phaidon Press, 2002.

⁹Wallace, Robert. *The World of Van Gogh, 1853-1890*. Time-Life Books, 1969, pp. 165.

¹⁰Wallace, pp. 166.

the most troubling aspect of the piece is the road to nowhere. The dirt path curving into the field gives one final sense of optimism until we realize that it seemingly cuts off, leading to an empty nothingness—to a dead end.¹¹ Van Gogh said himself, in a letter to his brother Theo, that he had “no difficulty expressing ‘sadness and loneliness’ [in the last of his paintings]”,¹² which can most evidently be noticed in this particular piece. Although *Wheatfields with Crows* may not have been his final work, it was indeed his final stand, perhaps one final confrontation with death.

As seen in Fig. 2, Munch’s *The Scream* evokes feelings of uneasiness, fear, sadness, and empathy for the figure standing on the pier. Munch said that at this time in his life he was hearing the scream all around him. This unbearable “scream” made it difficult to do the slightest of tasks—like crossing the street—as doing so would cause “great dizziness at the slightest height”.¹³ As a viewer, it is easy to get lost in *The Scream* as it induces a dizziness and sense of unbalance.¹⁴ The deafening sound of the scream causes the figure to hold its ears in an attempt to reserve its last ounce of sanity. As we divert our focus from the psychological experience of this faceless figure,¹⁵ we notice the unorthodox perspective of the surrounding curved space, juxtaposed with the perfectly straight diagonal lines, creating a barrier between the sane and insane mind. The faceless figure, lacking any sense of gender or self-identity gets lost in the encapsulating environment as its twisting and turning body becomes one with the landscape.¹⁶ The figure standing before us, full of despair and anxiety, now becomes part of its environment as it suffers a “loss of identity [and] becomes death”.¹⁷

When comparing and contrasting *The Scream* (Fig. 2) with *Wheatfield with Crows* (Fig. 1), the two works can be approached similarly, both thematically and contextually. Knowing that *Wheatfield with Crows* is considered to be Van Gogh’s final goodbye, it is only fitting that shortly after completion of this work, he decided to end his own life in a wheat field under the menacing skies of Arles.¹⁸ The fact that he was most likely suffering from Schizophrenia¹⁹ may help us understand what he was feeling when working on *Wheatfield with Crows*. Van Gogh has distorted the environment in a way that forces us to witness it through the lens of a

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Heller, Reinhold. *Munch: The Scream*. Penguin Press, 1973, pp. 67.

¹⁴Heller, pp. 78.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Heller, pp. 90.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Sund, pp. 302.

¹⁹Prinzhorn, Hans. “Genius and Madness”. *Parnassus*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1930, pp. 19-30+44. JSTOR, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/797739>. Accessed 21 Oct. 2018.

man struggling with mental illness.²⁰ The wheat field functions as a metaphor for life—for hope—and Van Gogh's tormented soul was in a state of angst as he struggled to express his grief and his fears,²¹ but to also communicate a feeling of hopefulness. It is as though he feels undecided, much like his botched attempt at suicide by shooting himself directly under the heart.²² *The Scream*, however, can be seen as a more literal interpretation of its creator's psychological state. When Munch created *The Scream*, he was manifesting a literal, tangible suffering, conveyed by the expression of fear on the figure's face. *The Scream* becomes a confession of his own personal fears and psychological digression while also attempting to communicate his need to acknowledge and comprehend his condition.²³ He utilizes many of Van Gogh's techniques²⁴ to inject a meandering and gentle river of crimson throughout the sky and, in contrast, the piercing blue of the water. The colours blend into one another, interweaving across the canvas, whereas *Wheatfield with Crows* uses colour in a more objective sense to indicate emotions of separation within one's own psyche by using a jarring, horizontal detachment between the sky and the field to contrast the blues and yellows. Munch's figure, in *The Scream*, feels alone in this apprehensive world as two passersby walk along seemingly unaffected by the terrifying landscape, mirroring the reality of most of the people around Munch himself. It is a stark contrast to the isolation he had felt inside of his own mind. The demonic world in front of Munch taunted him with every ounce of fear and sadness,²⁵ much like the figure who palms their ears in the hopes of stopping the pulsating sounds from rising and falling.²⁶ These two works, when compared from a psychological standpoint, work to serve and support one another through the lens of the suffering mind. *The Scream* acts as a cry for help in a confusing world much like how *Wheatfield with Crows* does by using the vast landscape and interjecting colours to explore the depths of one's sanity.

The late 19th century was a time of turbulence and instability for the people of France, many of whom had fallen on hard times during the ever-changing world around them. While the economy was unkind to most, it hit the poorer communities the hardest. Among them were farmers and shopkeepers, artisans and countryfolk—individuals struggling with inner turmoil while trying to make ends meet.²⁷ This struggle can be seen in Van Gogh's *Interior of the Night Café in Arles*,

²⁰“The Turn to Modernism: Art and Architecture.” World Eras, edited by James R. Farr, vol. 9: Industrial Revolution in Europe, 1750-1914, Gale, 2003, pp. 70-76. Gale Virtual Reference Library, <http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/CX3035400037/GVRL>. Accessed 21 Oct. 2018.

²¹Wallace, pp. 166.

²²Sund, pp. 302.

²³Heller, pp. 56.

²⁴Ibid, pp. 80.

²⁵Tojner, Paul E. *Munch: In his Own Words*. Forget Press, 2003, pp. 16.

²⁶Tojner, pp. 21.

²⁷Bergquist.

evoking a sense of despair in the bar patrons as they hopelessly rest their heads in their arms. Van Gogh's own time spent in the town of Arles was turbulent, as it was the place where his psychosis would peak, leaving him hospitalized and eventually ending his own life,²⁸ not too far from the Café. He was an outsider himself, and painted a room representing his own feelings of desperation and anguish, with his goal being to express the "terrible passions of humanity"²⁹ in the form of colour. The walls, almost blood red (mirroring Munch's sky in *The Scream*), strike a harsh contrast with the green billiards table arousing a feeling of dreadfulness. This clash of colours creates a striking acidic-like effect as the tormented and tortured souls of the Café gives the viewer a glimpse into the dark underbelly of the night.³⁰ As Van Gogh once said of the painting, "the café is a place where one can ruin oneself, go mad or commit a crime,"³¹ an appropriate sentiment by a man who was all but immersed in the café society.

Munch's *Anxiety* (Fig. 4), on the other hand, does not rely on the body language of the subjects and the space around them, but more so on the facial expressions of the subjects to relay the inner emotional truth of them to the viewer. Munch, once described people as wearing masks; on the outside they are smiling and composed, but underneath—only suffering.³² When analyzing *Anxiety*, it forces us to ask the question: what are these people *feeling*? This exploration into the human psyche is what the people of the time were not able to accept within their limited view of the world, and Munch's need to explore the dark corners of the mind to "reveal... the unmentionable"³³ is what separated him from his contemporaries. As an expression of fear and mental instability, *Anxiety* lends itself to this idea. Because of the stark whiteness of the figures against the background, our eye is drawn to the subjects' wide gaze and bland expressions as they attempt to cross the threshold into our reality. Everyone in the crowd shares a similar unnerving leer which *creates* anxiety and unease within us by reaching deep into our own psyche and forcing us to confront our fears. The pale figures march toward us in a tight and claustrophobic trance, suggesting the group to be in some sort of emotionally stoic state.³⁴ The viewer's eye is then forced above to the sky where flowing red and orange colours dance and fuse with tints of green. Munch's use of these colours, spiraling out of control into the abyss, creates a psychedelic experience for the viewer, allowing one to fully give in to the acidic trance of the landscape. It is as if Munch had taken all of the bottled-up trauma that he had experienced throughout his life and offered it to *Anxiety*, giving in fully, just as the viewer does.

²⁸Baughman & Vernon, pp. 413.

²⁹Wallace, pp. 93.

³⁰Ibid, pp. 113.

³¹Ibid, pp. 93.

³²Clarke, Jay A. *Becoming Edvard Munch: Influence, Anxiety, and Myth*. Yale University Press, 2009, pp. 88.

³³Tojner, pp. 12.

³⁴Clarke, pp. 88.

Munch felt that he had only two ways to express himself emotionally: either so violently that it could bring on a nervous breakdown, or so empty that he felt only a “soul-searching melancholy”.³⁵ It could be argued that Van Gogh felt much the same way. The colours used in both *Anxiety* and *Night Café* encapsulate the feelings of despair and entrapment. The blood red sky in *Anxiety* comes forth, mocking us, much like the marching figures, backing the viewer into a wall with their own pulsating anxiety. The *Night Café*, to the same effect, reminds us that the bar patrons are hopeless, as the harsh colours of the walls begin to weigh on the people, pushing them down further and further with no escape. When it came to colour in art, Van Gogh’s goal was to create something out of the reach of rationality.³⁶ While Munch’s *Anxiety* reminds us of the ugliness of the world,³⁷ not allowing us the option of escape, the *Night Café*, we realize upon closer inspection, provides a sense of hope. The doorway to the centre of the room is the escape that the people need, right there in front of them yet they cannot seem to lift their heavy heads to take notice. If they could only get up and walk out, maybe they could be saved—and perhaps Van Gogh with them.

Both artists, blessed with brilliance and afflicted with pain, struggled their entire lives to effectively communicate the inner workings of their suffering minds through the context of their art. Through their art, the world has been given the gift of wonder, of sorrow and sadness, of despair and of hope, and the gift of vicarious exploration. Through their expression of mental illness, we try to understand them not only as artists, but as two men suffering from pain. They lived in a time of great change and hardship, but despite all of the advancements for the mentally ill, it was not enough in the end. Their minds, as brilliant as they were, ended up becoming their own worst enemies and ultimately led them to a life of destruction and despair; they stand in that open field, darkening skies above with no road out; they reluctantly join the crowd, being forcefully backed into the corner of darkness, suffocated by the encroaching faces. Their art provides windows into the souls of brilliance, madness, grief and love; we peer in only to find ourselves, as reflections of the art, empathizing with the subjects and the artists through emotional truth universally shared among one another; their art reflects the fear, sadness, joy, and wonder of the world around us; they reflect the souls of people, of humanity; they reflect the souls of *us*.

³⁵Tojner, pp. 63.

³⁶Wallace, pp. 39.

³⁷Heller, pp. 95.



Figure 1: Vincent van Gogh, Dutch. *Wheatfield with Crows*. 1890.
Artstor, library-artstor-org.ezproxy.langara.bc.ca/asset/AIC_30038

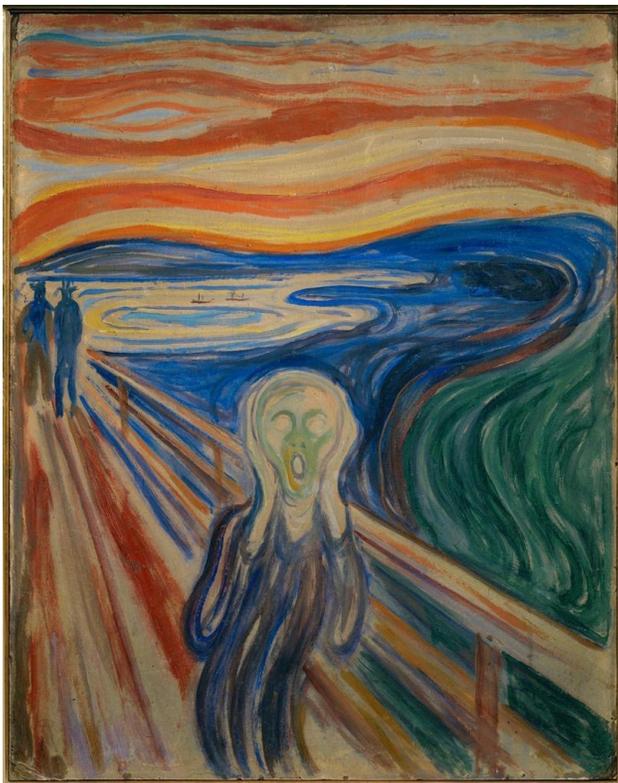


Figure 2: Edvard Munch, (Norwegian painter, printmaker, and draftsman, 1863-1944). *The Scream*. 1910.
Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/AWSS35953_35953_25515088

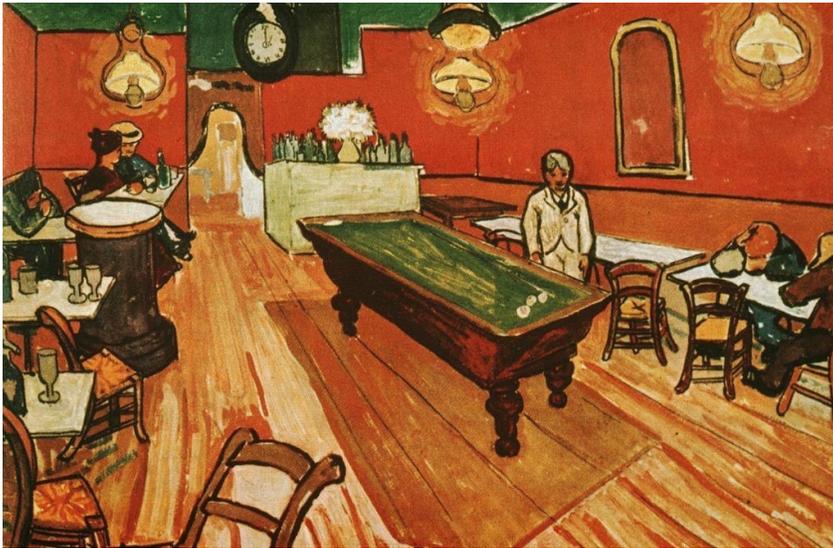


Fig. 3. Vincent van Gogh, 1853-1890. *Interior of the Night Cafe in Arles*. 1888. *Artstor*, library.artstor.org/asset/ARTSTOR_103_41822000701449

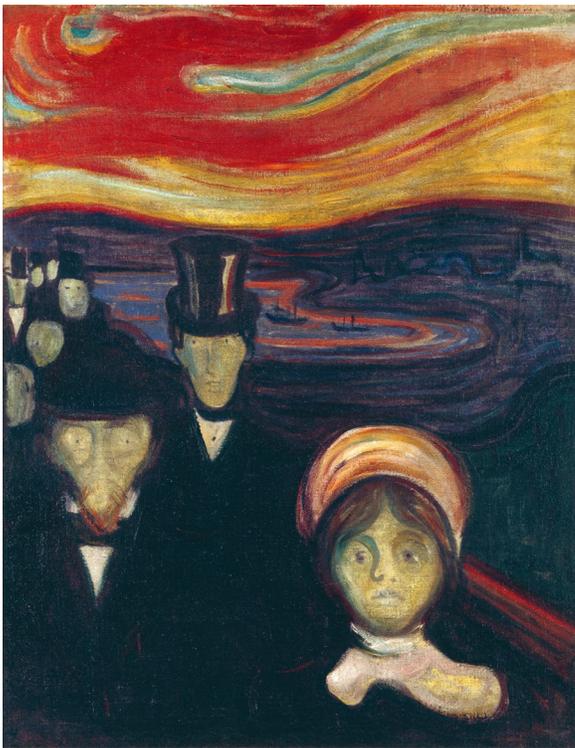


Figure 4: Edvard Munch, *Anxiety*, 1894. “Google Arts & Culture.” *Arts and Culture*, https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/anxiety/JgE_nwHHS7wTPw. Accessed 2 Nov. 2018

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MICHELANGELO AND BERNINI: THE ART OF BATTLING GIANTS

GIGI WATSON

This paper compares and contrasts the progressive ingenuity of Michelangelo's and Bernini's renderings in marble sculpture of the recurrent mythos of David. Michelangelo's David honours classical antiquity yet departs to imbue a Renaissance idiom of 'man as the measure of all things.' Michelangelo's sculpture released from stone a thinking man with the fortitude to metamorphose from famed religious hero to Florentine civic political symbol of strength. However, in Baroque Rome, nearly a century later, the Catholic artist Bernini created his David in the climate of religious conflict with the Reformation's iconoclasm and subsequent backlash of the Counter-Reformation. Reinventing David's religious idolatry with artistic alchemy, Bernini shifted marble to embody a dramatic theatrical event and in doing so, ingeniously propagandized a religious symbol to mass appeal.

Killer of tyrants, saviour of nations and protector of liberty, the Old Testament's hero, David, is the underdog that embodies fortitude and prefigures Christ. As such, David had been a prolific muse for artists in religious painting and sculpture. Particularly as the Renaissance gave rise to widespread imitation and emulation as artists cultivated compositions in the recognizable narrative.¹ Combined with a Renaissance resurgence of interest in the past was another emergent trend: the belief of the artist's autonomy in their work.² An elevation of the artist to scholar and genius in the Renaissance carried through into the Baroque era driving innovation as "it was the art that led the way."³ Despite developments, Renaissance and Baroque society still had little freedom of action and even less of speech however, "only in art and science was [there] a more guarded freedom."⁴ Therefore,

¹Paul Strathern, *The Medici: Power, Money, and Ambition in the Italian Renaissance* (New York: First Pegasus Books, 2016), 250.

²Strathern, *The Medici*, 238-239.

³Strathern, 238-239.

⁴Strathern, 238-239.

varied interpretations of common narratives were conducive to each artist as well as to the whims of patronage, location, and era of production.⁵ Michelangelo and Bernini exemplify the recurrent religious mythos of *David* in their marble sculptures, however, they ingeniously and radically diverge expressions in how they portray human form, in how their portrayals address respective political climates, and in how they increase meaning as they push the boundaries of classical sculpture.

Prior to Renaissance and Baroque art, medieval sculptural focus was largely limited to reliquaries, the receptacles for holy relics, with nudity in human form a rare medium.⁶ Early in the mid-thirteenth century, a rediscovery of Greco-Roman culture to embrace figures based on antique models began appearing in Italy. Fully reincarnated symbols emerged by the mid-fifteenth century restoring the human physique to the heart of creative endeavour. For Florentine artists of the early Renaissance, representing the idealized body became “the preeminent site for the exercise and display of artistic knowledge and virtuosity.”⁷ During this time, in an unorthodox display of nudity, Donatello idealized the proportions of a Greek athletic youth to produce a life-sized bronze *David*. Depicting post-victory over Goliath, Donatello’s young, proud “biblical hero [is] dressed in classical guise.”⁸ Michelangelo produced the next century’s *David*; this early sixteenth century version was again conceived as a nude, but of colossal scope.⁹ The artist concentrated his expressive purpose on the human figure. To him, the body was beautiful, not only in its natural form, but also in its spiritual and philosophical significance as a manifestation of the soul.¹⁰ The nude, reminiscent of antiquity in Michelangelo’s *David*, emerged from out of the stone as the very essence of fortitude elevating the naked body to religious hero by reflecting the perfection of the ancient deities cast in human form; like a god, *David* had nothing to hide.¹¹

Although a fascination with the classical nude predated Michelangelo’s sculpture, his interpretation was bold given the political climate at the time of the creation of *David*, c. 1501-1504. A theocratic government had gained popular leadership under

⁵Ibid, 238-239.

⁶Edward J. Olszewski, “Michelangelo’s David: Full Frontal Nudity in the Age of Savonarola.” *Notes in the History of Art* 35, no. 1-2 (2015):120.

<https://www.jstor.org.exproxy.langara.ca/stable/sournotehistart.35.1-2.118>.

⁷Estelle Lingo, “Draping Michelangelo: Francesco Mochi, Gianlorenzo Bernini and the Birth of the Baroque Sculpture,” National Gallery of Art, YouTube video, 55:54, posted July 26, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1G1VF5b2in0>.

⁸Jean Sorabella, “The Nude in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,” *In Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008.

http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/numr/hd_numr.htm.

⁹Sorabella.

¹⁰Fred S. Kleiner and Helen Gardner, *Gardner’s Art Through the Ages: The Western Perspective Volume II* (Australia: Cengage Learning, 2017), 503.

¹¹Olszewski, 120.

a Dominican fundamentalist, Savonarola, who heralded a puritanical and apocalyptic style of preaching and governing.¹² Savonarola alienated the Florentine oligarchy,¹³ casting a shadow of religious conservatism that heightened concern for modesty by challenging artistic tradition and sculpture in particular.¹⁴ With the expulsion of the Medici, the wealthiest art-centric patrons of Florence, the climate for art became increasingly precarious;¹⁵ Donatello's nude bronze of *David* was removed from public display and many other works were destroyed.¹⁶ Thus, Michelangelo moved to Rome. When Savonarola was subsequently executed, Michelangelo returned to Florence in the year 1500. The former glory of the republic was lost and now the city was in a pitiful state; once proud, a disgruntled populace was impoverished with lawlessness in the streets.¹⁷ To bolster the weakened society, Michelangelo was commissioned to sculpt a massive *David* to adorn the city's cathedral.¹⁸ Despite the brutality of recent conservatism,¹⁹ he boldly unveiled a distinctive presentation of the classical nude.²⁰ Although blatant nudity may have been less obtrusive positioned high on the cathedral, as intended, the reaction to his colossal figure was such that *David* was positioned to a new prominence in the Palazzo Vecchio, the town hall, albeit "kilted with a girdle of twenty-eight gilded leaves."²¹ The compellingly idealized, powerful figure rendered renewed hope and meaning to the floundering republic of Florence. Beneath the facade and tower of the Palazzo, the giant prophet, a Christ-type saviour, seemingly transformed from to become almost human.²² *David* flaunted itself as an embodiment of the defender of civic strength and justice,²³ a representation of Florentine victory over tyranny.²⁴

While transforming the religious icon to a political saviour, Michelangelo pushed beyond classical sculpture revealing a new expression of form in his *David*. From a previously used block of marble in "distressingly mutilated condition,"²⁵ Michelangelo uncovered a groundbreaking figure; his *David* (see figure 1) hails to Greek artist Polykleito's classic *Doryphoros*, yet deviates to unique expression.²⁶

¹²Partridge, 113.

¹³Ibid, 113.

¹⁴Lingo.

¹⁵Olszewski, 118-121.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Strathern, 234.

¹⁸Partridge, 116.

¹⁹Olszewski, 118.

²⁰Lingo.

²¹Olszewski, 120.

²²Strathern, 237-8.

²³Partridge, 117.

²⁴Sylvan Barnet, *A Short Guide to Writing About Art* (New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2008), 48.

²⁵Partridge, 116.

²⁶Ibid, 116.

At two times larger than life, Michelangelo's version is a lankier figure combining attributes of *David's* 'classical athlete' of the past and 'the adolescent' of Renaissance Florentine tradition.²⁷ With an unusually wide stance, *David* stands like Hercules on the city's civic seal. The "non-weight bearing left foot over the edge of the pedestal ahead of the weight-bearing foot" results in a diminished expression of the movement that is characteristic of classical contrapposto.²⁸ This lesser dynamic stance presents a new narrative; Michelangelo's *David* is alert and pensive, his slingshot poised behind his back as he "sizes up the Philistine giant before the battle."²⁹ Positioned in front of the town hall with his gaze poised on the southward threat of Rome, Michelangelo's *David* is thus embodied as the protectorate of Florence. Also, more prominent than in classical prototypes is an enlarging of *David's* hands emphasizing tendons and veins as if to underscore the meaning of "strong of hand."³⁰ An exaggerated head size, perhaps to correct visual foreshortening for the original placement site high on the cathedral tribune, would serve to suggest *David's* intellect and reason as he calculates his plan of action for a momentous looming conflict.³¹ The combination of classical Greek athlete and Roman imperial bust also revive a "classical leonine personality" with a curly mane, "fierce penetrating eyes, and knit brow" a further association with "the prototypical lion man" symbolic to Florence.³² The mythic Hercules, much admired for strength and virtue, was projected onto *David* as if he were to "metamorphose into ferocious action."³³ Adolescence seemingly melding into manhood with a virility beyond classic example, the flamelike hair on his head also suggests a Christ-like humanity and spirituality.³⁴ Classical nudity combined with restraint is filled with living force to produce a profoundly humanistic result. Michelangelo's *David* represents a magnificent celebration of humanity whilst offering something transcendent in the expression of the figure; thus, the statue achieves an almost Platonic ideal.³⁵

As Michelangelo's *David* celebrated a Renaissance classical expression of the human figure, Bernini's Baroque sculpture, too, held a central focus on the human form with a unique approach.³⁶ In contrast to the Renaissance, Baroque art is higher pitched in its realism with theatrical, dramatic gestures designed to appeal to

²⁷Partridge, 116.

²⁸Partridge, 116.

²⁹Ibid. (emphasis added).

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Strathern, 237.

³⁶Sorabella.

emotions. Verging on caricature, facial expressions of rage, pain, pity, or ecstasy are explicitly rendered.³⁷

Despite seemingly exaggerated, such commonplace gestures were abundant in the populous of seventeenth century Italy and still utilized by Italians “with effect and wit to this day.”³⁸ Bernini’s evolved style of intensity incorporated a psychological and a physical realism that insisted on “the credibility of the actions and emotions depicted.”³⁹ Following fellow Baroque artist Caravaggio’s new vision on “how to move the flock,”⁴⁰ Bernini, an extremist in his art, cast no remote saints. In the shock of theatre, he produced earthly passions to transform torment to ecstasy.⁴¹ Even partially clothed, Bernini’s *David* pressed the “drama of the flesh not even Michelangelo made so gripping.”⁴² A radical break from the Renaissance, Bernini shattered the language of the body;⁴³ he rendered the statue capable of acts of violence.⁴⁴

Bernini’s radical expression of human form was born, as was Michelangelo’s thinking *David*, under conditions of religious conservatism and radical scrutiny. The Roman Catholic Church, in response to the Protestant Reformation’s attack on religious art, energized the Counter-Reformation’s quest for new ideas on sacred art. The idol was being “knocked down” and, as a “figure in the round” that could be elicited as idolatrous, sculpture bore the burden of this shift.⁴⁵ Wielding enormous temporal power within the Papal States, but sharply curtailing beyond its borders,⁴⁶ the papacy’s zeal to communicate the Catholic message to the populace drove Baroque art, especially in Rome. The holy metropolis was buzzing with worldly ambition and in the church aristocracy it was not just the money that counted, but also the art.⁴⁷ Artists angled for patrons as patrons did artists, questing for “the next prized genius” to put forth the theatre of Catholicism brimming with drama of human emotion.⁴⁸ Rome, where the artist had lived and worked all of his life as a pillar of the Catholic establishment and friend of popes,⁴⁹ was Bernini’s city.⁵⁰ In the climate of religious reform and social change born of the Council of Trent, Bernini led sculpture into an era of a new naturalism.⁵¹ A pious Catholic,

³⁷Robert Wallace, *The World of Bernini: 1598-1680* (New York: Time Life Books, 1977). 11,12.

³⁸Ibid, 11, 12.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Lingo.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Simon Schama, “Bernini” 4, *Power of Art* (UK: BBC, 2006).

⁴⁵Lingo.

⁴⁶Wallace, 33.

⁴⁷Schama.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Schama.

⁵⁰Wallace, 9.

⁵¹Ibid, 11-12.

Bernini's world was of religious fervor; his mission was religious persuasion and beautification.⁵² Above all else, he wanted to convince viewers of the teachings of the Church.⁵³ To achieve maximum potency, he used aspects understood by ordinary men where it was necessary to touch emotions, not dry reason, for greatest effect.⁵⁴ Familiar human gestures and images of expression were not cliché, but original in Bernini's time.⁵⁵ In a profound new way, Bernini recreated the human body under the prevailing religious imperative and in capturing an instant masked its connection to the past: "everything had to change so that everything could remain the same."⁵⁶ His sacred sculpture seemingly subdued its identity to become closer to a painting by optical effect.⁵⁷ It is Baroque, therefore, constantly and theatrically convulsed by a "rebellion of the parts of the elements which make it up."⁵⁸

Bernini transitioned the religious idol by imparting a "marvellous softness, making the marble, so to say, flexible" to transform the classical sculpture to capture a spectacle of theatre and emotion (see figure 2).⁵⁹ Represented on a strong triangular base is a violent, pivoting diagonal motion of a figure in combat; an electrically charged space of wound dynamic tension in maximum action.⁶⁰ The youthful warrior, with the look of a back-country shepherd, grimaces with determination as his every muscle is tensed at the precise moment the fatal stone is to be released. His muscular legs are firmly planted, straddling rejected body armour as *David* has placed his faith in the Lord.⁶¹ As an extra touch of realism, his muscular foot is tensely gripping the base, ready to "kill his enemy right now, this minute."⁶² Varying textures in the leather sling, the coarse goatskin pouch, the smooth drapery, the flesh, and the tousled hair reinforce an impression of reality. The most remarkable feature is Bernini's use of space; *David*, about to sling his stone past the spectator, provides a clear sense of direction, angle, and height by extending his ferocious gaze to where the unseen Goliath would be situated. Therefore, "like the biblical hero, we turn our heads to sight Goliath and like *David*, we, too, become

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid, 12.

⁵⁶Lingo.

⁵⁷Lingo.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Charles Scribner III, "The Real Bernini: Lecture by Charles Scribner III" *Met Museum*, 56:57, May 26, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wH4D_9GJ68gFINISH.

⁶⁰Scribner III, "The Real Bernini."

⁶¹Kleiner, 586.

⁶²Wallace, 19, 27.

potential champions against the Philistine;”⁶³ Bernini has drawn the spectator into the drama and in doing so, the segregation of spectator and statue is abolished.⁶⁴

The mythos of David was reinvented by both Michelangelo and Bernini whose styles in human form, whilst adhering to classical roots, provided new meaning and boldly addressed respective contemporary political climates. Both artists elevated the human form to new dimensions. Quintessential Renaissance artist Michelangelo emulated classical antiquity and idealistic beauty, adding the quality of psychology to advance the movement of sculpture. However, Baroque Rome’s consummate sculptor, Bernini, created compelling realism pushing classical sculpture to impart emotion, relatability, and theatricality to ensnare the spectator into a profound sense of the now. In combatting the challenges of the socio-political climates of their times, both artists innovated the human form superseding respective barriers. Michelangelo’s *David* exemplified and appealed to his society’s yearning to experience the divine nobility of man with all his beauty, strength, rationality, and righteousness; a figure poised as a platonic ideal.⁶⁵ Equally important, Bernini’s *David* ingeniously presented religious iconography to transcend its material form and, in doing so, intensely engage the soul.⁶⁶ Both *David*’s being victorious in their battles.

⁶³Joy Kenseth, “Bernini’s Borghese Sculptures: Another View,” *Art Bulletin* 63, no.2 (1981): 194. <http://doi.org/10.1080/00043079.1981.10787872>.

⁶⁴Wallace, 19.

⁶⁵Barnet, 48.

⁶⁶Wallace, 18, 19.

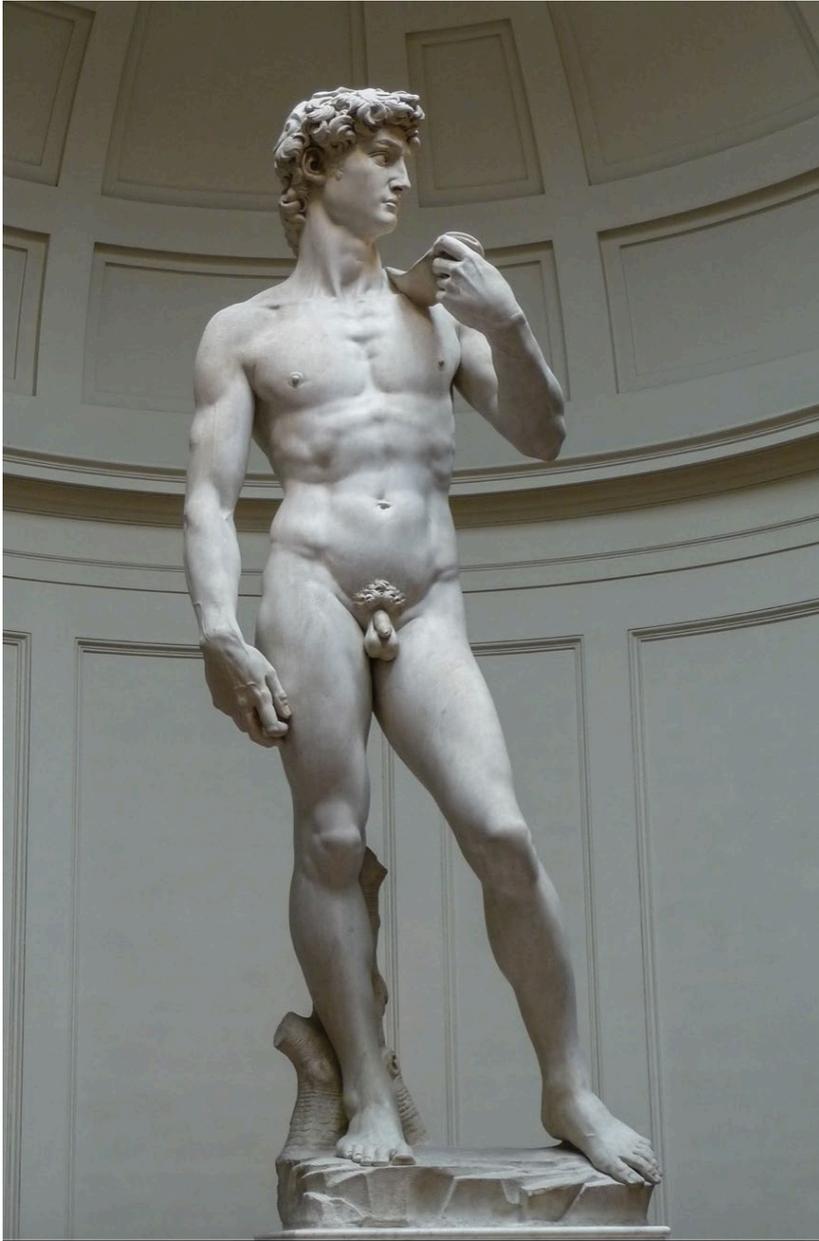


Figure 1: Michelangelo, *David*, 1501-1504, Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, Italy.

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/24/%27David%27_by_Michelangelo_JBU0001.JPG



Figure 2: Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *David*, 1623-24, Galleria Borghese, Rome.
https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gianlorenzo_bernini,_david,_1623-24,_02.jpg

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ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH: PARTNERS IN THE FUTURE OF THE PLANET

DAWN ANDERSON

This essay is a discussion of the effects of environmental sustainability on economic growth. The question explored is how each can exist alongside the other. The position taken is of the opportunity for environmental responsibility and a capitalist, growth economy to partner in a sustainable future. The discussion explores how excessive consumerism contributes to the issue. It also includes information on where economists have explored for unaccounted costs, and how they view this topic, as well as what areas of governance could address the issues surrounding the sustainability debate. Research has been conducted for more than forty years but to date no significant sustainability programs have been enacted by capitalist stakeholders. Individual taxpayers absorb the cost, and most of the actions taken to mitigate catastrophes have been by individuals. Activism is being led by youth, whose very future is at stake. The paper concludes that capitalist companies can make significant gains from environmental initiatives, contrary to their current opinion. The future of capitalist profits, stakeholders and organizations may depend on it.

It is necessary for the world to ensure that environmental sustainability and economic growth can work together. Climate change is having a profound impact on the economic growth of many countries. A solution for the future is possible. Still, people must be willing to modify their ways of living to provide for the sustainability of the environment. Environmental costs are not currently accounted for when the market prices of goods and services are determined or included when calculating economic growth. This non-accounting leaves taxpayers to cover the expenses for the clean-up activities required following events that are impacted by climate change. The realities of resource shortages, such as food, are already being

experienced. More of these types of deficiencies are expected to follow, such as fresh water to drink. Current "fast fashion" practices and excessive consumerism are one way that current levels of this excessiveness can be addressed. Business organizations ignore the costs to the environment to realize the short-term profits from this type of consumerism. This essay will explore these aspects of the harmonious existence of environmental sustainability and economic growth. Although there are many other areas to investigate, those will not be addressed in this condensed forum.

One of the world's most successful experiments to date is capitalism¹. Our best hope for the future is to look through the lens of such theories as sustainable capitalism. Current trends in capitalism do not account for its costs to the environment, which is one of the main factors in the many ecological issues currently being faced.² Capitalism needs to be held accountable for damage caused to the environment. Plastics fill our oceans, water is scarce in some areas and poisonous in others. Excessive extraction of fossil fuels to feed the machinery that require it are causing not only environmental damage. This extraction practice may very well be destroying the social structure of society, as struggles occur over land usage rights. Damage to the environment has resulted in immense profits and wealth for a few, at the expense and poverty of many. Income inequality is at an extremely high level in the wealthiest countries, with Canada receiving a "C" grade against peer countries. A peer country is one that has similar living standards, such as costs of living or healthcare quality and includes countries such as Denmark, Sweden and Finland, who won "A" ratings. The US received a "D" grade in the comparison³. Economists have devised sophisticated formulas to calculate the economy in relation to ecological costs, which consider the GDP of a region, its population, and what value is contributed to the relevant marketplace.⁴

If specific formulas for these types of calculations can be prepared to account for these types of costs to the environment, then other methods of calculation, besides GDP, could be created to account for economic growth in whatever way best benefits the planet and the sustainment of life on it. For example, formulas to calculate how efficient capitalism is at sustaining the environment or formulas for the health or sickness of populations could be used. These formulas would account for the impact that capitalism and the environment are having on each other, and it would be a new and sustainable way of calculating growth. There could be

¹Carl Hall. 2014. *The Environmental Capitalists: Making Billions by Saving the Planet*. LID Publishing.

²David Schweickart. 2010. "Is Sustainable Capitalism Possible?" *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 2 (5) 6739–52.

³How Canada Performs. 2013. The Conference Board of Canada. January.

⁴William Nordhaus. 2011. "Designing a Friendly Space for Technological Change to Slow Global Warming." *Energy Economics* 33 (4) 665–73.

education put in place for tomorrow's economists and governments to understand how to value economies in this way.

Capitalism could be at risk in an uncertain future unless governments are willing to turn to a sustainable environmental capitalist economy.⁵ Capitalism depends on natural and human resources to create goods and services to sell. As the environment deteriorates, these resources become harder to utilize effectively. Natural disasters impede efficient productivity, as workers' homes are flooded or destroyed and as organizations' facilities themselves are ruined or rendered useless for short to long periods of time. Some areas may not recover from such disasters, requiring organizations to look for new places to do business. The newly relocated business would then need to hire and train new employees to get production back up to previous levels. In the clean-up process for climate events, governments could also require some of the businesses to provide products and services to help with recovery, costing those businesses their profits.

A sustainable environmental capitalist economy might include, for example, opportunities for venture capital firms to invest in green entrepreneurs or for governments to support the diversification of their carbon-generating economies to allow for a more certain future. As well, there is the potential for conversion of extractive workers to green jobs, with support from government programs for transferred salaries, benefits and accrued pensions.⁶ For these types of adjustments to be made, people must be willing to examine the kinds of consumerism they participate in and their reliance on disposable or single-use goods. Lifestyles should be examined to determine if quality of life can be adjusted to accept ways of living that do not exist in our current capitalist economies.⁷ Populations must be willing to exchange these for a future in which soil can regenerate, floods can be reduced, and wildfires can be more controlled.

A reliance on things like electricity and its associated grids impacts weather and climate events, such as droughts, as rivers are dammed and re-routed to generate power. The electrical networks themselves are susceptible to destruction from winds and tornadoes, causing avoidable fires when live electricity ignites dry, brittle trees, shrubs and undergrowth near any downed wires. Replacing electrical grids with solar or wind-generated power, known as grid defection, reduces the potential of these added hazards for weather-caused events. These resulting systems are more localized and easily disconnected from those areas that are in the paths of approaching storms.⁸ They may also be less vulnerable to the rolling or mass

⁵Carl Hall. 2014. *The Environmental Capitalists: Making Billions by Saving the Planet*. LID Publishing.

⁶Naomi Klein, interview by Jayme Poisson. 2019. "Climate Strikes, Greta and the Green New Deal." *CBC Front Burner PodCast*. (September 22).

⁷David Schweickart. 2010. "Is Sustainable Capitalism Possible?" 6739–52.

⁸David Frankel, and Amy Wagner. 2017. *Battery storage: The next disruptive technology in the power sector*. Article, San Francisco, CA: McKinsey & Company.

blackouts that are implemented as part of attempts to mitigate these extreme weather incidents.

Reversing a growing trend of the privatization of utilities like water and electricity to public or private-public partnerships could remove pure profit motivation.⁹ Making these utilities more accountable to public scrutiny has been found to make a difference. The introduction of carbon-reducing programs, such as more energy-efficient household items, has helped immensely in reducing carbon emissions.¹⁰ However, there are still many areas in which to improve. An embracing of even more reductions will help governments to manage their countries more effectively with an environmental capitalist economy.

Another way that governments could improve the management of the environment, and to better ensure its sustainability, is to more carefully assess how the producers of goods and services cost out, pay and subsequently price those goods and services. Currently, for example, a tomato farmer would calculate the cost of the labour and other services, such as delivery to market, to price a batch of tomatoes. They do not calculate the cost of the damage to the environment from things like the carbon generated by the irrigation systems or the truck that delivers goods to the market.¹¹ This lack of accounting lets many organizations, corporations and their shareholders leave taxpayers to absorb these costs directly. Governments incorporate those costs into future budgets to account for the abatement or clean up after unusual climate events, floods or droughts.¹² Producers receive the benefit of shared costs, rather than directly accounting for them in their work. Arguments against these types of adjustments include the increased costs to consumers that would be realized if goods and services were priced this way. There may also be limited expertise available in some smaller businesses to calculate these costs and then to implement these practices. However, these costs are already being paid by consumers in ways that they may not even recognize. High incidence of extreme weather events, interruptions of work, and the relocation of destroyed buildings and jobs create costs that creep into every individual's cash flow, taxes, and other costs. These subsequently appear as increased costs of consumer goods because of lost profits and other costs associated with this extreme weather. If governments were to create initiatives to address these types of cost accounting and support businesses to manage the implementing of sustainable practices, the public would be able to

⁹Eva Lieberherr, and Bernhard Truffer. 2015. "The Impact of Privatization on Sustainability Transitions: A Comparative Analysis of Dynamic Capabilities in Three Water Utilities." *Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions* 101–22.

¹⁰David Schweickart. 2010. "Is Sustainable Capitalism Possible?" 6739–52.

¹¹Nicholas Z Muller, Robert Mendelsohn, and William Nordhaus. 2011. "Environmental Accounting for Pollution in the United States Economy." *American Economic Review* Vol. 101: 1649-1675.

¹²William Nordhaus. 2013. *The Climate Casino: Risk, Uncertainty, and Economics for a Warming World*. Yale University Press.

more easily see where their dollars are going, rather than absorbing them unknowingly.

Corporations, especially those that operate globally, could see a sustainable environment as an opportunity to grow their organizations, by diversifying product and service portfolios and investing in those countries in which they do business. According to a study in 2018, "sustainable investments can increase beneficial performance such as financial returns, and other work continues to find a correlation between financial returns and investments in sustainability" in North America and parts of Asia.¹³ There is every reason for investments in sustainability to be implemented or increased from current levels by these corporations. An environmental capitalist economy would be supportive of these types of initiatives by corporations, as governments could create tax incentives, reduce or eliminate cap and trade or make other carbon-tax offers. Venture capital firms that focus on green corporations and entrepreneurs could expand their mandates and take an interest in such innovations within corporations, or those corporations could attract new investors who are putting their money and futures behind these types of activities. This blend of government programs and incentives, paired with the decentralized method that the market has of addressing the needs and prospects of its growth, could be the best way forward.¹⁴ A heavy-handed socialist-type of solution would not be required if capitalists could make environmentalism an essential part of their plans and futures.

It will soon be mandatory for people to articulate their demands for what they will accept as their future and then to apply pressure on their governments and politicians to set the goals and standards required to achieve those results.¹⁵ Recent events in Lebanon, Chile and Hong Kong have proven that the voices of the people will be heard. In some countries, a simple majority of people is enough to sway politicians to back new initiatives. And people must be ready to push if humanity is to survive on the planet as "...there are people in power who can be pushed and are not immune to pressure" from their citizens.¹⁶ This same pressure could be applied to corporations and organizations that are dependent on existing bases of customers for sustaining or growing their markets. People have the leverage to influence the behaviours of such organizations and groups. Citizens have the power to demand that the companies they support be environmentally aware and proactive in the policies, products and programs that they deliver. And the people and

¹³Kyungbok Kim, and Sang-Myung Lee. 2018. "Does Sustainability Affect Corporate Performance and Economic Development? Evidence from the Asia-Pacific region and North America." *Sustainability* (10 no. 4: 909).

¹⁴Carl Hall. 2014. *The Environmental Capitalists: Making Billions by Saving the Planet*. LID Publishing.

¹⁵Scott J. Callan, and Janet M Thomas. 2007. *Environmental Economics & Management: Theory, Policy, and Applications; Fourth Edition*. Mason, OH: Thomson Higher Education.

¹⁶Naomi Klein, interview by Jayme Poisson. 2019. "Climate Strikes, Greta and ..." (September 22)

organizations that are the wealthiest or have gained the most from the mismanagement of valuable earth resources must be made to pay.¹⁷

There is global concern about these types of environmental circumstances, and the United Nations has taken on a project for insurance companies to ensure they are adequately accounting for climate issues when underwriting coverage.¹⁸ A guide has recently (2019) been released by the United Nations Environment Programme Finance Initiative (UNEP FI), including heat maps for various industries, for insurance underwriters to ensure that underwriting allows for the coverage of potential disasters and various other issues. If there comes a time when no insurance coverage is available for companies who are ignoring, or who think they can manage these risks, they will very likely see dropping confidence in their ability to sustain growth as an organization.¹⁹ Falling share prices or waning interest in investing would impact their ability to pay shareholders.

There are both informal and more formalized social movements to give further voice to concerns. One informal movement called "Grab Your Wallet" is a campaign, conducted via social media, that frequently takes on causes to create awareness of the types of policies and programs that various companies support. This campaign provides consumers with options for choosing how to spend their money and demonstrate support or opposition to specific issues, as well as a way of conveying the importance of these problems and actions through economic coercion. Consumers are sending strong messages of tolerance or intolerance to the offending companies. These types of movements can have an immediate impact on a company's public image. They will cause a quick response to a company's positions on those issues. This type of campaigning has become so effective that some companies are employing programs, such as sentiment analysis, to monitor the reactions of current and potential customers.²⁰ This analysis enables company managers to respond in a timely fashion to avoid extreme effects on company performance.

More formal types of movements can also bring pressure to make changes to corporate and organizational strategies for remaining economically viable. Such actions could include lobbying for government policy intervention and regulation

¹⁷Naomi Klein. 2019. *On Fire: The Burning Case for a Green New Deal*. Alfred A. Knopf, Canada.

¹⁸UNEP-Financial Initiative. 2019. *Global guidance on the integration of environmental, social and governance risks into insurance underwriting*. New York, NY: United Nations Environment Programme Finance Initiative.

¹⁹Zhiyan Cao, and Ganapathi Narayanamoorthy. 2014. "Accounting and Litigation Risk: Evidence from Directors' and Officers' Insurance Pricing." *Review of Accounting Studies* Vol. 19, No. 1: 1–42.

²⁰Kalle Petteri Nuortimo, and Janne Härkönen. 2019. *Journal of Intelligence Studies in Business* Vol. 9, No. 1 5-16.

to force corporations into environmental compliance. There are examples of these types of movements, over the history of democracies, including women's suffrage, fighting for the right for women to vote, or Mothers Against Drinking and Driving (MADD) that have caused significant amendments to policy and laws in North America.²¹ Combinations of these types of movements can be very effective ways to have the voice of the people heard and acted on by their governments, corporations and other types of economy-contributing organizations. In the end, capitalist economies are supported by those who hold the power of the pocketbook.²²

By no means is an uprising, even by a majority of the people, a guarantee that any required changes will be enacted. In recent years, there have been many movements toward economic nationalism, which is a desire to prioritize domestic issues over global ones. These movements are impediments to achieving an international consensus on environmental sustainability and "the costs of emission reductions are national while the benefits from slowing climate change are widely dispersed around the globe."²³ Nationalist economic movements are demanding to see results for their tax dollars in their own countries and not to be supporting countries that are viewed as not contributing their share. In many of the countries where these economic nationalist movements are prevalent, they are generally in the minority but are growing.²⁴ Those who raise their concerns are shouted down by this vocal minority in the name of patriotism. Those raising concerns about the demise of the human race and the need to leave a place for their children's future are being drowned out.

Fundamental transformations will be required for the basic needs of society: housing, transportation, food and energy, particularly in developing countries.²⁵ These transformations will be needed to provide assurances of national security for some developed countries. Shortages of resources to cover basic needs are already causing civil wars in some areas of the world, creating massive amounts of refugees and asylum seekers who are looking for help from their more affluent neighbours. While nationalist movements are currently seeking to limit or eliminate refugees or asylum seekers entering their countries, these countries could eventually face even

²¹Loewit-Phillips, Patricia Melody, and Abbie Goldbas. 2013. "Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD): History and Impact." *International Journal of Childbirth Education* Vol. 28, No. 4: 62-67.

²²Katherine White, Rishad Habib, and David J Hardisty. 2019. "How to SHIFT Consumer Behaviors to be More Sustainable: A Literature Review and Guiding Framework." *American Marketing Association Journal of Marketing* Vol 83 (3) 22-49.

²³William Nordhaus. 2013. *The Climate Casino: Risk, Uncertainty...* Yale University Press.

²⁴Claudia Postelnicescu. 2016. "Europe's New Identity: The Refugee Crisis and the Rise of Nationalism." *Europe's Journal of Psychology* Vol. 12, Iss. 2: 203-209.

²⁵Naomi Klein, interview by Jayme Poisson. 2019. "Climate Strikes, Greta and ..." (September 22)

more peril if entry is forced. As already desperate people living in drought and disaster-stricken areas become more desperate, countries trying to limit the entry of migrants will realize that "...climate change isn't just about things getting hotter and wetter: under our current economic and political order, it's about things getting meaner and uglier."²⁶

Proactive governments that wish to remain in power, or to retain the functions of democracy, would be reducing the possibility of events, like revolution or nationalization of resources, if they began a transformation to environmental capitalism sooner rather than later. There is a question, though, of how 195-plus separate countries with distinct economies will agree on an approach that has a goal of one result for the planet.²⁷ Responsible economic management will force governments to realize that they cannot "... continue to grow economically with no regard for the future."²⁸ The sooner that action is taken, the sooner the realization that "... there is a solution, although it will be a compromise. First, we have to decide what level of environmental quality is acceptable, and then we need to make the appropriate adjustments in market behaviour to sustain that quality."²⁹ When the rise of populism in many countries is added, mostly in the name of nationalism and more right-leaning governments, this becomes an even more complex problem as countries are trending toward looking inward, more and more, to develop and enhance "their own." The political right, however, has the most to gain from the kinds of changes that are required. They are most often the ones to stand for prosperity and growth and an environment that no longer works will mean that economies are no longer expanding.³⁰

As demonstrated through this discussion, there are vast arrays of possibilities for tackling environmental sustainability without compromising the growth of a capitalist economy – through an environmental capitalist economy. People must be willing to decide what future they want to belong to and put pressure on their governments to make the necessary changes. Many movements have recently shown that changes can be made through public pressure. Environmental sustainability has no borders and must be a global effort. The Paris Climate Accord was a good place to start, but the rise of economic nationalism threatens to derail these types of global efforts. Right leaning and conservative politicians have much to gain from supporting green initiatives since they most naturally promote capitalism and economic prosperity. Left leaning and liberal politicians also have

²⁶Naomi Klein. 2019. *On Fire: The Burning Case for a Green New Deal*. Alfred A. Knopf, Canada.

²⁷Carl Hall. 2014. *The Environmental Capitalists: Making Billions by Saving the Planet*. LID Publishing.

²⁸Callan, Thomas. 2007. *Environmental Economics & Management: Theory ...*

²⁹Callan, Thomas. 2007. *Environmental Economics & Management: Theory ...*

³⁰Carl Hall. 2014. *The Environmental Capitalists: Making Billions by Saving the Planet*. LID Publishing.

much to gain if they want to see the free market, which supports government programs, remain the leading example of how economies grow. Some democratic-socialist governments are already well ahead of the curve with environmental capitalism, for example, in Scandinavian countries. A rising socialist sentiment in many other countries provides an opportunity for the socialist politicians leading those populist movements to take the lead in pushing the governments that they are part of toward more sustainable environmental policies and practices. Together, they could make a difference in the future of the planet.

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GREEN GROWTH OR DEGROWTH: TWO OPPOSING PATHS TO ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

APSARA COEFFIC-NEOU

In the wake of worsening climate change, environmental sustainability is more important than ever if we wish to mitigate disaster and preserve our way of life. This paper will compare two methods of achieving environmental sustainability. The first is green growth, which attempts to replace non-renewable natural resources with renewable ones, and increase efficiency, while continuing to let the economy grow as usual. The second is degrowth, which advocates for a radical restructuring of society, and accepts a decrease in economic growth as a necessary consequence. The comparison will show that green growth is not good enough, because the mass consumption that results from endless economic growth is partly what drove greenhouse gas levels to what they are today. A drastic change in consumption patterns is needed to deal with climate change, and degrowth seems more likely to achieve this.

As climate change continues to threaten the environment and our way of life, we must take a critical look at how we live our lives and whether our current measure of success is compatible with preserving our habitat. The relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability matters because environmental sustainability is more important than ever for mitigating the effects of climate change. According to the 2018 report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) on the impacts of global warming, the global mean surface temperature (GMST) has risen by about 1°C over pre-industrial levels due to human activity.¹ At this rate, we will likely reach 1.5°C of warming between 2030 and

¹ IPCC, 2018: Summary for Policymakers. In: Global Warming of 1.5°C. An IPCC Special Report on the impacts of global warming of 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels and related global greenhouse gas emission pathways, in the context of strengthening the global response to the threat of climate change, sustainable development, and efforts to eradicate poverty. In Press.

2052.² This implies long-lasting or irreversible impact on nature and human life, such as extreme heat in many inhabited areas, higher instances of heavy precipitation and droughts, and a rise in sea level between 0.26 and 0.77 metres by 2100.³ The report stresses that these impacts will be far worse if we let the GMST rise to 2°C and beyond. It therefore urges policymakers to make efforts to reduce CO₂ emissions by 45% of 2010 levels by 2030, reaching net-zero by 2050.⁴ The current pathway outlined by the Paris agreement for 2030 is not enough to cap the temperature rise at 1.5°C, so more drastic changes in how we handle land, infrastructure, energy and industrial systems are needed.⁵

This essay will examine two opposing solutions to climate change in ecological economics, green growth and degrowth. After evaluating the feasibility of each solution and addressing their criticisms, degrowth will be taken as the better path forward.

RELEVANT CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

The size of a country's economy is usually measured by its gross domestic product (GDP), or the value of all goods and services that country produced in one year.⁶ Therefore, economic growth occurs when GDP increases. It also determines a country's standard of living.⁷ Environmental sustainability is the practice of not using renewable resources faster than they can be regenerated by ecosystems.⁸ It requires a transition away from non-renewable resources and reducing the impact of pollutants to avoid damaging the ecosystem.⁹ Closely related is the concept of sustainable development, which aims to alleviate poverty while also preserving the environment for future generations.¹⁰ Economic growth contributes to climate change because it currently depends heavily on the production and consumption of fossil fuels, as well as promoting a culture in which everything is disposable, and where the exploitation of natural resources is merely collateral damage.

SOLUTION 1: HAVE YOUR ECONOMIC GROWTH AND GREEN IT TOO

Green growth is a popular solution for climate change in political and academic discourse.¹¹ Supporters of this view in ecological economics see market failures as

² IPCC, 2018: Summary for Policymakers.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶OpenStax, 19.5 How Well GDP Measures the Well-Being of Society. OpenStax CNX. Oct 3, 2018 <http://cnx.org/contents/bf615922-e33d-4b8b-ab49-7096b67d132d@10>.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Eric Mintz, Osvaldo Croci, and David Close. *Politics, Power and the Common Good: an Introduction to Political Science* (Toronto: Pearson, 2019), 493.

⁹Mintz, Croci, and Close, *Politics, Power and the Common Good*, 493.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Maria Sandberg, Kristian Klockars, and Kristoffer Wilén. "Green Growth or Degrowth? Assessing the Normative Justifications for Environmental Sustainability and Economic Growth

a reason for environmental degradation and propose the decoupling (i.e. separation) of economic growth from the use of natural resources.¹² That is, GDP continues to rise while the use of natural resources decreases, and technological innovations are made to increase the efficiency and use of renewable resources.¹³ There is no substantial change in patterns and levels of consumption.¹⁴

In his book *Greening the Global Economy*, economist Robert Pollin details a plan for achieving the IPCC's global emissions reduction target of 20 billion tons within 20 years (2.3 tons per capita).¹⁵ The main idea is for most countries to invest between 1.5 and 2% of their annual GDP in energy efficiency and clean renewable energy, while also reducing their use of coal, oil and natural gas by 35%.¹⁶ He argues that economic growth will be healthily maintained, because their investments will reduce energy costs while also expanding job opportunities.¹⁷ According to his research, "clean energy investment projects consistently generate more jobs for a given amount of spending than maintaining or expanding a country's existing fossil fuel energy infrastructure."¹⁸

Some have criticized green growth because they view economic growth as fundamentally incompatible with environmental sustainability. Although proponents of green growth claim to have the normative ideal of preserving the environment, this vision in practice still prioritizes the economy.¹⁹ There is an argument that economic growth is an extension of consumerism, and that its main goal is to produce more and more consumer goods, while also requiring fossil fuels to achieve this. The divide between rich and poor is also considered an inevitable consequence of this goal. In the last 20 years, no decoupling has been achieved in developed countries, and achieving this would require at least ten times the improvements in efficiency than we've ever seen in the past.²⁰ One possible reason is the tendency for a rebound effect: when efficiency improves and prices go down, consumption goes up.²¹ Therefore, green growth is unlikely to preserve the environment enough, and if it does, it will not happen fast enough.²² It also appears

through Critical Social Theory." *Journal of Cleaner Production* 206 (January 2019): 133–41.
doi:10.1016/j.jclepro.2018.09.175.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Robert Pollin. "Introduction: The Global Green Energy Challenge," ch. 1 in *Greening the Global Economy* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2015).

¹⁶Pollin. "Introduction: The Global Green Energy Challenge," ch. 1.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Sandberg et al., *Green growth or degrowth?*

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Giorgos Kallis. 2011. "In Defence of Degrowth." *Ecological Economics* 70 (5): 873–80.
doi:10.1016/j.ecolecon.2010.12.007.

²²Sandberg et al., *Green growth or degrowth?*

to have a conflict of interest in preserving the status quo (with some changes) over preserving the environment.

This critical look at capitalism and economic growth as a driving force for our society suggests a more radical alternative to fighting climate change: degrowth.

SOLUTION 2: DISMANTLE THE SYSTEM

Both a social movement and an academic field, degrowth can be defined as a “socially sustainable process of downscaling [...] material production and consumption.”²³ As opposed to green growth, it is based on prioritizing sufficiency over efficiency, and accepts a decrease in GDP as a consequence (but not a goal) of achieving environmental sustainability.²⁴ It also argues that prioritizing GDP makes it more difficult to implement environmental policies, since any of these policies must still allow for economic growth.²⁵ Degrowth has three main goals: reduce the environmental impact of human activities, redistribute wealth, and switch to a more communal society.²⁶

The first goal is achieved by reducing the consumption of energy, promoting local production and consumption, and changing consumption patterns.²⁷ This latter requirement is the opposite of green growth, which does not seek to change anything about consumption beyond the types of resources used to fuel it. The two other goals reflect its vision as a social movement that seeks to break free from what it perceives as pitfalls of capitalism and Western individualism, which also contribute to environmental degradation. Degrowth lacks the policy support that is given to green growth, but its potential can be shown by studying the impact of reducing consumption in developed countries.²⁸ For example, a 2016 study found that the carbon footprint of households could be reduced by one quarter or more by making changes such as reducing car use and adopting plant-based diets.²⁹ If this change could be applied globally (and to a larger extent), there would be a dramatic reduction in greenhouse gas emissions, and it may be achieved faster than via the blueprint of green growth.

Critics of degrowth have said that it cannot achieve climate stabilization because decreasing GDP would only have a marginal effect on CO₂ emissions. For example, Pollin estimates that a 10% reduction in GDP alone would only reduce emissions by 10% in 20 years, which is far from the IPCC’s target of 40%.³⁰ Even if degrowth was established, investments in energy efficiency and renewable energy would

²³Sandberg et al., *Green growth or degrowth?*

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Pollin, *Greening the Global Economy*, 108.

have to account for most of the emissions reduction.³¹ He also believes that the enormous job losses that would occur under degrowth are unacceptable if a good standard of living is to be maintained.³²

This criticism misunderstands the objective of degrowth by reducing it to a contraction of GDP. There is a difference between a goal and an inevitable consequence, and the impact of degrowth on GDP is the latter. Furthermore, degrowth is not the same thing as negative GDP growth, otherwise known as a recession or depression, which both cause massive unemployment and financial insecurity.³³ Not only does the definition of degrowth require sustainability, but its hypothesis is that economic degrowth can be made sustainable by changing the institutions and systems that govern us.³⁴

DISCUSSION

Comparing the two solutions, degrowth appears to be the more favourable one for effecting significant reduction in greenhouse gas emissions. Pollin's estimate that 10% of GDP reduction is equivalent to 10% fewer emissions (and is therefore insufficient) is a rather short-sighted indictment, because it does not consider the possibility, in line with his arithmetic, of a 40% GDP reduction to achieve 40% fewer emissions (the IPCC's target). This is probably because in a capitalist system, such a reduction would result in major economic instability. But this shows that the real problem is not in reducing GDP, but in our society's dependence on a system that is environmentally unsustainable.

There is also no reason to assume that energy efficiency and clean renewable energy cannot be pursued without a growing economy. If we can shift our measure of success away from the accumulation of wealth and power and move it toward a collective goal of improving human (and non-human) life, the predicted loss of jobs would not be an issue. Instead of a decoupling of GDP and nonrenewable natural resources, degrowth proposes a decoupling of society from capital. It is not yet clear what this would precisely look like, but that does not mean it should not be considered. Sustainable degrowth policies vary among proponents, but they include a shift toward more co-operative living, exchange systems that do not involve money, a 21-hour work week, basic income, an emphasis on local economies, redistribution of wealth, expansion of public services and taxing environmental damage.³⁵

³¹Ibid, 108.

³²Ibid, 109.

³³Kallis, *In defense of degrowth*.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Kallis, *In defense of degrowth*.

It is also worth mentioning that a planned economy that drastically restructured the United States has worked in the past during the Second World War.³⁶ Consumerism was eschewed to maintain the war effort, and frugality became the social ideal.³⁷ If that scale of collective action in such an important economic powerhouse can be achieved to fight off fascism, it can happen again to fight off the threat of climate change. Because climate change is a much less straightforward “enemy” than Nazi Germany, another challenge is to convince the public and those in power that it is an equally, if not more, important crisis. This can be achieved in various ways, such as changing the current narrative in the media that understates the severity of the problem and encouraging more activism and grassroots movements to spread awareness. This second course of action is already happening, with an exponential increase in climate change protests around the world, partially inspired by Greta Thunberg’s harsh but justified criticism of the failure of world leaders in addressing the issue. If this momentum can be sustained, there is hope that systemic change can happen, and a massive upheaval of how society believes one should live their life can be undertaken.

CONCLUSION

Although green growth is a tempting way for capitalists to hang onto their system, it does not seem to be a viable solution for climate change. The failure to decouple GDP growth from natural resource use in the last 20 years reveals how deeply entrenched this system is in our society. Rather than appealing to climate stabilization as a means to preserve the current system, a great restructuring of how this world functions is the way forward. Climate change is a global emergency, and should be treated as such, because radical problems require radical solutions. Because the post-capitalist world proposed by degrowth is currently unclear,³⁸ more research needs to be done to bring it from theory to practice.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Kallis, *In defense of degrowth*

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THE RIGHT TO GROW: GENETICALLY MODIFIED SEED PATENTING AND CIVILIAN RESISTANCE IN GUATEMALA

TEODORA RAWSTHORNE ECKMYN

In 2014, mass civil disobedience in Guatemala effectively resisted government and corporate efforts to nationally legalize the patenting of genetically modified seeds. This paper examines the dynamics of seed patenting, with attention to the corporate interests and actions that propagate this trend and to the externalities that fall upon civilians and their cultural, economic and food security rights. Next, the paper examines the risks posed specifically to Guatemalan civilian and indigenous concerns when the government passed a decree to legalize seed patenting. This event is examined through the political and economic histories that influenced this conflict and the civilian interests that were threatened, specifically regarding the dynamics of the dietarily and culturally essential maize plant. Finally, the paper examines the strategies and organizations that effectively abolished the decree, emphasizing the potential of civilian disobedience in protecting civil rights.

While the human modification of seeds has long been a practice of agricultural development, the relatively recent commercialization of this modification is changing the legal, social, economic and cultural dimensions of agriculture, food security and human rights. Seed modification's traditional/local and modern/commercial avenues are in question and conflict in Guatemala, where maize production and its patentability have been vigorously contested.¹ The interest of farmers, and other civilians reliant on the resources they provide, are interconnected and often at odds with the positions of the corporations and states who stand to benefit from the Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) to Genetically Modified (GM) crops. The patenting of seeds has remained illegal in the state of Guatemala, despite corporate and governmental efforts, due to "protocols that

¹James Klepek, "Against the Grain: Knowledge Alliances and Resistance to Agricultural Biotechnology in Guatemala." (Canadian Journal of Development Studies, 2012), 313.

protected their natural patrimony” and the consistent, forcefully unified resistance and resilience of civilian coalitions.² This tool was resisted by the Guatemalan people through the coordination and coalition of civilian groups fighting for the variable-sum protection of the cultural, economic and food security interests that rely upon the traditional agricultural systems in place. The patenting of GM seeds is a tool employable by actors who seek to propagate their zero-sum positions through the oppression of rights of those who produce and rely upon agriculture, in both commercial and subsistence forms.

As genetic modification (GM) technology advances and infiltrates the agricultural system, the commercialization and policies of seed use constantly evolve and affect all participants of the agricultural system. Seed patenting is the process by which seeds, once modified from their original state by human manipulation, are attributed legal ownership through intellectual property rights (IPR) to their genetic structure.³ This intellectual ownership of plant variations is regulated and enforced at a national level.⁴ An international trend amongst IPR-GMO laws is their disproportionate focus on the rights and positions of breeders and discoverers with relative lack of regard for the rights and interests of farmers and consumers.⁵ A 2008 report by the International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science, and Technology for Development stated that “[t]echnologies such as high-yielding crop varieties, agrochemicals and mechanization have primarily benefitted the better resourced groups in society and transnational corporations, rather than the most vulnerable ones.”⁶ This promotion of the commercialization of agriculture reveals the zero-sum positions of powerful actors, endorsed by the very governments whose responsibility it is to protect the food rights of all its citizens, ultimately revealing the structural violence of the governmental-agricultural system.

The consequences of this system are various, potent and complex, and affect socioeconomic, food security and cultural spheres of concern. While GM technologies increase yields and therefore present the strong potential benefit in “those areas that are most dependent on agriculture, facing water shortages and impacts from climate change, and continued population growth,” their advantages must be weighed against the threatening control and change of the dynamics of food production.⁷ As IPR holders employ their legally enabled monopolies of GM

²Liza Grandia, “Sacred Maize Against a Legal Maze: The Diversity of Resistance to Guatemala’s Monsanto Law.” (Journal for the Study of Religion, Nature and Culture, 2017), 66.

³Hans Morten Haugen and Thomas Bøhn, “Genetically Modified Food Worldwide IP Challenges.” (Reference Module in Food Science, 2016), 2.

⁴Haugen, Bøhn, 2.

⁵Grandia, 66.

⁶UN General Assembly, “Seed Policies and the Right to Food: Enhancing Agrobiodiversity and Encouraging Innovation”, 2009), 3.

⁷Haugen, Bøhn, 7.

seeds, farmers are easily subjugated, either financially or by strict control of their practices.⁸ Firstly, dependency upon the products of a monopolizing corporation easily and frequently results in debt to that corporation, often confronted from an already financially unstable position.⁹ Secondly, agricultural practices can be controlled by laws governing GMO usage that subjugate farmers to regulations that benefit IPR holders at the expense of the income and autonomy of those farmers. A prime example of this subjugation through regulation is the illegality of using Monsanto's Roundup Ready herbicides to improve the yield of seeds not directly bought from Monsanto.¹⁰ This application of IPR often restricts farmers from long standing systems of seed saving and exchange, which could otherwise be relied upon as "source[s] of economic independence and resilience in the face of threats."¹¹ Finally, the patenting of seeds, by changing the dynamics of food production, changes the dynamics of food accessibility.

In response to these threats posed by GMO commercialization and corporate control, organizations at all levels of society, including intergovernmental organizations such as the United Nations (UN), have examined and prescribed how the food security and sovereignty rights of vulnerable groups must be prioritized and defended. A 2009 UN report on the interconnection of seed policy and food rights notes that legislation wields the potential to create obstacles to the necessary means of food production, threatening the livelihoods not only of farmers, but of all those whose livelihoods rely upon the resources they produce.¹² In the report, intended to advise governments on policy setting related to IPRs to GMOs, the UN proposed a framework for governments to protect food security and other human rights related to agriculture. The report implores the importance of prioritizing not just yield quantities through technological innovation, but an equality-driven prioritization of the "needs of the most marginalized groups, including in particular smallholders in developing countries."¹³ As seed development is progressively corporatized and regulated, farmers become increasingly dependant upon these dictators of agricultural practice, risking both subsistence and sovereignty in their food and livelihood practices.¹⁴ A 2013 investigation resulted in reports that "farmer's choice of seeds (varieties) are reduced in GMO adopting countries," revealing the inhibition of sovereignty, integrity to traditional farming practices and propagation of biodiversity through enforcement of IPR-GMO.¹⁵ Dependence of farmers upon IPR holders can be the result either of purchase and intentional use of

⁸UN, 2.

⁹UN, 2.

¹⁰Haugen, Bøhn, 4.

¹¹UN, 2.

¹²UN, 4.

¹³UN, 3.

¹⁴UN, 4.

¹⁵Haugen, Bøhn, 5.

GMOs or through unintended contamination of land with GMOs.¹⁶ While the UN report emphasizes the importance of the farmers choice between the two systems (corporate vs traditional/local), it is important to note that subjugation to IPR laws can easily happen through contamination of fields by GM seeds as well as by choice. Ultimately, the threats posed by the commercialization of GMOs reveal the importance of protecting economic and food security and sovereignty rights as the dynamics of seed patenting evolve internationally.

The threats posed by agricultural commercialization to food security and sovereignty, have weighed heavily in Guatemala, where human rights are complexly and diversely connected the cultural, subsistence and economic importance of agricultural sovereignty. With half of the Guatemalan population involved in agriculture, changes to the agricultural system have the power to drastically influence the lives of citizens.¹⁷ In 2014, the director of Guatemala's Science and Technology Research Institute stated that Guatemala contained 148 seed varieties that had been improved over time by human manipulation¹⁸, revealing the scope of plants and their related activities that would become subject to patenting if Guatemala were to adopt IPR laws. Of these, a plant of major concern is maize, a crop with immense diversity and importance in Guatemala. Guatemala is a country where the economic, cultural and food security concerns addressed above are of constant concern and are strongly connected to the production of maize. This connection is particularly relevant to the indigenous community, 73% of whom are classified by the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs as poor, while 26% are classified as extremely poor.¹⁹ Interconnected with the socioeconomic power of maize in this state is its cultural importance. Maize cultivation is related to the rituals, deities and religious duties of the Mayan people,²⁰ a group constituting approximately 60 percent of the Guatemalan population.²¹ Understanding these deeply important dynamics connecting subsistence, agricultural cultivation, religion and culture gives further context to the threat posed by IPR-GMO that would control those whose livelihoods rely upon maize production or resources.

Contrast between the interests of Guatemalan agricultural sovereignty defenders and the interests of potential IPR holders is stark and characterized abuses of power that have sought to disempower the population and dispossess them of their rights to food security and sovereignty. As a country with "seemingly ideal political conditions for commercialization" of GM plants, Guatemala's defiance of

¹⁶Grandia, 66.

¹⁷Klepek, 313.

¹⁸Grandia, 66.

¹⁹Yishan Lea, "The Praxis of Cultural Sustainability: a Q'eqchi Maya Case of Cultural Autonomy and Resistance against the Monsanto Law in Guatemala." (Theory in Action, 2014), 49.

²⁰Lea, 45.

²¹Klepek, 311.

corporate control of agriculture faces many obstacles.²² A paramount obstacle is the Central American Free Trade Agreement's (CAFTA) policy of supporting the patenting of seeds and the commercialization of biotechnology, increasing the adversity faced by Guatemala in resisting the enforcement of similar policies at a national level.²³ Another obstacle relates to the international commercial importance of maize. As one of the four plants to which GMO technology has been most applied and commercialized,²⁴ maize's commercial importance creates intense corporate desire and pressure to alter national policies to mirror those endorsed by CAFTA. Action by foreign actors, both governmental and corporate, presents another prominent category of obstacles. The US Department of Agriculture's Foreign Agricultural Service (USDA-FAS) and the Technical Commission have vigorously supported the commercialization of transgenic maize.²⁵ Notably, these influential positions have been established in official discussion from which "oppositional indigenous, peasant and environmental organizations have been systematically excluded".²⁶ Furthermore, in 2008 the notorious biotechnology company Monsanto acquired Latin America's largest maize seed company, Semillas Cristiani-Burkard, strengthening their position for the commercialization of maize.²⁷ The combined and often parallel desires and influence of corporations and governments, both Guatemalan and foreign, contributed to dynamics of the seed patenting conflict, strengthening the opposition faced by Guatemalan resisters of its legalization.

As a result of this intense and multifaceted conflict of interests, Guatemala portrays a long history of resistance to agricultural technology and corporate control, which run parallel to diverse forms of resistance that have characterized the dynamics between the Guatemalan state, civilians and foreign actors. Monumental factors of this formation were the 36-year civil war and the intense civil protests that characterized the war's period in the early 80's as well as 1996 Peace Accords that brought the country from conflict to a state of structurally violent negative peace that continues to the present. These accords were characterized by "coalition building among civil society organizations" and the "lower profile coordination" that they produced.²⁸ While the international funding that strengthened these connections has decreased with time, the legacy of these coalitions gave voice and power to civilian groups through their history and interconnection.²⁹ Ultimately, popular organization and resistance within Guatemala continue a legacy of action against injustice and corporate/governmental oppression and of civilian

²²Klepek, 310.

²³Grandia, 66.

²⁴Haugen, Bøhn, 3.

²⁵Klepek, 311.

²⁶Klepek, 311.

²⁷Klepek, 310.

²⁸Grandia, 59.

²⁹Grandia, 66-67.

organization, which would eventually enable the popular resistance of IPR-GMO legalization.

Tensions between the civilian and corporate interests linked to Guatemalan seed patenting culminated in 2014 with a decree to legalize seed patenting and the civilian activism that responded with powerful resistance and coordination. Officially promoted and passed as Decree #19-2014, the decree was popularly referred to as the “Monsanto Law” due to the corporation’s interest in and promotion of the commercial benefits it would affect.³⁰ This corporate promotion took several forms. For one, Semillas Cristiani-Burkhard, recently acquired by Monsanto, threatened to move their headquarters from Guatemala to Honduras if the Government did not pass the law. Furthermore, the USDA-FAS and Trade commission propagated their stance on commercialization of transgenic maize by openly supporting Monsanto’s vested interest in the law. Guatemalan governmental handling of the law’s passing also revealed preferential manipulation. Congress’s vote was strategically scheduled for June 13, when the media would inevitably be heavily focused on the World Cup. On this date, the law was discreetly passed by a vote with 81 in favour, outvoting the opposition by just one vote, and was set to commence on September 26 of the same year.³¹ The process of passing this law did not fulfill its duty to consult indigenous groups, a failure that violated the rules of the International Labour Organization, ultimately propagating the zero-sum hierarchy of the elite by oppression of the country’s subjugated majority.³² At this time, the law made no statement on what species would be affected, a lack of clarity that would fuel the discontent of Guatemalans. It was however known that within ten years, the Monsanto Laws affect would reach all GM strains.³³ With governmental, corporate and multinational trade agreement powers acting in favour of corporate interests, the food security and sovereignty needs of the Guatemalan population were severely threatened by the potential implementation of the Monsanto Laws.

In reaction to the cultural, economic, food security and other threats posed by the passing of the Monsanto Law, the three-month period until its planned commencement was filled with powerful and diverse resistance enacted strategically and sophisticatedly by the Guatemalan people, resulting in the abolition of the Monsanto law and continuation of Guatemala’s forbiddance of the patenting of crops. A monumental open letter was written on August 8 denouncing the shame and compromise exhibited by Congress’s passing of the law. The resistance gained momentum and was given necessary strength by the coalition of diversely

³⁰Liza Grandia, 65. All information in this paragraph informing on the passing of Decree #19-2014 was collected from Liza Grandia unless otherwise cited.

³¹Lea, 59.

³²Lea, 59.

³³Grandia, 65.

motivated groups.³⁴ The unification of these groups, despite the plurality of their motives or philosophies gave the movement the force, both of voice and of bodies necessary to fight such corporate and governmental force, continuing the legacy and power of civil society coalitions. Demonstrators used the obstruction of major highways to derail the economic systems of the country, a significant example of which was a massive group of approximately 120,000 protestors interrupting the Pan America Highway west of Guatemala City.³⁵ Governmental obstruction was also used. Physical obstructions interrupted urban areas, in one incidence blockading congress and utilizing humour and humiliation strategies by throwing tomatoes at senators.³⁶ The government was also technologically inhibited by the Guatemalan branch of the famous hacking group Anonymous, which influentially shut down several government sites.³⁷ The voices of Q'eqchi' indigenous mayors, many travelling from the agriculturally and culturally important western highland to urban areas, brought authority and unification to the movement.³⁸ The influence of all these movements relied heavily upon consistent media coverage, a tool that countered the state's usual repression and abuse of "indigenous, rural, and other marginalized people"³⁹ and their voices. The culmination of popular dissent and demonstration resulted in the abolition of the Monsanto law on September 5, 2014.⁴⁰ With astonishing resilience, organization, and strategy, and rooted in their cultural knowledge and rights to food security and sovereignty, the Guatemalan population defended these rights against the governmentally-backed corporate interest in oppression.

The civilian-powered abolition of the Monsanto Law reveals the possible force of a resilient, resistant population against transnational and governmental legal efforts. This resistance is achievable when bolstered by effective coordination and diversity of strategies to both debilitate the flows of the country and discredit the reputations and influence of politicians and corporations. As the Guatemalan case reveals, the evolving international dynamics of seed patenting are laden with complex, multifaceted consequences to food security and sovereignty, as identified at the civilian level as well as by parties such as the UN who seek to protect these rights. The potential effects of this legalization reveal the contrast between political-corporate interest in agricultural dominance – as revealed the partial policies of the

³⁴Grandia, 60.

³⁵Grandia, 57.

³⁶Lea, 63.

³⁷Grandia, 57.

³⁸Grandia, 57.

³⁹Grandia, 60.

⁴⁰Lea, 64.

USDA-FAS, CAFTA and Guatemalan government – and civilian organizations interested in protecting food security and sovereignty and related cultural and socioeconomic concerns. The culmination of this conflict in Guatemala mirrors an international conflict between the corporate interest in agricultural monopolization and the human right to food security and sovereignty, a dynamic that reveals the broadness of the importance of the Guatemalan population's resistance as a chapter of this international fight. Ultimately, the case of Guatemalan resistance of GM patenting and commercialization reveals both the sophisticated unification and coordination necessary for this form of resistance and the power of civilian organizations in protecting their communities and livelihoods.

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WEAPONIZED WOMANHOOD: HOW GERMAN WOMEN WERE COMPLICIT IN THEIR DEPRIVATION OF AGENCY

BRIANNA ALMOND

In this essay, the topic of gender roles in Germany between the Weimar Republic and the Nazi regime is analyzed closely. Though women made major strides in establishing their rights to individual liberty following World War I, the onset of the Nazi era in Germany led to a precipitous drop in their involvement in wider society. The evidence for this includes an analysis of the guidelines of popular women's clubs, university and government policies, as well as individual examples. What is remarkable about this event is that this was not done to women by men alone-- women across political boundaries worked together to architect their removal from public view.

In Nazi era Germany, women were accessory to the deprivation of their own individual rights by the state. This was due to a complex blend of eugenic ideology and desire for sexual and economic freedoms that were being demanded by women at the time.¹ It pervaded all levels of society; women, including Jewish women and women from all political spheres, utilized eugenic thinking to promote ideas of who 'should' be breeding.² Upon the ascension of the Nazi party, instead of fighting back against the extremely misogynist ideals promoted by party ideology, women's rights groups simply disbanded.³ This led to many women joining the rising wave of Nazi racial purity theory, which was greatly supported by the foundation of

¹Ann Taylor Allen. "Feminism and Eugenics in Germany and Britain, 1900-1940: A Comparative Perspective." *German Studies Review* 23, no. 3 (2000): 479-478. Weinstein, Valeric. "Working Weimar Women into the National Socialist Community: Carl Froelich's Women's Labor Service Film, *Ich Für Dich—Du Für Mich* (1934), and *Mädchen in Uniform* (1931)." *Women in German Yearbook* 25 (2009): 29-30.

²Allen, 484-490. Prue Chamberlayne. "The Mothers' Manifesto and Disputes over 'Mütterlichkeit.'" *Feminist Review*, no. 35 (1990): 17-18.

³Allen, 493.

eugenic schools of thought and mother's rights that German feminists had fought hard to have recognized.⁴ In the National Socialist era, women were complicit in how they were funneled by the government into jobs traditionally considered 'women's work,' despite the popularity of feminist thought in the Weimar era. They bought in to the propaganda fed to them by the government and did not seek to affect great change despite intrusion into their rights over their bodies and personal lives.⁵ This meant that women were used as a tool to spread Nazi ideology throughout the country via their direction into social, public facing sectors of the workforce.

In the Weimar era, there was political division over the role of women in the work force and at home.⁶ Women left the role of housewife to join the legions of German workers, which led to a precipitous drop in birth rates as their priorities shifted.⁷ Women were more interested in starting careers and lives in the public sphere instead of the domestic sphere.⁸ There was a trend towards women being interested in and socially encouraged to be more cosmopolitan and interested in education. This was horrifying to German policy makers due to a national 'pronatal' ideal.⁹ They desired more German children due to their need for more people to fulfill a national vision embedded during the era of the German empire: the more Aryan people, the better served the country would be.¹⁰ As a result, German feminists and women's advocacy groups grappled with this ideal and utilized it in their rhetoric to justify their desires. Women's advocacy groups such as the *Bund für Mutterschutz* (BfM) and *Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine* (BDF) argued that the uplifting of mothers as the spiritual heart of Germany was essential, and the BfM especially argued that eugenic policies against 'inferior' births needed to be in place.¹¹ 'Unwanted' and 'damaged' children needed to be avoided in order to preserve the 'purity' of the German people.¹² For them, the intended result of such arguments was that the sexual freedom of women meant they would have access to birth control and could choose when they could become mothers.¹³ They took advantage of the inability of marginalized women to speak for themselves and repudiate claims that they needed to be stopped from having children.¹⁴

⁴Allen, 490-494.

⁵Allen, 494.

⁶Chamberlayne, 17-18.

⁷Chamberlayne, 17-18.

⁸Chamberlayne, 17-18; Charu Gupta. "Politics of Gender: Women in Nazi Germany." *Economic and Political Weekly* 26, no. 17 (1991): 42-43.

⁹Allen, 488.

¹⁰Allen, 488.

¹¹Allen, 484-490; Gupta, 17.

¹²Allen, 485-490.

¹³Allen, 485; Gupta, 40-41.

¹⁴Gupta, 46.

The Nazi party had very specific ideas about a woman's place in the world, with Hitler bluntly saying that they were in charge of the household and men were in charge of the public sector.¹⁵ Though many feminist groups in Germany were wary of Nazi ideals and disagreed with their desire to force women out of the workplace, they did not go so far as to protest loudly against them, even before the Nazis were in power.¹⁶ Instead, they simply disbanded their groups rather than toe the Nazi party line that was dictated to them.¹⁷ In order to increase the birth rate and relegate women to the purely domestic sphere, the Nazi regime pushed for women to do their duty to the country by procreating and 'protecting' the home. Ironically the work that both mainstream and radical feminist groups had done to promote the ideal of the mother as a saintly figure only gave legitimacy to the Nazi rhetoric.¹⁸ By disbanding they also left numerous women jobless, and their only equivalent options were Nazi sponsored groups. Thus, women were driven straight into the arms of the Nazis and were vulnerable to their ideals. As well, the advances in the workplace that women had achieved in the Interwar Period were becoming stale; with the return of the men, women were relegated to the most menial and laborious jobs in the industrial and service industries.¹⁹ This was compounded with fears brought on by the Depression that women were 'taking' jobs away from hardworking men.²⁰ This social and economic climate made it easier for Nazi policy makers to convince women to give up working and return to homemaking.

The intensity of the propaganda was unevenly applied depending on one's social status.²¹ Abortion laws were deeply invasive at the time; in 1933 the Nazi party instituted strong laws limiting access to contraceptives and stopped access to abortions entirely unless permitted by the state, in order to increase birth rates.²² In contrast, women who were on the fringes of society were discouraged from procreating and saw the nastier face of the government.²³ "Undesirable" women were sterilized in mass numbers in accordance with the values of eugenics and a 'healthier Aryan race.'²⁴ The eugenics policies of government lead sterilization deemed that it was acceptable for force to be used to achieve its goals because the

¹⁵Chamberlayne, 19.

¹⁶Allen, 493.

¹⁷Allen, 493.

¹⁸Chamberlayne, 19.

¹⁹Mouton, Michelle. "From Adventure and Advancement to Derailment and Demotion: Effects of Nazi Gender Policy on Women's Careers and Lives." *Journal of Social History* 43, no. 4 (2010): 945-946.

²⁰Patmore, Greg. "Germany." In *Worker Voice: Employee Representation in the Workplace in Australia, Canada, Germany, the UK and the US 1914-1939*, 164. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016.

²¹Chamberlayne, 20; Gupta, 40.

²²Gupta, 40-41.

²³Gupta, 40-41.

²⁴Gupta, 40-41.

victims were a danger to the German people.²⁵ This was ostensibly to prevent the birth of defective children, but statistical evidence shows how unevenly the policy was truly applied, a fact that was well known at the time.²⁶ Jewish women, Romani women, and women of ‘socially inferior class’ were all targeted directly, thus they were the ones who protested their treatment. This only caused ethnically white women to double down on their convictions that eugenics were necessary because women’s liberation movements were further associated with ‘otherness’ due to their advocates.²⁷ This was due to racist and classist thinking on the part of policy-makers. The protests by marginalized groups had the effect of bolstering Nazi plans because of a desire to reject anything associated with the Jewish people and other ‘undesirables.’

Under the National Socialist government, the ideal German woman was sympathetic and emotional, but she was not the same as the Victorian ideal of a frail, delicate lady.²⁸ A German woman was supposed to be strong, athletic, and willing to do anything to support her country and the future of her race.²⁹ Above all else, she was required to produce as many offspring as possible, and nothing should stand in her way.³⁰ Their policies encouraged women to work, though in specific fields that reinforced the gender stereotypes that the government was promoting. These included fields such as nursing, teaching children, cooking, and other ‘soft’ roles.³¹ The National Socialist party justified their demand for women to enter the workforce in these positions by saying that it was for the common good, and that women were better suited to perform these roles.³² To ensure they had no choice but to pursue these positions, new acceptance standards for universities were put into place.³³ Starting in secondary school, girls were funneled into courses that focused on skills related to domestic service. They were deliberately denied math and English courses in order to stop them from developing interests in those fields.³⁴ This resulted in them not being able to qualify for most universities that would have allowed them to study to join professions that were too ‘mannish’ for them, such as doctors, lawyers, and engineers. Women abruptly stopped enrolling in post-secondary education, with university rates dropping precipitously from a high of 91% in 1923 to 5.6% in 1934. Girls and women who had started the qualification process before the new laws came into effect found that they were not

²⁵Allen, 484-496.

²⁶Gupta, 40-41.

²⁷Gupta, 40.

²⁸Mouton, 950.

²⁹Gupta, 42.

³⁰Jane Caplan. "The Administration of Gender Identity in Nazi Germany." *History Workshop Journal*, no. 72 (2011): 171-80.

³¹Gupta, 40; Mouton, 947-948.

³²Mouton, 947-948.

³³Mouton, 947-950.

³⁴Mouton, 948-950.

hired and were relegated to finding jobs that were considered more gender-appropriate until they married and left the workforce. For many women, this effectively guided them out of the workforce entirely, as there was a drop in employed women in Germany after the laws were put in place.

In addition, there were financial penalties for families with ‘double earners’ and rewards for married couples if the women were not working.³⁵ Penalties must be considered in the financial climate of the time: due to the recession, money was tight for most families, regardless of social status. For working men, penalties included excess taxes, and doctors with wives that worked were not allowed to claim money back for seeing patients with insurance.³⁶ Women could be fired without cause if they were from a family of ‘double earners’ and they now no longer had any advocates to speak for them regarding the improvement of pay, hours, and working conditions.³⁷ Rewards took the form of loans that were available to married couples if the wife wasn’t working and free access to certain tests required of doctors to remain certified.³⁸ With such two pronged tactics, social conformity was assured.

Another policy the National Socialist Party enacted in order to control women and direct their life choices was to shut down church youth groups and demand national women’s organizations follow strict standards that promoted Nazi ideals.³⁹ The BDF, the biggest women’s organization at the time, folded.⁴⁰ This left the Nazi party with a monopoly on women’s groups, which meant that they could dictate what women were being taught and what was being promoted as important values. A call went out to German women to ask them to join the Nazi sponsored groups: the National Socialist Women’s Organization (NSF) and the Reich Mothers Program.⁴¹ To compound matters, in order to be allowed to join post-secondary institutions, one was required to have actively participated in the national German girls youth group, the League of German Girls (BMD) or the Reich Work Services (RAD).⁴² As a result, women were left with no other choice than to join the government sponsored youth groups that took the place of the former church youth groups and community groups, which led to a greater influence on the part of the government at a more susceptible age.⁴³ These youth groups encouraged specific sets of behaviours and career directions. Girls participated in athletic activities to encourage physical fitness, as well as volunteer activities to help the poor and assist

³⁵Mouton, 950.

³⁶Mouton, 950.

³⁷Mouton, 950.

³⁸Mouton, 950.

³⁹Chamberlayne, 19-20; Allen., 493-494.

⁴⁰Chamberlayne, 19-20.

⁴¹Mouton, 948.

⁴²Mouton, 948.

⁴³Mouton, 948-950.

soldiers, such as singing for them while they were in the hospital.⁴⁴ They were also encouraged to move away from any communities that might entice them to question the government, such as religious communities that might divide loyalty between the leaders of the church and the state.⁴⁵ It was carefully orchestrated propaganda that kept women complacent from a young age and created general feelings of warmth towards the government. It discouraged women from questioning the state laws that sought to control their bodies. Thus, girls were trained from a young age to be obedient to the desires of their politicians.

Women were encouraged to work in specific settings that were considered appropriate for their gender, such as social work, teaching, and nursing. They felt grateful to the government for creating new job opportunities for them: the Nazi party utilized the BDM to create job openings for women that had been left empty by the Christian groups and the BDF after their dismissal and dissolution, respectively.⁴⁶ There were a myriad of new job openings in social wellness fields. The BDM offered the chance for women to open health clinics and daycares, as well as advice clinics that taught domestic skills and gave parenting tips.⁴⁷ This was due to the fact that they were helping people who were considered racially appropriate by society and thus they were largely rewarded for their work by the state.⁴⁸ The desire to help the individuals the women were dealing with specifically superseded their ability to acknowledge other, less savoury, policies of the government. As the war effort mounted and the Nazi party recognized that they would need women's help in factories, they justified this using their ideology as well. They claimed that women were actually very well suited to repetitive assembly line work because it meant they did not have to take their minds off of their families at home.⁴⁹ This had the effect of reinforcing that working women should still put their family above all else. Serving the state was just another way to support her family. The political spin on the policies made women feel as if their choices were voluntary and they were happy to contribute to their governments' cause.

The feminist rhetoric that the Weimar women had set up had the unintended side effect of bolstering Nazi ideas about eugenics and racial purity. Their goal of continuing the emancipating women and creating greater equality between the sexes was foiled by the Great Depression, as their insistence on representation in the workplace only made men and non-working women resent them for supposedly making it harder for men to find jobs.⁵⁰ The feminist movement became a symbol

⁴⁴Mouton, 946.

⁴⁵Mouton, 948.

⁴⁶Gupta, 42.

⁴⁷Mouton, 949.

⁴⁸Mouton, 949- 950.

⁴⁹Mouton, 950-952.

⁵⁰Gupta, 40-41.

that made the Nazi regime stronger by its demonizing of the women in the group and highlighting of the fact that racial inferior women were part of it.⁵¹ German women fell into a trap of their own making. Women worked depending on what field they wanted to go into, and they were foiled if they tried to make career plans outside of what the state wanted for them.⁵² This was so extensive that most women did not realize it was happening to them on a personal level. This was likely due to a desire to assert agency over their lives and to the idea that the government would not be able to so effectively meddle with them as individuals.⁵³ Instead of complaining women frequently chose careers that fit with Nazi ideology and happily left the workforce when it was demanded of them.⁵⁴ Thus, they perpetuated their own suffering and played into the hands of the Nazi party

⁵¹Gupta, 40.

⁵² Mouton, 948.

⁵³ Mouton, 945-950.

⁵⁴ Mouton, 948-950.

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KINDER, KIRCHE, KUECHE: WOMEN IN NAZI GERMANY

CAMILLE GARVEY

The government of Nazi Germany's ideology for the place of women promoted a return to 'traditional' roles such as marriage, motherhood and family. However, the policies they put in place tell a different story. Although they led women to believe that their main role was to increase the birth rate of the country, the government was performing forced abortions and sterilizations. Women were meant to aspire to marriage, yet the government created 'Breeding' camps where women would be impregnated by officers they did not know, for the good of the country. Despite wanting a return to the sacred family life, children were asked to report on the discussions their parents had and remain loyal to the state above all else. This essay will discuss the contradictions between the ideology of the Nazi government and their policies in regard to the role of women.

Living under the Nazi regime in World War II Germany, women struggled with their identity. Government-mandated livelihoods in direct opposition to Nazi beliefs and the idealization of the female role in society and family matters became a point of contention. This meant that although women were encouraged to increase the birth rate, the Nazi government was using sterilization and abortion procedures on particular groups of women giving birth. Alternatively, women were deemed responsible to bring back the "traditional" and sacred family values, at a time when the government encouraged children to report their parents for potential subversion. The Nazi Government even went as far as to set up "breeding" camps, in addition to maintaining that women should be domesticated, yet requiring them to work in factories. This essay will discuss the contradictions between the ideology of the Nazi government and their policies regarding the role of women.

Women's primary role in the Nazi regime was to be mothers. They were seen as either the 'Mothers of the Race' who were of pure Aryan stock or 'Inferior Women' who were to be discouraged and prevented from procreating. The ideal Aryan woman was German by appearance, behaviour and mannerisms. She was to be athletic, strong and healthy; qualities which not only ensured she could bear

children but that she could also be put to work for the Reich.¹ Women were expected, in times of war and peace, to be physically capable of replacing their husbands and doing their duty for their country (which could mean working in factories, working on farms or in other traditionally male-dominated labour roles), while also keeping their children fed and their house clean.² Women who fit these criteria and had no history of any sort of physical illness or mental disorder were encouraged in many ways to procreate.

First, the government ensured that married couples who had children were economically compensated. If a wife had been working and gave up her job when she married, the husband was entitled to a 'Marriage Loan.' This would mean that the wife was able to continue to get pregnant and stay home without worrying about finances. The loan was introduced in 1933, had very low interest rates and if one had four children, their debt was cleared.³ There were also inheritance and income tax rebates for families. In 1934 a tax on the childless was added to help fund these loans.⁴ In many ways, the Nazi government encouraged women to live their lives in service to the Reich's needs.

Secondly, the Nazi government closed all birth control clinics and banned contraceptives. By making these inaccessible, the number of women who became pregnant increased. The Nazi government also raised the penalties for abortion, which in 1927 had been reduced.⁵ As Dr Charu Gupta, Professor of History at the University of Delhi, states, "From 1935 on, doctors and midwives were obliged to notify the regional state health office of all miscarriages. Women's names and addresses were then handed over to the police, who investigated the cases suspected of being actually abortions."⁶ These measures were taken to increase the potential amount of service the Reich would receive once these babies came of working age.

Thirdly, propaganda and party slogans were used to encourage these women to procreate. Pamphlets glorifying the role of mothers were distributed, Mother's Day became a nation-wide celebration and prolific mothers were given the 'Honour Cross' as recognition for doing their duty to their country.⁷ The Honour Cross was

¹Leila J. Rupp. "Mother of the "Volk": The Image of Women in Nazi Ideology." *Signs* 3, no. 2 (1977): 362-79.

²George Duby, Michelle Perrot, and Pauline Schmitt. Pantel. *A History of Women in the West*. Vol. 5. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1994, 162.

³Duby, Perrott and Schmitt, "A History of Women in the West," 165.

⁴Duby, Perrott and Schmitt, 165.

⁵George Duby, Michelle Perrot, and Pauline Schmitt. Pantel. *A History of Women in the West*. Vol. 5. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1994, 162.

⁶Charu Gupta. "Politics of Gender: Women in Nazi Germany." *Economic and Political Weekly* 26, no. 17 (1991): WS40-S48.

⁷Rupp, Leila J. "Mother of the "Volk,"" 370-371.

given to the women who had gone above and beyond their role as mothers and received a high level of respect from the German people.

Many women however were considered 'inferior.' They were of different races; Gypsies, Jews, Blacks, Roma or anyone who was visibly different or from lower classes; prostitutes, servants and unskilled workers, were excluded as well as any woman who had any sort of mental or emotional 'defect' (this could be depression, schizophrenia, epilepsy or any sort of proven or alleged "feeble mindedness.")⁸ This meant that a large portion of the female population had to be stopped from procreating.

To ensure this, the Nazi government used propaganda, with a focus on the philosophical concept of Anti-natalism.⁹ This was a concrete way for the Nazi party to further their socio-political ideologies on the German people. They also used education. In school textbooks for the girls, there were twelve pages on the possibility of "having to sterilize one's child" and the prohibitions of race interaction as opposed to the three pages on the "Glory of Motherhood."¹⁰ This shows how the Nazi government prioritized the 'Master Race' over the role of women as mothers.

In 1933, the Nazi government mandated eugenic sterilization to include all women who were deemed 'inferior.' A new medical department within the government was created to find such women and use force if necessary to ensure they were sterilized.¹¹ In 1935, when the government mandated abortion as a severe crime, punishable by death, they did so with the exception that doctors were able to perform abortions for eugenic reasons. This meant that if an 'inferior' woman became pregnant, it was the doctor's duty to ensure that the baby was aborted and the woman subsequently sterilized.¹² Abortion became a tool for the government to prevent the birth of these children who would not fit into the new Aryan Race.

In 1939, the Nazi government took their plan a step further when they introduced the idea of the "Annihilation of Unworthy Life."¹³ Euthanasia was used as a tool to dispose of those who were not a part of the 'Aryan' race. This begun mainly in asylums and hospitals with patients (both male and female) who were seen as being incurable, but would escalate as a way to rid the nation of entire ethnicities; principally but not exclusively, the Jews.¹⁴

⁸Duby, Perrott and Schmitt, 152.

⁹Duby, Perrott and Schmitt, 169.

¹⁰Duby, Perrott and Schmitt, 155.

¹¹Duby, Perrott and Schmitt, 152.

¹²Duby, Perrott and Schmitt, 165.

¹³Duby, Perrott and Schmitt, 155.

¹⁴Duby, Perrott and Schmitt, 155.

Another priority for the Nazi regime was to bring back traditional family values and ensure that the family was a sacred unit with marriage at its heart; however, they also encouraged prostitution, encouraged children to report on their parents and set up 'breeding camps.' During the late 1930s, as Nazi power stabilized and they no longer needed the support of the Catholic Church, reforms were put in place to ensure that regulated brothels were re-introduced.¹⁵ The reasons for this were two-fold, firstly the police and specifically Heinrich Himmler, the commanding officer of the Schutzstaffel (SS), believed this was the best way to control the criminal network of prostitution. Secondly, with the Second World War being planned, the Nazis saw this as an opportunity to ensure that morale was high for the troops, while ensuring that venereal diseases were not being spread.¹⁶ With the brothels under their control, they could ensure that the prostitutes were tested for diseases, were not part of the 'undesirable' races and, as Dr Annette Timm explains, "valuable men were sexually satisfied."¹⁷ By allowing the men in the military to have extramarital affairs with prostitutes, they believed they were giving men a sexual outlet so they could focus on the challenges at hand while out on the field. However, this clearly went against the propaganda of the 'German family' and how important marriage was to the Nazi government. Himmler ensured this was used to the government's advantage by also creating the "Lebensborn" scheme. Created in 1935, this was designed to give financial support to families that had racially pure children and to encourage men and women who were of pure Aryan stock to help repopulate Germany.¹⁸ Himmler recognized an opportunity and decided to test this idea by using the SS men to impregnate women who had passed a series of physical and mental health examinations, background checks and were proven to be "pure" Aryan women.¹⁹ The scheme also ensured that the pregnant (often unwed) women received high end prenatal treatment and that when the babies were born, they were closely followed by doctors to ensure that they had the best chance of survival.²⁰ By being given the best care in the first few years of their lives, the government hoped that these children would grow to be healthy and strong fighters and breeders for the Reich.

By encouraging the Lebensborn scheme, the Nazis were encouraging men to have extramarital affairs to increase the birth rate, and to further the purification of the Aryan race. They were actively encouraging women who were unwed to use their wombs for the benefit of the race and country, while continuing to promote the idea

¹⁵Julia Roos. "Backlash against Prostitutes' Rights: Origins and Dynamics of Nazi Prostitution Policies." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, no. 1/2 (2002): 86.

¹⁶Roos, "Backlash against Prostitutes' Rights," 87.

¹⁷Annette Timm. "Sex with a Purpose: Prostitution, Venereal Disease, and Militarized Masculinity in the Third Reich." *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, (2002): 226.

¹⁸Larry Thompson. "Lebensborn and the Eugenics Policy of the Reichsführer-SS." *Central European History* 4, no. 1 (1971): 54. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.langara.bc.ca/stable/4545592>.

¹⁹Thompson, "Lebensborn and the Eugenics Policy of the Reichsführer-SS," 60.

²⁰Thompson, 61.

of the importance of marriage and family. In addition, there was a rise in teenage pregnancy during this time, previously these situations were considered shameful, but now the young girls and boys boasted about this as they were doing their duty to the country by breeding babies as soon as they could.²¹ These conflicting ideas both had the same goal, to repopulate Germany with pure Aryan babies.

Despite the traditional ideology of a loving and close-knit family, the Nazi government was constantly encouraging children to report on their parents. They were indoctrinated from a very young age through the public education system as well as through various extracurricular groups such as the Hitler Youth and the League of German Girls.²² Children were led to believe that they could trust their government more than their parents. They were encouraged to report on their parents and were often asked to write essays on what they overheard their parents speaking about at home, and their political opinions.²³ Author and researcher Paul Roland states, “Far from preserving the traditional German family as it had promised to do, the regime was actively isolating the children from parental influence and working on each family member to ensure that their loyalty was primarily to the party.”²⁴ Distrust among family members grew as the relationship between child and country became more important than the relationship between child and parent.

The role of mother was a top priority for the ideal Aryan woman. However, domestic chores were also her responsibility as the archetypal German wives kept good homes. Due to economic hardship and wartime, women were called to do their duty to the state and participate in the war effort, which often got in the way of their domestic chores. Women were expected to work not only during war time but also as a service to the country when the country needed economic support. However, they were paid a third less than their male colleagues, excluding the price of transport to and from the factories, as well as any food the company provided.²⁵ In 1933 there were 11.5 million officially registered female employees, and by 1939, this had gone up to 12.8 million, a huge increase even before female conscription was introduced in January 1943.²⁶ During the war, a large portion of women worked in munitions factories where their shifts could be between 12-14 hours, which would mean that all the shops would be closed and their children would likely be in bed when they returned.²⁷ Although the fact that they were employed falls into line with some aspects of the Ideal Aryan woman (mainly that

²¹Paul Roland. *Life in the Third Reich: Daily Life in Nazi Germany 1933-1945*. London: Arcturus, 2018, 60.

²²Paul Roland, “Life in the Third Reich,” 42.

²³Paul Roland, 54.

²⁴Paul Roland, 53-54.

²⁵Paul Roland, 35-36.

²⁶Duby, Perrott and Schmitt, 158.

²⁷Paul Roland, 36.

she should be fit and athletic and able to do her part for her country) it directly contrasts the push on domesticity and the role of women primarily as mothers. Women viewed themselves not only as mothers, but as active members of the state who had something to give other than their womb. Children and young adults had to fend for themselves or be put into the care of youth groups. These had the main goal for the boys of being trained for the military, and for the girls the three Ks, "*Kinder, Kirche, Kueche*" (Children, church and kitchen).²⁸ So although the girls were being taught that their main responsibilities lay in their children, the church and the kitchen, they were seeing their mothers working traditionally male dominated jobs.

In conclusion, it is clear that despite the Nazi ideology of women as married mothers who stayed home, the Nazi government were contradicting themselves by creating policies that directly opposed this idealized view. They encouraged women to procreate and give birth to as many babies as possible, however this only applied to some women; the women deemed 'pure' by the government, while the other women were suffering forced abortions and sterilization due to their ethnicities or illnesses. The Nazi government was simultaneously holding up marriage and family as sacred entities; yet dividing the family by encouraging extramarital affairs, children to report on their parents and by bringing back regulated brothels. Finally, they were teaching girls that their place was in the home, yet under the Nazi regime, there was an increase in the overall numbers of female employees and even conscription for the war effort. Although the Nazis' view of women is often simplified, it is demonstrated that beneath the surface, they had a vision of a pure German race and they were willing to make ideological sacrifices in order to obtain it, particularly regarding their female citizens.

²⁸ Stephen Pagaard, "Teaching the Nazi Dictatorship: Focus on Youth." *The History Teacher* 38, no. 2 (2005): 196.

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