THE OPEN REVIEW

THE COLLABORATION ISSUE

THE
OPEN
REVIEW

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A big thank you to...

EDITORS

Emily Clifford / Eleanor Wolff / Abbie Ball / Mollie Gascoigne / Nicole Russell Pascual / Sarah Hendry / Sylvia Hayes / Benji Woolf / Will King

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COVER ART

Catherine Cartwright, visual artist and PhD researcher.

University of Exeter (Human Geography), University of West of England (Centre for Fine Print Research). Funded by AHRC SWW Doctoral Training Partnership.

Creativity and collaboration are central to Catherine's research, both in the questions she seeks to answer and in the methodology. Her PhD is about participatory art and its relationship with trauma, approaching the topic within the emerging subfield of geographies of trauma. Trauma is commonplace and exists in people's lives through past and recent experience and through structures of bias and discrimination. Its painful manifestations affect people's emotions and behaviour. Participatory artists work with people where collaborative art-making is the focus. Her research investigates how participatory artists can best work with people who are affected by trauma, in a positive and creative environment. Catherine will be running a participatory art project with Devon Rape Crisis and Sexual Abuse Services, as well as undertaking interviews with participatory artists. The art project will happen over a 10-12 month period where she will work one to one with individual service users creating artist-book-portraits. Through these methods she hopes to understand how people, space and place collaborate in trauma-informed arts practice.

Catherine has been running art projects with vulnerable groups and, in particular, women affected by abuse, over the past 10 years, in addition to undertaking commissions and exhibiting. Recent commissions include the National Memorial Arboretum (2018) for their Armistice commemorations and the University of Exeter (2019) #Urgency commission on facial recognition technologies. Exhibitions include, New York's International Print Center (New Prints 2018) and Bury Art Museum (Prints: A Catalyst for Change 2019).

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Welcome to The Open Review

LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

At the start of 2020, the TOR editorial committee met in person, filled with optimism at the prospect of having a collaborative theme to the journal - not realising this would be the only time we would see each other face-to-face all year. 2020 has been a year that has truly brought new meaning to the theme for this year's journal: collaboration. As researchers, we collaborate to improve our research, we collaborate for our well-being and we collaborate to open our eyes to new ideas. While collaboration was the theme for the journal, it became more of a challenge for the editorial team when the pandemic struck. Despite the challenges of not having all editors fully acquainted in person, we set to work organising the job at hand.

As a result, collaboration this year took on a very practical nature. The members of the editorial team are based at multiple different universities and we were all working remotely. Collaboration happened across borders from our authors and peer-reviewers and across mediums for the submissions to the journals, from our fantastic contributions to the wonderful visual art presented on the front cover. Finding 'hope' and 'certainty' are central themes within Catherine's artwork and these themes have been brought out through the collaborative work at the heart of creating this journal. This year has been very challenging and collaboration has undoubtedly helped keep those feelings of hope and certainty alive. It is perhaps through this necessity that the collaborative process worked so well for us, resulting in a final product that we are all very proud of.

The Open Review is a journal that is focused on providing a constructive, friendly but also rigorous environment for students to gain important experience in publishing and peer-reviewing. It is a student-led, open-access, peer-reviewed social sciences journal run through the South West Doctoral Training Partnership and this is the sixth edition of our annual journal. We would like to extend a huge thank you to our contributors, our peer-reviewers and the team at the SWDTP for all of their hard work and support that has resulted in such a fantastic journal.

We hope you enjoy reading this year's edition of TOR!

Emily, Eleanor, Abbie, Mollie, Nicole,
Sarah, Sylvia, Benji, and Will

MEET THE TEAM

Get to know our editors...

Emily Clifford is a second year Security, Conflict, and Human Rights PhD student at the University of Exeter. Her research explores the connections between sex trafficking and militarisation in the Sahelian conflict.

Eleanor Wolff is a second year Politics PhD student at the University of Bristol. Her research explores the international legal system's response to climate change from the perspective of climate justice.

Abbie Ball is a third year Psychology PhD student at the University of Plymouth. Her research looks at memory and learning strategies when faced with novel information, especially when people stop learning to maximise their performance.

Mollie Gascoigne is a second year PhD student at Exeter Law School. Her PhD research – the Gender Recognition & Reform project – is an empirical, mixed methods study into the Gender Recognition Act 2004 and possible options for reform.

Nicole Russell Pascual is a first year PhD student in Social and Organisational Psychology at the University of Exeter. Her PhD research investigates the way gendered diversity approaches affect women's chances of success within STEM organisations.

Sarah Hendry is a third year PhD student in Psychology at the University of Plymouth. Her PhD investigates the proposed mechanisms of the testing effect, which has applications for education in understanding how we best learn new information through testing.

Sylvia Hayes is a first year PhD student at the University of Exeter. Her research investigates the impact of institutional norms and pressures on media representations of climate change.

Benji Woolf is a PhD student in genetic epidemiology at the University of Bristol. His PhD is focusing on developing causal inference methods for observational data, focusing on Mendelian Randomisation and Genome Wide Association Studies.

Will King has just finished his MAbyRes in Politics at the University of Exeter. His research investigated political mobilisation and engagement of young voters from 2010 to 2017 in the UK, particularly on social media and non-traditional mobilisation platforms.

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COLLABORATION: EXPLORING THE PGR SUPERPOWER FOR ADDRESSING INEQUALITIES WITHIN ACADEMIA

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Abstract

Inequalities within academia are rampant. Sexism, racism, classism and discrimination impose huge barriers to those entering academic work or study. These issues are amplified in times of crisis, such as COVID-19. As postgraduate researchers, we can often feel powerless to address these inequalities. We possess little status in academic power structures, and as such it can be difficult to 'rock the boat' or diverge from normalised patterns of discrimination within our fields. In this essay, I argue that while we may lack status, we can adapt and diversify our collaborations with others to effectively address inequality. I outline how collaboration can be a vital tool for elevating underrepresented voices within and outside academia and examine how students with funding in particular can play an important role in this. In diversifying our citations, networks and methods of collaboration, we can ensure increasing opportunities are available for underrepresented groups throughout the academic pipeline. As the next generation of scholars, postgraduate researchers can change the game for underrepresented groups, and ensuring we collaborate diversely is our superpower for doing so.

I. What can I offer? What can I learn?

Academia as a profession lacks diversity. Many different demographic groups are underrepresented within academic career paths. In longitudinal studies of academic faculty, male academics are consistently paid more than women, and are more likely to be employed on full time contracts (Freund *et al.* 2016). According to the Higher Education Statistics Agency, in 2018 only 18% of academics in the UK were from Black or Minority Ethnic Backgrounds (HESA 2020). Black women are grossly underrepresented in academic positions (Stockfelt 2018), and this inequality only increases with role seniority (Moore 2017; Simms 2018). Women who have children are routinely disadvantaged in academic job searches (Bos, Sweet-Cushman, and Schneider 2019). The 'leaky pipeline' theory of academia indicates that even when undergraduate student demographics are diverse, the subsequent academic career pipeline consistently favours those who are predominantly white and male (Blickenstaff 2005). As postgraduate

researchers we shape the future of our profession, but with lower status in our fields it can be difficult for us to alter or question existing power structures and inequalities (Maritz and Prinsloo 2015). While these inequalities are overwhelming, and structural in nature, this article offers some first steps for how postgraduate students may begin to addressing inequality in their work, by shedding light on broad methods for diversifying collaboration.

A key step for establishing what you can do about inequality in your academic field, is to first recognise your own privileges and disadvantages. Our position and status in the world are intrinsically linked to our research, and for social scientists this notion is particularly prescient. Qualitative approaches to social research have long emphasised "reflexivity": the examination of how our own position affects our research, and why (Clarke and Braun 2013).Scholars argue that no research is truly 'objective', rather our work is shaped by our own 'subjectivities' (Mascolo 2016; Teo 2017). While this is typically applied to

our relationship to a particular topic of study, we can also apply this the way we conduct our work, and interrogate the way that we engage with research in relation to our peers. Many of us face different skills and struggles within our work. The first step to fruitful collaboration involves interrogating what parts of our work we find easy, and what aspects we find more difficult. We should question whether our experiences are typical of our cohort, or whether we possess advantages that others don't have access to? Answering these questions can help us identify where we have the capacity to best help others, and recognise where we need to seek help.

We all live in unique circumstances, and the second step to establishing how we might better collaborate with others is to question what resources we have available to us. Ask yourself what you are *rich* in. What do you already have? You might have a wealth of time, social connections, status within your institutions, home-working space, or applied skills such as social networking or community organisation. You might have different resources or skills available to you that can still be of great use to your peers and academic community. Being a postgraduate research student means many of us are juggling multiple hats at once: the statistician; the publicist; the writer; the community organiser; the designer to name but a few. COVID-19 has for many of us limited our time, or mental capacity to juggle all these tasks at once. Most of us are used to carrying our entire research programme on our own shoulders. Where previously this was often disguised within academic institutions, and considered a norm of research work, COVID-19 has made these inequalities in the research process starkly visible. The closure of schools has led to increased caring responsibilities for parents, and decreased workspace

available in shared households. For example, submissions of journal articles including female first authors during the pandemic is down globally by 11% (Pinho-Gomes *et al.* 2020). Many of us are wondering how best we can adapt our work to deal with the stark inequalities of experience that COVID-19 has wrought on academic researchers. However, while we may be tempted to carry it all on our own shoulders, we must remember that we are always more powerful together than we are alone. We all have different skills to offer each other, and we all have different things to learn before we graduate. Rather than carrying it all, accepting and offering help to others is a key way for postgraduate researchers to help one another make it through times of crisis and uncertainty. In this article I outline how collaborating with other researchers and your peers can help address inequities within academia. I provide a number of examples for how postgraduate researchers can start, or diversify collaborations in your work, and explore the impact collaborations can have on underrepresented groups within and outside of academia.

II. How and where to start? Methods for diversifying your collaborations

There are a variety of benefits to collaboration. Collaborating may make your workflow more efficient and allow you to focus your energy on your strengths and learn new skills from others. Collaborating on projects will likely force you outside of your comfort zone and could allow you to apply your research to a different domain or discipline. Inter- and transdisciplinary work is vital for addressing societal issues, such as the climate crisis or the COVID-19 pandemic, and experience working across disciplinary boundaries is a particularly desirable skill for early career researchers (Richardson *et*

al. 2020). Collaborating outside of your usual programme of research can have huge benefits for your career and transferable skills, as well as for the work of your collaborators. Opening yourself up to cross-domain collaborations opportunities as a PGR can improve your future employability in a variety of areas. You can seek out collaborations in a variety of different research areas, at different career stages. Question whether you know someone who could collaborate with you on analysis or is particularly good at participant recruitment. Recognise what you could offer collaborators in return. A PhD student with increased caring responsibilities might be an ace at analysis but find it difficult to find the time to research and write up an introduction. Combining forces with like-minded, but differentially skilled or privileged others can speed up the research process and help you to develop rewarding social and professional networks in the long term.

So, where can you start? If you're unfamiliar with instigating collaborations it can feel very overwhelming. Networking can be stereotyped as awkward roundtables with people you don't know, and particularly if you lack confidence in your work or face social anxiety, putting yourself out there can be very difficult. But there are a variety of ways to instigate collaborations with others, and you can adapt these methods to suit your own personality, and privileges. I now provide a number of examples for how you can get started in incorporating diverse collaborations into your academic work, as well as an exploration of how these varied pathways are more vital than ever in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Social Media

Social media can be seen by many as a procrastination tool, but used wisely it can be invaluable for creating social networks and broadening your collaborations with others. Academic Twitter is used by many researchers to promote their own work and discover new collaborators and ideas. A recent study found that sharing published work on Twitter led to increased citations and impact of the papers compared to that which were not tweeted (Luc *et al*. 2020). As our work and study moves online throughout the pandemic, social media can provide important opportunities to connect with your cohort and potential collaborators in the absence of physical events. Hashtags such as #academicchatter or #academictwitter can be a great way to engage with other researchers and ask questions about the research process, as well as to improve solidarity with your peers. Following a diverse set of researchers in your subject area, and those outside of your usual research can help to broaden your literature search.

Furthermore, social media can help you reach non-academics with your research, improving public engagement with your work. The democratising space of social media platforms like Twitter, LinkedIn or YouTube don't involve the paywalls that prevent many members of the public from engaging with academic research, and can be a useful tool for broadening the reach and impact of your research (Scanlon 2014; Howell *et al*. 2019) . This can also be a key way to reach potential non-academic collaborators and organisations, and can help you develop further opportunities for future collaboration.

Many advertisements for jobs and other opportunities are also advertised on social media, and this can be a good way to make sure you don't miss out on potential opportunities to collaborate.

Reaching out Directly

If you admire the work of another researcher, or are interested in a project they're working on, let them know! If you read an interesting paper that changes your perspective on a topic, email the corresponding author to share your thoughts. Know that there are people behind the names on a paper, and an appreciative email can help to brighten someone's day and connect you to others in your field. If you're interested in working on a specific project, send an email expressing your interest in collaboration, and stress what skills you can contribute and under what timeframe you could work. For many projects, an extra hand on deck can make the difference between publication and the file-drawer. This is particularly true in times of crisis such as COVID-19, where many academics might be overstretched in adjusting their lectures to online teaching or may be increasingly focussed on caregiving within their families. If you are a postgraduate who is rich in time right now, but not in experience, reaching out to individual researchers can be a fantastic way to help others out in a way that will also benefit your own academic development.

Even if you're not interested in collaborating directly right now, reaching out can be a good way to let the researcher know you're keen and a potential collaborator for the future. There might be a monthly project meeting you could attend in the meantime and getting involved with the work of others can help broaden your experiences and your perspectives on research. It may be that you're able to apply for a research grant or postdoc together at a later date, so securing those networks early on can have large benefits later in your career.

Broadening your Citations

Reading and citing the work of others is a core part of our work as researchers. Even when writing alone, we are working together by incorporating (or critiquing) the work and ideas of other scholars in our field. Though this could be seen as a more 'passive' form of collaboration, citation has massive consequences for the careers of academics. Traditionally under-represented groups in academia are also less likely to be cited by other researchers (Freeman and Huang 2015). This can mean that even when underrepresented groups are able to publish, they are still discriminated against in the impact their work has on the wider academic community. Citation patterns shape our production of future knowledge, and inequalities in citations practices produce inequalities and silences in knowledge also. It can be difficult to assess the diversity of your citations when we explore academic work on a surname basis. Broadening the diversity in our citations forces us to engage with academic work more holistically than we may be used to and interrogate and identify the biases within our own field.

You can broaden your citations through a number of methods. Consider including journals from outside your home country in your RSS feed. Set citation alerts for authors you admire or follow scholars on Twitter. Keeping up to date with papers on preprint servers such as PsyArXiv can be a useful counterbalance for publication bias (Sarabipour *et al.* 2019), and can help introduce you to a diverse set of early career scholars in your area you may be able to collaborate with in future. There may be resources already available online to help you diversify your citations, such as Wojcik's (2020) spreadsheet of psychology papers authored by Black and Indigenous People of Colour (BIPOC), or

the website 'Women also know stuff' (2020) to search for female scholars in political sciences. In times of crisis, where the academic job market becomes much harder for scholars to navigate, citation metrics might play a large role in who gets a permanent job, and who doesn't. Ensuring your citations are diverse, then, not only improves the breadth of your research, but gives other scholars credit for their work, which might be the key to them getting a secure position in a turbulent job market. If you are teaching other students, a way to emphasise the diversity of your citations could be to include pictures of scholars when you cite them in class. Science can too often be seen as a collection of 'facts', and it can be difficult for students to consider the people behind the papers.

Supplementing lectures with images of scholars could help to reduce biases in undergraduate class groups, and can help make your own biases in teaching clearer so you can make your lecture material more diverse in future. If you feature a scholar's work in your syllabus, send them an email to let them know! This can be used as evidence in applications for promotions and puts you in touch with someone doing great work.

Non-academic partners

Academia affords us status and access to resources that many organisations do not have. Once within an institution we have access to a variety of 'funding pots' that non-academics are not able to access as easily. These pots can be accessed at a university level, a regional level, or may be linked to doctoral training partnerships. For example, the South West Doctoral Training Partnership offers a variety of opportunities for students to undertake work for charities or non-profits, featuring an extension to the PhD funding period.

Many institutions offer public engagement funding, which can be used to communicate your work to non-academics and facilitate further research collaborations. Many charitable organisations are facing funding cuts in the wake of COVID-19, at a time when many people need support most. The combination of the pandemic with an imminent economic and unemployment crisis, as well as the climate crisis, has made many people in society increasingly vulnerable (Hill 2020). Taking on collaboration opportunities with charities and organisations addressing important societal issues can be an effective way for students to funnel money and resources to those who may be struggling most. If we are rich in time, but not in money - collaborating with charities is an ideal way to have an impact in our communities. Many of us are unable to continue with our research and fieldwork when social distancing guidelines and COVID-19 mitigating policies are strict. For students most affected by the pandemic, this might be a perfect chance to take up placement and internship positions with organisations who need the expertise of researchers. These opportunities can be a good way to funnel additional money and labour into organisations that need it most.

For those of us who work with particular communities, ensuring an open dialogue between researchers and members of the public is important for democratising the research process. Approaches such as 'Participatory Action Research' (Kemmis 2006) or 'Citizen Science' (Dickinson *et al*. 2012) can be a fantastic way to collaborate with groups that will be impacted by your research from the beginning of your work. As many community groups face threats to funding and resources in the wake of COVID-19

(Kappala 2020), co-creation approaches to research can improve the impact of your research, as well as the outcomes for communities and vital causes that may be struggling in the face of economic downturn. Conducting research outside of an academic environment can thus improve the way we communicate our work to make it accessible to policy-makers and members of the public. Gaining insider knowledge of how organisations work can be invaluable experience for anyone seeking to make an impact on the world with their research. If you're facing a halt to your studies, consider partnering with non-academics to increase the public engagement or impact of your research, and further their mission.

Mentoring Undergraduate Students

Moments of crisis are key in determining who can, and who can't move forward in a career path. The uncertainty that COVID-19 brings means that many who want to do a PhD will now find it much harder to do so (Rainford 2020). Summer internship schemes have been scrapped, and many students have increased caring responsibilities or are experiencing mental health difficulties that hinder their ability to access career defining opportunities (Isherwood 2020). These inequalities impact the shape of our fields for years to come and will result in decreased diversity unless we act on these issues now.

As postgraduates, we are well situated to make a difference in this area. Do you know talented undergraduates who are struggling? Reach out, and offer advice on application letters, provide references for them, or feedback on their work. You could help them transform their dissertation into their first experience with publication, for example. Mentorship can be crucial for underrepresented groups in academia, and as Graduate Teaching Assistants many of

us can have a huge impact on the career decisions of our cohorts (Jordan and Howe 2018). A key experience in my academic life was discussing doing a PhD over a coffee with my first-year seminar tutor. Her words helped me understand how I could achieve my goals, and what experience I needed to gain first before applying. Postgraduates should not underestimate the impact one discussion with a keen undergraduate could have on their career path and lives.

You could consider whether you could utilise an undergraduate research assistant on a project, and if possible, compensate them so they can remain in academia in times of financial hardship. Throughout my undergraduate degree I worked for over 10 hours a week in retail and service positions. Landing my first paid job as a research assistant was nothing short of life-changing- and meant I could develop skills I needed to advance in my field and my studies without sacrificing earning the money I needed to pay rent and eat. The casual income of many undergraduate students has been cut off or threatened as a result of COVID-19 (Elliot, Inman, and Stewart 2020), so if you can make space for undergraduates, invite their help. There may be initiatives within your department or doctoral college to help fund a student intern, or you may be able to apply for a grant such as the BPS Undergraduate Research Assistantship scheme (BPS 2020).

Applying for (and receiving) grants is not only good practice for your future career but can be make or break for up and coming academics. Furthermore, if possible, give individuals credit for their work through authorship allocation or acknowledgement. Publication is increasingly becoming a prerequisite for PhD funding, and in today's application

environment even one publication might be the difference between acceptance and rejection. Consider how you got to where you are, who helped you, and how you can pass that on to the next generation of academics.

III. Conclusion: What if I get it wrong?

There are a variety of ways to collaborate on academic work, and many means for us to reduce inequality in the way we work. But for many of us, this is just the one way in which we can consider how inequality shapes our world, and there are many more things we can all do. The motivation to be a 'perfect' ally in many different domains can be overwhelming. We can feel ill-equipped to speak out against injustice if we don't feel we know the full background on an issue, or possess power to change things within our institutions. However, there is no such thing as perfect allyship. There is only learning, and action. In the course of writing this essay I learned a lot of things I didn't know before, which have highlighted many areas in my career I could have done better. I cannot change what I have done, and while the best day to start acting against inequality may have been at the beginning of my career, the second-best day is always *today*.

This short essay is written from a postgraduate research student perspective, but there are many things that must be done by, and for, all levels of academia. Undergraduates, consider reaching out and mentoring A Level students, or working with Widening Participation Schemes. Postdocs, consider providing workshops for PhD students to help them to maintain a career. Faculty, ensure those working with you gain the tools to succeed independently in a secure career.

In the wake of COVID-19, academic funding will become increasingly under threat. Students entering university this year might not be as fortunate as those of us already on degree programmes have been. They will suffer from decreased funding and career opportunities. While all of us got our places on postgraduate programmes and PhDs through hard-work, we also got positions through luck. We were working on the right topic, as the right time, and had opportunities available to us that we needed to succeed. As current students, we must ensure that those coming after us following this crisis have the same chance at success and a sustainable career path. If we do not, the inequalities already inherent in research will only continue to multiply. As we move forward from a crisis response into the new normal, postgraduate students should consider and interrogate how we can reject inequality in the work that we do, and consider how we can create opportunities for those less fortunate than us through diverse collaborations. In conclusion, diversifying our collaborations is a small, but key step for addressing inequality. When scaled up, this approach could have drastic implications for scholars across the world, and the perspectives and stories we hear from as academics. Postgraduate students may have little sway over traditional academic power structures such as hiring committees, but changing the way we work with others in our own research can have vast knock on effects for the quality of research in our fields, and the diversity of those within it, that benefit our own research and our academic and non-academic communities in tandem. Reconsidering how we collaborate with others and questioning how we can be more inclusive and diverse in our collaborations, is the hidden superpower for postgraduates looking to address

inequality in academic career paths moving forward. Just like any superpower, this is needed most in times of crisis such as the COVID-19 pandemic. Now, more than ever, is a vital time for us all to reconsider how we can better collaborate with others, and ensure inclusivity and diversity in the way we work.

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Biography

Annayah Prosser is a second year PhD Student in Psychology at the University of Bath. Her work examines the role of identities in promoting pro-environmental and prosocial behaviour throughout society. She examines how moral and social norms can encourage or inhibit behaviour, and how that may influence societal transitions towards more sustainable futures. She previously held research positions at the University of Oxford and Yale University, exploring transformative experiences and the neuroscience of moral exemplars. She also worked for three years as an Admissions and Outreach Ambassador for the University of Bath's Widening Participation Office.

PAINTING THE NAILS OF HOMELESS WOMEN: USING MANICURES AS A METHODOLOGICAL TOOL

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Abstract

This article introduces the method I am planning on using for my PhD research: rethinking the traditional semi-structured interview by offering manicures to homeless women during conversation. There are several aims to this approach including creating a more comfortable research environment; open up unexpected conversations relating to the manicure; allow the participants to have autonomy over their body through choosing, designing or refusing their manicure; and thanking the homeless women for their participation. At face value, a manicure might seem like a strange, if not trivial thing to bring into a research environment. However, as this article will argue, offering manicures to homeless women has the potential to not only benefit the participants themselves, but to enrich the research process itself and the findings which consequentially emerge.

This article argues that this approach aligns with both creative geographical approaches to research (which allows the research to go in unexpected directions, often yielding interesting results) and feminist approaches to research (which emphasise participant wellbeing, empowerment and an alleviation of power relations). Together, this approach can contribute to more flexible and more ethical research, which is useful when researching with vulnerable groups such as those experiencing homelessness.

I. Introduction

Homelessness is a significant issue, with people experiencing homelessness more likely to face assault and abuse; physical and mental health issues; and be exposed to significant amounts of trauma (Thomas 2012; Sanders and Albanese 2016). Hence, researchers from many disciplines have approached homelessness in order to improve knowledge on this issue. My PhD research will join this body of work, using a feminist approach to more deeply understand the lives, experiences and issues of homeless women. However, researching homelessness and working with people experiencing homelessness throws up multiple challenges.

People experiencing homelessness have often experienced significant amounts of trauma (Berkum and Oudshoorn 2015). Their daily lives are often quite chaotic, with little stability regarding where they will sleep, how they will eat or whether they will be safe that night. On top of this they are likely to be facing one or more

mental health issues which altogether places them in a vulnerable position (National Health Care for the Homeless Council 2018). As such, working ethically with homeless people takes on greater significance and therefore, researchers have adopted particular approaches when working with people experiencing homelessness. For instance, this might involve volunteering long-term within these organisations in order to establish trust and relationships with service users and staff, as well as 'giving back' to the organisation supporting their research (Cloke *et al.* 2010). This paper argues that part of this might involve experimenting with alternative methodologies in order to work more ethically with particular groups of people. For example, Johnsen *et al.* (2008) used auto-photography (giving participants disposable cameras to capture the people and spaces which were meaningful to them) to gain insights into the more intimate aspects of the lives of people experiencing homelessness. These photographs then structured the follow up

interviews, making them less invasive than a traditional interview, and mitigated the need for the researcher to visit these places themselves (which could have been dangerous for both parties). In this case then, adapting a traditional interview enabled the researchers to practice research in a more ethical manner. It is this approach that inspires my own methodology for my PhD. The remainder of this article discusses how I plan on shaking up a traditional semi-structured interview by offering homeless women manicures during their interviews, in order to make it easier to talk through difficult topics. I argue that 'thinking outside the box' in this way can help work more sensitively and ethically when researching sensitive topics and/or with vulnerable people.

II. Semi-structured Interviews as a Feminist Method

Feminist approaches to research have been used widely across the social sciences. Moss (2002) argues that being a feminist extends to how we do research as much as the topics we choose to study. In addition to reducing the unequal power relations during the research process, feminists argue for the empowerment of research participants which can be achieved through taking a more collaborative rather than exploitative approach to our relationships with the people we research with (McDowell 1992). With a lot of feminist research focusing on marginalised groups, empowering them through the research is important. McDowell (1992) argues that this empowerment can be achieved by allowing the voices of the participants into our research and allowing them to raise their own themes, points and questions. This can be achieved through the use of semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews are not concerned with finding an objective 'truth'. Instead, the emphasis

is on developing knowledge on individuals, their experiences and opinions on an issue.

Aside from allowing additional topics to be raised, the conversational nature of a semi-structured interview can make the research environment a little less 'intimidating' for both the participant and researcher. This can foster more open, in-depth conversations about particular issues, allowing the researcher to gain a deeper knowledge on the topic being discussed. As a result, interviews are seen as one of the more appropriate methods for exploring and revealing particular opinions, experiences and concerns from a particular individual. However, traditional semi-structured interviews can still sometimes feel a little 'awkward'; they can still be quite intimidating spaces and therefore not always the best environment in which to have sensitive conversations. Sometimes the participant might feel like they are in the spotlight, which can be uncomfortable when discussing emotional topics. One way to avoid this uncomfortableness can be to change up the traditional semi-structured interview environment by incorporating an activity into the interview, so that the activity becomes the one in the spotlight, not the participant.

III. Interviews Focused on an Activity

Following the cultural turn within human geographers, increasing numbers of researchers have engaged with more creative methods of research. Part of this has included adapting and rethinking the traditional semi-structured interview. For instance, in a project concerned with student experiences with place in a city, Holton and Riley (2014) conducted walking interviews with their participants. This enabled them to see first-hand the students' experiences with place and resulted in a more in-depth understanding

of students' 'dynamic relationships with place' (Holton and Riley, 2014: 59). In a similar attempt to 'open up different conversations around the notion of place', Truman and Springgay (2019: 527) conducted 'queer walks'. This involved walking through different places, with pop up lectures led by scholars, educators or artists offering different, sometimes contrasting, perspectives on each place.

These alternative methods allowed for spontaneous and speculative ideas, with participants able to take the conversations into areas outside of what the researcher had planned. However, some creative approaches have been successful by creating a more relaxing research atmosphere for participants, which fosters more open conversations. For instance, Dwyer *et al.* (2019) worked on a creative embroidery project with a group of women, with the participants feeling increasingly comfortable when talking about sensitive issues relating to faith, migration and home. These conversations arose as they engaged in 'embodied practices of creativity' (ibid: 133). In the same vein, Colls (2004) went on shopping trips with her participants, whilst exploring women's relationships with their bodies, in particular with their body size. This is often a sensitive subject for many individuals and could be quite difficult to talk about comfortably in a quiet room. However, many of the conversations happened openly during the shopping trip, with the activity opening up these conversations. As a result, Colls was able to talk about sensitive issues in a more relaxing way, which resulted in rich and interesting results. This is the approach I want to take with my research.

IV. Manicures

During the interviews, the women will be offered the option of receiving a manicure.

This might involve myself providing the service; providing the tools for her to do her nails herself; or the woman declining this aspect of the interview. At face value, a manicure might seem like a strange, if not trivial thing to bring into a research environment. However, as this article will argue, offering manicures to homeless women has the potential to not only benefit the participants themselves, but to enrich the research process itself and the findings which consequentially emerge. Perhaps most importantly, the manicures will serve as an incentive or way of giving back to the participants. During an interview for my Masters thesis, a homeless woman proudly showed me her manicured nails. They were red, with little gems on the ring finger. She'd cut back on other areas of her finances in order to afford this luxury, but the way that these manicured nails made her feel about herself was worth it to her. She showed me photographs in her phone of previous manicures; a library of colourful nails, sometimes with elaborate nail art (the Christmas ones were a personal favourite). Additional conversations with other homeless women revealed to me that some homeless women do enjoy having their nails manicured as it enables them to retain a sense of identity and femininity. Some, like the woman I interviewed, got them done professionally, whilst others kept a couple of bottles of nail polish in their bags and painted their nails themselves. One woman told me the coloured polish also serves to hide the dirt under her nails, allowing the women some respite from the judgement of being visibly homeless and 'dirty'.

The manicures will also form part of the research process itself, creating a comfortable atmosphere and space for the women. As discussed in the examples above, embodied activities can create

distinctive spaces where participants feel comfortable to share personal stories, especially those surrounding sensitive subjects (Dwyer *et al.* 2019). This might offer a gentler way of talking about topics such as body grooming, body image and bodily trauma- which might not come about as naturally in a formal interview environment. For instance, whilst talking about the desired shape of the nail, a conversation could open up about how the woman prefers her nails to look; how she feels when she has her nails manicured and how she feels when she does not. From personal experience I know it can be easier to talk about something sensitive when you can distract yourself through an activity, and whilst the women are not obligated to share anything they do not want to, providing a 'distraction' might help make it easier if they do decide to share a particular experience. This creative approach to an interview will also hopefully provide a space where the women can take the interview in unexpected directions; opening up conversations I might not have thought of or raising points and issues important to them. This, I hope, will give them more power in the researcher/participant relationship.

Hence, I hope that the manicures will be a in some way, an empowering experience for the women. As discussed earlier, this empowerment is an essential principal of feminist research. This empowerment is even more important when working with vulnerable, marginalised groups who often face oppression in their everyday lives. Ultimately, the women have the option of receiving a manicure or not; the choice over how they receive the manicure; and the opportunity to make decisions over the colour and shape of the nails. For a group who often lack control over their bodies and what happens to their bodies, offering

a manicure provides them the opportunity to have some agency over how a part of their body is treated and appears. This, I hope, will enable them to feel a sense of empowerment over their bodies. Whilst a manicure might seem like a small gesture, it is one I believe will be meaningful to the women who choose to receive them.

V. Challenges and Potential Problems

Whilst this approach offers up lots of exciting possibilities, there are also some new problems which might arise. For instance, many homeless women have not only experienced trauma, but trauma relating to the violation of their bodily boundaries. As a result, being touched is something they may find really uncomfortable, and a manicure with washing, massaging, filing and painting would be beyond their boundary of what they feel comfortable with.

Alternatively, it is important to note that just like the housed population, homeless women are not one homogenous group. There are likely to be many homeless women who do not like having their nails painted. Some homeless women reject traditional notions of femininity entirely, and their voices are just as valued as those who adhere to these ideas. Hence, it is important to ensure these women are not only not forced into doing something they do not want, but that the optional manicure aspect of the research method does not deter them from participating in the project altogether.

There is also the risk that the offering of manicures might be seen as bribery or enticement. However, many projects offer participants a reward (often in the form of money or a voucher) in exchange for their participation. Offering financial incentives to people experiencing homelessness would be inappropriate as it would breach

the rules of the service who are hosting my research. In previous projects working with people experiencing homelessness, the 'reward' has been a free hot meal provided by the service. In this sense then, the manicures are no more inappropriate than a hot meal.

Following some of the principals for good ethical practice outlined by feminist researchers will hopefully help negotiate these issues. Whilst there is not the space to cover the extensive discussions surrounding what constitutes 'good feminist research' Moss (2002) outlines that good feminist research pays attention to issues surrounding power, knowledge and the context in which research is conducted. This involves ensuring the participants feel empowered and feel able to withdraw will ensure that they do not feel pressured into doing something they are uncomfortable with. It also includes making sure that women who are not interested in receiving the manicures are still sought after during the recruitment stage in order to capture a wide range of homeless knowledges and experiences. Finally, it also means setting up a research environment where the women are clear that their participation or non-participation will have no impact on their access to homeless services; where they are confident that their data will be kept anonymous; and where they feel comfortable throughout the process (and adapting accordingly if this changes).

VI. Conclusions

Semi-structured interviews are a good method for conducting reflexive, ethical and feminist research. However, the cultural turn has provided opportunities for geographers to engage and experiment with creative methods, which can be less intrusive and more relaxing for participants. Sometimes, an interview can

be too intense and can make the individual feel uncomfortable about talking through certain topics. Hence, using methods which enable the focus to shift from the participant and onto the activity, might make it easier for the participant to share their experiences without the pressure of a formal interview situation. This can be useful when working with vulnerable groups, such as those experiencing homelessness, who often require particular methodological and ethical considerations (Valentine *et al.* 2001).

There are multiple challenges associated with incorporating manicures into the interview process, especially when working with a group who might have previously experienced bodily trauma. However, these can be negotiated with good ethical practice, following some of the guidelines set out by feminist researchers such as ensuring participants feel comfortable enough to withdraw from the research and feel as though they have some degree of control over where the interview goes. Getting creative with the ways in which these interviews are approached can yield interesting results and I am excited to see what the results of incorporating manicures into methodology could be.

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Biography

Harriet is a second year PhD student at the University of Exeter, based within the Geography department. Her PhD is a qualitative study into exploring women's experiences of homelessness; the particular issues homeless women face and homeless women's relationships with their bodies. Harriet previously completed a BA (Hons) in Geography at the University of Plymouth, a PGCE in Secondary Geography at the University of Plymouth and an MRes in Critical Human Geographies at the University of Exeter.

THE DEATH AND SUBSEQUENT REVIVAL OF THE CORNISH LANGUAGE

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Abstract
Cornish is the vernacular language of Cornwall, the most South-Western part of Great Britain. It is widely believed the language died out in the eighteenth century with the death of Dolly Pentreath, the so-called last speaker of the language. What caused the language to become extinct, and why do minority languages fall into disuse? After the subsequent Cornish language revival at the beginning of the twentieth century, what lessons can the language community learn from linguists who have researched language extinction and revival?

I. Introduction

My a vynnsa skrifa a-dro dhe'm hwithrans yn kever mernans yethow yn ollgemmyn ha mernans an yeth Gernewek yn arbennek. Yn ow breus vy yma meur a dhyskansow rag an gemeneth kernewegoryon dhe dhyski dhyworth fatel wra hedhi mernans an yethow. Des a dheffo, an moyha didheurek yw, y fo bysi dhe gewsel yethow gans an teylu y'n chi. An gwella tra, ha'n moy posek, rag an termyn a dheu dhe yethow minoryta yw aga threusperthi dhe'n henedh nessa heb falladow, ha nyns yw, herwydh konygyon yethow, da lowr gul marnas dyski yethow yn skol, po yn klassow gorthugherweyth rag tevesigyon.

Yn kynsa le, prag y ferow yethow? Herwydh an wiasva Ethnologue, yma seyth mil yeth kans ha seytek y'n bys yn pols ma. Hwetek kansran ha peswar ugens a veu kewsys gans peder kansran dhe'n poblans, ha rag unn kwarter dhe'n yethow, yma le ages mil kowser hepken. An niver kesriv dhe gowsoryon rag pub yeth yw hwegh mil. Yethow minoryta a dheu ha bos fesyas gans yethow rann vrassa drefen an yethow rann vrassa dhe heveli moy posek. Yma lies rann yn mernans yeth. Yn kynsa le yma, dell yw usys, discernyans politek po kowethasek war-tu kowsoryon an yeth vinoryta, po dres policis sodhogel,

po dres dispresyans heb dyskans. Gwell yw gans nebes tus kewsel an yeth rann vrassa rag achesonyow politek po erbysek, ha wosa termyn hir an poblans a dhalleth dhe dhos ha bos diwyethek. Rag an nessa henedhow gwella yw kewsel an yeth rann vrassa hepken ha wortiwedh, an yeth vinoryta na veu gewsys marnas gans an dus koth. Yma elven dhidheurek moy. Pan a fleghes neb a gews yeth vinoryta dhe skol le mayth yw res dhedha kewsel ha dyski yeth rann vrassa, an teylu, mar kewsons i yeth vinoryta hepken, a dhalleth kewsel an yeth rann vrassa ynwedh. Ny yllons i gortos unyethek drefen bos poos dhyworth an flogh dhe gewsel yeth aral herwydh konygyon yethow. Awos henna, an fordh bosek rag difres yethow minoryta yw aga threusperthi dhe'n henedh nessa, ha ri kerensa rag yeth vinoryta dhe'n henedh nessa. An gwella tra a vydh an fleghes dhe dhos ha bos diwyethek.

My re studhyas istori an yeth Gernewek kyns mernans Dolly Pentreath. Pur yagh o an yeth Gernewek kyns oos Tudor. An peswardhegves ha pymthegves kansvledhynnyow o oos owrek rag an yeth, pan veu skrifys an gwariow mir an *'Ordinalia,'* (*Origo Mundi*, *Passio Christi ha Resurrexio Domini*), ha'n bardhonek '*Pascon Agan Arluth.*' Y feu dew wari bewnans sens skrifys ynwedh – dhe Veriasek ha Ke. Mes

wosa y teuth ha bos Henry VII Myghtern ev a ros orth y skodhyoryon gernewek ha kembrek oberennow yn y lys, ha gwella o ganso kewsel Sowsnek. Wosa Henry VIII dhe worfenna gans an eglos yn Rome, yth esa lies chanj yn bewnans kryjyk, ha pan dheuth ha bos y vab Edward Myghtern, an Lyver Pysadow Kemmyn a veu skrifys. Prag na veu ev skrifys yn Kernewek? Herwydh lies den, hemm yw kaws mernans Kernewek. Herwydh Richard Polwhele, istrier kernewek dhe'n nownsegves kansvledhen, nyns o da gans nebes tus kewsel Kernewek yn pols ma. Gwella o ganso kewsel Sowsnek drefen bos Sowsnek an yeth rag negys. I a vynnas bargynnya ha negysyas y honan, na vynsons i usya treylyansow po na wrussons negys yn Pow Sows, po na ve posek yn lys Edward. Ytho, an dus ma, tus dhyworth an renkasow ughella, a leveris na vynsons an Lyver Pysadow Kemmyn yn Kernewek. Nyns esa, yn pols na, tus ow tadhla rag an Lyver Pysadow Kemmyn, po an Bibel dhe vos skrifys yn Kernewek.

An lyver a veu komendys yn Sowsnek. Kales o rag an yeth. Yn kynsa le, nyns o pes lowen an dus kernewek kemmyn, ha moy ages pymp mil Kernowyon a veu ladhys hag i dhe rebellya yn Karesk. Nyns esa gwrythow dhe'n gwariow mir na fella drefen i dhe vos kowethyas gans an eglos Katholik. Herwydh an eglos nowydh, an eglos Sowsnek, an dus kemmyn a ylli keskomunya gans Duw lemmyn, ha redya an Bibel aga honan, ytho nyns esa edhom ragdha dhe dhyski hwedhlow Bibel dres an gwariow. Y'n vledhen 1560 yth esa govenek dhyworth bagas Puritan neb a wovynnas orth Myghternes Elizabeth. I a vynnas fleghes kernewek po kembrek dhe allos dyski an Deg Arghadow ha Pader agan Arlodh yn aga yeth aga honan. Nyns esa Elizabeth hy honan erbynn an yethow dell hevel, mes nyns esa sewena dhe'n govenek. Magata dell hemma, yth esa

edhom dhe'n glorogyon kewsel Kernewek hwath y'n seytegves kansvledhen. Dres an Kas an Pymp Pobel res o dhe William Jackman, pronter Lannfiek, ri Komun Sans yn Kastel Penndenis yn Kernewek rag an dus ena.

Y'n seytegves kansvledhen y feu skrifys gwari moy gans William Jordan dhyworth Hellys. *Gwreans an bys* yw problemek. Orth an myns, tus a dyb Jordan dhe skrifa dasskrif dhe *Origo Mundi* dhyworth an *Ordinalia*. An hwedhel yw haval, yma kampol dhe limbo, tybyans Katholik, ytho dhyworth an termyn kyns chanjyow kryjyk. Yma lies ger yn Sowsnek dres oll an gwari ynwedh. Yw *Gwreans an bys* dasskrif dhe *Origo Mundi*, po yw ev gwari nowydh? Jordan a skrif lies ger kernewek yn maner sowsnek, gans lytheren 'e' moy orth penn an ger. Ev a skrif nebes ger yn Sowsnek ynwedh, ha yn despit war skians ha devnydh dhe unn ger yn Kernewek (guw), ev a'n skrif yn Sowsnek ynwedh nebes linen diwettha. Ev a skrif *commandment* yn maner kernewek gans medhelheans, mes yma ger Kernewek: *arghadow*. Yn ow breus vy, *Gwreans an bys* a veu skrifys yn termyn pan gewsi an dus unn yeth kemyskys yntra Kernewek ha Sowsnek, pan esens i diwyethek.

Dres an etegves kansvledhen y teuth ha bos Kernewek yeth vinoryta. Yth esa gwer neb a vynnas sawya an yeth, Edward Lhuyd ha William Gwavas rag ensampel. I a guntelas temmyn an yeth war-barth, mes ny gowssons i gans tus kemmyn, an dus neb a, martesen, gewsi Kernewek hwath y'n termyn na. Yn kres an etegves kansvledhen y viajya den, Daines Barrington y hanow, yn Kernow west. Ev a vynna kavos tus neb a wodhya kewsel Kernewek. Ev eth dhe Borth Enys, le may ev a vetyas gans Dolly Pentreath. Hi a gewsis orto yn Kernewek, mes yth esa diw venyn ynwedh neb a ylli hy honvedhes.

Herwydh Dolly Pentreath, hy honan, hi o an diwettha kowser an yeth Gernewek y'n pols na. Dolly Pentreath a verwis mis Kevardhu 1777.   An yeth Sowsnek a dheuth ha bos usys a-derdro yn Kernow ha war-tu penn etegves kansvledhen nyns o an yeth Gernewek kewsys na hwath dell hevel. Mes nyns o mernans Kernewek mater sempel. Yth esa lies acheson prag y hwrug tus chanjya dhe gewsel Sowsnek: delanwes an governans ha tus dhyworth renkasow ughella, chanjyow kryjyk hag ynkressyans dhe dus ow viajya a-derdro an pow.

Dres an nownsegves kansvledhen yth esa tevyans kenedlegieth Geltek, gans Kernowyon ynwedh kachys ynni. Henry Jenner, Kernow neb a oberas yn Gwithti Bretennek, ha'n Revrond Lach-Syzrma a dhallathas tornya Kernow west, rag kuntel py temmyn an yeth Kernewek y kavsens. Jenner a bresentyas an temmyn ma yn areth dhe'n Kowethas Hendhyskoniethel Bretennek yn 1876. Bys dalleth an ugensves kansvledhen, y hwilas Jenner kowlwul eseleth Gernow dhe'n Kuntelles Keltek, byttegyns an lett dhe eseleth o an vreus dhyworth an kenedhlow keltek erel an yeth Kernewek dhe vos marow. An *Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak* a oberas ynwedh rag provia nyns o an yeth marow, hag i a wovynas orth Jenner dhe askorra gramer rag gweres dallethoryon. Y *Handbook of the Cornish Language* (1904) a dhallethas dasserghyans an yeth.

Wosa dasserghyans Kernewek y'n ugensves kansvledhen yma, lemmyn, bagas brassa dhe dus ow tyski Kernewek. Mes nyns yw an yeth salow lowr na hwath. Yn hwir, res yw dhyn komprehendya elvennow politek hag erbysek magata dell adhyskansek ynwedh rag skoodhya Kernewek, hag rag hemma, yma edhom dhe'n skoodhyans pobel, ha dh'aga ri perghenogeth dhe'n yeth. Fatel wra gul

henna? Mar kalsen ni omvyska an gemeneth – mar kallons i skrifa lyvrow, paperyow nowodhow po gwiasvaow rag ensampel y fia perghenogeth aga yeth dhedha hag an yeth a allo kavos talvosgeth rygdhi.

An gwettha kudyn byth moy pan vynnyn ni dasserghi yeth yw kavos dyskadoryon hag asnodhow lowr.   Nyns yw gerlyver ha yethador da lowr na fella. Yma edhom dhe adhyskans divers rag dastewynna fatel o an yeth, mes rag hy gwitha ha'y displegya ynwedh. Mes, yma edhom dhyn dhe dhyskansow ha lyvrow arnowydh rag dyski an yeth.Fatel wra dyski yethow a chanjyas dres an ugensves kansvledhen. Lemmyn, gans gweres jynnow-amontya ni a yll dyski war agan klappkodhow, po warlinen, po yn klassow, ha gwella yw gul devnydh a'n asnodhow ma, rag tus yowynk yn arbennek. Magata dell henna, res yw dhyn kavos dyskadoryon neb a yll dyski an yeth yn gisyow arnowydh ynwedh, nyns yw da lowr redya dyskans yn ughel hepken avel yn kres an ugensves kansvledhen. An dus a dhysk yn manerow diffrans orth an eyl y gila: po dre redya, po goslowes, po mires orth imajys, po dres skrifa aga honan. Yn an gwella dyskansow yma pub eghen dhe vaner dhyski rag skoodhya pub eghen dhe studhyer.

Rag dasserghyans yethow yma edhom a skoodhyans dhyworth an gemeneth yeth. Yn kynsa le, res yw an gemeneth gul towlennans ha delivra ober, a-wosa henna y hyllons demondya skoodhyans dhyworth rannvro po an wlas. Yn gwlasow gans policis rag yethow minoryta yth yw esya kavos arghasans. Reythyow yeth a yll gweres gans dasserghyans ynwedh. Towlennans dhyworth an governans a yll komprehendya: gre – py yeth a vydh kewsys yn py le, skolyow ha media rag ensampel; 'corpus' – geryow nowydh, daffar adhyskans, ha towlennans ynkerth –

fatel wra an dus dyski an yeth ha fatel wra trenya dyskadoryon. Yma Kernow, yn pols ma, y'n wedh ma.   An gemeneth Gerneweger a vynnsa Kernewek dhe dhos ha bos yeth neb a rollo talvosogeth ha bri rag an dus yn aga bewnansow pubdedhyek.

II. English Translation

This piece is about my research regarding language extinction and the death and revival of the Cornish language in particular. There are many lessons for the Cornish speaking community to learn regarding how to reverse language death. The most interesting of these is the importance of speaking languages with the family at home. The preferred, and most important thing, for the future of minority languages is to transfer them to the next generation, and it is not, according to linguists, good enough to only teach languages in school, or in evening classes for adults.

Why do languages die in the first place? According to the website Ethnologue, there are 7117 languages in the world at the moment (Ethnologue 2020). 96% of these are spoken by 4% of the population, and for a quarter of languages, there are less than 1000 speakers with an average number of speakers for each of 6000 (Crystal 2004: 14). Minority languages become crowded out by majority languages because the majority language seems more important. Language death has many stages. At first there is, usually, political or social discrimination towards speakers of the minority language, either through official policies, or through educational neglect (Harrison 2007: 8). Some people prefer to speak the majority language for political or economic reasons, and eventually the population becomes bilingual. For subsequent generations it becomes better to only speak the majority language, and eventually the minority

language is only spoken by the elderly population (Crystal 2004: 79). There is another interesting side to this. When children who speak a minority language go to a school where they have to speak and learn the majority language, the family, if they only speak the minority language, begins to also speak the majority language. Linguists have noticed they are unable to remain monolingual because of the pressure from the child to speak the majority language (Harrison 2007: 8). This is why the most important way to defend minority languages is to transmit them to the next generation and instil love for the minority language to the next generation. The desirable outcome for the minority language is for the children to be bilingual.

I have studied the history of the Cornish language in the period before the death of Dolly Pentreath (the so-called last speaker of the language). Cornish was flourishing prior to the Tudor period. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were a golden age for the language, when the mystery plays of the *Ordinalia (Origo Mundi*, *Passio Christi* and *Resurrexio Domini)*, and the poem *Pascon Agan Arluth* were written. Two miracle plays were also written – on Saints Meriasek and Ke (Payton 2004: 95). However, after Henry VII became King, he gave his Cornish and Welsh supporters positions in his court, and it became more advantageous for them to speak English. After Henry VIII split from the Church in Rome, and the changes introduced by the Reformation, the Book of Common Prayer was introduced during his son Edward's reign. Why was it not written in Cornish? According to many people, this is the main cause of the death of Cornish. Richard Polwhele, the nineteenth century Cornish historian, thought many people did not like to speak Cornish at that time. They preferred to speak English because it was the language of business. They wanted to

negotiate and do business themselves, rather than use a translator, or not do business in England, or not have any power in Edward's court (Polwhele 1808, vol. 5: 4). Therefore, those with power, people from the landed classes, said they did not want the Prayer Book to be produced in Cornish. There were not, at that time, people pushing for the Book of Common Prayer, or the Bible, to be written in Cornish.

The Book of Common Prayer was published in English. This was damaging for the Cornish language. First and foremost, the ordinary Cornish people were not happy, and laid siege to Exeter. Over 5000 Cornishmen were killed as a result (Harris 2016: 20). There were no more performances of the mystery and miracle plays which were linked to Catholicism. According to the new Church, the Church of England, common people could now communicate with God, and read the Bible themselves, so there was no need for them to learn Bible stories through the plays. Yet in 1560 a Puritan group petitioned Elizabeth I. They wanted Cornish and Welsh children to be able to learn the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer in their own languages. Elizabeth herself was not against the languages it seems, but the petition did not succeed (Jenner 1904: 13-14). There was, equally, still a need for Cornish speaking clergy in the seventeenth century. During the English Civil War, William Jackman, rector of Feock, gave Holy Communion in Cornish to the people in Pendennis Castle (Ellis 1974: 77).

In the seventeenth century, another mystery play was written by William Jordan of Helston. *Gwreans an Bys* (The Creation of the World) is problematical. On the whole, people think Jordan copied *Origo Mundi* from the *Ordinalia*. The story is similar, there is mention of limbo, a Catholic concept, which could date the play from the period before the Reformation (Ellis 1974: 74). However, there are many words in English throughout the play as well. Is *Gwreans an Bys* a copy of *Origo Mundi*, or is it a new play? Jordan writes many Cornish words in an English fashion, with an extra 'e' on the end. He writes English words too, and despite knowing and using the Cornish word for spear, he also writes it in English a few lines later. He writes the English word commandment in the Cornish fashion, with a mutation, but there is a Cornish word for this: arghadow. In my opinion, *Gwreans an Bys* reflects the era in which it was written, when people were speaking a mixture of Cornish and English, when they were bilingual.

Over the eighteenth century, Cornish became a minority language. There were men who wanted to save the language, such as Edward Lhuyd and William Gwavas. They collected scraps of the language together, but they did not speak to ordinary people, the people who, perhaps, were still speaking Cornish at this point. In the middle of the eighteenth century, a man called Daines Barrington travelled to west Cornwall. He wanted to find people who knew how to speak Cornish. He went to Mousehole, where he met Dolly Pentreath. She spoke to him in Cornish, but there were two women nearby who could understand her (Ellis 1974: 116). According to Dolly Pentreath herself, she was the last speaker of Cornish at that time. In conclusion, the death of Cornish was no simple matter. There were many reasons why people changed to speaking English: the influence of the government and people of the upper classes, religious changes and the increasing numbers of people travelling around the country.

The nineteenth century saw a growth in Celtic Nationalism and Cornishmen too were caught up in this. Henry Jenner, a Cornishman working at the British Museum, and the Reverend Lach-Szyrma began touring the west of Cornwall, collecting what remains of the Cornish language they could find. Jenner presented these findings in a paper to the British Archaeological Association in 1876 (Harris 2016: 35). By the beginning of the twentieth century Jenner was attempting to achieve Cornwall's membership of the Pan-Celtic Congress, however the obstacle to membership was the view from the other Celtic nations that the Cornish language was dead. The Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak (Cornish Celtic Association) were also working to prove the language was not dead, and asked Jenner to produce a grammar to help learners (Williams 2004: 98). His *Handbook of the Cornish Language* (1904) sparked the language revival.

After the Cornish revival in the twentieth century there is, now, a larger group of people learning Cornish (Kesva an Taves Kernewek 2020: 9). However, the language is not safe enough yet. Political and economic considerations, as well as educational ones, are needed to support Cornish, and for this, public interest, and ownership of the language, is required. How can this be achieved? If the community is involved, by writing books, newspapers or websites for example, they would have pride in their language, and it would have a value for them.

The biggest problem of all with regards to language revival is to have enough teachers and resources (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 182). A dictionary and a grammar are simply not enough anymore. Different lessons are necessary to show how the language was, but also to preserve and develop it. People also need modern

lessons and books to teach the language. The methodology of language teaching changed greatly over the twentieth century. Now, with the help of computers, it is possible to learn via mobile phones, online, or in classes, and it is better to make use of these resources, especially for young people. As well as that, teachers who can teach the language with modern methods are vital, it is not good enough merely to read the lesson out loud as happened in the middle of the twentieth century. People learn in different ways from each other too: either verbally, or aurally, or visually, or through writing things down. In the best lessons there is every type of learning to help every type of learner.

For language revival to succeed, there is a need for support from the language community (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 189). First of all, the community needs to plan and deliver the work, after this they can ask for support from the region or the country. In countries with policies for minority languages it is easier to receive funding. Language legislation can help with revival too. Planning from the government can include: status – what language will be spoken where, in schools or the media for example, corpus – neologisms, educational resources; and acquisition planning – how will people learn the language and how will teachers be trained. Cornwall, at the moment, is at this stage. The Cornish speaking community would like Cornish to become a language which is given value and importance for people in their everyday lives.

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Biography

Kensa is second year PhD student at the Institute of Cornish Studies, part of Exeter University. Her studies are funded by the Cornwall Heritage Trust. Kensa is researching the status of the Cornish language between 1777-1904, that is, the period in which it is widely believed to have been extinct. A former modern languages teacher, Kensa is a fluent speaker of Cornish, a bard of the Cornish Gorsedh, and both teaches and examines the language.

"BOUND TO BE RESPONSIBLE": THE TASMANIAN GREENS' AND THE 1996-1998 LIBERAL MINORITY GOVERNMENT

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Abstract

This paper presents a case study of minority government in the Australian state of Tasmania in 1996-1998. The minority government was led by the conservative Liberal Party of Australia and supported, without a formal agreement or formal arrangements, by the newly formed Tasmanian Green Party. This type of minority government is not very common in Australia and was adopted as a result of the specific context within which the government was formed. Two of the Green members elected to the Tasmanian parliament participated in extensive interviews which provide the primary basis for this case study.

The case study will show how the negativity ascribed to the Tasmanian Greens and minority government prevented the possibility of a written agreement for minority government. It will also outline how the unity-distinctiveness dilemma was experienced by the Tasmanian Greens and how it played a role in the government's early end. The case shows that the Tasmanian Greens displayed a high commitment to stability and cooperative politics, but that this was not enough to prevent the governing Liberal Party from calling an early election and breaking a promise. The participating ex-Greens did however find the experience to be 'worth it'.

I. Introduction

The case study presented in this paper represents an uncommon occurrence in Australian politics: a minority government with no formal support arrangements. Of additional interest is the fact that the minority government in question, which lasted from 1996-1998, was led by a conservative party with the support of a green party. The Liberal Party of Australia is the more conservative of Australia's two major parties and was the incumbent in the 1996 state election. When this election produced a hung parliament with the Tasmanian greens in balance of power, they were compelled to form government. The Liberals refused to negotiate the model of minority government. The Tasmanian Greens felt 'bound to be responsible' and thus agreed to support the Liberal minority government without concessions or formal mechanisms (Putt 2020 personal interview).

This case outlines how the context of the 1996 Tasmanian election prevented the possibility of a written agreement for minority government. It begins with an outline of the context of Tasmania and the Tasmanian Greens. The minority government formation period will then be detailed, followed by an outline of three aspects of the period of parliament. The early end of the government will then be presented as it relates to two pieces of legislation.

II. Methods

The case presented in this paper was developed as part of a Masters' thesis examining how the Australian Greens shape and experience sub-national minority government. It was one of four cases and represents an uncommon model of minority government in Australia. This case was developed using a combination of literature and document reviews and insider interviews. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner with two of the four Tasmanian Green members in the 1996-1998 Tasmanian parliament. This combination of methods

provided triangulation that enabled gaps in memory and perspective to be addressed. Some interview responses included confidential matters and so the transcripts have been kept private on the server of the Wageningen University and Research department of Public Administration and Policy. Christine Milne was interviewed three times (1), and Peg Putt was interviewed twice (2). Other Green Members of Parliament, each interviewed twice for a case study of the Tasmanian parliament 2010-2014, also made comments relevant to this case (Nick McKim (3), Tim Morris (4), Cassy O'Connor (5) and Paul O'Halloran(6)).

III. Tasmania, minority government and the Greens

Tasmania is one of six states and two territories that make up the Federation of Australia. It maintains a bicameral parliament composed of the House of Assembly, the Lower House, and the Legislative Council, the Upper House. The lower house is elected using the Hare Clark system of proportional representation, while the largely non-partisan upper house is elected using a majoritarian system (Parliament of Tasmania Computer Services 2019). Proportional representation systems are employed in multi-member electorates and elect candidates 'in proportion to the number of votes they receive,' thus tending to elect a greater number of minor party and independent candidates than other systems (Electoral Commission of Australia and New Zealand 2018). As the Tasmanian government is formed from the Lower House the electoral system of the Legislative Council does not merit particular attention here.

Australia generally is understood to be a two-party system, where the Liberal Party of Australia (conservative) and the

Australian Labor Party (social democrat) are often able to form government in their own right (Australian Labor Party 2011). Two-party hegemony is weaker at the sub-national level than the federal level, but those two parties represent the two major parties both federally and in each state and territory (Bowe 2010).

The Tasmanian House of Assembly has five electorates (McCann 2014). The number of members representing these electorates has changed over time in a highly politicised move intended to limit the likelihood of minority governments, and which will be discussed in greater detail later (Crowley 2012a). Due to the nature of the Hare Clark system, minority government was not unheard of in Tasmania in 1996. Prior to the emergence of the Tasmanian Greens, first as Green Independents in 1989 and then as a political party in 1992, there were several minority governments where independents held the balance of power (7)(Milne 2012). These independents however were generally prominent ex-Liberal or Labor members who had left the party disaffected. The major parties dealt with these balance of power independents by offering either policy concessions or positions in government in return for minority government support. Although the major parties saw minority government as an inconvenience, the independents involved in those earlier arrangements posed no real threats to the status quo of majority government (Milne 2012). It was only with the Greens' initial passing of the threshold of relevance, achieved by their gaining the balance of power in the hung parliament of 1989, that minority government truly became anathema to the major parties (Milne 2012; Pedersen 1982). The major parties thus tried to mobilise and strengthen community antipathy to minority

government by framing the Greens and their radicalism as a destabilising influence.

Tasmania had seen the birth of the world's first ever green political party, the United Tasmania Group, in 1972. It arose in response to the proposed flooding of the state's beloved Lake Pedder for hydro-electric purposes. This party did not last long, but its emergence as the first green political party in the world highlights the importance of wilderness in Tasmania. In the years that followed, Tasmania was host to another world-first: the first green-supported minority government, from 1989-1992, which I will return to in the following section. The Tasmanian Greens were officially given political party status in 1992 (Milne 2019 personal interview).

The Tasmanian economy has been dependent on extractive resource industries throughout its history, with organized resistance to this hegemony emerging in the mid-1960s. Following the resistance to hydro-industrialisation that saw the rise of the United Tasmania group in the 1970s, the most prevalent extractive resource industry in the 90s was forestry (Davis 2012). With the Labor Party as the traditional defender of workers and the Liberal Party on the side of industry, the Tasmanian Greens - as the champions of the environment - are politically isolated in their conservationist crusade. In this way, while the Greens and the Labor Party may have some policy proximity on certain social issues, the Tasmanian Liberal and Labor Parties have higher policy proximity on the environment and economic development. The major parties thus coalesce to protect industry and industry workers against the environmentalists threatening to 'lock up' lucrative areas of Tasmania's natural environment (McKim 2019 personal

interviews; Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews; Morris 2019 personal interviews; O'Halloran 2019 personal interviews; Kirkpatrick 2012). There is therefore a very influential cleavage conflict between forestry and conservation that decreases the policy proximity between the Tasmanian Greens and the major parties in related areas.

Cleavage conflict is understood here to refer to conflicts 'rooted in the social structural transformations that have been triggered by large-scale processes' (Bornschier 2009: 1). These cleavage conflicts divide society into groups with politically competing interests (Bornschier 2009). Tasmania's economic development trajectory, a 'large-scale process' intent on 'social structural transformations', has led to a cleavage conflict between forestry and conservation. As described above, the state's dependence on extractive resource industries is in direct conflict with conservation movements that reflect the attachment to wilderness that many have in the state (Bell and Felton 2012; Davis 2012; Kirkpatrick 2012; McCall 2012). The resulting cleavage conflict has limited the willingness of the major parties to enter Green-supported minority government in Tasmania, as will now be shown.

IV. The 1996 context

In 1996 the Liberal Party had been governing in majority for four years, one full term. This followed the 1989-1992 minority government wherein the Green Independents agreed to provide confidence and supply, allowing the passage of votes of investiture and budgets in the absence of gross malfeasance and corruption, in return for policy concessions (Crowley 2012b). This minority government agreement was called the Labor-Green Accord, and its legacy was felt after the 1996 election.

The Accord had made the Tasmanian Greens the first green party in the world to support minority government, but the government did not run full term, ending a year early in 1992 (Crowley 2012b). Although ground-breaking in many ways, the Accord did nothing to prevent the growth of existing tensions between the two parties. These tensions related to the forestry-conservation cleavage conflict and the resulting lack of policy proximity between Labor and the Greens on these issues (Herr 2012). This history of the minority government, which ended a year early, soured Labor Party representatives, members and voters against the Greens. The social context thus greatly impacted the minority government options available to the Greens in 1996 (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews).

V. The 1996 Tasmanian state election

Leading up to and following the 1996 election, the Labor Party repeatedly stated their refusal to govern in minority or with the support of the Greens. This directly reflects the impact of the social context of the Labor-Green Accord. The Labor Party produced a public letter, confirmed by all Labor candidates to the election and signed by all members of the party's parliamentary wing, promising not to govern in minority with the Greens (Herr 2012).

Although the Liberals may have wished to follow suit, as the incumbent governing party they could not (Herr 2012). Despite this and voter intention polls prior to the election indicating that minority government was highly likely, the incumbent Liberal Premier, Ray Groom, swore against governing in minority or with the Greens both ahead of, and immediately following, the 1996 election (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews;

Herr 2012). These statements ignored the reality of the institutional context but also reflected the influence of the social context. The forestry-conservation cleavage conflict meant the Liberals had low policy proximity with the Greens. Compounded by the acrimony of the Labor-Green Accord, this meant they had no interest in being seen to cooperate with them (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews; Putt 2019-2020 personal interviews; Herr 2012).

The Greens had heeded the voter intention polls signalling a likely minority government and attempted to educate the public about minority government during their election campaigns (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews; Tasmanian Greens 1996). A position statement was produced outlining three different options for minority government should that be the outcome of the election (Tasmanian Greens 1996). This was also intended to help inform Green Party voters about the options available to the elected Green Members of Parliament (MP).

Without referencing a particular party that they would support, the three options for minority government presented by the Greens were: an executive coalition with an agenda; a legislative coalition, and; an informal supply and confidence arrangement. The models outlined were identified through research but also through party room discussions, as they were aware that they 'may be pioneering new ground for the Greens' (Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview).

In 1996 the five Tasmanian electorates were each represented by seven members and elected with a vote quota of 12.5%. With 35 seats in the House of Assembly, 18 were needed for a majority (Milne 2012).

Table 1- 1996 Tasmanian election results (Parliament of Tasmania 2002c)

Party	Seats won (change from previous election)	Percentage of vote state-wide	Change in vote share from previous election
The Liberal Party	16 (-3)	41.2%	-12.9%
The Australia Labor Party	14 (+3)	40.5%	+11.6%
The Tasmanian Greens	4 (-1)	11.1%	-2.1%
Independent	1 (+1)	3.5%	
Other	0	3.7%	

The elected Greens were Christine Milne (party leader), Peg Putt (deputy), Michael Foley, and Di Hollister (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews; Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview). Although the Greens held more seats and received a higher percentage of votes in 1992 than they did in 1996, the absence of a majority following the 1996 election gave them the balance of power. Despite being an independent, they were unable to provide a majority in the hung parliament and so were not salient through minority government formation.

VI. Minority government formation

The existing cleavage conflict in Tasmania and the institutional dynamics of the 1996 election produced a minority government without a formal agreement (Strom 1990). Both the social and institutional contexts had powerful impacts on this outcome. As has briefly been mentioned, the legacy of the 1989-1992 Labor-Green Accord had a significant impact on the minority government options available following the 1996 election. The public backlash during that period fuelled the Tasmanian publics' distrust of minority government. Both major parties therefore distanced themselves from the Greens, campaigned against minority government, and

committed themselves to governing solely in majority (Herr 2012).

Following the 1996 election the Greens made overtures to the Labor Party to offer their support for a Labor minority government. Labor refused to entertain entering a minority government with the Greens again, reflecting both the distrust for the Greens and dislike for minority government that had each been worsened by the experience of the Accord (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews). The Governor therefore had to compel the incumbent Liberal Party to form a government. Groom had publicly spoken against the Greens and minority government, so he was replaced as leader of the Tasmanian Liberals by Tony Rundle. Rundle was willing to rule in a minority (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews; Herr 2012). 'The Liberals, caught in a constitutional trap, were virtually forced to take up minority government, changing leaders in an attempt to keep faith with the electorate' (Kirkpatrick 2012: 214).

The Greens knew they must either support a Liberal minority government or force a second election. Having promised publicly that there would only be one election, the Greens thus recognized that they must

support a Liberal minority government (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews). Although the Greens hoped to negotiate a charter for stability and good government, as outlined in their position statement, they anticipated that any written agreement would be rejected (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews; Putt Feb. 2020 personal interview; McCall 2012). Milne reached out to Premier Rundle in order to discuss how it might work, trying to negotiate an arrangement for the minority government (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews; Putt Feb. 2020 personal interview).

'The normal assumption in balance of power is that you will have negotiated some policy outcomes' or some other guarantees, but this was not possible (Milne Apr. 2019 personal interview). The negativity that had surrounded the Labor-Green Accord taught the Liberals not to enter into such an agreement. 'The Greens had no leverage. There was no capacity to negotiate any particular outcomes or any policy positions or anything because Labor had walked away and said they had no interest in being government' (Milne Apr. 2019 personal interview). They therefore had to support the Liberal Party minority government without any guarantees or formal arrangements. The social context had made neither major party willing to enter Green-supported minority government, but the institutional context forced the Liberals to accept their support. Nevertheless, the history of the Labor-Green Accord contributed to the social context that led the Liberals to favour governing with no written, formal arrangements for support (Milne Apr. 2019 personal interview).

Nonetheless Milne undertook, without a formal agreement, for the Greens to provide supply and confidence for the

Rundle minority government in the absence of corruption or gross misconduct (Crowley 2003). This was seen by the elected Greens to be less of an agreement with the Liberals and more of an agreement with themselves. They 'felt bound to be responsible in a situation where a party actually had that number of votes and... should therefore continue the government unless they stuffed up really badly' (Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview). Milne also promised him that the Greens would never introduce legislation to parliament without first informing the Liberals so that there would be no surprises (Milne Apr. 2019 personal interview). In addition to this, an informal arrangement was established to brief the Greens on Cabinet decisions and to allow them to comment on them (Tanner 2012).

Due to the lack of options available, the Greens did not consult their voters about the minority government arrangement. Their 'supporters... would have no doubt... preferred if [they] had been able to get some agreement with policy concessions, but they understood that this was not the circumstance that [the Green MLAs] were in, that because of the history and the point that [the party had] arrived at ... [they] just didn't have that opportunity. ... [Putt] expect[ed] that there also would have been a number of Greens voters who would have been very nervous about a written agreement with the Liberal Party' because of the Liberals' politics and/or the history of the Labor-Green Accord (Putt Apr. 2020 personal interview).

VII. In Parliament

This section provides an overview of the period of parliament. It includes discussion of the crisis impetus for cooperation, how the political parties worked together generally throughout the period, and specific dynamics surrounding gay law

reform and the Regional Forest Agreement.

Cooperation from crisis

The initial impetus for cooperation between the elected parties was the tragedy of the Port Arthur massacre (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews). The massacre, which killed 35 and wounded 18, took place only three weeks after the Rundle government had been installed (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2019).

The shock and horror felt by the Tasmanian community provided the right atmosphere for cooperative politics to be championed over adversarial approaches (Herr 2012). The Greens had previously campaigned for both a more cooperative political culture and gun law reform, and this crisis enabled both. Yet the major parties were still reluctant to support gun law reform. Milne told them that unless they agreed to a tripartite expression of support for gun law reform she would go to the rapidly amassing international media and tell them that the Liberals and Labor had 'blood on their hands' (Milne Apr. 2019 personal interview). The parties assented, and a tripartite committee was established to deal with gun law reform. After successful reform at the state level the then Prime Minister, John Howard, was able to use the Tasmanian example to reform national gun laws (Herr 2012).

Despite pressure from the gun law reform lobby, the Green Party refused to blame the massacre on the inaction of the major parties. Furthermore, despite instigating the reform, the Greens chose to not assert credit for it, preferring to highlight it as a success of tripartite cooperation. This reflects the party's commitment to cooperative politics. Yet it also highlights their policy orientation, which prioritised policy success over credit for initiatives

and party distinctiveness (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews). This crisis and the collaboration it engendered then set the tone for how politics would be done in this parliament, for some time at least (Putt Feb. 2020 personal interview). Although the crisis itself is seen to have triggered more cooperative politics, this could have been avoided or less successful in a majority government, as the governing party would not have had to rely on outsiders to pass responding legislation.

Informal arrangements for inter-party cooperation

In the absence of mechanisms formalized in a written agreement, Rundle appointed a Liberal staffer, David Adams, to be the point of contact between the Liberals and the Greens (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews). Adams liaised with the Greens' chief-of-staff to keep the party abreast with the Liberals' parliamentary agenda. He also facilitated meetings with Liberal Ministers and occasionally the Premier himself (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews, Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview). These were very much 'behind-the-scenes' discussions, as the Liberals did not want to be seen publicly cooperating with the Greens (Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview).

The times when the Greens sought meetings with Rundle it was usually on issues where the two parties had major differences. When they were granted access to the Premier, which was not in every case that they requested, the Greens felt that Rundle 'was not particularly receptive' (Putt Feb. 2020 personal interview). There were times when they were able to 'thrash some things out, but there were [nevertheless] quite a few times when [they] didn't' due to seemingly immovable differences (Putt Feb. 2020 personal interview).

Regardless of these 'behind-the-scenes' discussions with the Liberals, the dynamics of minority government during this period largely saw debate returned to the floor of house. 'There was never some accepted formula' in how the Greens approached attempts to cooperate with the major parties and it 'varied on almost every given issue' (Putt Feb. 2020 personal interview). However, due to the increased need to find accommodations, adjournments were regularly used during this period. The adjournments provided opportunities for research and/or smaller-scale discussions on the issue at hand. This enabled greater cooperation and for the development of outcomes 'that more nearly reflected … the combined views of the Tasmanian population' (Putt Feb. 2020 personal interview). This highlights how minority government, even without formal provisions in place to aid cooperation, can promote more cooperative politics simply through the division of seats. Without a majority, debate on the floor of parliament is more influential.

Gay law reform

During this period of government Tasmania was economically vulnerable. With the Greens having agreed to support the Liberal governments budgets, Rundle asked Milne what the Greens wanted most to achieve during this period of government. This was done in recognition of the Greens' commitment to support the Liberal budgets. The Greens nominated the decriminalisation of homosexuality as their primary ask. Rundle assented and agreed that, if the Greens were able to get the numbers in the Lower House, he would instruct the leader of government in the Upper House to pass the legislation (Milne Apr. 2019 personal interview). Milne and Rundle thus worked together to ensure the passage of gay law reform (Milne 2012).

Although the discussion of gay law reform occurred ahead of the 1997 budget, gay law reform was not an explicit trade for the Greens support of the Liberals' budgets. It was merely an acknowledgement that the government would have to pass items that the Greens would not approve of and was the first policy-related concession that the Liberals gave the Greens in order for the arrangement to work (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews). This further shows that in the absence of formal arrangements the governing party can acknowledge the sacrifices of support parties who pass potentially unpopular budgets. Specific pieces of legislation may therefore be offered or promised to recognize their support.

The Regional Forest Agreement

In addition to gay law reform, the Rundle minority government oversaw the development of the Regional Forest Agreement (RFA). This attempted to address the cleavage conflict of forestry versus conservation by resolving 'the debate on the future of Australian native forests by taking care of biodiversity, old-growth and wilderness preservation needs first; then by ensuring physical sustainability of any use; then by facilitating economic development in the remaining forests, within agreed legal and social constraints' (Kirkpatrick 2012: 203-204). Yet the RFA process failed to produce all of the conservation outcomes the Greens had hoped for. This reflected the policy proximity of the major parties on development promotion, and the need for the Greens to compromise (Kirkpatrick 2012).

Forest groups put pressure on the Greens to bring down the government over the RFA, insisting on the need for an election based on the forest issue. This pressure

was played out in public and added to the unity-distinctiveness dilemma (McCall 2012). Although the Greens were not satisfied with the conservation outcomes of the RFA they chose not to bring the government down. It was the Greens' belief that the Labor Party's forest policy was at the time worse than that of the Liberals, and so the Greens could not condone any move that might put Labor into power before the process was complete (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews).

Despite holding the numbers to support the Liberal minority government, the high degree of policy proximity between the two major parties meant that the Greens did not hold the balance of power for the RFA. Although this prevented the full attainment of the Greens' conservation goals, the process did produce conservation outcomes that would likely not have been possible without the RFA, and which went further than any other forest legislation had previously (Crowley 2012a; Kirkpatrick 2012). This highlights the difficulty support parties can face when policy proximity is high between the Government and the Opposition. It also reinforces the fact that balance of power is variable, and although it may be held during minority government formation it will not be held for the entirety of the minority government period.

IIX. The end of government

In July 1998 Rundle announced an early election for 29 August, saying that the 'hung parliament [had] reached its use by date' (Bell and Felton 2012: 120). The exact reasons for the demise of the minority government are debated but are generally seen to be related to Rundle's lack of control over his own government (Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview; Beckett 2012; Bell and Felton 2012). This

lack of control was most keenly evidenced in relation to two different legislative issues, namely what to do about the Hydro–Electric Commission and whether and how to reform the parliament, discussed in turn next.

What to do about the Hydro-Electric Commission

In April 1997 the Rundle minority government released the Directions Statement which outlined the government's approach to economic policy and improving state capacity. A central aspect of this plan was the proposed sale of Tasmania's Hydro–Electric Commission (HEC), the revenue from which would be used to eliminate state debt (Bell and Felton 2012). Given that the Greens were opposed to the hydroelectric industrialisation of Tasmania, the Liberal Party had assumed that they would be in favour of such a move. The reality was that the Greens opposed the sale and wanted the assets to remain in public hands (Milne 2012). The party generally was not in favour of privatization (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews). After deliberation in the party room the Greens proposed a short-term lease for the generation and distribution infrastructure of the HEC (McCall 2012). Labor was opposed to both the partial or full sale or leasing of the HEC, and the Greens proposed compromise was deemed a 'non-decision' by both the major parties and the public (McCall 2012: 171).

The HEC became the flash point around which resistance to the reforms outlined in the government's Directions Statement increased and cohered (Beckett 2012; Bell and Felton 2012). The government's inability to sell the HEC and fund its signature reforms was demonstrative of its lack of control of the minority government situation. This lack of control was a

contributing factor to the decision to call an early election (Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview, Bell and Felton 2012). The case of the HEC highlights the difficulties involved in minority governments that lack formal agreements. Certain analyses see the calling of the 1998 election as Rundle seeking to renew, or confirm, his mandate to implement the economic policy outlined in the Directions Statement of which the sale of the HEC was fundamental (Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview, Bell and Felton 2012, Beckett 2012).

Reducing the parliamentary numbers

By 1998 the goodwill and trust forged through the tragedy of the Port Arthur massacre had all but dissipated. The last nail in the coffin for the informal Liberal-Green support arrangement was the issue of parliamentary reform. This was not a new issue; the seeds of this dispute had been sown prior to the formation of the Rundle minority government (Milne 2017). Rundle and the Liberals had been in favour of reducing the numbers in parliament, as were Labor; the difference being their approach to this reform (Milne 2012).

Rundle had given Milne a promise that he would not adopt a model of parliamentary reform that would disadvantage the Greens (Milne Jun. 2019 personal interview). He initially advocated for a model that would reduce the size of parliament from 54 to 44, leaving the electoral quota for achieving a seat in the House of Assembly unchanged at 12.5% (Milne 2012). Labor on the other hand were pushing a model that would change the parliament to having only 40 members, with only 25 in the Lower House, increasing its electoral quota to 16.7% (Bennet 2010, Crowley 2003). The quota proposed by Labor was - not coincidentally - higher than the Greens' historical share of the vote (Milne Jun. 2019 personal

interviews). If Rundle had not done so the interview).

Rundle supported his model of parliamentary reform up until two Liberal members threatened to cross the floor and vote with Labor if he did not introduce the Labor model of reform to parliamentary numbers (Milne 2019-2020 personal Labor Party would have introduced it themselves, and with the defection of two Liberal members he would have lost control of his government (Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview). Any respectful engagement between the Liberals and the Greens ended when Rundle caved to this pressure (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews). Rundle not only broke his word to not introduce a model that would disadvantage the Greens, but he also gave the party no warning that he was going to do so (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews, Tanner 2012).

Parliament, then on a break, was recalled and the legislation was rushed through using various 'parliamentary tactics: a no-confidence motion in the speaker; dissenting from a ruling from the speaker; motions to suspend standing orders, and motions to alter the order paper' (Haward & Zwart 2012, p. 154, Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview). The state election of 1998 was called shortly afterwards (Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview, Beckett 2012). This affair highlights the instability that minority government without formalized supply and confidence arrangements can experience. It is also an instance wherein the governing party, and in this case therefore the minority government itself, lacked unity. Rundle dealt with this by attempting to assert their distinctiveness by betraying the Greens and calling an election.

It is of course impossible to speculate

whether a formal minority government arrangement would have prevented the parliamentary reform schism. We cannot know what a formal agreement would have included. However, if Rundle had kept his undertaking to Milne, or if it had been included in a formal agreement, the introduced reform would presumably not have included an electoral quota below the Greens' historical vote share. The HEC dilemma may have nonetheless contributed to an early election.

IX. The 1998 Tasmanian state election

By the time the election was called, media polls put public support for the Rundle government at only 27.2% (Bell and Felton 2012). The Liberals, unsurprisingly, lost the election with a 3.1% decrease in their support base and winning only 10 seats. The Labor Party won a majority of 14 seats, increasing their vote share by 4.3% (Parliament of Tasmania 2002d).

The Greens' vote held relatively steady, decreasing by only 0.9%, but the Labor model of reform did what it was designed to do, and the Greens' four seats became one (Crowley 2012a). With the new numbers in the House of Assembly, the Labor Party gained minority government.

X. Discussion

Griffith (2010: 41) notes that 'exceptions will apply, but for the most part qualified or conditional power of the kind enjoyed by minority government is ... preferable to Opposition'. This suggests that, in most cases of a hung parliament, major parties in two-party systems should find government desirable, even in minority and with support from a minor party. This case presents an exception, due to the negativity ascribed to minority government generally and the minor party in balance of power, the Tasmanian Greens.

Neither major party wanted to enter negotiations or minority government with the Greens. Interviewees commented that this is an unusual occurrence as parties in Opposition usually take any chance to enter government (McKim 2019 personal interviews; Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews; Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview; O'Connor Apr. 2019 personal interviews). This shows how negative social contexts can lead to the exception mentioned in the Griffith (2010) quote which opened this section.

The Tasmanian forestry-conservation cleavage conflict has led the Greens to be seen by the major parties as a threat to business as usual due to their lack of consensus in related policy areas (McKim 2019 personal interviews; Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews). This social context contributes to an 'electorate that is being primed not to accept minority governments, to see [them] as a problem,' and to see the Greens' radicalism as a destablising force (O'Connor 2019 personal interviews). The major parties therefore prefer not to leave the 'safety' of Opposition for the uncertainty of minority government with the Greens. This social context removes any network-making power that a balance of power position should afford the Greens. The institutional context was the only thing that empowered them to support minority government at all. Yet, despite empowering them, the institutional context also limited their options to supporting the incumbent party.

In 1996 we saw how the social and institutional contexts drastically reduced the Greens' agency and power (Herr 2012). They had no choice of who to support because they 'had no leverage' (Milne Jun. 2019 interview). The Liberals, as incumbents compelled to form

government, were able to refuse to negotiate a formal arrangement with the Greens (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews; Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview). The absence of negotiation in 1996 was thus evidence of the influence of the local history of minority government (McKim 2019 personal interviews; Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews, Morris 2019 personal interviews; Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview). The legacy of the 1989-1992 Labor-Green Accord meant that The Liberals could not condone a written agreement with the Greens in 1996. The Liberals had seen how Labor was saddled with the failures of the Accord and were determined not to repeat the mistake of entering into a formal agreement with the Greens (Milne 2019-2020 personal interview; Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview). This case of informal minority government support would also go on to influence the model of Labor minority government supported by the Tasmanian Greens in 2010 (McKim 2019 personal interviews; Morris 2019 personal interviews).

Although the Greens were only given one model of minority to support, there remained the option to refuse to support minority government at all. In such cases, if no alternatives exist, another election must be called (Strom 1990). Given that the interviewed members expressed their commitment to providing stable governance, they could not realistically choose to force a second election (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews; Putt 2019- 2020 interviews). Therefore, the institutional context, combined with the elected members' commitment to stability, precluded the Greens' agency and choice, greatly influencing their decision-making.

This therefore demonstrates the combined influence that social and institutional contexts can have on the available options for minority government support. The Greens' agency was limited in 1996 by the Tasmanian Liberals who 'offered' only one minority government arrangement, informal supply and confidence. The institutional context removed the Greens' leverage, and the social context hobbled their options. The social context can thus limit their power and agency so much so that all they can do is support the parameters established by the incumbent party, compelled to form government by the institutional context (Herr 2012).

In the 1996-1998 Tasmanian parliament the concern with maintaining distinctiveness between the minority government parties was obvious. It was evident in the negativity surrounding the Green party and thus the arms-length approach that the Liberals took with working with them. The informal procedures that were developed to facilitate the two parties' cooperation were purposefully relegated to back rooms in order to keep their cooperation out of the public eye as much as possible. The Labor Party nevertheless constantly framed the two parties as being in bed together, to the detriment of both (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews).

Moreover, a desire to demonstrate distinctiveness was a contributing factor to the early end of that minority government. This was tied into the issues of the Hydro-Electric Commission and parliamentary reform. Although the latter was more related to a concern over Rundle's control over his own party, backing Labor's model also provided a desirable opportunity to distance the Liberals from the Greens. By calling an early election Rundle had hoped to gain a governing majority, removing his party's reliance on the Greens (Putt Apr. 2019

personal interview; Bell and Felton 2012, Herr 2012). Thus, unity between the support and governing parties was avoided and the desire for distinctiveness was a significant factor throughout the parliament, contributing to its early end.

It is also important to acknowledge that, 'while the Greens' philosophical tradition is clearly and predominantly radical, it is also true that the party's radical impulses operate alongside, and are tempered by, the forces of political expediency… The Greens show an aptitude for selectively rationing pragmatism in pursuit of 'radical' objectives' (Miragliotta 2006: 595). This political expediency and pragmatism can be seen in the Greens' view that compromise is a necessary part of politics (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews; O'Connor 2019 personal interviews; O'Halloran 2019 personal interviews).

Although the Tasmanian 1996-1998 parliament ended two years early, without the Greens the government would not have been formed in the first place. The members' commitment to stability led them to support the Liberals without a written agreement despite the risks (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews, Putt Apr. 2020 personal interview). While their objective to provide stability did not fully materialise, given the government's early end, this was due to no major fault of their own (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews, Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview, Bell and Felton 2012). The objective of stability was not overly successful in this case, but they did succeed in using the dynamics of minority government to help create policy that reflected the diverse views of the Tasmanian people, including gun and gay law reform (Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview, McCall 2012).

'If the long-term focus of Green parties is upon government participation, then periods of supporting government offer the opportunity for building trust between parties and learning the lessons of governing' (Crowley and Moore 2019: 17). Although the next Green-supported minority government did not occur in Tasmania until 2010, the model eventually adopted was that of an executive coalition, where two Green members were made members of the Labor Cabinet. The 1996-1998 experience of minority government can therefore be seen as a 'stepping stone' for the Greens, as their next foray into minority government resulted in cabinet positions (Crowley and Moore 2019: 17). This shows that, despite struggles regarding the unity-distinctiveness dilemma, credit and compromise during minority government, the choice to support does provide benefits and return the Greens' non-policy objectives. Although the Greens' vote declined, the interviewed elected members generally felt that they spent their electoral capital well (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews; Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview).

XI. Conclusion

Despite holding the balance of power in the 1996 hung parliament, the specific context of cleavage conflict and the history of minority government meant that the Greens had no strategic advantage (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews; Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview; Herr 2012). This forced them to provide supply and confidence with no formal arrangements and without any concessions for their support (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews; Herr 2012), Such a model of minority government is quite unstable, and this was the case here (Strom 1990; Griffith 2010). Although the dynamics of minority government did

result in more representative outcomes, developed from an increase in debate on the floor of parliament, the major parties did attempt to keep the Greens at arms-length when possible (Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview; Crowley 2012a; Herr 2012). The early end to the government reflected issues of internal Liberal Party unity and a desire to reassert control by distinguishing and distancing the party from the Greens (Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview; Beckett 2012; Bell and Fenton 2012).

The 1998 election saw a 0.9% decrease in the Greens' vote (Parliament of Tasmania 2002c, 2002d). Despite this, and both the low government stability and the low duration of the informal arrangements evidenced by the government's early end, Milne and Putt believe that their support of the Rundle government was worth it (Milne 2019-2020 personal interviews; Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview). A culture of adversarial politics and the lack of a formal agreement, in addition to the major parties' disdain for the Greens and minority government, created an atmosphere that was bound to be testing. It was, however, a relatively productive period of government despite its early end. Rundle himself admitted this fact (Crawford 2012; Herr 2012). Liberal ministers of that government have since (privately) spoken highly of that period, saying it was real democracy at work. They needed to defend their positions on the floor, making wins more satisfying and representative of the Tasmanian populace (Putt Apr. 2019 personal interview; Milne 2012).

This case shows the importance of both institutional and social contexts in influencing the agency the Greens have in the formation of minority governments. It also highlights how the dynamics of policy proximity can influence their power in parliament. This case also clearly shows that, even without a written agreement, the Greens were committed to providing stable governance and cooperative politics. Their objectives in this regard did not change throughout the parliament, but in certain cases it could be said that these objectives overshadowed other, more conservationist or policy-based objectives. Compromise in these conservation-related areas also contributed to their experience of the unity-distinctiveness dilemma, as people in the movement felt they had given too much up. Finally, and undoubtedly, this case underlines how the lack of a formal written agreement does not preclude the ability for cooperation between the support and governing parties, even if such arrangements do lack mutual mechanisms to ensure stability.

Notes

(1) 8 April, 5 June, 2019; 1 April, 2020.
(2) 9 April, 2019; 14 February, 2020.
(3) 10 April, 6 June, 2019.
(4) 4 April, 7 May, 2019.
(5) 8 and 12 April, 2019.
(6) 4 April, 1 May, 2019.
(7) 1969 (Liberal minority government with ex-Liberal Party member support), 1959 and 1934 (Labor minority government with ex-Labor member support) (Parliament of Tasmania 2001, 2002a, 2002b). Minority governments led by now defunct parties also occurred in 1928, 1922 and 1916 (Parliament of Tasmania 2003a, 2003b and 2003c).

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Biography

Arabella is an Australian citizen with a strong interest in politics and sustainability. She has just graduated with distinction from her Masters of Science in International Development Studies at Wageningen University and Research in the Netherlands. Before this, she graduated from the University of Exeter with a Bachelor of Liberal Arts in International Relations and Environmental Politics. She has had experience interning with the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in addition to the United Nations Environment Programme. Despite having not lived in Australia for 12 years now, Arabella has maintained a connection with her country and its politics. The case presented in this Journal represents one of four which were the basis of her MSc thesis on the Australian Greens in sub-national minority-governments.
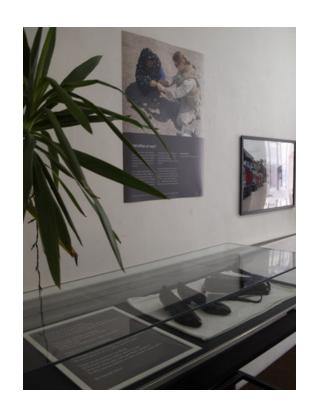
THESE SHOES AND THIS HANDBAG

Hannah West
University of Bath

These shoes and this handbag
Unworn and unwanted, yet issued
Somehow didn't fit in with the rest of the kit
Hardly the stuff of hardy seafarers, naval
engineers.

These shoes and this handbag,
Unchanged but unused, yet issued
A bygone relic
Of wartime telephonists, radio operators.

These shoes and this handbag,
Unexpected and unchallenged, yet issued
Amusingly compensating for skirts with no pockets
Yet reminding us of our place, don't forget.

These shoes and this handbag,
Of limited combat utility, were issued
I find out when the men got their weapons
To the women before us who couldn't bear arms.

Biography
Hannah is a final year PhD student at the University of Bath. Her research explores the tensions surrounding women's participation in counterinsurgency and what this tells us about 'combat' and the 'frontline'. Hannah is using creative methods to reflect on the gendered aspects of her own military service. Visit her website at: www.hannah-west.org

BIRTH TRAUMA FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF PERINATAL COUNSELLORS: A MINI FOCUS GROUP STUDY

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Abstract
One in five women in the UK develop mental health problems during pregnancy or in the first year after childbirth. 'Birth trauma' is a common birth-related mental health issue which stems from perceiving childbirth as a traumatic experience; the term 'birth trauma' also encompasses living with and experiencing the accompanying symptoms of trauma after childbirth. A mini focus group study was conducted with two experienced perinatal counsellors to discuss their experiences working with parents struggling with birth trauma. Analysis of the focus group revealed five key themes: the complexity of birth trauma; the power of communication; changes in culture; falling through the gaps and coping with trauma. The themes identified reflect previous academic research on parent and clinician experiences of birth trauma as well as national reports aimed at improving maternity care for parents.

I. Introduction

Perinatal mental health is a societal issue affecting one in five women in the UK with an estimated cost of £1.2 billion to NHS and social services each year (Bauer *et al.* 2014). A recent national report revealed suicide as the leading cause of maternal deaths occurring within the first year after giving birth (MBRRACE-UK 2019), and it is estimated that in approximately 40% of these cases, improvements in maternity care may have made a difference to the outcome (Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists 2017). To address this, new initiatives have increased capacity of specialist mother and baby units nationally and ensured specialist perinatal mental health teams operate in maternity units across England (NHS 2020). These initiatives are heading in the right direction and point towards safer maternity care. However, gaps remain in perinatal mental health services, predominantly in addressing women's mental health needs after giving birth (Care Quality Commission 2020). This is particularly important in light of recent research reporting approximately one

third of mothers appraising their birth experiences as traumatic (Baptie *et al.* 2020).

A recent review suggests 4-6% of women will develop postnatal posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) following a traumatic birth experience, yet many more women present with sub-clinical trauma symptoms and report significant distress related to their birth experience (Ayers, 2004; White *et al.* 2006; Dekel *et al.* 2017). The most dominant factor associated with birth trauma relates to the mother's subjective experience, namely her perception of feeling supported and in control during labour and birth (Garthus-Niegel *et al.* 2013, Czarnocka and Slade 2000). This emphasises the need for appropriate birth aftercare and support for all women regardless of birth outcome or level of medical intervention experienced during birth.

The provision of specialised maternity care across the UK is patchy, and there is a great deal of variation both within and between distinct geographical areas

Mental Health Alliance 2014). Many women experiencing birth trauma are cared for in primary care through psychological therapy services (IAPT) or private therapy rather than specialised maternity services. As a result, a large number of different, independent agencies are involved in the commissioning and provision of specialised mental health care during the perinatal period (Bauer *et al*. 2014). Therefore, in order to gain an understanding of perinatal mental healthcare, it is important to document the experiences of healthcare professionals both within and outside of NHS services. Equally important is the method of data collection from healthcare professionals to ensure healthcare worker voices are not lost within the statistics. This study aimed to provide a platform for perinatal counsellors from an independent organisation to discuss their perspective and experiences in working with parents struggling after experiencing a traumatic childbirth. The purpose of this focus group was to garner a more in-depth understanding of birth trauma from perinatal mental health counsellors. This study runs parallel to an interview study with mothers during the perinatal period conducted by the same research group. The focus group method was also deemed as a more appropriate approach to collect meaningful data on the specific issue of birth trauma, as opposed to individual interviews or surveys (Jayasekara 2012).

II. Methods

In order to gather information about birth trauma from the perspective of perinatal counsellors, a mini focus group was conducted with volunteer counsellors from a local perinatal mental health charity in the South West of England. The charity provides counselling support for parents experiencing difficulties during pregnancy, after difficult childbirth or after baby loss.

Counsellors from the charity were invited to take part in the study via email, and were sent an information sheet detailing the purpose of the study three weeks prior to the focus group. The counsellors consented to participation at the beginning of the meeting and were reassured that all information provided would be kept confidential and anonymised.

Data Collection
The mini focus group was conducted on January 28th 2020. Two counsellors were unable to attend the meeting and so the focus group was conducted with two perinatal counsellors (S and J). Counsellor J has 12 years counselling experience and counsellor S has 9 years counselling experience. A moderator (first author) conducted the mini focus group and an observer (second author) took detailed notes. A discussion guide containing questions regarding the counsellors' experiences of working with birth trauma was used to conduct the focus group. The discussion guide included the following topics: symptoms clients typically present with; commonalities in client experience; changes or trends in clients using the service and views on current practice. Discussions proceeded for 1.5 hours and the counsellors talked about their experiences openly and freely. The moderator balanced the discussion so that all topics in the discussion guide were addressed but allowed freedom of conversation between the counsellors. Notes were made throughout and the meeting was recorded on a Zoom microphone.

Data Processing and Analysis
The recording of the mini focus group was transcribed, and notes made by the observer and moderator were collated and compared. The transcripts were analysed separately by the moderator and another

member of the research team who was not present at the focus group, to improve consistency and protect against contamination of projection (Roberts *et al.* 2019). Both analysts followed a sophisticated reflexive approach to thematic analysis of the transcript (Braun and Clarke 2012). The first phase involved immersing in the data by listening to the audio recording of the meeting and reading and rereading the transcripts whilst noting any potential points of interest. The next step involved sorting the data into codes before clustering codes into broader categories that reflect a meaningful pattern in the data. Tentative categories were then compared between the two analysts and themes were checked against the collated extracts of data. Any differences between analysts were discussed and resolved after further scrutiny of the data. This led to further distinction of themes that were then reviewed by the observer (second author) for external validation of the analysis. For further validation, the thematic framework was sent to both counsellors who partook in the mini focus group to ensure their experiences had been correctly understood and interpreted, (member checking), (Doyle 2007).

Ethical Considerations

The departmental ethics committee at the University of Plymouth approved this study. Participants were informed that all information would be kept confidential and anonymised. A £50 donation was gifted to the charity after the focus group as a gesture of thanks to the counsellors for their time.

III. Results

Five main themes were identified: 1) The complexity of birth trauma; 2) The power of communication 3) Changes in culture; 4) Falling through the gaps and 5) Coping with trauma.

Table 1: Table of themes and subthemes generated from thematic analysis

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The Complexity of Birth Trauma
    Guilt, jealousy and self-blame
    Hypervigilance and avoidance of environmental triggers
    Fear of future pregnancy
    Disrupted memory of the birth

Change in Culture
    Partners seeking help
    Vicarious trauma
    Changes in what is considered 'traumatic birth'
    Recognising the diversity of birth experiences

Falling Through the Gaps
    Not reaching the high threshold for referral
    Inconsistency in healthcare experience
    Fragmented healthcare pathways

Coping with Trauma
    Importance of accepting emotions
    Recognition, sharing your story and helping others
    Raising awareness of alternative outcomes
    Partner differences in coping
    Visualising an alternative outcome
    Recognising and remembering baby loss

Theme 1. The Complexity of Birth Trauma: 'It has a knock-on effect to every area of your life'

This theme summarises the counsellors' discussion of the difficulties and symptoms presented by clients experiencing trauma. Guilt was a recurring theme surrounding parents' experiences of traumatic childbirth and in cases of baby loss. For example, being around other pregnant women or families with babies can evoke guilt, which may subsequently trigger feelings of jealously. There was also in-depth discussion surrounding parents' self-blame regarding the trauma they have experienced.

"a lot of people generally will blame themselves for whatever has gone on and then feel very guilty, about-they should have done this or done that or maybe they should have done this - and maybe they should have recognised this and then blamed themselves, so there's a lot of unpicking of that that has to happen."

Counsellor J: 508-512.

Additionally, there were discussions surrounding the challenges mothers face when accepting and processing the emotions they feel in terms of guilt; more specifically, guilt for having negative thoughts or feelings after the birth of their baby.

"...they've survived, they're ok now, the baby's ok now, but they're still suffering with flashbacks, or can't sleep, or can't eat, or can't go out, or absolutely petrified of a future pregnancy, because what if it happens again?"

Counsellor J: 587-589.

The complexity of birth trauma was expressed in the cumulative nature of trauma symptoms affecting all aspects of clients' lives.

"...she was very overprotective of both of them, so much so that she'd be checking them constantly all through the night. So, obviously that had a knock on effect because then she wasn't sleeping, but still having to function and work."

Counsellor S: 322-324.

The counsellors also recollected the range of difficulties presented by clients, and discussed women experiencing hypervigilance and avoidance of their birth environments as well as fear of future pregnancy.

"...if she needed anything from the house she sent her partner... because she said I just can't go back there to where it happened."

Counsellor S: 679-681.

The final subtheme surrounded clients' vulnerability to memory disruption in the form of intrusive flashbacks of their birth experience or disrupted memory of the birth. The counsellors discussed clients who had reoccurring or fragmented memory of their birth or who had experienced memory aberrations: seeing themselves as the perpetrator of the trauma they experienced. Clients' vulnerability to memory disruption coincided with the importance of

communicating or reiterating the event that occurred during their birth with healthcare professionals.

"...there is the Afterbirth service at the Hospital isn't there, and people can talk through their experience with them, and I guess some people haven't got a full memory of what happened, because it's quite distressing, but then they can talk through their labour and get some understanding. I know for one lady that was really helpful - to go over exactly what happened and make sense of it. Because she'd remembered it slightly differently to the reality of what had happened."

Counsellor J: 259-262.

Theme 2. The Power of Communication: 'After a few months of counselling, and being heard, she did gradually get stronger'

The second theme concerns the healing and cathartic nature of clients communicating their trauma. A recurring theme surrounded the power of feeling heard and the importance of helpful, supportive relationships in which clients feel comfortable in sharing their stories without fear of judgement.

"...it's really important for people to have their stories heard, and I think they need to be heard, even though we don't want to re-traumatise people, but I think they need to be heard and they need to tell their story."

Counsellor J: 222-225.

"...some people will just live with it on their own, and don't have anyone to talk to, and other people have got others around them who can be supportive. But then also, that can be hard, because if they're talking to them, and they're being very, I don't know, judgemental or not listening, or you know "you should have got over that, it happened 3 months ago, you know you should get on with that now," you know, that's not helpful."

Counsellor J: 565-570.

Communicating their trauma allowed clients to process their emotions and rebuild connections with their partners who may otherwise avoid talking about their traumatic birth experience.

"...talking it through together they- again they don't realise the other one felt like that, and then that facilitates conversation. So they both feel heard, and they both feel understood then, so then that opens up some sort of connection."

Counsellor J: 206-209.

The power of communication coincided with the importance of finding the right medium for clients to tell their story. The counsellors recollected the diversity in channels used by clients that allow them to communicate their trauma and raise awareness of their experiences. These outlets included poetry; blogging; journaling; radio and fundraising events, all of which were described as ways to help clients to recognise and normalise their experience or emotions, whilst also helping others going through similar experiences.

"...one of our clients, previous clients, she wrote a poem about envy, and it was really powerful and she gave permission for other people to read it, so that it helped them know it was normal, given what they were going through. And then, once they accept that kind of thing, then it moves away usually"

Counsellor J: 334-338.

'...We always recommend journaling, don't we, to clients, because...I know, you know, how helpful it can be, and most people do try or give it a go don't they. For the men I've found, that they don't so much want to do it. So a couple of the men I've seen have done a blog and found that really helpful'

Counsellor S: 679-681.

A contrasting subtheme that arose regarding clients' communication of their experiences was the challenge many clients faced when recounting the story of their traumatic birth. This particularly related to clients who had a disrupted memory of their birth, and clients who found the process of sharing their story too distressing. However, these anecdotes were often paired with the sense of relief that followed from a client finally being able to disclose what happened to them.

"...her client wanted to share her story but didn't know how to, because it was so traumatic"

Counsellor J: 219-220.

"...there's lots of people - that we know of, who have just sat on things for several years, and never shared it. And when they have come to share it, it's been really difficult because they've shut it down so much. But then the relief again of sharing it, and then they can move on again, it just feels- I guess important for people to know it's ok to share something if they need to."

Counsellor J: 284-289.

Theme 3. Changes in Culture. Recognising Trauma and Partner Trauma: 'They are not physically experiencing it, but they were there witnessing it, which can be just as traumatic'

The third theme describes the expression of a cultural shift in either partner experience of trauma or what is considered a traumatic birth experience. Although discussions were largely focused on women's experience of birth trauma throughout the mini focus group, both counsellors recounted their experience working with couples or with fathers individually, which was noted as a relatively recent change in their perinatal counselling practice.

"...a few years ago, like when couples came in, often the man would, you know, come for the first session with the woman, the first few sessions, and then they would drop off and the woman would come on her own. But actually more recently - it's the guy who's actually got in contact to organise the counselling and – kind of instigated it, really. And they've both come together, and they've come together throughout all the sessions, it's been really consistent. So that's quite interesting isn't it."

Counsellor S: 113-123.

The impact of birth trauma on the father was discussed with reference to men's mental health and the difference in coping styles and responses to trauma between men and women.

"...the guys are actually quite traumatised from the birth and can't talk about it, but are clearly visibly shocked over things that have happened. And there doesn't appear to be any dedicated support for the guys"

Counsellor J: 108-110.

Discussion of secondary trauma typically surrounded the fathers' experience of birth trauma and the impact it has on fathers and their relationships with their partners. However, in addition to fathers' secondary trauma, there was also mention of vicarious trauma experienced by other family members present at the birth.

"...a young girl who'd gone through a traumatic birth, and her mum and her grandma were there supporting her, so then they were all traumatised as well, so they've been coming in for counselling too, so it was like three generations coming in. So I guess it shows it has an effect on people in a room."

Counsellor J: 297-301.

A recurring theme throughout the focus group involved observing what birth experiences are considered as 'traumatic enough' by healthcare professionals as well as by clients. A shift in birth counselling practice has seen greater diversity in client experience reflecting a more general cultural shift of what is considered traumatic birth.

"...the diversity of things that people are coming in for has changed as well. So, I don't know if you'd say it's got more complex, but we've seen more people who come in because they've gone through more traumatic birth, so they haven't necessarily suffered a loss, but they've gone through a really traumatic time, and then are struggling, and then maybe get pregnant again, and there are lots of anxieties around that."

Counsellor S: 50-55.

Stories of clients' birth experiences were unique and diverse, but typically involved high levels of fear and feelings of lacking control or feeling let down by the people around them. This highlighted the significance of a woman's perception of her birth environment as a key factor for the appraisal of her birth as traumatic.

"...they probably just didn't think did they. In the chaos of it all they wouldn't have thought that it might have an effect on her."

Counsellor S: 617-618.

Discussion of what is regarded as 'traumatic enough' coincided with clients experiencing difficulties in processing their emotions, leading clients to feel ashamed for having negative thoughts and feelings after a traumatic birth.

"...particularly with traumatic birth, because, it's a traumatic situation, but they've had their baby, and everything seems fine, but they're left with all these other feelings, that nobody else experienced... 'why should I be saying all this, why should I be feeling all this?' But actually they are, and somehow they need to process that."

Counsellor J: 577-581.

Theme 4. Falling Through the Gaps: 'If you don't meet that high threshold, that doesn't mean you haven't got distress going on'

The fourth theme describes discussions of current healthcare practice and ways parents struggling with birth trauma may fall through the gaps, resulting in parents not accessing the help they need. This includes cases of mothers with mild-to-moderate trauma symptoms falling below the threshold for referral to mental health services, or women whose existing mental health difficulties were not appraised by health care professionals during and/or before their birth.

"The perinatal mental health team, I think, take - care of the women who are very - have very severe difficulties, because there's quite a high threshold. So I think there's probably a bit of a gap in the services somewhere."

Counsellor S: 64-67.

"...she'd (client) had a traumatic birth and treatment at the hospital wasn't very good. She was discharged when she shouldn't have been because she'd had a mental health issue, so there were so many things going on."

Counsellor S: 409-411.

Additionally, within this theme were conversations surrounding the disparity in healthcare experience, reflecting the inconsistencies in aftercare procedures for postnatal mental health following childbirth.

"…there seems to be a disparity with how people are treated. So some people get really, really good treatment some people are very supported and helped very sensitively, after whatever they've experienced. But other people, you know, have been left in a room on their own when they're really distressed."

Counsellor J: 27-31.

Particularly salient during the mini focus group was the inconsistency in method of referrals made to the charity, highlighting one of the symptoms of a fragmented healthcare pathway. Discussions of the ways in which clients are referred to the counselling service revealed a disjointed system that relies on awareness of individual healthcare professionals to direct patients to the charity, or through word of mouth from previous or existing clients.

"…there is a referral form that we've received from the Hospital for a couple of people, haven't we, I don't know where that's come from? Probably the midwifery team… But quite often people come through their colleagues or people who've been here, you know, if their friend is going through something similar"

Counsellor J: 82-94.

During discussions regarding improvements that could be made to better support parents struggling with birth trauma, both counsellors identified joining perinatal health services as an important change to create a more robust healthcare pathway for parents struggling with mental health difficulties during the perinatal period.

"…we've been around for 12 years, and although lots of people do know of us, I mean we're a small charity and we can't- haven't got the resources or time to go out to doctors all the time. And people change, people move on don't they, so some- some people in the city really know us well don't they, some people in the

midwifery services know us well. And then there's others that don't, so, you know there's people who've came along recently who said, "I never knew anything about you, you know, nobody told us about you"- so, you know I guess making sure there's a robust care pathway for people that need different help for different stages of pregnancy and beyond."

Counsellor J: 689-699.

Theme 5. Coping with Trauma: 'It helped them know it was normal, given what they were going through. And then, once they accept that kind of thing, then it moves away'

The final theme from the mini focus group concerns how clients cope with trauma following either a traumatic birth experience or baby loss. Learning to accept emotions was recognised as a key factor for clients coping with trauma.

"…we found in terms of people owning whatever emotion it is, that that helps them to move through it, otherwise they hold onto it and try and push it all away."

Counsellor J: 333-334.

The counsellors recollected coping strategies used by clients, and discussed the significance of clients recognising what they had been through. Clients recognising their experiences often preceded the motivation to share their story and raise awareness of their experience in the hope of informing and helping other parents.

"…as well as telling her story she wants to raise awareness about that… she has found that really helpful and really healing to be able to go, although obviously it's really painful, you know going over some of that stuff. Like you said it's about being heard isn't it?"

Counsellor S: 250-255.

Raising awareness of alternative outcomes during pregnancy was a particularly salient discussion point; this topic arose during recollections of clients who had experienced miscarriage and went on to raise awareness of pregnancy warning signs for expectant mothers. During discussion of improvements to current

perinatal practice, the counsellors deliberated the importance of informing expectant parents, in a sensitive manner, about all eventualities of pregnancy and birth and the potential danger of focusing on a rigid birth plan without awareness of alternative outcomes.

"it's obviously a very sensitive thing to bring in, because you want someone to go through that pregnancy and be positive, hopeful and supported all the way through and hopefully they'll have a live baby, but the- I don't know, lack of awareness of people, that something could go wrong. People don't seem to know that, and it's a really fine area because you don't want someone to have to experience that."

Counsellor J: 707-712.

The counsellors considered how raising awareness and raising money for relevant charities, or causes in line with clients' own perinatal experiences, seemed particularly cathartic to fathers who had experienced traumatic birth or baby loss.

"So it always seems to be the guy who maybe wants to be really proactive, and do something really physical and you know raising awareness and raising money at the same time."

Counsellor S: 493-495.

This overlapped with a more general discussion surrounding the differences in coping strategies between male and female clients. The counsellors recalled how fathers were more likely to withhold from sharing their trauma stories, and may take longer to communicate their feelings to try to remain strong for their partners.

"...guys don't like to always share, because they don't wanna upset their partners, because they know their partners are already upset as well, so they will withhold a little bit don't they."

Counsellor J: 178-180.

Regarding traumatic birth experiences, the counsellors discussed the value of visualising an alternative birth story that more closely resembled both parents' ideal birth.

"...we really broke it down, and wrote it down-- and then how they would have liked it to have been if they could visualise that positive birth, how they - you know in their ideal world what they would have liked to have worked out, just to give them that kind of alternative image in their mind. But they—both of them found that really helpful, but they kind of want to take it on from that and be able to put that story out there"

Counsellor S: 238-243.

The final subtheme for coping with trauma describes the importance of recognising and remembering baby loss. The counsellors discussed the various techniques used in their practice to encourage and support remembrance as well as local baby bereavement charities that offer space for parents to remember their lost baby. There was also particular emphasis put on the value of having the space and time to grieve the loss of a baby through miscarriage.

"We have that memory book over there don't we that they can write in- people don't very often but they can write in that if they want to as well, so the baby is remembered here in some way. And they've got 'Little Things'* up at Derriford as well where they can place a pebble with the baby's name or date of birth on."

Counsellor J: 333-334
*Little Things and Co. A baby bereavement charity based in Devon who set up 'Little Haven', a dedicated space for bereaved families..

IX. Discussion

This mini focus group study aimed to provide a platform for perinatal counsellors to voice their unique perspective and experiences of birth trauma. The first theme comprised the myriad of symptoms presented by clients who have experienced birth trauma. Many of the symptoms mentioned match the symptom profile of PTSD (American Psychiatric Association 2013): re-experiencing the birth; avoidance of environmental triggers; memory disturbances of the birth; hypervigilance with the baby and fear of future pregnancy. In addition to the presentation

of trauma symptoms, this focus group emphasised the significance of guilt and shame following traumatic birth experience. Trauma research suggests that intense feelings of shame and guilt impede emotional processing of a traumatic event and can prolong symptoms of PTSD (Lee *et al.* 2001). This may be particularly salient in traumatic childbirth due to the dominant cultural representations of motherhood as a time of joy conflicting with the tendency for mothers to experience maternal guilt after having a baby (Sutherland 2010).

The second theme reflects the power of communication in the context of clients being able to share their birth story and the significance of feeling heard. Qualitative research concerning traumatic birth highlights the detrimental impact of poor communication between women and clinicians; this leaves mothers feeling invisible and ignored during labour and after birth (Coates *et al.* 2014; Beck 2004). In this mini focus group, counsellors S and J placed particular emphasis on the cathartic nature of clients being able to share their stories and talk through their birth experiences in a safe and non-judgemental environment. Counsellor J recollected signposting a client to a 'Birth Afterthoughts' service at the local hospital which offers mothers the opportunity to talk through their birth with a midwife; this helped the client process what had happened to her during her birth.

"…I know for one lady that I know of, that was really helpful - to go over exactly what happened and make sense of it."

Providing women the opportunity to talk about their birth experiences and ask about the care they received are recommended practices in current UK guidelines for delivery of maternity care (NICE 2015). A large majority of maternity units in the UK now offer a listening service (Ayers *et al.* 2006), yet research into the effectiveness of postnatal debriefing has garnered mixed results (Bastos *et al.* 2015). This is suggested to be due to the variance in the level of skill/training of care providers to deliver appropriate debriefing rather than an inherent issue with talking about the birth experience (Kitzinger and Kitzinger 2007). This echoes the prerequisite of a safe and non-judgemental environment for parents to communicate their birth experiences. In a recent national maternity survey, postnatal care was an area highlighted as needing improvement, particularly concerning women's mental health needs with 20% of women reporting that they were not given contact information for perinatal mental health advice after their birth (Care Quality Commission 2020). This highlights the need for specialist postpartum maternity care and consistency of referrals to empower women with the choice to discuss their birth experience and alleviate some of the pressure on general mental health services and small independent perinatal mental health charities.

The inclusivity of all mothers to access birth aftercare, as opposed to limiting aftercare to physical care for mothers who experienced obstetric complications, reflects an acknowledgement of the diversity of birth experiences and the subjective nature of birth trauma (Garthus-Niegel *et al.* 2013). Throughout the mini focus group, the counsellors recollected clients' various accounts of unique birth experiences that have detrimentally impacted clients' mental health. The diversity of birth experiences was discussed in the context of a wider cultural change in the recognition of what is considered a 'traumatic birth'.

"...the diversity of things that people are coming in for has changed as well."

The cultural shift acknowledging the diversity of traumatic birth experiences is complemented by research documenting birth trauma as a unique and highly subjective experience (Beck 2004). That is to say, what healthcare professionals may consider routine practice may be perceived to a woman as traumatic. This further emphasises the importance of recognising the overall birth environment as a potentially traumatising event, regardless of the level of obstetric complications or positive outcome of the birth.

A second cultural shift described by the counsellors is the increase of fathers accessing perinatal mental health support alone and/or with their partners. A review of paternal perinatal mental health estimates that approximately 10% of men experience postnatal depression during the perinatal period, moderately positively correlating with maternal depression (Paulson and Bazemore 2010). Qualitative research with fathers suggest that men prioritise their partners' needs and question the legitimacy of their own perinatal mental health struggles; this leads to a reluctance to seek support and perceived exclusion from support services (Darwin *et al.* 2017; White 2007). The emergence of research into paternal mental health has highlighted the need for a paradigm shift to focus on perinatal mental health from a family-perspective (Wong *et al.* 2016). It is important to note that discussions concerning partner trauma during the mini focus group were with reference to fathers only. There is limited research on the impact of partner trauma in LGBTQ couples (Darwin and Greenfield 2019); therefore, it is difficult to discern whether the trauma responses discussed are typical of birth partners or

of men specifically. Further research is warranted on the impact of birth trauma in LGBTQ couples to ensure appropriate support be offered to all parents.

The fourth theme encapsulates discussions of the UK's current maternity practice that may leave parents vulnerable to 'falling through the gaps' of the healthcare system by not receiving the support they need. The high threshold women need to reach to access post-birth support as well as inconsistencies in maternity care were also discussed within this theme.

"...there seems to be a disparity with how people are treated. So some people get really, really good treatment some people are very supported and helped very sensitively, after whatever they've experienced. But other people, you know, have been left in a room on their own when they're really distressed."

A report by the Royal College of Midwives (RCOM) stated that nearly one third of student midwives did not feel they had sufficient theoretical knowledge to recognise issues relating to perinatal mental health (RCOM 2014). A recent poignant statistic revealed that 80% of midwives felt they needed more support with workload management and risk-assessment (RCOM 2020). The report posits the solution of including greater emphasis on mental health in the pre-registration syllabus for midwifery and employing at least one specialist perinatal mental health midwife in every maternity unit. Alongside this, a prerequisite in supporting women in maternity care is appropriate staff numbers to provide personalised care for mothers in labour and ensure consistency of care (Smith *et al.* 2009). The need for greater personalisation is also highlighted in the NHS guidelines for Better Births (Cumberlege *et al.* 2016). Amid discussions of ways to improve maternity care, counsellors S and J highlighted the need to join-up perinatal services to create a more

robust and consistent care pathway.

"...making sure there's a robust care pathway for people that need different help for different stages of pregnancy and beyond."

The need to integrate maternity care services has been echoed in the most recent 'Better Births' report which calls for digital maternity records across England. Electronic maternity records make it easier for healthcare professionals to share data with other clinicians and the women in their care (Cumberlege *et al.* 2016). In addition to joining antenatal and postnatal services, providing a digital platform for maternity records can also reassure women that healthcare providers have access to previous mental health concerns or previous birth trauma, as well as a clear and recent outline of their personalised care and support plan. NHS England have committed to expand this platform to all women by March 2024 (NHS 2020), a positive step in narrowing the gap in perinatal mental healthcare and creating a more robust care pathway for every family.

Finally, the counsellors in this mini focus group recount the ways parents cope with the trauma they experienced. The counsellors discussed how clients found strength in pragmatic approaches of fundraising and raising awareness to educate other expectant parents of all birth eventualities. These included teaching 'counting kicks' in pregnancy to raise awareness of foetal distress and sharing poetry to vocalise unexpected postpartum emotional responses (such as jealousy or guilt). This final theme highlights the importance of considering the narrative surrounding childbirth and what is presented to women as a normal or ideal pregnancy and birth. Women may be more reluctant, or find it more uncomfortable, to communicate their

traumatic birth when the reality of their experience deviates from their perceived ideal (Peeler *et al.* 2018). Therefore, it may be more appropriate to open the discourse of all birth eventualities, in a sensitive and supportive manner, throughout the perinatal period.

X. Conclusion

The findings from this mini focus group highlight the complexity of birth trauma in a changing perinatal culture, and the ways parents can be vulnerable to 'falling through the gaps' in terms of accessing appropriate maternity care. Additionally, the findings highlight clients' resilience in their methods of coping with birth trauma and the power of communication as a form of catharsis for suffering parents. The themes identified reflect previous academic research on parent and clinician experiences of birth trauma as well as national reports aimed at improving maternity care for parents.

Birth Trauma Support

Below is a short list of support services available for those suffering with birth trauma:

- Birth Trauma Association (BTA): https://www.birthtraumaassociation.org.uk/
- Make Birth Better: https://www.makebirthbetter.org/
- Birthrights: https://www.birthrights.org.uk/

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Biography

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DIVORCED EGGS AND THE CULINARY FIELD: BOURDIEU, FIELD THEORY, AND THE CHEF

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Abstract

In this article I seek to utilise Bourdieu's field theory to examine the relation between the artistic and culinary fields. I examine how the field has changed since the mid-twentieth century and how, since the 1960s, the autonomy of the chef drastically changed the culinary field. Focusing upon elite chefs of the twenty-first century, such as Ferran Adrià and Massimo Bottura, I analyse how European haute cuisine has developed and how dialogues between the chef and diner have become a defining feature of contemporary haute cuisine. Overall I examine how this autonomy occurred and what it potentially means for haute cuisine in the future. Throughout, I reference the concepts of Bourdieu's field theory, legitimation, and heteronomy/autonomy to explain how these changes within the culinary field occurred and what it means for the field.

I. Introduction

Divorced Eggs
An Eel Swimming up the Po River
Italian Breasts in the Sunshine
We Are Still Deciding What Fish to Serve

Some of these dishes are by the Futurist artist Filippo Marinetti while others are by Italian chef Massimo Bottura of the three Michelin-starred Osteria Francescana. Some of these dishes are understood as an artistic joke, all of them as a critique of Italian culinary history, yet some have been legitimised as cooking of the highest standards. The fundamental premise of Futurist cookery was to propose a 'complete revolution in the nourishment of our race... to evoke and provoke essential states of mind which cannot otherwise be evoked or provoked' (Marinetti 1932: 136). Bottura on the other hand proposes to view 'Italian culinary traditions seen from ten kilometres away' (Bottura 2014: 10). Marinetti's Futurist manifesto never did evoke and provoke the minds of the Italian population. Yet Bottura's philosophy of viewing Italian cuisine from ten kilometres away remains relevant within the highest

stratum of haute cuisine. Inspired by a story told by art dealer Emilio Mazzoli about how avant garde artist Gino De Dominico painted the portrait of a prominent art dealer from ten kilometres away by applying a single mark to a canvas; Bottura continues to develop a dialogue between the kitchen and contemporary art. Herein lies a struggle that has continued to resurface within the culinary field since the twentieth century: can cookery ever be art? While it is not the remit of this article to answer such a question, rather, it is concerned with the trajectory of the chef in relation to such debates. The world of the chef treads a fine line between aesthetics and utility, between vicarious pleasure and nourishment, between aesthetic autonomy and craft. In varying degrees, the current field of haute cuisine fulfils all of these. This article intends to examine how and why aesthetics has fundamentally changed the practices of certain haute cuisine chefs. How have the discourses of artistic autonomy in the field of fine art altered the trajectory of the chef and the nature of contemporary haute cuisine?

I will map these ideas onto the main concepts proposed by Bourdieu (1977, 1993) in his sociological frameworks for field theory. While Bourdieu's field theory has not been used to chart the trajectory of the chef or the culinary field; its theories on position-taking, autonomy, and legitimation regarding high cultural production can similarly be applied here. To explore these issues I will examine certain social and cultural changes that occurred within Western Europe in the post Second World War period. The twentieth century saw radical developments in the production and consumption of foods in Europe and, with *nouvelle cuisine*, saw the origins of a recognisable contemporary haute cuisine. By charting this history of changing social and cultural conditions of the culinary field, I intend to reveal how the aesthetic understanding of haute cuisine has developed in the twenty-first century. In turn, this will allow me to interpret what the aesthetic autonomy of certain elite chefs may have on the culinary field.

II. Cultural Production and the Culinary Field

While in some cases chefs have become household names, the profession as a whole has largely emerged from the anonymity of serving a ruling class. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries European cuisine was defined by the hegemony of a French court cuisine. Stephen Mennell's *All Manners of Food* (1985) gives a particularly significant examination of the social mechanisms of dining during French and English court society that drove the creation of a distinguishable haute cuisine. Here, chefs were essentially irrelevant in the formation of culinary meaning with the logic of cuisine centred around the social, political, and economic powers of preindustrial elites. These cuisines based

upon spectacle and conspicuous consumption defined the aesthetic conditions of haute cuisine. So for the aesthetic appreciation of contemporary haute cuisine to exist in the manner it does today, we require a fundamental change in the autonomy of chefs. In Elias' (1993) analysis of Mozart's transition from craftsmen's art to artists' art, Elias defines the former to be commissioned by and produced for those socially superior to the artist; whereas with the latter, the artist works autonomously for an anonymous audience. This simple change presents a shift in the power balance of artistic production. With this in mind, we can understand the significance the departure from court society to public audience had in a power shift in favour of chefs. While historically chefs served those socially superior to them, the transition to anonymous audience fostered entirely new ways of thinking about and creating cuisine. As a result, it allowed the meaning of foods to be understood from sources other than the nobility.

This idea can be extended by Bourdieu's (1977, 1993) theories on the cultural field and the various 'positions' and 'position-taking' available to certain agents. By using Bourdieu's field theory we can determine how the relation between the 'habitus' and the culinary field allows certain agents who are high in social, cultural, and economic capital to take greater risks within that field. According to Bourdieu, the space of available positions within any given field determines what is expected and even demanded of agents (1993: 65-67). In short, the culinary field, as a product of history, produces individual and collective practices from which agents may respond to in relation to the possible roles available to them. Pre-twentieth century, these roles were largely limited, even to

the most highly regarded chefs, as culinary power was directed from the court rather than the autonomy of any chef. From the 1960s however, drastic changes occur within and outside the culinary field that provide key formative moments in the legitimation and autonomy of chefs. Those wide ranging cultural and social changes include major transformative processes such as: the mass migration of populations from rural to urban areas, the industrialisation of food production and transportation, the organisation of work and leisure time, and the proliferation of public restaurants (Trubek 2014: 127-128). Most pertinently, the formation of *nouvelle cuisine* drove a lasting legacy in the positions elite chefs could occupy. In expanding his title from chef de cuisine to chef-proprietor and giving his restaurant the eponymous name Restaurant Paul Bocuse, the French chef took vital steps in reimaging the identity and roles available to elite chefs. Bocuse and the other leading chefs of the time led a revolution not only in the way food was produced, but also in the autonomy of chefs. What I am suggesting here is that the accumulation of social and cultural changes occurring in France at that time fostered entirely new ways for chefs to identify themselves and respond in unforeseen ways. In Bourdieu's idea of the cultural field, these minor changes and revolutions within position taking by certain agents creates a generalised change within the *doxa*, or what is regarded as common sensical for a particular social group (Bourdieu 1977: 167-169).

The Role of Legitimising Institutions

In the case of contemporary art, there is what is referred to as the 'artworld.' A culmination of institutions of art dealers, collectors, gallerists, artists, and critics that define and legitimate the agents

within that field. By comparison, within the culinary field, there is the Michelin Guide. DiMaggio (1987) traces a particularly significant set of legitimating institutions to have formed in Boston in the mid-nineteenth century United Sates. Several cultural institutions, such as the Museum of Fine Art and the Boston Symphony Orchestra, were formed with the aim to create clear distinctions between 'high' and 'low' art. Organised by a commercial elite and an increasingly affluent merchant class; they sought to protect the cultural practices of Boston from the external threat of the academic populists of Harvard and internally from a rising Irish immigrant population. On the other hand the Michelin Guide, formed as a subsegment of the tyre company to encourage automobile travel and therefore increase tyre sales, stands as the single most influential restaurant guide globally (Surlemont and Johnson 2005). For Bourdieu, these institutions and agents are essential in the formation and understanding of any cultural field. He separates the structure of the field between heteronomy and autonomy. Heteronomy arises from external demand and its value derives from the criteria of those wielding economic and/or political power. Whereas with autonomy cultural products are associated with the independence of the producer who foregoes economic success as a sign of their autonomy. This structure is then mapped onto an axis of consecration which assigns the degree to which products and producers are accepted by either a niche or mass audience (Bourdieu 1993: 40-50).

Through its legitimation of *nouvelle cuisine*, Michelin set the standard of what was considered good taste and by extension, what creative responses chefs are able to make. As the principles of *nouvelle cuisine*

become legitimised as *the* standards of good taste, more and more chefs work towards these standards, reinforcing a hegemonic French approach to cuisine (Lane 2013). As Bourdieu says, the 'production of discourse about the work of art is one of the conditions of production of the work' (Bourdieu 1993: 35). By this logic, the combination of chefs aiming to achieve Michelin stars and Michelin legitimising certain approaches to cuisine creates and recreates a particular way of thinking about cuisine. In the case of Bocuse, the value of *nouvelle cuisine* is twofold; it benefitted the French agrarian tradition and the regionalism of French cuisine, while simultaneously benefitting Michelin's pursuit of increasing automobile travel through the formation of the 'destination restaurant'. What I am saying here is that the legitimising institutions such as the artworld or Michelin reflects the conscious decisions of invested parties who benefit from consecrating certain standards of taste within the arts.

III. The Difficulty of Discourse

A conservative understanding of food and aesthetics is the suggestion that the sense of taste and smell are 'lower' than vision or hearing. Classical Western philosophers claimed that, as neither taste nor smell involve sufficient amounts of intellect to interpret, they are unable to lay basis for theoretical insight. This Western bias is often attributed to Kant (1798), who admonished taste and smell as 'pleasure' senses that were highly subjective and inherently unworthy of the same esteem as vision. The same is not true everywhere. The Japanese tea ceremony integrates food and art in a way that offers an alternative to the sensorial hierarchies of Western philosophy. The Hindu thought of *rasa* similarly conceptualises taste as the combination of sensory experience

and an aesthetic faculty that evokes emotions that cannot be described (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1999: 2). The difficulty of articulating culinary experience has not gone unnoticed. Fine (1996), in his study of restaurant workers, remarked on the difficulty they had describing what they liked about certain foods. In gustatory terms, we acknowledge the basic flavour profiles as sweet, sour, salty, and bitter and can identify foods that fall within these categories. Yet our language goes no further in enabling us to describe how these flavours actually taste. Understood through the ideas of Wittgenstein, Fine argues that gustatory meaning cannot be established linguistically, but only externally through the context of social structures (Fine 1996: 201-206). Unlike the East, Western thought may not have developed any spiritual understanding of sensory experience. Yet with the increasing autonomy of certain chefs and their position-taking focusing upon the aesthetic development of haute cuisine, a new context for understanding food has potentially been developed.

Ferran Adrià, along with Heston Blumenthal and Thomas Keller, are often credited with being the pioneers of 'new cookery' (Adrià *et al*. 2006). Yet Adrià stands as the figure who blurred food and aesthetics in previously unforeseen ways. The comparisons between Picasso and Adrià have been well established; Adrià's deconstructionist approach to cookery is considered equally revolutionary to Picasso's deconstruction of perspective and the conventional planes of the canvas (Åman *et al*. 2015). Whereas Picasso intuitively positioned himself and his art as a drastic departure from the art of his predecessors in the early twentieth century, Adrià similarly positioned his cookery as a reactionary movement

against the established conventions of haute cuisine at El Bulli in the early parts of the twenty-first century. What can be established from this comparison is that the ability for chefs to drastically reinvent the culinary field and cuisine occurred nearly a century after avant garde artists were able to revolutionise the field of art. In the terms of Bourdieu (1993), what this means is that only in the twenty-first century, and only after the developments of *nouvelle cuisine*, were certain chefs able to use their autonomy in taking new positions. In short, Adrià's repositioning, only possible as a legitimised Michelin-star chef, created a general change within the entire culinary field and made possible a new set of potential positions centred around the scientific and aesthetic manipulation of ingredients.

According to Elias (1993), the transition from craftsmen's art to artists' art, and for art to distance itself from utility, necessitates the artist becoming a 'moulder of taste'. As the artist occupies a position of power over their anonymous audience, a dialogue between the two is required so that the artist may direct their audience toward the intended meanings and significance of their art. As with Adrià and similar chefs operating within what is commonly referred to as 'molecular gastronomy,' this dialogue becomes a key feature of their form of haute cuisine. In the technical reimaging of ingredients into gelatinous spheres or foams, Adrià created a dialogue between chef and diner that previously did not exist. As a result, this fundamentally changed the orthodoxy of the culinary field. In classical haute cuisine this dialogue was bound by the traditions of fine dining. Dining, service, and the role of the chef were largely defined by a set of preconceptions of what was to be expected from an haute cuisine restaurant. Adrià's gastronomy broke

these conventions. In forcing diners to revaluate their approach to dining and structures of ingredients, Adrià opened a direct dialogue between the aesthetic autonomy of the chef and the diner (Myhrvold 2011). Much like how the Futurists believed people 'think, dream, and act according to what they eat and drink' (Marinetti 1932: 33) the proponents of new cookery believed 'cooking can affect people in profound ways... the act of eating engages all of the senses as well as the mind' (Adrià *et al.* 2006). What I am suggesting here is that the difficulty in expressing gustatory experiences has become a major feature of the sort of cuisine being created by leading chefs. Through chef autonomy and the rapid expansion of an aesthetic approach to haute cuisine, certain plates of food have become discursive tools for chefs to engage with their diners. So in Bottura's examination of Italian culinary traditions from ten kilometres away, he is not only revaluating the foundations of that history, but also attempting to open an emotional narrative that reaches the diner in ways beyond the utility of eating.

IV. The Discursive Function of Cooking

If opening a dialogue between chef and diner is a defining feature of haute cuisine, then what is the significance of that process? What messages are chefs attempting to convey and how? Carolyn Korsmeyer's (1999) studies into the philosophical aspects of taste are particularly significant in understanding how this process can take place. In Korsmeyer's analysis, she suggests that certain foods are capable of expressing meaning through what they may represent symbolically. The symbolic interpretation of foods allows meaning to be attached to these foodstuffs and, in turn, the subjective pleasure of food can evoke meaning beyond the sense of taste alone.

This form of symbolism can be traced back to the formative years of a French haute cuisine; the spectacle, craft, and disguise of flavours through the use of exotic spices act as a representation of the elites economic and political wealth. Korsmeyer focuses particularly on the work of chef Marie-Antoine Carême (1784-1833), employed by many nobles and royalty during the early nineteenth century. Carême's *pieces montées*, extravagant centrepieces for the display and serving of food, are regarded as the best expressions of the chef's creative output. Formed from a combination of spun sugar, almond paste, purées, and pâtés, they were part architectural showpiece and part edible element of the banquet itself. For Korsmeyer however the importance of these creations lies in how culinary craft is capable of representing the social conditions in which it was created. In this case, representative of the wealth and prestige of Carême's patrons (Korsmeyer 1999: 121-125). Herein lies the discursive function of contemporary haute cuisine: certain chefs today intentionally attempt to offer diners creations that convey meaning or elicit an emotional response. This process of contemporary haute cuisine similarly reflects the social, cultural, and in some cases, political conditions in which they are created.

Five Ages of Parmigiano Reggiano

Massimo Bottura's philosophy of approaching Italian cuisine from ten kilometres away is representative of this discursive role of cooking. Yet to understand how Bottura is capable of developing this within his gastronomy, it is necessary to use the framework proposed by Bourdieu regarding the interaction between habitus and the field. As Bourdieu understands it, habitus is the product of a particular environment of structured structures, which objectively regulates the practices and strategies of an individual (Bourdieu 1977: 72). Bottura, born in Modena and raised in the culinary traditions of the Emilia Romagna region of Italy, grew up with an understanding of the history and traditions of the rustic, peasant dishes his cuisine critiques and the memory of which he attempts to evoke. His culinary training comes most notably from the tutelage of the three Michelin-starred Alain Ducasse and then Ferran Adrià at El Bulli. From this particular set of environments, Bottura inherited a culinary habitus with a detailed knowledge and understanding of Italian cuisine but also of the culinary field, its histories and traditions, the competing positions and its defining discourses; the French traditions from Ducasse and the experimental aesthetics of Adrià (Bottura 2012). Italian cuisine from ten kilometres away operates at the intersection of his culinary habitus and the historical developments the culinary field had undergone since the development of *nouvelle cuisine* in the 1960s. In short, the culinary field produces a habitus for chefs, which, in turn, produces and potentially changes the field.

The dish *Five Ages of Parmigiano Reggiano* is a clear example of both how it represents Bottura's habitus and position, yet also exhibits the discursive function chefs intend to display. The dish is an examination and deconstruction of the history and production of Parmigiano Reggiano, the cheese most synonymous with Emilia Romagna. Technically, the dish stretches the formal properties of the cheese, transforming it into a demi-soufflé, wafer, sauce, foam, and even as 'air'. Conceptually it examines *stagionatura*, the aging process each wheel of cheese undergoes that subtly changes its flavour. Each technical element utilises a specific age of cheese to present a

temporal and sensual exploration of the cheeses production and elicit within the diner an understanding of the cheeses artisanal production. Another conceptual point that frames the dish derives from the French term *terroir*, a concept and influence born from Bottura's work under Ducasse (Bottura 2014: 32). As a concept, *terroir* describes how the combination of geographic factors with cultural factors create unique flavour profiles. Arising from the twentieth century, the French tastemakers of literary gourmands, critics, and *vignerons* created a language about food and drink that was rooted in the French agrarian tradition, therefore benefiting those who profit from foodstuffs that evoke the past (Trubek 2008: 21-22). This specific plate of food, then, reflects both Bottura's habitus of the Emilia Romagna tradition, and also the heritage of the culinary field and the French agrarian practices embedded within it. Overall, what I am attempting to explain here is that certain plates of food and certain chefs represent the culmination of factors that have occurred within the culinary field since the mid-twentieth century. Autonomy within the field has reached a point where just eating is not the only factor. Narratives, histories, traditions, and emotional experiences are all part of the course of contemporary haute cuisine. This autonomy, emerging only since the 1960s, has resulted in ideas being played out on the plate and for the culinary field to be able to engage with discourses beyond just cooking – something impossible just a few decades ago.

The Ethical Turn

In May 2012, northern Italy was devastated by a series of earthquakes. Part of the destruction resulted in an estimated 400,000 wheels of Parmigiano Reggiano being damaged or outright destroyed. Risotto 'Cacio e Pepe' is Bottura's response to the disaster and highlights a unique phenomenon: the ethical turn of elite chefs within haute cuisine. What we are witnessing is not only plates of food being used to convey meaning, but that meaning becoming an ethical stance on current social issues. Raviv (2018) notices this in an example of Dan Barber, an American two Michelin-starred chef, at his restaurant Blue Hill at Stone Barns. Diners were momentarily interrupted between courses while a waiter explained the restaurants composting practices and how the restaurant is operates largely self-sufficiently from the produce grown in the farms surrounding the restaurant. In 2015 Barber also initiated the project wastED; bringing together farmers, fishermen, producers, and guest chefs (including illustrious names such as Alain Ducasse and Grant Achatz) to his New York restaurant Blue Hill to create menus from produce that would otherwise be wasted.

Bottura's dish is a derivative of the Roman dish cacio e pepe but replaces pecorino and pasta for Parmigiano Reggiano and rice to create an Emilia Romagna version. The intention for the dish was to utilise as much of the remaining cheese that survived the earthquakes as possible and to encourage others to likewise support the producers. Bottura has described this dish as being 'layered with meanings: people, places and time' (Bottura 2014, p118). Unlike the rest of Bottura's recipes, *Risotto 'Cacio e Pepe'* requires no advanced techniques or special equipment, just vast amounts of cheese to protect the people and traditions of Bottura's Emilia Romagna heritage. What I am suggesting here is that the discursive element of haute cuisine is becoming a way for chefs to ethically engage with issues regarding food production. In broader terms, this

potentially reveals a wider change occurring within the culinary field, resulting from ethical discourses influencing the way chefs think about and create their cuisine. Certain powerful agents, such as Bottura and Barber, drive this change towards an explicit ethical role within haute cuisine. The consequence being that the entire field potentially becomes ethically engaged.

V. Conclusion

In this article I have explored the history and developments of the European culinary field since the mid-twentieth century and its relation to the discourses of contemporary art. Using Bourdieu's field theory I have mapped the social, political, and cultural conditions that have influenced the rapid trajectory of the chef profession since the formation of nouvelle cuisine in the 1960s. Since the profession managed to free itself from the heteronomy of working under the direction of preindustrial elites, both the role and aesthetics of haute cuisine have become increasingly autonomous. Bourdieu's concepts regarding the field, legitimation, position-taking, and heteronomy/autonomy have all been utilised in an attempt to explain how and why chefs have used their autonomy to expand the culinary field. The comparison between the field of contemporary art since the twentieth century and the culinary field has been used to explore how the discourses within contemporary art have influenced practices within the culinary field. Most importantly, this article has examined how that autonomy has resulted in certain elite forms of haute cuisine becoming discursive moments that attempt to reveal the narratives and emotions plates of food are capable of conveying.

Developing from this, I have briefly

detailed the ethical turn within this discursive function. As an examination of how the social and cultural conditions in which haute cuisine operates, this article has also started to engage with new research avenues into how contemporary ethical ideas are influencing haute cuisine. This is the start of a larger research aim of looking into how and why certain elite chefs have started to introduce ethical concerns into their dishes and how haute cuisine, as a whole, is moving in the direction of ethical thinking.

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Biography

Jed is a second year Anthropology PhD student at the University of Exeter. His research is concerned with chef-led activism and looks at how the profession has historically developed. He is particularly interested in how contemporary ethical and sustainable discourses have influenced haute cuisine and how the ethical agency of chefs may develop in the future. Before starting his PhD, he worked as a chef in numerous fine-dining restaurants for over eight years.

BOOK REVIEW: MEGAN GOODWIN (2020) ABUSING RELIGION: LITERARY PERSECUTION, SEX SCANDALS AND AMERICAN MINORITY RELIGIONS.

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Megan Goodwin, visiting lecturer in Philosophy and Religion at Northeastern University in Boston Massachusetts and programme director of the 'Sacred Writes: Public Scholarship on Religion' project, presents in *Abusing Religion* three case studies of texts written about abuse within minority religions and the extent of the influence these books have had. *Abusing Religion* takes an extremely well-researched interdisciplinary approach and makes use of experts from sociology, religious studies, anthropology, gender studies, and other disciplines throughout. The text is divided into three parts, each focusing on one text: *Michelle Remembers* (1980), *Not Without My Daughter* (1987), and *Under the Banner of Heaven* (2003). Each of these texts has influenced the American body politic as deeply as leading to changes in legislation, increased levels of othering and stereotyping, the rise in attacks on minority groups, and most significantly and worryingly the increased assumption that sexual abuse is endemic and prevalent in minority religious groups despite data showing that this is not the case.

The three case studies are bookended by detailed introductory and concluding chapters. Goodwin does a good job of introducing the material to the reader, making it accessible to those who may not have read the books discussed in the case studies. In the introduction she coins the phrase 'contraceptive nationalism', which she defines as, 'a form of gendered white supremacist Christian nativism that minoritizes [sic] certain American religious traditions, compromising their legal protections, political influences, cultural cachet, and/or social credibility' (p3). Goodwin discusses how the American obsession with protecting white Christian bodies results in drawing attention away from the prevalence of sexual abuse that happens in mainstream America and diverts it to groups that do not fit into this category, leading to the narrative that sexual abuse is almost synonymous with minority religious groups and vice versa. Goodwin concludes that Americans would rather believe that sexual abuse occurs in weird cults than acknowledge that it could be occurring within their own community. On a number of occasions Goodwin points out that statistically, child sexual abuse is more likely to involve a family member than a stranger and is more prevalent in the general population than in minority religions.

Part One addresses the Satanic Panic that exploded in the 1980s following the publication of *Michelle Remembers*. In the book, Michelle Smith's childhood memories of ritual abuse are described

after being 'recovered' in a series of hypnotherapy sessions with her therapist Dr Lawrence Pazder. Goodwin explains how the techniques used to 'recover' the memories detailed in *Michelle Remembers* were later debunked by experts. Additionally, other cases of abuse reported by others were based on questionable interview techniques in which children were rewarded for giving the responses the interviewers were looking for, but admonished when they did not. Psychologists concluded that the techniques used resulted in false memories. Despite *Michelle Remembers* being widely discredited today, Goodwin argues that the damage has been done. The lasting effects of the Satanic Panic, after it was discovered it was not real, resulted in children being less likely to be believed in genuine abuse cases. The shock factor, Goodwin states, in ritual abuse stories eclipses those of typical domestic abuse, meaning that genuine cases have been ignored while authorities spent millions of dollars investigating false claims that could not be supported by physical or forensic evidence but were nevertheless featured heavily in the media.

In Part Two Goodwin examines *Not Without My Daughter* (1987), the story of Betty Mahmoody, a white American woman who married an Iranian doctor in America. Following a move to Iran with her husband she gives an account of domestic abuse and her escape with her daughter back to the United States. In a pre-9/11 and pre-Gulf War America, the book fuelled anti-Muslim and anti-Iranian rhetoric already heightened by the Iranian Hostage Crisis of 1979-1981, and caused an uptick in attacks on members of Muslim communities. Goodwin states that the text racialised Islam as non-white and portrayed Muslim men as a threat to white

American women; that in the book Mahmoody continually associates the violence she reports with her husband's religion and nationality, ignoring the fact that reports of domestic abuse and marital rape are also reported in American homes. Goodwin argues that the book and its subsequent influence has led to the false belief that foreign Muslim men are the biggest threat to the American body politic, whereas, in reality, white American men with guns have caused exponentially more deaths in America than Muslim extremists.

Part Three examines the Jon Krakauer's *Under the Banner of Heaven* (2003) which focuses on Mormon polygamy and the murders of Brenda and Erica Lafferty. Goodwin points out that throughout the text Krakauer confuses and conflates various Mormon traditions and theological understandings to conclude that sexual abuse is part of every polygynous relationship; that girls are groomed to accept sexual assault and boys are groomed to become predators. Goodwin discusses the negative impact the text has had on the American understanding of polygamy and involvement that Krakauer was allowed to have in the 2008 raid on the Yearning for Zion ranch in Eldorado, Texas and legislative changes. Goodwin points out that the author fails to interview a single woman who chooses to practice plural marriage or acknowledge that while sexual abuse has occurred in fundamentalist Mormon groups, it is by no means a hallmark of plural marriage. Yet, Krakauer was able to convince authorities that the narrative portrayed in his book was accurate, influencing the way authorities treated members of the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints following the 2008 raid. Goodwin argues that as the result of the book, many Americans now believe that

fundamentalist Mormonism is defined by polygyny and in turn polygyny is defined by sexual abuse and many Americans will be unaware that only a small proportion of fundamentalist Mormons actually practice plural marriage, and a smaller number still experience sexual abuse.

While Goodwin does justice to identifying the lasting damage caused by the three books she includes as case studies, what is lacking is a detailed assessment of those involved from a modern-day perspective, which is particularly crucial when two of the three books were published over thirty years ago. Whilst Goodwin makes mention of the backlash and alternative narratives, there seems to be a missed opportunity in not reaching out to those involved to see how they view the impact of their involvement or to give voice to those ignored in texts and in the immediate aftermath of the publication of each of the books. For example, Goodwin frequently states that Krakauer never interviewed a single female polygamist who chose to enter into plural marriage, and while she does make use of ethnographic studies that give voice to these women, Goodwin also does not interview a single female polygamist.

However, this shortfall does open the book up to flexible classroom use in which students could be asked to first read the books used in the case studies, followed by the accompanying sections of Abusing Religion and then examine recent interviews of those involved in the case studies, and/or the work of experts who provided testimony in associated trials, and other 'lost voices'. Goodwin touches on cases of sexual abuse in the Catholic Church and points out that such abuse has bubbled under the surface for decades without legislators calling for legal changes in ways that were seen in

response to the three cases studies. Here is an opportunity for future research as well as issues that could be addressed and applied in a classroom setting tackling such issues.

This is a timely publication in light of the recent protests following the death of George Floyd in Minnesota earlier this year sparking a massive social justice and civil rights movement in the United States. It highlights the white supremist Christian problem that America has which 'others' people of colour, foreigners, and minority religions. This results in minorities being ignored while white American Christian voices are listened to. Goodwin's 'contraceptive nationalism' can be seen today beyond the pages of this book and will undoubtedly form the basis of further research. As Goodwin concludes, 'religion does not cause abuse. But… religious belonging can make abusive situations and relationships harder to escape'. By responsibly educating the American public about cases of abuse, which the three texts discussed in her case studies fail to do, hopefully the American body politic can begin to better understand where abuse occurs and how it can be prevented, without endangering and othering those who belong to minority religious groups.

Biography

Philippa is a doctoral researcher in the Department of Theology and Religion at the University of Exeter. She researches the media representations of fundamentalist Mormon polygamy in the United States and how this looks in comparison to the realities of Mormon plural marriage as it is practiced in America today. ORCID: 0000-0002-6862-4093 Twitter: @philippajmeek

THE BORDER IN IRELAND

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Abstract

The Irish Border that marks the boundary between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland was supposed to be a hopeful compromise between two communities after years of political debate and increasing violence. 2021 marks the centenary of its creation and for the unionists a way of celebrating its ties with the United Kingdom, and for Republicans a reminder of the 'scar' on the Irish landscape and a tangible obstacle for Irish Unification.

The border is 500km (310 miles) long and I am researching, through the practice of photography, the interface of cultural identities to gain insights into the effects this border has had upon the local land and landscape of the region. Identity does not adhere to political boundaries, it is forged through a shared history.

My research aims to see if the Irish Border can be disentangled from the history and diverse political and religious lives of those who live in the shadow of this politically contrived border that has become the lens through which Ireland is viewed. It also seeks to discover the meaning of place and belonging in a politically and religiously polarised community.

Biography

Mary is a visual artist specialising in photography. She is currently a Doctoral Researcher at Plymouth University working on The Irish Border (also known as The British Border in Ireland) researching the visual and cultural land and landscape of the region.

Mary is interested in how the land is used as a notion of belonging and formation of cultural identity. She has worked extensively in cold climates, especially Iceland and Greenland. Her work centres on remote landscapes that are regularly devoid of people.

Mary also has a PGCE and has lectured in Further Education.

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WHY BRITAIN SHOULD NOT FOLLOW GERMANY'S APPROACH TO RECOGNISING ITS RACIST LEGACY

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Abstract
Two recent articles published in the Guardian by Professor Susan Neiman and the 2018 European Book Prize winner, Géraldine Schwarz, in the context of the Black Lives Matter Movement suggest that Britain should follow Germany's example in dealing with its racist legacy. This opinion piece argues that it should not. While it is irrefutable that Germany has taken some important steps to face up to its Nazi past, to suggest that this means Germany has 'confronted its racist legacy' in a general sense is deeply misguided. I argue that this erroneous conclusion is due to a misunderstanding by both authors about what racism is, and how it operates. The UK, like any other ex-colonial power, should take a more principled and systematic approach to dealing with its racist legacy, and following the German example would undermine this.

I. Introduction

Two recent articles published in the Guardian by Professor Susan Neiman and the 2018 European Book Prize winner, Géraldine Schwarz, in the context of the Black Lives Matter movement suggest that Britain should follow Germany's example in dealing with its racist legacy. This opinion piece argues that it should not. While it is irrefutable that Germany has taken some important steps to face up to its Nazi past, to suggest that this means Germany has 'confronted its racist legacy' in a general sense is deeply misguided. I argue that this erroneous conclusion is due to a misunderstanding by both authors about what racism is, and how it operates. The UK, like any other ex-colonial power, should take a more principled and systematic approach to dealing with its racist legacy, and following the German example would undermine this.

II. The Pervasive Narrative of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*

The crux of Neiman's (2020) and Schwarz's (2020) articles is that Germany 'has confronted the terrors of its past' while other nations have yet to. The suggestion is therefore that Germany is leading by example and that Britain should 'learn from the Germans' (Neiman 2019). This narrative existed prior to the current Black Lives Matter movement (see MacGregor 2014). Its proponents commonly point to the existence of words (as well as the absence of similar terms in the English language) such as *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the past) and *Mahnmal* (monuments of national shame) as proof of Germany's success story. The key problem with the argument made in both articles is that antisemitism and racism are taken as synonymous when in fact antisemitism is a type of racism.

III. The Ideology of Racism

Racism is an ideology that is ever changing, always adapting to suit the socio-political reality it operates in (Wieviorka 2020: 419-420). How racism is deployed differs between different racialised groups. However, the racialisation process can also vary over

time within a particular group. For example, early medieval Christian writing justified the 'inferiority' of Africans by associating their blackness with sin (Miles and Brown 2003: 26). Then, in the eighteenth century the environmentalist theory postulated that the climate inhabited by Africans, their societies and their habits of living were actually the reasons for their 'savagery' (Miles and Brown 2003: 38). Thereafter, during what is ironically referred to as the era of European Enlightenment, 'race science' justified the hierarchy of 'races' as a 'natural' phenomenon with Africans simply deemed 'non-civilisable' (Miles and Brown 2003: 40-41).

Meanwhile, the narratives through which Jews have been othered and which have been used to justify antisemitic behaviour have also changed over time. That said, they have primarily relied on cultural (religious) characteristics rather than somatic features. While in Roman times Jews were considered suspect because their monotheistic creed contradicted the polytheistic nature of Roman belief, early Christians premised their othering on the idea that Jewish people were responsible for the killing of Christ (Miles and Brown 2003: 30). Antisemitic tropes later developed to imagine Jews as insidious and disloyal capitalists (Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice is one such example of this representation) with no attachment to the *Volk*.

While the markers of inherent negative characteristics used to devise discrete 'races' are distinct (colour and religion), these fluctuating racialisation processes share a common foundation that 'attributes a negative evaluation' to the racialised group (Miles and Brown 2003: 8) while ascribing positive characteristics to the (White) group doing the racialising.

This is not to suggest that the targets of biological and cultural racism (Modood 2005; see also Modood 1992; Modood *et al*. 1994) necessarily experience the same outcome. The point is simply to highlight that 'race', as is widely known in academia, is a social construct that can be premised on both phenotypical as well as cultural/religious traits. Antisemitism is thus *one* form of racism (see also Jansen and Meer 2020: 2), not the *only* form of racism. Hence, to claim that Germany has 'confronted its racist legacy' because it addressed the brutality of the Shoah would only be true if antisemitism was the only form of racism Germany has practiced. The country's often overlooked colonial history in East, South and South West Africa (i.e. extending to modern day Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Gabon, Tanzania, Kenya, Burundi, Nigeria, Namibia to name but a few) between 1884/85-1919 show this to be far from being the case.

IV. Namibia: An example of German racism that has not been adequately confronted

Between 1904 and 1907/8, Germany massacred three quarters of the Herero population and fifty per cent of the Nama people in Namibia, including men, women and children (Images, Lettres et Sons 2017). Water supplies were poisoned so that the local population would die of thirst, and surviving women were forced into sexual slavery to satisfy the urges of German soldiers and civilians. Other survivors, including women and children were sent to concentration camps and enslaved to work for the military and private German companies (Sarkin-Hughes 2011). After the genocide, the dead were decapitated and their heads given to the surviving womenfolk of the Herero people to boil and scalp so the skulls could be taken to Germany (Al Jazeera 2018).

Approximately 100,000 skulls were transported back to Europe in the interest of 'race science' to 'prove the superiority' of Whites over Blacks. Leaders of the Herero people have been campaigning to get the skulls of their ancestors returned since 2008 (Shigwedha 2018: 73). This has been a long and arduous process with the German government refusing to engage directly with the affected communities when the campaign began. The first repatriation of skulls took place in 2011, with subsequent ones in 2014 and 2018. While the German government has accepted 'moral responsibility', it still refuses to apologise for the genocide; it is said to be still 'considering how to apologise'. Hopes for an apology were dampened once again in June 2020 when the German government refused to corroborate President Geingob's announcement that it was finally ready to say sorry (Deutsche Welle 2020a).

If an essential step to 'coming to terms with the past' is, as Schwarz (2020) argues in her article, to take 'the perspective of the victim, the oppressed, the occupied, the humiliated. And being able to apologise', it is difficult to see how Germany can be said to be living its much celebrated term, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. Furthermore, not only are streets, plazas, and statues commemorating the legacies of colonialists like Adolf Lüderitz still in place across the country to this day (Deutsche Welle 2020b), but Germany has also refused to engage in any serious discussion on reparations (Deutsche Welle 2020c). It is worth noting that reparations are not a foreign concept to Germany as they already provide 'annual payments to Holocaust victims and their descendants' (U.S. Department of State 2019: 6). All this is hardly the sign of a country that has 'confronted its racist legacy'.

V. Racism in Germany Today

The implication of the two Guardian articles and, more broadly, of the pervasive narrative that Germany has appropriately come to terms with its racist legacy, is that the country is better positioned to deal with racism today. However, evidence of systemic racism suggests that this is not the case. In Germany, eight of the country's sixteen states - Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Berlin, Bremen, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, and Saarland - have legislated to ban the wearing of religious clothing by public primary school teachers (1). The idea is that teachers, as representative of the state, should abide by the principle of neutrality. However, '[f]ive of the states with religious clothing bans - Baden-Württemberg, Saarland, Hesse, Bavaria, and North Rhine-Westphalia - contain an exception for Christian symbols and clothing, phrased in references to the exhibition or representation of Christian-Western educational values, beliefs, and traditions' (Human Rights Watch 2009: 25-26). In Baden-Württemberg, North Rhine-Westphalia, and Saarland not only is Christian attire spared but the kippa is also permissible because, unlike the hijab, it is deemed (without further explanation) not to be in 'breach of the neutrality requirement' (Human Rights Watch 2009: 28). These exemptions and the language used during the debates preceding the enactment of legislative change strongly suggest that the real target - rather than achieving neutrality - is the banning of clothing associated with a particular group, Muslims.

In fact, in both North Rhine-Westphalia and Bavaria official hearings referred to the 'headscarf ban' whereas in Hesse 'the chairman of the CDU party explained, "[w]ith the draft law introduced by us we

want to forbid Hessian teachers and civil servants from wearing the Islamic headscarf"' (cited in Human Rights Watch 2009: 29). In Baden-Württemberg, legislators went so far as to describe the headscarf as 'a fundamentalist statement for a theocratic political system' (quoted in Human Rights Watch 2009: 28). Not only have these bans been introduced, but challenges to the ban - all by Muslims women who wear the headscarf - have largely been upheld by the courts despite Germany's Constitutional Court ruling in 2015 that a blanket ban on the hijab would contravene the right to religious freedom (2) (BBC 2015). For example, in 2018, the Berlin judiciary upheld the removal of a primary school teacher from her post for wearing the hijab (Deutsche Welle 2018).

It is also not clear that contemporary social attitudes towards minorities in Germany are any better than in the UK. A Pew Research Centre (2019) report found that 18% of people in the UK had an unfavourable view of Muslims. In Germany it was one in four. In both countries 6% of the population were found to hold negative views of Jews. Meanwhile, 37% of Germans and 23% of Brits had unfavourable views of Romas. In 2018, Pew Research Centre also found that nearly one in two individuals in the UK (47%) and Germany (45%) would not welcome a Muslim into their family. For Jews it was 31% across both countries. In 2019, the survey *Verlorene Mitte – Feindselige Zustände Rechtsextreme Einstellungen in Deutschland 2018/19* by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, a German political foundation associated with but independent of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, found that 15% of Germans either agree or strongly agree that emigrating Germans should occupy a better social position than the local population simply on account of their

heritage. In Britain, the 2014 European Social Survey found that 18% of Britons agreed with the statement that 'some races or ethnic groups are born less intelligent' (Kelley *et al.* 2017: 8). The 2019 survey also shows that 30% of Germans either agree or strongly agree that the number of Muslims in Germany makes them feel 'like a stranger in their own country'. It is worth keeping in mind that Muslims represent, as they do in the UK, only around 6% of the total population (Pew Research Centre 2017). Finally, while 22% of Britons in 2019 believed that the number of immigrants in the country 'should be reduced a lot' (Blinder and Richards 2020), the aforementioned survey found that 25% of Germans either agree or completely agree with the statement that there were 'too many foreigners' in their country.

In fact, Germany is among the European countries that most systematically overestimate the level of inward migration. On average, in 2016, Germans estimated that immigration levels were 14 percentage points higher than they actually were (12%). Britons had overestimated the real level (13%) by 12 percentage points (Duffy 2019: 99). When asked to estimate the number of Muslims in the country, Germans estimated the proportion to be four times higher than actual levels, while in Britain estimates were three times higher (Duffy 2019: 113). Perhaps most strikingly, when asked to estimate how the Muslim population would grow between 2016 and 2020, on average, Germans believed Muslims would account for more than one in three people in the country. In other words, they projected, based on their already hugely overestimated figure of the number of Muslims in the county, that in four years, the proportion of Muslims in Germany would grow by a whopping ten percentage

points. To be clear, Muslims accounted for 1 in 17 in 2016, and Germans projected that they would account for 1 in 3 by 2020. Understanding how people envisage demographic change often gives an appreciation of a society's attitude towards 'the other'. Indeed, these overestimates are insightful 'because they are related to our wider views of immigration and our political preferences: those who overestimate the scale of immigration tend to have more negative views of its impact' (Duffy 2019: 100) and are thus less accepting of people who don't look like them.

The decision by Mesut Özil, the German football international of Turkish ancestry, to retire from playing for the national team as a result of racism he suffered and the silence of the Deutsche Fußball Bund (Deutsche Welle 2019) puts a face to these statistics. The societal attitudes are also captured by the backlash back in 2013 when a father of Eritrean origin campaigned for a children's book to remove the n-word from its publications so that black kids like his daughter didn't have to be insulted each time they read the book. Nearly half of Germans (48%) objected to the removal of the racist term claiming that it was tantamount to censorship (Connolly 2013; see also Evans 2013). Finally, the Minister of Interior, Building and Community, Horst Seehofer, declaring in 2018 that 'Islam does not belong in Germany' is another example of the reality of xenophobic and anti-Muslim attitudes in the country (Huggler 2018). Overall, the evidence clearly suggests that Germany and Britain do not appear to share dissimilar social attitudes towards migrants and minority ethnic groups. In fact, in many instances Germany is worse than Britain and, in any case, it does not appear to have stamped out institutional racism.

VI. Concluding Thoughts

If we are to seize the current energy by the Black Lives Matter movement and take serious steps to tackle racism at both an individual and structural level, it is important for every society to take a critical look at itself. Otherwise we will not fully grasp the complexities and nuances underlying racism, and consequently confuse surface and cosmetic change for real transformation.

We thus have to acknowledge that groups are not all racialised in the same way and that they therefore suffer racism differently. Neither Neiman (2020) nor Schwarz (2020) acknowledge this. As such, facing one brutal part of its history (as Germany has done with antisemitism) does not mean that a country has faced its racist history in its entirety. This is tantamount to what Neiman (2020) calls a 'falsification of history'.

A country should not be selective in the types of racism or the history it acknowledges. It is in this vain that I argue that Britain should not follow Germany's example. Doing so would equate to Britain acknowledging the brutality of the slave trade but ignoring its pillaging of India (including modern day Pakistan and Bangladesh), its role in the Bengal Famine which led to 4 million deaths, its setting up of concentration camps in South Africa during the Boer war, the Mau Mau massacre in Kenya, as well as the atrocities of the Opium Wars in China to name but a few of its crimes. Britain should confront all of its past racist criminalities, commemorate the memory of all the victims, remove statues and emblems that glorify all of these atrocities, and take meaningful steps to compensate surviving affected communities and stamp out the inequalities they face today. Therefore,

rather than champion Germany's haphazard strategy to dealing with its racist legacy, we need to demand that ex-colonial powers, like Britain, take a more principled and systematic approach.

Notes

(1) In Baden-Württemberg and Berlin the ban is extended to kindergarten teachers, and in Berlin and Hesse the ban extends to civil servants too. See Human Rights Watch (2009: 25) for further details.
(2) It is worth noting that, in February 2020, the Federal Constitutional Courts also upheld a ban on the hijab for trainee lawyers.

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THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC AND THE DEGROWTH MOVEMENT: REFRAMING AND RETHINKING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

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Abstract

After a long period of supremacy for a growth-addicted paradigm, the historic rupture caused by the COVID-19 pandemic has opened a window for a potential global review of our political, economic, and social spheres. In an attempt to decouple growth and well-being, the degrowth movement is spreading – especially in the Global North – alternatives to achieving social well-being within ecological boundaries. This new perspective aims to reorient the values driving political and economic agendas and to reword them through the lenses of solidarity and care. The current unprecedented health crisis has ushered in a period of revisions and discussions about these new development concepts. Despite the negative consequences of the pandemic, then, it has successfully shown the fragility of current economic models and contributed to debates about the sort of policies advocated by degrowth. This article discusses the principles of degrowth and its connections and contributions to the current scenario.

I. Introduction

In early 2020, the world began suffering an unprecedented health and socio-economic crisis caused by the coronavirus pandemic. Economic crises are not new in human history: the Great Depression in the 1930s and the 2008 financial crisis, for example, have already tested the ability of governments to recover growth patterns and put the economy 'back on track'. However, this current global situation is testing our resilience, not only from an economic perspective but also from social and political viewpoints.

The pandemic has highlighted debates over how current economic models result in imbalances in the environmental and social spheres. In this sense, it has opened up space for the degrowth movement to demonstrate the contributions of its policies and principles. This article discusses how the current health crisis corresponds with degrowth actions and how the movement can support the transformation of societies by decoupling economic stability and growth. This paper

is divided into four sections, starting with this introduction. The second section presents a brief conceptualization of degrowth and its main values, criticism, and suggested policies. The third section links the COVID-19 pandemic to the degrowth movement to capture their connections and contributions to each other. Finally, the fourth section introduces my conclusions and future challenges for the movement.

II. Conceptualising Degrowth

Transitions discourses have appeared in the context of environmental and social challenges associated with dominant economic models over the past few centuries (Escobar 2015; Raworth 2017). The Research and Degrowth association (2020) defines degrowth as a 'downscaling of production and consumption that increases human well-being and enhances ecological conditions and equity on the planet.' In other words, instead of focusing on ways to maintain consumption habits that generate ecological and social crises, degrowth seeks alternatives to ensure

sustainability and social equality (Fioramonti 2013).

Degrowth narratives have mainly highlighted the need for change in the current growth-addicted paradigm in terms of non-material human fulfilment (Fioramonti 2013; Jackson 2017). Its main criticism of the current system focuses on an assumption of infinite growth and the commodification of social products and services. The arguments against the infinite growth assumption are based on the inevitable negative externalities, which are mostly environmental and social (D'Alisa *et al.* 2016; Escobar 2015). According to D'Alisa *et al.* (2016) and Jackson (2017), infinite growth is ultimately uneconomic, as its costs are strongly linked to environmental degradation, high carbon emissions, the depletion of natural resources and climate change. These impacts result from the market dynamics of dominant economic models, designed to constantly seek growth and profit maximization on a planet with limited resources (D'Alisa *et al.* 2016). This pursuit of growth frequently results in a higher demand on natural resources, such as minerals, energy, and water, to produce a large number of goods and services. To absorb this additional demand, consumption is largely stimulated by governments and companies, especially through marketing efforts. The main strategy used to incentivize intensive consumption is the association between consumption and well-being: the more goods and services consumers can access, the higher the consumer's happiness will be. Though, considering the classic concept of diminishing marginal utility, additional units will add fewer satisfaction levels, leading to other consequences for social spheres (Jackson 2017; Kerschner 2010).

From a social perspective, the movement highlights the inefficiencies of the main indicator used to measure growth: Gross Domestic Product (GDP). According to Fioramonti (2013), GDP is unable to account for pleasant non-monetized activities (self-production, voluntary work, household services) while it includes other expenditures that may lead to negative externalities such as military expenses and the tobacco industry. Non-monetized activities are not reflected in national income and GDP does not reflect any data on income distribution. D'Alisa *et al.* (2016) also highlight the movement's criticism of the notion that economic growth is capable of increasing societies' well-being. Academic literature on degrowth has revealed that, after reaching a moderate level of income, additional increases in GDP do not reflect in increased happiness for individuals, a phenomenon known as the 'Easterlin Paradox' (D'Alisa *et al.* 2016).

This connection between growth and happiness has been one of the key arguments for maintaining growing GDP as the main political and economic agenda in recent years. This influence spread mainly in the 1990s when GDP was understood as the main measure of development and prosperity of nations, and this prioritization of GDP has influenced nations in many ways. This is demonstrated in the global governance of economic-political groups like the G8 or G20, as well as the BRICS for emerging powers (Fioramonti 2013). Investments in social and developmental areas also started to be perceived as a percentage of GDP, where a lower GDP implied less social investments. It also affected consumption models, including marketing strategies and advertising (Fioramonti 2013; Spratt *et al.* 2010). In other words, a GDP-addicted paradigm has oriented

political debate toward growth maximization.

Despite this paradigm, there have been a few attempts to weaken the GDP hegemony. According to Fioramonti (2013), the best-known example is the Human Development Index (HDI) developed by the United Nations in the 1990s. This metric includes two new factors besides income: health (based on life expectancy) and education (based on two education indicators). Despite its widespread use, HDI was not strong enough to affect GDP's power. More recently, economists have initiated a debate towards 'green accountability', which adds a discount effect to official GDP numbers to account for the costs of resource consumption and environmental damages (Demaria *et al.* 2013; Fioramonti 2013). Some degrowth authors, especially Fioramonti (2013), acknowledge that this accountability has helped public opinion to recognize the flaws in this measure and to initiate a debate about alternatives. Although this is a positive effect, much of the current literature on degrowth criticizes the monetization process of environmental assets present in 'green GDP'. By pricing natural resources using a market mentality, this approach turns them into tradeable and exchangeable products, like other goods and services (Fioramonti 2013).

Despite these efforts to find a substitute or equivalent to GDP, a large and growing body of degrowth literature highlights that it is not a question of finding one single index to replace GDP (Fioramonti 2013). Degrowth aims to provoke a wider debate on economic and social pillars and to replace political guidelines which focus on increasing GDP with the establishment of good lives within our planet's ecological limits (Jackson 2017; Raworth 2017;

Spratt *et al.* 2010). This way, the movement intends to amplify the scope of economic relations and ensure conviviality and social relations are the main components. According to D'Alisa *et al.* (2016), the degrowth movement's emphasis is not on doing less of the same, but doing it differently. In their words: 'the objective is not making the elephant thinner but to transform it into a snail' (D'Alisa *et al.* 2016: 24).

On the constructive side, degrowth brings alternative ways of thinking about the values and drivers of modern economies (D'Alisa *et al.* 2016; Demaria *et al.* 2013). To reduce the metabolism of nations, the movement proposes a shift to economic activities with high social value (and low productivity), as well as a reduction in paid working hours. For this reason, they propose a change to the economy of care and ecological investments, which add high labour intensity and high levels of work satisfaction (Kallis *et al.* 2012). This service-based economy, despite its lower rates of economic growth, can increase our capacity to create more jobs. D'Alisa *et al.* (2016) also emphasize that this change can be efficient for redistributing available work between employed and unemployed workers and to increase time for caring and conviviality.

This shift to service sectors allows for a balance between remunerated and non-remunerated work and diminishes the burden of care, especially on women (D'Alisa *et al.* 2016). From an environmental perspective, this change also allows a physical and economic downsizing in terms of resources and energy flows which will create space for the regeneration of ecosystems (Demaria *et al.* 2013; Martínez-Alier *et al.* 2010). Additionally, degrowth instigates wider discussions for other spheres that will not

be exhaustively detailed in this article, such as new forms of living and producing, a decrease in consuming patterns, and rethinking the role of money, among others (D'Alisa *et al.* 2016).

Recently, more attention has paid to how to achieve this transformation in an organized and structured way. The literature on degrowth, especially Jackson (2017), has highlighted that the movement is not associated with negative growth and does not have to lead to instability. To avoid turning positive degrowth into a recessionary state, degrowth authors stress the importance of macro and micro policies to guarantee a well-designed and sustainable transition (Jackson 2017). Despite the spread of this debate in the Global North, over the last year the degrowth movement has been battling to disturb the political attachment to growth-pursuing behaviour and to increase confidence in the feasibility of its policies. However, recent events related to the COVID-19 pandemic have opened an important window for reviewing and accelerating the debate on how to achieve more egalitarian societies with fewer impacts on the environment. The pandemic, then, despite the global-scale negative consequences, might bring contributions to the movement, as will be discussed in the next section.

III. Degrowth and the COVID-19 Pandemic

According to Paulson *et al.* (2020), the COVID-19 pandemic does not reflect a degrowth process. It was neither caused by a change in societies' mindset about consumption and preferences, nor is it a political decision. Referring to the recession and impoverishment caused by the pandemic, the authors stated: 'these are precisely the kind of phenomena that planned degrowth aims to avoid' (Paulson *et al.* 2020: 1). This situation is not voluntary, but is an unprecedented health crisis that is radically changing routines and habits. As this crisis is not challenging the roots of our growth-addicted paradigm, these effects might be temporary. Rebuilding growth could be the guideline exhaustively followed as soon as the pandemic is over. Consumption might be stimulated as never before as a strategy to increase GDP. Nevertheless, this global scenario has slowed the rhythm of nations while it increased awareness of the challenges collectively faced.

The first aspect to be observed is the effect of the crisis from an ecological perspective. According to the Center of Research on Energy and Clean Air (CREA 2020), between February 3rd and March 1st 2020, carbon dioxide emissions dropped at least 25% in China. As the country represents 30% of annual global emissions, this impact represents a significant reduction in global emissions (Beals 2020). These positive effects were mainly caused by reduced industrial activity, flight cancellations, and less use of cars and trains. A lower circulation of people and tourism has caused other less quantifiable effects, such as cleaner waters and fish in Venice's canals. Lower interference by humans has also increased biodiversity and the renewed presence of native species in various regions worldwide.

According to Spratt *et al.* (2009) and Raworth (2017), the acceleration of climate change effects in recent years is mainly connected to the fact that our current economic model is overstepping the planet's environmental boundaries. In this sense, the pandemic illuminated to a broader public the extent to which intense industrial activity is connected to current environmental deterioration. This fact

supports the degrowth movement's arguments for a slowdown in economic activities (and consequently less GDP). According to degrowth literature, this reduction in production levels will open space to restore ecological balance (Demaria *et al.* 2013).

However, changes in the economic sphere are not restricted to reducing the intensity and impacts of industrial production. According to Demaria *et al.* (2012) and Jackson (2017), the degrowth movement advocates a shift to service and care economies, which are employment-rich sectors with lower carbon emissions. The movement also advocates for reduced working hours to maintain employment levels and to better allocate time between remunerated and non-remunerated work. In quarantine times, where most people are working from home, care work has appeared as a challenge to families. During these times, people have struggled to care and support children and the elderly without relying on babysitters, nurses, and schools. Doing these activities while maintaining a full-time job (despite the flexibility of a home office) has demanded a lot of effort to execute both roles simultaneously.

In this sense, this period has brought reflections on the importance of care work for families' well-being. This debate emphasizes the importance of reduced working hours to increase time for non-work activities, such as unpaid care work and household services. According to D'Alisa *et al.* (2016) and Paulson *et al.* (2020), there is also a link between the distribution of care work and power across hierarchies of gender, class, and ethnicity. For this reason, a more balanced distribution of this work might be beneficial not only for increased well-being but for more egalitarian societies.

On the other hand, the changing roles we have experienced during quarantine were not restricted to individuals. The coronavirus crisis has exposed the structural inefficiencies of public health systems in many countries and initiated a debate about public investments. According to Kallis *et al.* (2012) and Jackson (2017), in degrowth societies, there is a change to the concept of 'public money'. For this reason, the authors believe in the importance of taking back control of money issuing as a strategy to finance public expenditure. In the context of a health crisis, prioritizing public investments to basic services has been demanded to restore equilibrium in these sectors.

Besides the discussion on investments in health systems, the pandemic has highlighted debates on how government expenditure supports individual's financial losses and controls unemployment levels. According to D'Alisa *et al.* (2016) and Paulson *et al.* (2020), the degrowth movement has suggested a Basic Income programme in this situation. This programme refers to a periodic payment made by the state to all residents in a nation independent of their income or labour activity. This public policy provides a minimum basic living condition during - and eventually after - this period. This benefit proved to be especially relevant to provide economic security to individuals unable to work during the lockdown.

Degrowthers also debate the importance of community in these new economic proposals (Jackson 2017; Paulson *et al.* 2020). As we face a hugely contagious virus, the value of community support is highlighted time and time again. Despite the political and security efforts to keep people in quarantine, a sense of community, solidarity, and responsibility

has been a uniting factor in operationalizing lockdown measures and keeping citizens at home. Campaigns on social media, for example, spread worldwide the individual responsibility to stop the virus contamination. Citizens have perceived that – despite not being in an at-risk group – they have a social duty to act in solidarity with others at potential risk. Thus, it is possible to say that feelings of solidarity have been a key mechanism for controlling the transmission of this disease. This correlates with the goals of the degrowth movement to refocus societies towards conviviality and care.

This section has reviewed how the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic relate to the policies suggested by the degrowth movement. This historical rupture caused by the pandemic has initiated a debate on alternative ways to restore environmental balance and sustainable social interactions. According to Paulson *et al.* (2020), it is possible to use the learning from this period to engage new actors to organize, protest, and vote for new realities. In their words, degrowth should be caused 'by design and not by disaster' (2020: 3). Yet, if disaster can catalyse new design, then a structured and planned transition towards significant changes in the principles that guide our nations could be truly possible.

IV. Conclusion

In 1972, Meadows and Randers published *The Limits to Growth*, one of the first examples of the degrowth literature. In this book, the authors presented the results of their study that predicted that the continuity of exponential growth would cause major global shortages by 2050 and 2070. This research also observed, among other aspects, that our assumption of infinite growth would also widen the gap between poor and rich

countries (Fioramonti 2013). At this time, the book received much criticism for its results and was denounced as 'a hysterical doomsday prophecy' (Fioramonti 2013: 76). Almost 50 years after this book was first published, the world is experiencing an unprecedented health crisis which has exposed the inefficiencies of current economic models. This topic, that before seemed too radical to contemplate, has now started to seem reasonable to the public. This pandemic has also shown how policies suggested by the degrowth movement, such as an economy of care, reduced working hours, and Basic Income programmes can contribute to the well-being of societies.

It is important to highlight that, despite this positive opportunity for reflection, this article does not aim to reduce the magnitude of the negative impacts of the pandemic. As stated by Jackson (2017) and Paulson *et al.* (2020), collapsing economies threaten human prosperity and this recessionary scenario is precisely what the movement has tried to avoid. An uncertain moment can be worthwhile to reveal how new alternatives can be explored. It also strengthens the values of societies and what they should protect. This historical time has expanded the debate on the need to restructure current economic models and how transition discourses can contribute to the process. In this sense, the movement had the opportunity to engage new actors, expand the reach, and suggest a planned and structured transition to degrow societies.

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Biography

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