

Leeds Human Rights Journal

Issue 1 Volume X

Sanctuary

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This year we wanted to encourage submissions to interrogate what human rights are and who gets to be included in the category of “human”.

We felt the word sanctuary was a vessel for us to do just that. From the climate catastrophe to Covid-19, we have been pushed to grapple with our existence as humans as well as the (fleeting) existence of other species and the ecology.

Individuals, societies and governments have also been forced to reimagine and recreate societies to deal with and protect from existential threats.

Farida Augustine

Editor-in- chief



BA French and Politics

Describe yourself in three words

Kind, energetic and tenacious

Why did you decide to join LHRJ?

I enjoyed being a peer reviewer in my second year and want- ed to be more involved in the editorial and management side of the journal. I also wanted to take on a project in my final year that was outside of my comfort zone so that I could look back and feel proud of what I did at university.

What has been one highlight of your time on the editorial board?

The Love Wins music event to celebrate LGBTQ+ history month was a great moment for me and a huge win. It took a lot of planning and liaising with copious amounts of people. I felt very out of my depth at first. Despite this, we succeeded in getting amazing LGBTQ+ Leeds-based artists to showcase their work, created an inclusive and safe space and raised over £300 for a great cause. More generally, I have loved meeting such interesting and talented people during my time as editor-in-chief.

Do you have a favourite submission/ article?

I enjoyed all the articles that made it into the journal. One of my favourites was Flora's essay on decolonising the human rights agenda and the rights of nature.

What is one human rights issue everyone should know about now?

Ghana is depicted as the poster child for democracy in Africa. However, there have been an increasing number of attacks on LGBTQ+ rights and intimidation of the LGBTQ+ community over the past year. For example, a community centre for an LGBTQ rights group in the capital was raided and forced to close by security forces after pressure and threats from religious leaders and government officials.

Fanni Szöllősi

Managing Editor



BA Sociology and International Relations

Describe yourself in three words

Caring, creative, passionate

Why did you decide to join LHRJ?

I have had an interest in human rights issues and what's going on around the world pretty much my whole life, of which I got to study the academic context over the course of my degree, and I was looking for ways to apply what I've learned. I first joined the journal as a peer reviewer, and I really enjoyed the editing process and working with my team at the time, so the opportunity to continue as an editor seemed perfect for me.

What has been one highlight of your time on the editorial board?

It has to be the music fundraiser event we put together for LGBTQ+ history month. Seeing the event unfold on the day after all the effort and organization that went into it was an incredible feeling. I also loved the process of hiring and training the peer reviewer team.

Do you have a favourite submission/ article?

All the submissions published have been excellent but Aliya Kanat's poem "the spring in three sunsets." really touched me. As someone who also grew up in a post-Soviet country, I could especially relate to the feeling of helplessness in your everyday life in the context of the war in Ukraine, which the author illustrates beautifully.

What is one human rights issue everyone should know about now?

While there are countless serious issues to note, I would like to draw people's attention to Hungary, specifically to the human rights abuses against LGBTI people, the repression of women, and the ongoing segregation of Roma ethnic communities. The country adopted a homophobic and transphobic law, which restricts the depiction of homosexuality to children. According to Amnesty International, the law violates the rights to freedom of expression, non-discrimination, and education. Meanwhile, many government programmes systemically reinforce gender stereotypes and downplay the significance of gender equality. Furthermore, Roma communities experience widespread and institutionalised discrimination and are subjected to hate speech. The segregation of Roma children in schools and housing persists.

Aminah Ahmed

Managing Editor



BA History and Sociology

Describe yourself in three words

Contentious, caring and humorous

Why did you decide to join LHRJ?

I wanted to help students to understand and stand for human rights issues that are currently prevalent in our society today.

What has been one highlight of your time on the editorial board?

The Black Lives Matters event was a highlight for me as I got to hear from one of my previous teachers at the event. This event was also a highlight for me as it increased attention to important social matters and had a lot of support.

Do you have a favourite submission/ article?

Featherless, Aimen Mahmood submission:

What is one human rights issue everyone should know about now?

The issue of Kashmir. There is currently a genocidal conflict in Kashmir that needs to be addressed. Men in this territory are abducted and killed whilst women become half widows and are raped. This is an issue that has been ignored in the media, but it needs highlighting due to the longevity of the human rights abuses in Kashmir.

Isabel Mulligan

Finance Managing Editor



BA English and French

Describe yourself in three words

Sociable, friendly, and organised

Why did you decide to join LHRJ?

As an English student, I am interested in having a future career in editing or publishing. The journal is a brilliant way to mix my passion for human rights with gaining experience in such an exciting field! As a final year student, I was keen to make the most of all the opportunities that the University has offered me throughout my degree.

What has been one highlight of your time on the editorial board?

A huge highlight for me was securing funding for the journal via the University's 'Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion Project Award' (EDI Award). This funding enabled the LHRJ team to run the Love Wins Charity Fundraiser and raise money for akt, a charity which supports young lgbt people. Especially after periods of lockdown and restrictions, it felt special for the journal to hold an in-person celebration event for such an important cause.

Do you have a favourite submission/ article?

I was immediately drawn to our creative poetry submissions this year, as they encapsulate the varied and thought-provoking nature of the journal. Their themes are contemporary and provide new awareness into current world affairs. The attached commentaries are insightful and locate the content precisely within human rights crises.

What is one human rights issue everyone should know about now?

The unequal and discriminatory laws surrounding access to fertility treatment in the UK, notably for LGBT couples. All combinations of families should have equal opportunity to receive fertility assistance. Additionally, an overwhelming percentage of countries worldwide still prohibit LGBT people from starting their own family.

Marria Noor Sajid

Online Editor



BA Arabic and International Relations

Describe yourself in three words

Dedicated, resourceful, and reliable.

Why did you decide to join LHRJ?

I discovered LHRJ during the first year of my studies. I was in awe of the dedication and work done to raise awareness about human rights issues across the world. As an Arabic and International Relations student interested in human rights, I was enthusiastic to join a platform that allowed me to challenge myself and gain experience in such an important field.

What has been one highlight of your time on the editorial board?

My highlight of the year was the peer reviewing and editing process, particularly because it allowed me the privilege of viewing different outlooks and unique perspectives towards human rights.

Do you have a favourite submission/ article?

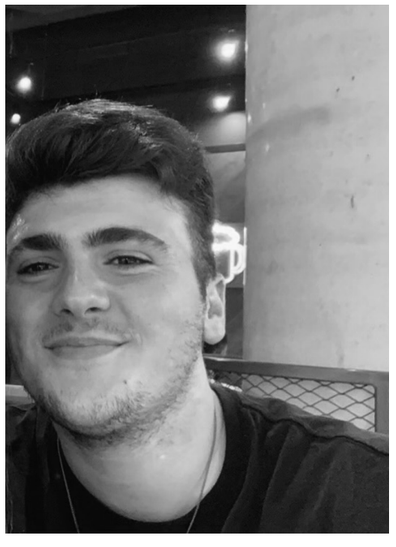
I would have to say that Aliya Kanat's creative submission "the spring in three sunsets." captured my interest. I found it thought provoking to see the juxtaposition between the physical aspects of war and the banality of everyday life. The use of an emotive medium such as poetry to explore themes such as sanctuary and the human condition was especially moving, as it highlighted the unseen human experience of war.

What is one human rights issue everyone should know about now?

The unjust and discriminatory treatment of asylum seekers and refugees. All individuals fleeing war and persecution have a right to seek refuge and escape persecution, as evidenced by Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that "Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution." Unfortunately, despite this, asylum seekers and refugees continue to face discrimination and numerous other challenges.

Josh Wright

Digital Marketing Officer



BA Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Studies

Describe yourself in three words

Curious, dedicated, composed.

Why did you decide to join LHRJ?

I wanted to be part of something that made a positive contribution. In the case of LHRJ this was twofold, as the journal not only aims to spread awareness of human rights but also provides a much more accessible platform for students to publish their work.

What has been one highlight of your time on the editorial board?

My highlight of the year has definitely been going through the process of reading all of the submissions and interacting with the writers to refine their work for publishing.

Do you have a favourite submission/ article?

While I think that all of the submissions are fantastic, I have to say that 'Featherless' by Aimen Mahmood is my favourite. I had the pleasure of working with Aimen in reviewing and refining this piece for publishing, and I think the message that it puts forward and the images presented are truly moving, not to mention the deep-rooted theme of Sanctuary being notable throughout its entirety.

What is one human rights issue everyone should know about now?

The persistent lack of COVID-19 vaccine equity. Though the G7 pledged to share vaccines internationally, there remains a lack of access to vaccinations in the Global South. WHO set a global target of 70% vaccination by mid-2022. We are now coming up to that point, and while the proportion of the global population that has received one dose of the vaccine is approaching that target figure, the inequality of distribution has also increased, leaving many poorer countries, in Africa and the Middle-East particularly, with figures of less than 20% for the same metric.

Hin

Graphic Designer



BA Graphics and Communication Design

Describe yourself in three words

Determined, passionate, practical

Why did you decide to join LHRJ?

I was the Graphic Designer for last year's LHRJ 2021 through reaching out to them and suggesting some improvements on LHRJ's previous releases. Other than that, I am also passionate about Human Right Issue and my creative submission was featured in the LHRJ 2020. I am very honored that the LHRJ team invited me again this year. (Please leave us some feedback on the book if you have any!)

What has been one highlight of your time on the editorial board?

I got a chance to create a series of ASCII coded artwork for this years's book. Inspired by student submissions and the this year's theme - Sancturary, the series of artwork the relationship between the virtual world and reality is being explored here. With the emergence of Web 3.0 and Metaverse, the lines between two spaces are blurred - new worlds are created. Would technology be able to replicate the ecology? Would this damage or benefit the environment?

Do you have a favourite submission/ article?

Flora Hamilton - Decolonising the human rights agenda to achieve environmental protection: lessons from Ecuador.

What is one human rights issue everyone should know about now?

Restriction on Women's access to essential Health Care. Many countries continue to restrict access to vital sanitary products and medical procedures, not the least of which is occurring across developed Western nations. The leaked news of the U.S. Supreme court's potential overhaul of the landmark Roe v Wade case is the most recent example of the relative negligence of Women's necessary medical support.

Peer Reviewers

Flora Hamilton	BA International Relations	Final Year
Sara Sofea Binti Lukmann Sheriff	BA Law	Third Year
James Nash	BA Law	First Year
Dieudonné Bila	BA International Development	Second Year
Sarah Bannon	BA Philosophy, Politics and Economics	Third Year
Agnes Cazemiro de Melo	BA International Relations	Third Year
Jacqueline Adjei	BA History	Final Year
Kerry Pearson	BA International History and Politics	Final Year

Letter from the Editor

Dear readers,

Welcome to Volume X of the Leeds Human Rights Journal!

I want to open this letter by expressing my gratitude to everyone who has made this volume not only possible but for making the process of putting it together joy-filled and enriching. I hope this shines through every page. I write this letter at the end of my four years as a University of Leeds student. It's an honour to have been part of this Journal's history, as a peer reviewer in my second year and now as editor-in-chief.

This volume represents a special one. It is the culmination of ten years of student-led scholarship on human rights in the first and only undergraduate Journal of its kind. This volume coincides with the new challenges brought on by a post-lockdown society and how we respond to challenges that the Covid-19 pandemic has brought to the surface in higher education and in the wider world.

I am incredibly proud of the time and effort that has gone into planning, curating, and editing this volume by the editorial team. It has been a co-led and cooperative process. Each member of the team has had unique responsibilities. Isabel, our managing editor responsible for the finances, has been integral to ensuring the continued quality of funding of the Journal. She successfully helped us secure £1250 of funding from the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Cultures (AHC) and the Faculty of Social Sciences. We were awarded the inaugural Faculty of AHC student equality and inclusion project award for our Love Wins fundraiser. Aminah has done a fantastic job of maintaining communication with the schools, societies, and organisations such as Amnesty International and the Plus Programme.

Fanni, our managing editor, oversaw the peer reviewers and ensured their engagement in all parts of the Journal They were integral to choosing the best submissions, editing the articles, and choosing our theme. We improved the quality of the peer-reviewing process, with additional training and workshops for the peer reviewers.

Our online presence has been strong across social media platforms thanks to our social media manager Joshua and our online editor Marria charged with managing the blog and website. Joshua has drastically increased engagement on LinkedIn and Instagram and has done a great job ensuring a constant flow of content. The 'Editor's' Pick' feature has been one of my favourites and consists of one member of the editorial board picking a current news story relevant to human rights each week. These have ranged from topics such as Gun violence in the USA, LGBTQ+ rights and the End SARS protests in Nigeria.

The blog is a vital attribute to the Journal provides an accessible way for undergraduates to share pieces on current issues throughout the year. Marria has worked hard to liaise with blog writers and edit and publish the blogs. A new feature of the Journal this year is the blog post of the year, chosen by Marria. Kerry Pearson's blog post on climate change and the right to a healthy planet was this year's blog post of the year. Samuel Smith also wrote an interesting piece on health inequality and how Senegal tackled the Covid-19 pandemic. Both posts link nicely with our theme sanctuary through their discussions on what just and fair societies should and could like. I would encourage you all to have a read of these blogs and all the others on our website.

I would also like to thank the steering committee for helping us ensure the academic rigorousness of the Journal and for playing a vital role in picking the winning essay for the HRJ Essay Prize. It is composed of academic members Dr Ipek Demir and Dr Ilias Trispoitis and the Learning & Teaching Enhancement Officer Tess Hornsby Smith, who has been crucial to the ongoing management of the Journal.

It has been such a delight to be able to host a variety of online and in-person events this year. Our first event on Black History Month was in collaboration with the Centre for Ethnicity and Racism Studies. We invited Leeds Alumni Phoebe Sheppard to discuss her research on Eurocentric beauty standards and Jonathan Kennedy, who spoke about Black History in the context of secondary education. I also joined the panel to discuss my Laidlaw scholarship research project on West African resistance fighters. We also held an in-person film screening of the 2018 film Afghan Cycles, which follows the struggle for women's rights through sport. We collaborated with the Skills@library team to deliver an academic writing and research skills webinar for the Editorial team, peer reviewers and writers. Our boldest event of the year was the Love Wins music fundraiser to celebrate LGBTQ+ history month and raise money for the charity AKT, which tackles homelessness among LGBTQ+ youth. Joshua, Fanni and Isabel have written about these events in more detail on pages 116-119.

We received a plethora of creative and academic submissions, which all capture the theme of sanctuary and human rights in poignant and unique ways. They have all been an absolute pleasure to read. I want to congratulate Flora Hamilton for winning the HRJ prize for best original research. Her essay interrogates the anthropocentric and colonial roots of the Human Rights framework, through a case study on Ecuador's adoption of the Rights of Nature in law. Another stand-out essay is Lisa Ray's piece on the impact of Brexit on the Roma community in Glasgow. Aliya Kanat's heartfelt and timely poem, the spring in three sunsets, depicts how the Ukrainian people have been stripped of their sanctuary, right to peace and security amidst the Russian invasion. The creative submissions include photography, graphic design, and oil on canvas. One of my favourites is Dan Woodward's piece, Through the Cracks, which is also our cover art. It speaks to the climate crisis and the impacts of technology and humans on our natural sanctuary.

Curiosity, collaboration, and growth have guided my work as editor-in-chief. I am excited for you to read all the engaging pieces and marvel at the artwork. I am grateful to everyone involved in this project and to my family and friends for their continued support and encouragement. I hope this volume is thought-provoking and challenges you to think critically about the concept of human rights. We must reflect upon which humans are excluded from the human rights framework, and go beyond the human by considering non-humans, nature and how their prosperity is intimately linked to the sanctuary of humans.

In Solidarity,



Farida
Editor-in-chief, 2021-2022

Acedemic Contributors

Louis Newstead	BA Politics	Third Year
Megan Fitzwater	BA English and French	Final Year
Oriana Campbell-Palmer	BA Politics and Sociology	Third Year
Aimen Mahmood	BA English Literature	Graduate in 2021
Layla Kharroubi	BA History	Fourth Year
Lisa Ray	French and European Studies	Final Year
Flora Hamilton	BA International Relations	Final Year
Fanni Szöllősi	BA Sociology and International Relations	Final Year

Creative Contributors

Aimen Mahmood	BA English Literature	Graduate in 2021
Aliya Kanat	LLB Law	First Year
Dan Woodward (@dan.wood.ward)	BA Graphics & Communication Design	Final Year
Katie Kaur (@eitakkaur)	BA Art & Design	Final Year
Tom Parry (@tomparryvisuals)	BA Art & Design	Final Year
Nav Ujuda (@speqrave)	BA Art & Design	Final Year
Henry McAlpine	BA Art & Design	Graduate in 2020

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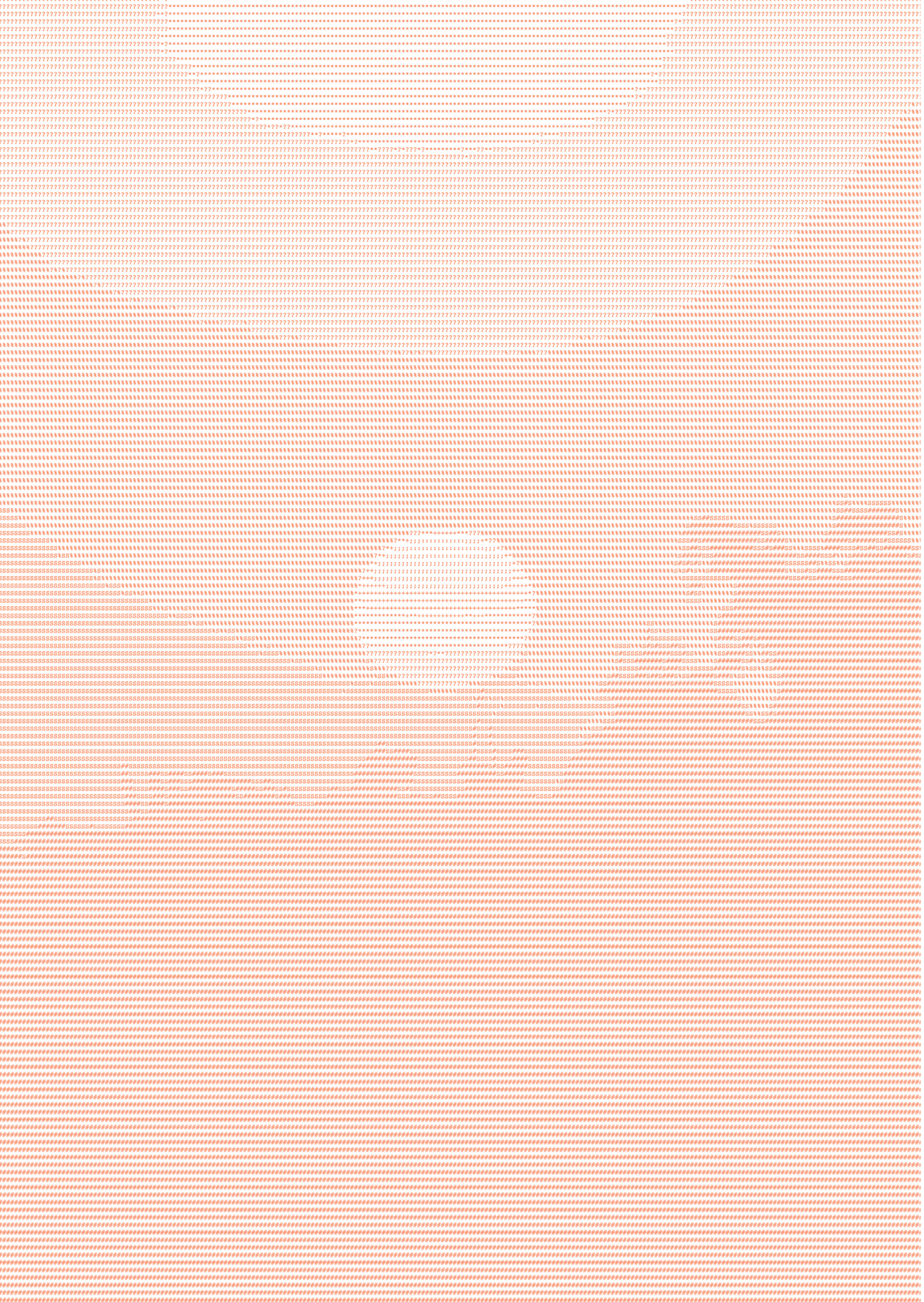
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“The theme of ‘Sanctuary’ emerges as the invisible thread woven through human rights — a sense of not just refuge, but safety in one’s humanhood, security in being human —"

{ Aliya Kanat }

the spring in three sunsets.

Aliya Kanat

Final Year, LLB Law

[The poem was written several days into the Russian invasion of Ukraine.]

As someone born and raised in a post-Soviet country, I feel tied to Ukraine in culture, language, history, and, doubtlessly, people. The piece is a reflection on the baffling absurdity and striking juxtaposition of the same instances of the same day filled with our morning coffee and bombings of their homes. The theme of 'Sanctuary' emerges as the invisible thread woven through human rights — a sense of not just refuge, but safety in one's humanhood, security in being human — and how the Ukrainian people have been stripped of their 'Sanctuary' in every literal and figurative sense of the word.

Ukraine and Russia, both former members of the USSR and the Allied Forces, fought side by side in WWII, losing millions of their people. War veterans — the last echoes of that war — have never wished for anything but a peaceful sky, have never urged for anything but abolition of war. The attack on Ukraine put the children of soldiers who fought and died as brothers against each other — leaving me, you, all of us — the recipients of a legacy that cost lives – grappling with an escalating fear, 'has that victory been undone?'

sit there — powerless,
and watch war rage on through your screen.
then wake, wash, make tea.
sit there — safely,
as sons will never know the spring in three sunsets,
or meet their own.

you fell asleep with reason, "not in this age"
with hope clenched in your fists.
you woke up to bombs over a city miles East,
not on a history book page, not in '39,
but right then, the morning you left the curtains shut.

it haunts your day — the grandparents of those dying now died for war to die — would they weep at the children of brothers — on opposing sides now?
nothing makes sense,
how your friends went out that night,
and life went on.
but bombs flew over Kyiv,
and kids your age learnt war.

so, you write, for words, for record,
for compassion in the air, and prayer in the Universe,
you write, silence is taking the aggressor's side,
silence was never neutral — a deadly force stronger than all bombs combined. you write — hoping stringing words quiets the ache of every heart robbed of beating — decades before its eleventh hour.
and voices — uncompromising, unwitting, and relentless — carry forward — evermore.
politics trumps humanity. no one interferes.
and you bow your head to their bravery,
yet fear resistance is a thread thinning as you breathe.
[but they never should have needed to be brave.]

still, it all goes.
ours was a clear morning,
missile smoke stole their sky's blue.



“While human rights have the potential to be an invaluable legal tool in the fight against environmental degradation, their grounding in Western ideology makes them a continuation of the very systems and power relations that caused the climate crisis in the first place.”

{ Flora Hamilton }

Decolonising the human rights agenda to achieve environmental protection: lessons from Ecuador

Flora Hamilton Final Year, BA International Relations

HRJ Prize for Best Original Research

In a world first, Ecuador became the country to enshrine the Rights of Nature in law in 2008. With the Human Rights framework increasingly being used as a tool for environmental protection, this paper will assess the value of introducing the Rights of Nature, with roots in indigenous ontologies, into international law. With existing human rights legislation having been accused of continuing to uphold colonial power dynamics, this paper will argue that reducing the human-centric focus of the Human Rights agenda will both increase its effectiveness for environmental protection; and provide an opportunity for decolonisation. Through a comparative assessment of case studies in Ecuador and India, this article will seek to prove that integrating the Rights of Nature into international law helps mitigate both racial and climate injustice.

Introduction

According to the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services,[1] biodiversity is 'declining faster than at any time in human history', leading to experts stating that Earth is currently going through its sixth mass extinction event.[2] Human activity and the anthropogenic climate change it has caused has been a leading factor in the extinction of 200 species in just 100 years, where previously this could have taken up to 10,000 years.[3] Therefore, it is imperative that the environment is protected to prevent further degradation. Human rights have become entrenched in domestic and international law, with all the 193 members of the UN having now ratified at least one international human rights treaty.[4] Given the global scale of the climate change problem, countries have increasingly sought to utilise this well-established framework to increase environmental protection; with over 90 countries having now written the right to a safe, clean or healthy environment into hard law.[5]

However, the human rights framework is incompatible with many cultures across the world, meaning it requires revision to successfully resolve injustices globally.[6] With its roots in Western ideology[7] the international application of human rights law, irrespective of cultural differences, is 'complicitous with neo-colonial domination'.[8] In this article, I will argue that the repurposing of the human rights framework for environmental protection is not only necessary but provides an opportunity for decolonisation through the integration of indigenous perspectives and the Rights of Nature. First, I will assess the necessity of decolonising human rights, before explaining the value in this for environmental protection. I will then examine the Rights of Nature written into Ecuador's 2008 Constitution and assess how their universalisation could improve environmental protection, through a discussion of damaging mining projects in India.

Why invoke human rights rhetoric to protect the environment?

The human rights framework is an underutilised tool for countering the ongoing biodiversity crisis. According to Caney et al, there are three main reasons cited for combatting climate change. These consist of the economic costs environmental change would incur; the insecurity it would cause through increased tension over resources, land, borders and more; and the belief that nature has intrinsic value.[9] The International Panel on Climate Change recognises that climate change is already having an impact across the globe, including through droughts, heatwaves and cyclones.[10] The 'insecurity' argument for preventing further climate change is therefore compelling, and a clear link

to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights due to the infringement on people's right to life, liberty, and security it is already causing. Given this clear link between the remit of the human rights rhetoric and the impacts of the climate crisis, the human rights framework is increasingly being used to further environmental protection. [11]

The 1972 Stockholm Declaration saw the integration of environmental human rights into international policymaking in its proclamation that 'both aspects of man's environment, the natural and the man-made, are essential... to the enjoyment of basic human rights'.[12] While no legal recognition of environmental human rights has been achieved at international level, the right to a safe, clean or healthy environment has now been incorporated into over 100 Constitutions.[13] [14] The enshrinement of environmental human rights into law provides an opportunity for environmentalists to appeal to entrenched human rights norms. This enables the use of existing institutions and mechanisms that govern the promotion and implementation of human rights internationally.[15] Lewis agrees with this, arguing that the use of such rhetoric 'emphasises moral and ethical dimensions of rights to exert pressure on parties' in relation to climate inaction, making it an increasingly popular method for activism.[16] As of January 2022, the European Court of Human Rights has ruled on over 300 environment-related cases, with lawsuits invoking concepts including the right to life, free speech and family life to protect communities from injustices including pollution, man-made or natural disasters and access to information.[17] Evidently, the human rights framework is of growing importance to the climate change movement, and provides an unparalleled legal instrument given the extensive integration of human rights law into international legal systems. However, this increased use of the framework risks exacerbating criticisms already levelled at the mechanisms. These criticisms will be explored in the next section of this article.

The case for decolonisation

Climate change is a relationship problem.[18] With colonialism understood to be 'the imposition of experiences, symbolic universes and worldviews', a growing number of scholars argue that the logic enabling the exploitation of natural resources and subsequent ecological degradation mirrors the exploitation of 'distant Others' during colonialism.[19] [20] The prevalence of this opinion is highlighted by the acknowledgement of the IPCC[21], that colonialism has been a causational factor behind the 'vulnerability of ecosystems and people to climate change' in their recent report. If this colonialist attitude is a driving force behind the destruction being wreaked on the planet, then it follows that the decolonisation of approaches is essential to ensuring a sustainable transition. However, while countries across the globe claim to be striving to achieve the transformation necessary to avert disaster, many are continuing to enact harmful capitalist policies prioritising growth and profit. The US, for example, has been consistently resistant to the creation of a global framework to regulate human activity and mitigate climate change, as it sees it as 'damaging to competitiveness vis-à-vis emerging economies'.[22] This demonstrates their desire to maintain current economic relations and the power hierarchies that underpin them. Consequently, little focus is being directed to interrogate the systems underpinning the crisis. As Guzmán argues, 'dominant Western thought does not challenge the human-nature relationships responsible for nature's degradation'. Decolonisation is therefore necessary; the destabilisation of the hegemonic, Western ontologies that form the basis of current exploitative practices driving the climate crisis.[23]

Decolonisation is an increasingly prevalent thread within academia, with the 21st century seeing a scholarly pivot to recognise and deconstruct the hierarchical ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies that have continued to see knowledge production centre on the West.[24] Gram-Hanssen et al highlight how especially damaging this hierarchical categorisation of knowledge is in relation to climate change in their essay 'Decolonising transformations through 'right relations''.[25] Acknowledging that colonial and capitalist exploitation of resources has caused climate change, they call for the promotion of 'indigenous ontologies characterised by relationality and reciprocity among both humans and non-human relatives', through practising deep listening, self-reflexivity and creating space for alternative views. [26] With hegemonic capitalist, and colonial attitudes being a causational factor behind the climate crisis, adopting a decolonial approach to climate change through centring indigenous, non-Western knowledge is necessary to ensure the transition to a sustainable society.

The value in promoting indigenous knowledges is evident from their successes in protecting biodiversity. While the planet is experiencing unprecedented rates of extinction, the UN has proven that biodiversity is declining at a significantly lower rate in areas governed by indigenous communities.[27] While indigenous communities inhabit only 22% of the world's land, these areas are home to 80% of the world's biodiversity.[28] Indigenous peoples rely on their land and its natural resources for everything from their livelihood to spiritual wellbeing.[29] Knowledge of how to sustain the land has been shared and developed between generations. This knowledge is increasingly gaining respect as a method for sustainable adaptation, when used in conjunction with modern science.[30]

Despite this, indigenous voices are continually marginalised from the climate change debates, as is evident from their exclusion from COP26.[31] With the continued exclusion of indigenous peoples from decision making processes, despite the invaluable knowledge they hold, it is integral that knowledge production is decolonised to ensure meaningful environmental protection.

Decolonisation and human rights

Given this continued marginalisation and exclusion of indigenous peoples from policymaking, international law has been recognised as neo-colonial, due to the lack of consultation undertaken during its formation. The human rights framework, as currently conceptualised, is exemplar of this, and is therefore in need of decolonisation.[32] The framework is undeniably a Western formulation, with the UDHR originating in the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, the Philosophers of the Enlightenment and the events of World War II.[33] In his influential article African Values and the Human Rights Debate, Josiah A. M. Cobbah highlights that uneven contribution to conceptualisation has led to the framework being grounded in notions of individualism and liberalism, which focus on the wellbeing of the individual.[34] This differs from the communitarian societal model which can be found across Africa and other non-Western states, which emphasises the connections between the individual and their community, with less focus being afforded to the individual themselves. Therefore, Cobbah argues that human rights as currently conceptualised are ineffective at solving international issues due to their lack of appreciation of different cultural practices and beliefs. To counter this incompatibility, he proposes that scholars should increase cross-cultural dialogue so that the current Western human rights framework can be replaced with one more suitable for all countries. Through this 'mutual learning experience', he believes more informed generalisations could be made to formulate a revised human rights framework able to solve injustices globally more effectively.[35] Given the world's continued acceleration towards climate catastrophe under Western capitalist logic, this cross-cultural dialogue and decolonisation process provides an opportunity for the human rights framework to be optimised for use against environmental degradation.

One such way human rights are identifiably Western is their anthropocentrism, which means international politics 'tak(es) humanity as its key point of reference'.[36] As such, the environmental human rights in legislature see human interest trumping non-human interest, in cases of conflict.[37] Extractive practices are therefore 'sustained by a particular conception of nature as a bunch of passive and agentless objects that are meant to satisfy human needs'.[38] This is damaging to environmental protection since established environmental human rights only afford protection to certain aspects of nature. As stated by Aykuzc, environmental human rights are 'the rights of humans to various environmental protections' which are 'mainly derive(d) from a reinterpretation of recognised human rights'.[39] Therefore, they do not directly confer rights and protections on nature, and only give humans responsibilities to the environment in so far as they must not act in a way which infringes the rights of other people. Consequently, although 100 constitutions have now enshrined environmental human rights in law, these rights centre on the human, such as granting people the right to a safe, clean or healthy environment.[40] As a result of this, only nature which is instrumental in safeguarding people's standard of living is directly protected.[41]

Comparatively, ecocentrists, who believe that nature should be prioritised in policymaking over the human, believe that the environmental crisis is an 'ethical one as well as a political and economic one'.[42] They believe that nature has not just instrumental but intrinsic value, and so should be protected irrespective of its value to humans.[43] This perspective is recognised across indigenous populations, who often view their wellbeing as intertwined with the wellbeing of the ecosystems that surround them. For example, indigenous groups in the Amazon region recognise themselves as ecologically embedded beings, with the nature around them forming a living entity that is inseparable from humans.[44] From this perspective, humans and nature are two 'equally relevant dimensions of the same life cycle'.[45] This ethic has governed indigenous ways of life and their relationship with the land for thousands of years, with communities caring for it in the same way that they perceive it to care for them. Given that anthropocentricism has led to anthropogenic climate change and the biodiversity crisis, it seems logical to decolonise knowledge production in relation to environmental protection to enable the inclusion of indigenous, ecocentric viewpoints.

Lessons from Ecuador

This essay will now comparatively assess environmental protection in Ecuador and India to argue for the incorporation of the Rights of Nature into international law. These examples were chosen in the former because Ecuador was the first country to enshrine the Rights of Nature in law, following the rewriting of their constitution in 2008; and in the latter due to the Indian case study being clearly comparable to the Ecuadorian case study, and therefore can prove the use of decolonising the human rights framework for international environmental protection.[46] Once this is demonstrated, it would then be possible to explore more thoroughly the uses of the Rights

of Nature, in the context of a wider range of case studies.

In a global first, Ecuador recognised the Constitutional Rights of Nature in 2008.[47] During the rewriting of their constitution, indigenous groups advocated for the Rights of Nature to be included, leading to a reconceptualisation of how Ecuadorians conceived and treated nature.[48] Indigenous communities in Ecuador see nature as 'la Pacha Mama' (Mother Earth deity); an ecocentric perspective that recognises nature as inherently valuable and in need of protection, irrespective of whether it is useful for humans.[49] This led to the inclusion of three articles in the constitution that are distinctly ecocentric:

'Article 71. Nature, or Pacha Mama, where life is reproduced and occurs, has the right to integral respect for its existence and for the maintenance and regeneration of its life cycles, structure, functions and evolutionary processes.

Article 72. Nature has the right to be restored. This restoration shall be apart from the obligation of the State and natural persons or legal entities to compensate individuals and communities that depend on affected natural systems.

Article 73. The State shall apply preventive and restrictive measures on activities that might lead to the extinction of species, the destruction of ecosystems and the permanent alteration of natural cycles'.[50]

These clearly diverge from the anthropocentric environmental human rights present in legal systems across the world. Prior to the new constitution, environmental lawsuits would only have been possible if a direct human injury was being caused by environmental issues. However, under this new conceptualisation, anyone could file a lawsuit on behalf of nature, irrespective of whether a human was being harmed.[51]

In 2015, these constitutional rights were invoked by local communities on behalf of the protected area Los Cedros, where plans were underway to mine for copper and gold (Greenfield, 2021).[52] In a landmark ruling, the constitutional court ruled that the plans violated the rights of nature as they would harm the biodiversity of the forest, leading to the cancellation of mining concessions and environmental and water permits – a feat which has been hailed an 'historic victory' by the Global Alliance for the Rights of Nature (GARN).[53] In response, Dr Mika Peck, a senior lecturer in Biology at the University of Sussex and an expert in his field, claimed that it is 'important for the world to reflect on the limits of nature and to seriously question the effectiveness of current conservation policies'.[54] In line with ecocentric perspectives, he argues that 'policy frameworks that place humans in context as a part of nature, integrated into a system that balances intrinsic rights between legitimate subjects of the law, rather than placing humans as above, or apart from, nature, will be a necessary part of addressing the serious environmental issues that our planet is facing'.[55]

Echoing the concepts enshrined into the Ecuadorian Constitution, a GARN signature campaign in already underway calling on the UN to adopt a 'Universal Declaration for the Rights of Mother Earth'.[56] If this incorporation of indigenous perspectives was to be achieved, there are many instances of damaging environmental exploitation across the globe that could be halted. For example, India has seen a multitude of protected areas being opened up for human activities and development projects.[57] Despite the site being 'a safe haven for biodiversity and wildlife', a clearing spree is underway within ecologically sensitive areas to enable coal mining, road construction and other projects.[58] According to the Union Environmental Ministry, around 40,000 hectares of protected forest land has been diverted for mining projects between 2011 and 2021, with the Provisions of Forest (Conservation) Act, 1980, allowing state governments to approve projects subject to prior approval by India's Central Government.[59] Despite the Dehing Patkai rainforest being an important source of biodiversity, nicknamed the 'Amazon of the East', researchers have argued that protected areas are being endangered and put under 'huge anthropological pressure'.[60] This is a clear example of a context to which the Rights of Nature could be applied. If a Universal Declaration for the Rights of Mother Earth was enshrined in international law, mechanisms would be in place allowing citizens to press the area's rights in court, forcing its protection and sustainable maintenance. Therefore, the incorporation of indigenous voices into international human rights discourses could be invaluable to environmental protection. With the mutual benefits of helping mitigate the climate crisis and decolonising the relations that caused the crisis in the first place, decolonisation would increase the uses of the human rights framework for environmental protection through the enshrinement of the Rights of Nature into international law.

Conclusions

In this article, I have argued that decolonising knowledge production to enable meaningful environmental protection is necessary to mitigate the impact of climate change. While human rights have the potential to be an invaluable legal tool in the fight against environmental degradation, their grounding in Western ideology makes them a continuation of the very systems and power relations that caused the climate crisis in the first place. As demonstrated through an examination of the Rights of Nature in Ecuador and their potential uses for

environmental protection in India, the inclusion of indigenous value systems in law would enable people to prevent harmful extractive activities, while also integrating indigenous perspectives into policymaking. As the Earth continues to accelerate towards the catastrophic destruction of biodiversity, this article argues that it is integral that we turn our back on hegemonic, damaging logics and instead turn to the practices that have proved themselves to be sustainable; practices which can be found in the ecocentric cultures of indigenous communities.

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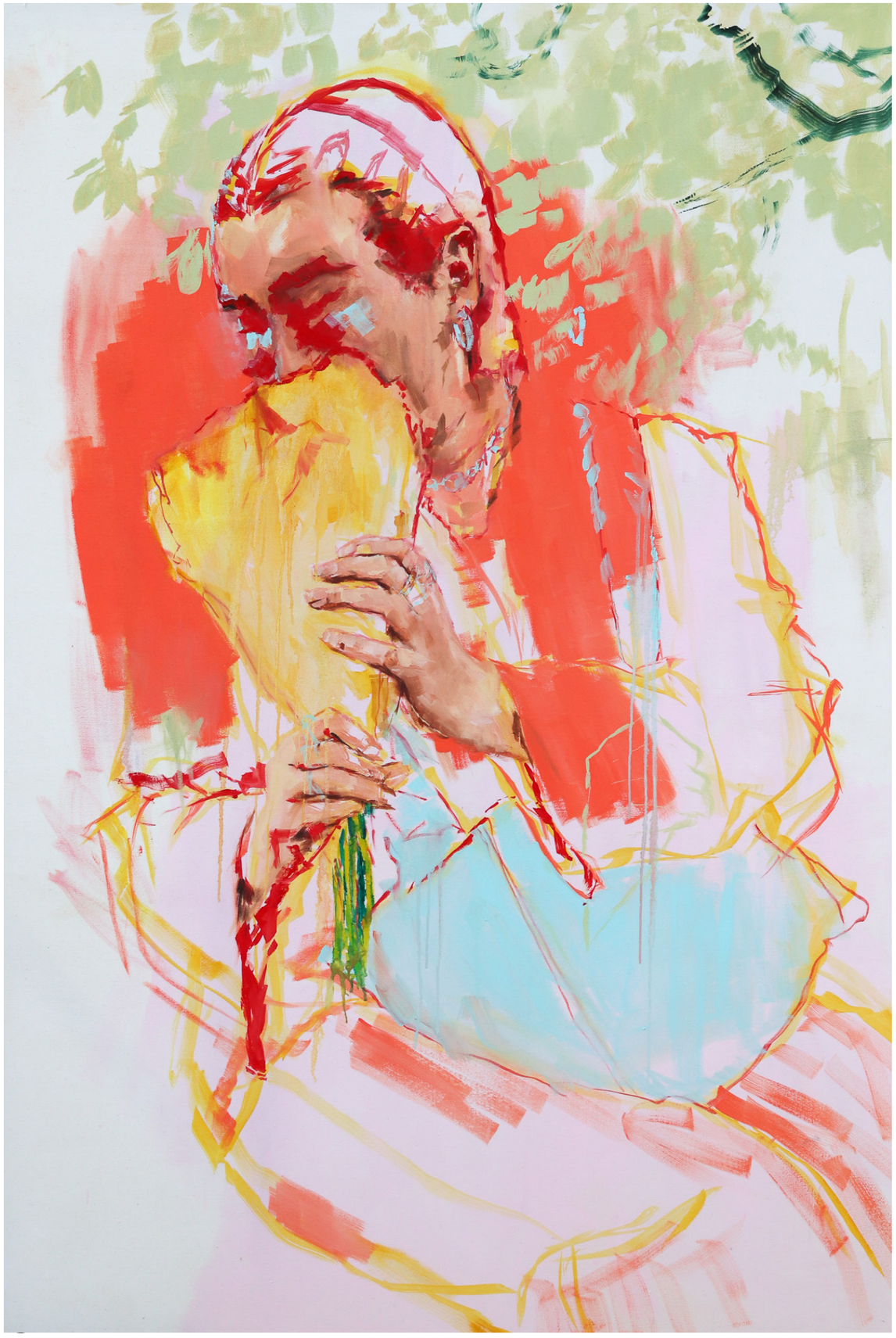
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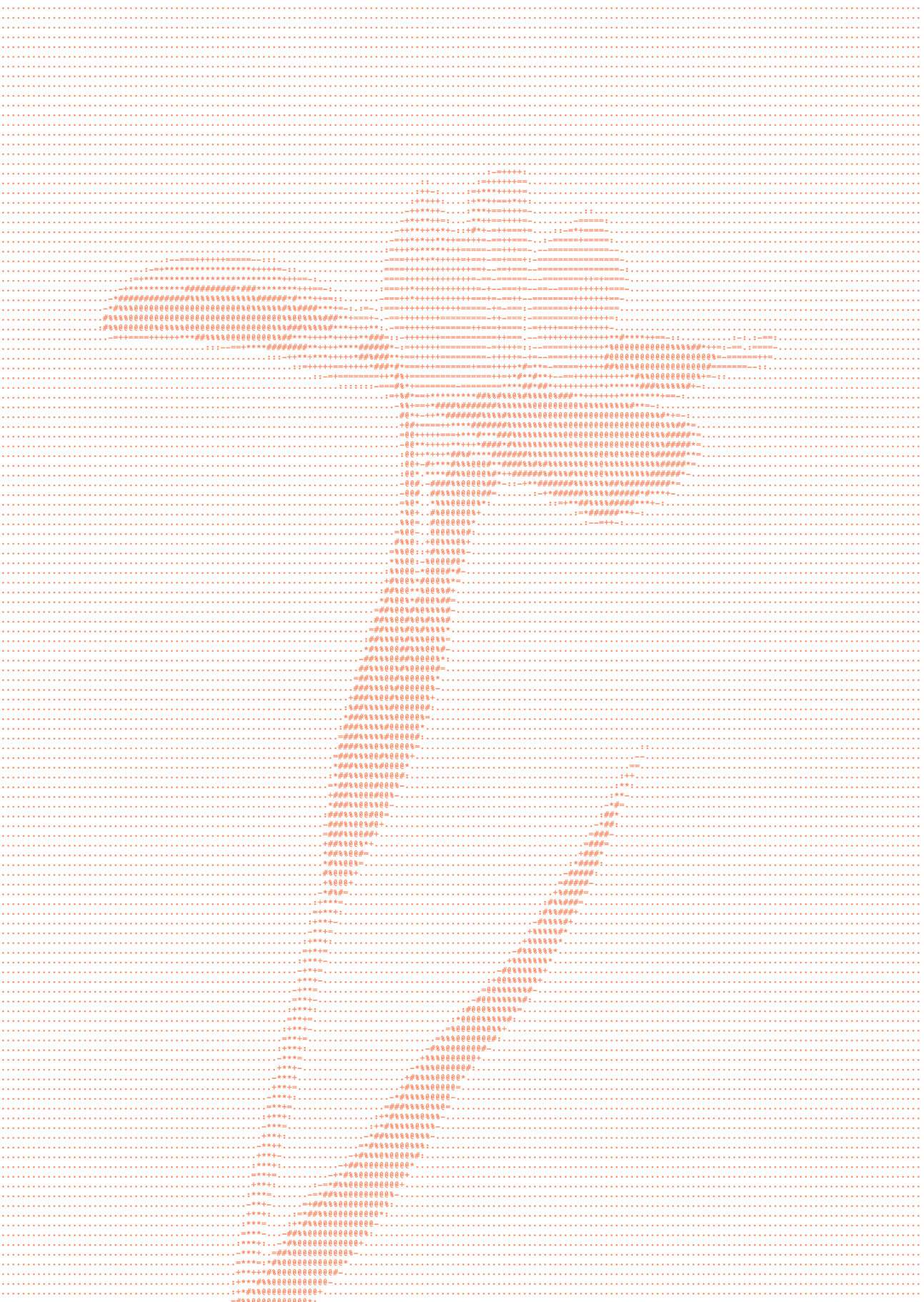




Butterfly, butterfly (119 x 168 cm, Oil on Canvas)
You and your guitar (168 x 178 cm, Oil on Canvas)

Katie Kaur

These paintings relate to finding moments of personal peace and sanctuary. Through offering insight into intimate, personal fragments of the present, my intention is to challenge differences between subject and viewer and trigger pure, uncomplicated, human connection.



“Women have also largely been written out of history even when they were present in armed revolts.”

{ Layla Kharroubi }

To what extent can ‘resistance’ define enslaved political cultures?

Layla Kharroubi

Final Year, BA History

This paper explores how the concept of resistance has been popularly understood through the medium of armed revolt when applied to the Caribbean slave trade. Consequently, this understanding has resulted in the silencing of many enslaved women’s experiences within the historical record, who have resisted in various other ways. Referencing resistance in this way has been limiting and can serve to glamourise tragedies. This article therefore argues that the definition of resistance should be expanded to encompass areas and acts beyond the use of force. This paper seeks to showcase the often-unheard side of resistance. The different roles and acts of enslaved women, as well as Obeah practitioners (spiritual and medicinal figures in their communities), ranging from direct militaristic action to making passive remarks, will be highlighted to emphasise that all their experiences were valid and significant.

Resistance is largely unhelpful when defining enslaved political cultures. Resistance is a historical construct used by scholars such as Craton when referring more broadly to armed resistance.[1] Although day to day resistance has been acknowledged, typically the focus remains on acts that use violence or force, such as mutinies or rebellions. Within the Caribbean, all aspects of life were necessarily politicised due to the violent and traumatic transition that slavery entailed. Defining enslaved political cultures in the Caribbean as ‘resistance’ is limiting to people’s lived experiences and the struggles they faced. The popular understanding of resistance within the framework of armed revolts often creates silences in Caribbean historical records. This conception ignores several aspects of enslaved political cultures and does not allow the voices of the numerous enslaved people who resisted slavery in other ways, or even not at all, to be heard. Instead, the commonly understood definition of resistance which involves the use of force should be expanded to include other acts. Even continuing the use of indigenous languages, spiritual beliefs and weaning practices can be viewed as resistance against an institution that wanted to eradicate enslaved cultures. Furthermore, the use of ‘resistance’ frames cultures as if they were simply reactive and not active in their own right. This ‘activeness’ can be demonstrated by the process of creolisation fighting against the imposition of a ‘social death’ from the very beginning of slavery.[2]

This essay will focus on enslaved women and the means through which they did or did not fight against the institution of slavery, evaluating how ‘resistance’ largely detracts from them as individuals. Spiritual and religious beliefs will also be analysed in the context of ‘resistance’, as these were often deliberately prohibited in favour of Western religions, yet secretly practiced. This essay assesses the potential dangers that the idealizations of tragedies bring, as well as the many aspects of Obeah, which are usually forgotten in the framework of ‘resistance’. Obeah is a spiritual practice, forming from the ‘creolisation of religions’.[3] Obeah practitioners operate as an authority on both supernatural and medicinal matters, and often held positions of power in their communities.

The word ‘resistance’, especially when referring to enslaved women, can conjure imagery of warriors who actively fought to overthrow the system of oppression. There were many enslaved women in the Caribbean, which this describes, including Nanny who was a leader in the Maroon Wars. However, these women were also undoubtedly so much more. They experienced pain, grief and loss, not just the depiction of righteous anger which ‘resistance’ can signify. Many enslaved women were also not like this. Some fought back against their owners and planters in quotidian practices or through passive means.[4] Many did not fight back against the system of slavery at all and some women worked with the institution in hopes of making their lives better. This does not detract from their importance.[5]

Women have always been involved in all enslaved political cultures. However, Dadzie asserts that there has been a tendency to write women to "near invisibility" and concentrate more significantly on the roles of men.[6] This shows that even within the narrow understanding of resistance as a militaristic force, there are gaps that remain unacknowledged in the historical record, such as the contribution that women have made to armed resistance. Although in cases of armed resistance there is more substantial evidence of men's involvement, this should not detract from the legacies of the women who joined, even if some historians consider them "token" figures.[7] For example, Nanny was one of the maroon leaders in the First Maroon War 1733-39 and was present during the signing of the treaty with Britain. Subsequently, 500 miles of land in Jamaica was granted to the maroons, and Nanny's involvement showcases her obvious importance to the efforts of outright 'resistance'.[8] Nanny was a fierce warrior, Obeahwoman and leader, who split from the main party of maroons and founded what became known as the 'women's town'. This became a safe haven for "women, children and non-combatant men".[9] This demonstrates another element to her that 'resistance' cannot completely capture – a nurturing side that created the possibility of a peaceful place, where fighting was discouraged. This is significantly at odds with how 'resistance' blankets enslaved identities to conform to militaristic stereotypes.

Tacky's Rebellion further demonstrates enslaved women actively fighting back against slavery through the medium of violence. In 1760, the rebels raised a Cubah to the position of the "Queen of Kingston", where she was heavily involved in the vanguard of the rebellion.[10] Bush draws parallels between her and the Queen Mother of the Ashanti.11 This demonstrates how enslaved women, through African roots and traditions, also fought against slavery. In this example, armed measures were utilised; however, many women did not fight against their masters or overseers, especially not as overtly as Nanny or the Queen of Kingston. This does not decrease their significance or the validation of their struggles. It was common in plantations for women to complete their work slowly or back talk to their owners without being severely reprimanded, as owners did not want to seem weak or threatened by enslaved women. There were also instances where women would refuse to work as laws entitled them to exemption from labour if they had more than six children, against many owners' wishes.[12] In 1836, four women were punished for not working when a new overseer tried to send them into the fields.[13]

Enslaved women thus fought back against the system of slavery in many different ways. The quotidian practices of enslaved women in the Caribbean do not conform to the typical understanding of 'armed resistance'. Recently there has been reconsideration within Caribbean historiography and a turn away from only researching the militaristic elements of 'resistance'. Paton and Dadzie have both made significant contributions to understanding how enslaved women experienced slavery and Turner has crucially investigated silences of maternal grief within the archives.[14] Arguably, this experience was on a level the majority of males could never understand, due to the violence and control of enslaved women's bodies. This is important to acknowledge as it adds another realm of suffering for enslaved women, one that had not previously been investigated in the historiography.[15] Enslaved women suffered not only sexual abuse and exploitation but also the increasing politicisation of reproduction, which became highly significant after the abolishment of the slave trade in 1807.[16]

The Caribbean saw an astonishing low birth rate during slavery.[17] This was attributed to the backbreaking work in plantations. Pregnant women were expected to labour, nutrition was poor and harsh punishments that deemed women 'equal under the whip' often resulted in miscarriages.[18] Planters and masters consequently endeavoured to shift the blame onto African 'cultural practices' of enslaved women.[19] For example, planters and colonial powers blamed and threatened the experience of lactation when they reconsidered enslaved female bodies to be objects of "medical and political intervention".[20] For African women, lactation lasted two years and was a natural way to space out pregnancies.[21] In an effort to increase fertility, planters directly intervened by ordering women to wean their babies at 12 months.[22] Paton asserts this was highly unsuccessful, even in cases where there were economic incentives.[23] Baillee, a planter who adopted this scheme of motivation, notes that not one woman availed herself of the payments from 1808-32, demonstrating that enslaved women vigorously protected their ways of raising children.[24] This demonstrates that traditional practices maintained an important role within enslaved political cultures, as their sense of self and belonging was deeply rooted in these customs. Therefore, these acts should be viewed under the scope of resistance, as enslaved women would actively defy the wishes of planters in order to keep their connection to home and their culture.

The abolition of the slave trade led to the increasing control and manipulation of enslaved women's bodies in order to reverse the declining population trend.[25] As a result, many women abstained from sex, sexually mutilated themselves or took herbal contraception. Abortion and infanticide were also common.[26] Sadiyah Hartman refers to this as a 'gynecological revolt', framing this movement in the context of 'resistance'.[27] However, this subtracts from the horrors that enslaved women faced. Indeed, it was a movement where they fought back against their oppressors and abusers, but by defining it as 'resistance' alone the door is closed to different conversations, such as maternal grief. This loss was further compounded by the spiritual belief many African women had of reunification with ancestors in their homeland through death. For Caribbean-born children, this was not possible, meaning that mothers would have also experienced spiritual struggles, which are not explored through the definition of 'resistance'.[28] Mor-

gan therefore describes that for enslaved women, motherhood is an experience "rooted in loss".[29] Loss is a "hidden trauma of slavery" - an experience felt by enslaved people that is often forgotten in living historical memory or silenced due to this reimagining of this fierce resistance fighter.[30] Ultimately, the prevailing image of 'resistance' does all enslaved women a disservice, as it ignores multiple dimensions of experience and does not accurately tell their stories. Traditional ideas of 'rResistance' as a construct tends to silence voices in history, especially women's; it is limiting as a definition for enslaved political cultures given it does not encompass or correctly portray their struggles and plights.

This essay has previously mentioned the spiritual belief of reuniting with ancestors in the homeland through death. As a result of these beliefs, many enslaved Africans threw themselves, and their children, overboard during the Middle Passage, and on plantations there was also an epidemic of suicides.[31] 'Resistance' often frames this as a legacy of bravely undermining slavery and the preference of death to plantations. This glamourises their tragedy, rationalising suicide as for a greater cause, ignoring the pain, fear and suffering implied.This is due to a sense of glorification that emerges from 'resistance', where their heroism is focused on instead of the awful realities they could not bear to live with.

A common religious belief amongst enslaved people was Obeah. Multiple things connote Obeah at the same time making it hard to define.[32] Obeah has many different practices and applications including the spiritual, medicinal, and harmful. Paton uses the analogy of electricity to help understand the concept. She likens Obeah to a constant flow of energy that can be harmful (for example, lightning strikes) or "productive and useful" depending on how it is harnessed.[33] The practice of Obeah was outlawed and still remains so today in some Caribbean states.[34] Obeahwomen in particular were punished harshly for practising, as it was viewed within the context of European witchcraft.[35] The continued use of Obeah in the face of colonial repression demonstrates cultural and religious resistance. However, the more violent uses of Obeah have often been highlighted when discussing its connection to resistance, and it is important to acknowledge its other facets as well.

Obeah was employed in some situations of armed resistance. For example, 'Obeah oaths' were a crucial factor in the 1736 Antigua rebellion plot; ensuring members would remain loyal under the threat of harm that breaking the oath would entail.[36] This demonstrates how Obeah was used to actively fight against the system of slavery and why some historians look at it through the lens of 'resistance'. Another example, the 'Woman of the Popo Country' was an account written by a Jamaican planter in the 1770s and presented to Parliament in response to their inquiry into the state of the slave trade.[37] It recalls how illness and death was prevalent on a plantation for over a year, before someone confessed to their stepmother using Obeah to cause the harm. Upon finding artifacts in her home, the planter ordered for her house to be pulled down and then "committed it to the flames".[38] Planters again shifted the blame of high mortality rates and sickness onto the enslaved, taking no responsibility.[39] This is an example where Obeah was used to cause harm and 'resist' slavery by undermining the plantation; however, further investigation into Obeah is required because it has many different aspects that the construct of 'resistance' works to erase.

Obeah was not solely used in armed resistance or harmful work. Obeah intersects significantly with this essay's analysis of the different struggles that enslaved women faced. Obeahwomen were common, and many enslaved women visited practitioners. Due to its numerous elements, Obeah lent practitioners power to use in many ways. Cutter remarks that Obeah was perceived as dangerous, through observing its portrayal in key Caribbean literature.[40] In Yanique's novel called 'Land of Love and Drowning', an Obeahwoman is shown to be "more powerful than any man" because Obeah grants her the ability to give women abortions.[41] This is useful in showcasing the representation of Obeah and coincides with how many enslaved women viewed Obeah as a healing or medicinal practice, as it helped their lives and increased their independence. Obeah therefore was also significant in mitigating the struggle that women faced when owners' increased control over their bodies and reproduction, after the end of the slave trade. Obeah practitioners held medicinal knowledge for preventing pregnancies, and often gave women herbal contraceptions or abortifacients.[42] 'Resistance' cannot define Obeah as it has many different uses, not only in instances of armed revolt. The medicinal aspect was significant, especially regarding enslaved women retaining control over their bodies and reproductive rights. 'Resistance' is an unhelpful definition here as it eclipses and inhibits the overall understanding of Obeah and the multiple ways it helped enslaved people, even those that did not employ armed resistance.

To conclude, the currently understood notion of 'resistance' is an ineffective and inadequate definition for enslaved political cultures, especially with regards to women and spiritual/religious beliefs. Although there are instances where armed resistance occurred within these cultures, its use as an overarching definition overshadows the different dimensions of individuals and detracts from struggles that people faced, such as loss and grief. Women have also largely been written out of history even when they were present in armed revolts. The focus on enslaved women within this essay works to convey the range of different methods employed to undermine slavery, if they did so at all. Many of these approaches did not necessarily conform to traditional armed resistance, such as quotidian practices but this does not detract from their importance. Therefore, the understanding of resistance should be expanded in order to encompass all of these different acts, whether passive or active.

Another problematic aspect of 'resistance' is that it can also work to glorify tragedies, such as in the case of suicides. It removes individuality by blanketing other emotions, such as loss or fear, and emphasises a narrative where these acts were committed for a greater cause. Consequently, this works to silence other motives and reduces conversation regarding these matters. Traditional 'resistance' is also ultimately unhelpful for understanding Obeah. 'Resistance' often downplays the significance of Obeah's other aspects, such as medicinal work, as it elevates the role of Obeah in militaristic resistance, perpetuates violent stereotypes and therefore does not contribute to the wider understanding of its practices.

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Tom Parry

“By identifying and exposing the methods by which the slaveholding hegemony subjugates the black enslaved population, Douglass seeks to reinterpellate himself into existence as a man.”

{ Aimen Mahmood }

How A Man Was Made A Slave: Identity Formation in Narrative of The Life of Frederick Douglass

Aimen Mahmood

Graduated in 2021,
BA English Literature

This article explores Frederick Douglass's autobiography, Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, to explore how a man was 'made' a slave—and how this transformation is never complete, always reversible. Within the context of Althusser's theory of Repressive and Ideological State Apparatuses, this article seeks to explore how slaveholding operated as both, with particular attention to the latter. Building on Henkel's article, 'Forging Identity through Literary Reinterpellation: The Ideological Project of Frederick Douglass' Narrative,' this article will show how slaveholding engineered consent to ensure slaves 'bought into' the slaveholding ideology. However, despite this engineered consent, it will be made clear how Douglass's Narrative spoke against this ideology by addressing his community to say: 'you have seen how a man was made a slave; you shall see how a slave was made a man.'

In his autobiography, Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass (henceforth, Narrative), Douglass states: 'You have seen how a man was made a slave; you shall see how a slave was made a man'.[1] In response to this statement, this academic article will seek to answer the question: how is a man made a slave? As an Ideological State Apparatus with the purpose of preserving the social order 'not through coercion [...] but by engineering consent,' slaveholding sought to interpellate enslaved individuals into existence as slaves and only slaves.[2] Firstly, I will evidence that slaveholding functioned simultaneously as a Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) and an Ideological State Apparatus (ISA). Within the context of the ISA, this article will seek to examine the methods with which consent was engineered. The concepts discussed in this paper can be applied to the lived experiences and identity formation of individuals migrating from their native states and/or seeking refuge from conflict-affected nations.

Briefly, while complex concepts that require deeper exploration beyond the scope of this article, state apparatuses are superstructures that assist in maintaining the status quo—that is, a reality where the ruling class remains in power while the working class remains submissive. RSAs seek to maintain this power balance through violence and repression, utilising the military, the police, the legal system, and the prison system. As Buchanan writes, 'it operates primarily by means of coercion and violence.'[3] ISAs aim to maintain the status quo 'by means of ideological persuasion' to influence the way people behave and govern themselves.[4] This is achieved through family, educational systems, religion, the media, and more. Within the context of slavery, the illegality of mixed-race marriages would be classified as an RSA, as it is a legal system designed to oppress. Conversely, by preventing the education of enslaved children, the system of slavery subdues enslaved people by preventing ideological evolution, thus being considered an ISA.

As slaveholding 'functioned primarily by violence' to uphold the relations of production, it can be stated with certainty that slaveholding is an RSA.[5] This is because if slaves deviated from the rules of the slaveholding ideology, such as refusing to subjugate to the white slaveholders, the RSA would react with force and/or violence to ensure that the rules were upheld and the relations of production were not threatened. Henkel draws attention to compelling evidence from Narrative that aligns with this argument, as she cites slaveholders in the text who killed slaves to set an example or whipped them for the sole reason of pre-emptively striking fear in them to discourage any subversion.[6]

Comparably, Henkel's evidence for slaveholding being an ISA is limited and, arguably, insufficient. Henkel writes that 'both the [RSA] and the many Ideological State Apparatuses are reciprocal, so slaveholding also operated by ideology'.[7] No further explanation is provided by the writer. Despite the lack of further elaboration, the argument that slaveholding operates as an ISA is convinc-

ing, which this essay will show. As Althusser theorises, ISAs 'engineer' consent to 'maintain the social order'. [8] In addition to preventing affectionate relationships within family units from forming, withholding knowledge, and attempting to make freedom look undesirable, slaveholding upheld the ISAs by interpellating individuals and making them subjects to be categorised.

Henkel cites Douglass's recollection of working at the shipyard and answering to derogatory terms.[9] Henkel claims that by responding to derogatory terms when hailed, an individual internalises those terms to become a part of their identity. This supports Althusser's theory of ISAs as slaves internalise the ideologies of the social institutions that seek to repress them. This is also supported by Douglass's statement that, 'The truth was, I felt myself a slave.'[10] This will be further explored later in the essay.

As briefly mentioned above, one of the methods with which consent was engineered was by preventing the formation of affective relationships within a stable family unit. As a young child, Douglass was removed from his mother. He states that 'it is a common custom from the part of Maryland from which I ran away, to part children from their mothers at a very young age,' often before the child's first birthday.[11] As a result, Douglass was prevented from forming fond memories with his mother, the woman who should have been his primary caretaker. The purpose of this separation between mother and child was dual and intended to uphold the relations of production. As Calhoun writes, in Marxism, this 'refers to the social relations between capitalist owners and workers in the production process. For Marx, the relations of production in capitalist society take the form of the exploitation of workers by capitalists'.[12] The premature return of mothers to the plantation fields meant that slaveowners were not without their working slaves for long.

With the return of their labour workers, the slaveowners would then not suffer an economic loss. Bush-Slimani, in her research on childbirth during slavery in the Caribbean and Southern USA, claims that women 'were expected to return to work no later than three weeks after delivery,' with only a month of rest allowed pre-birth.[13] In the case of Douglass, his mother was unable to spend time with her child, instead being sent to work soon after the birth and relocated twelve miles away. This separated the mother and child entirely, except for a handful of unauthorised visits in the dead of the night. Her physical distance from her child would result in her inability to tend to her child's caretaking to a point where her work would suffer and, as a result, her owner's profit.

The second purpose of this separation is to engineer consent to the slaveholding ideology. Douglass refers to this separation—almost in passing—as 'a common custom,' the accepted norm of his birthplace.[14] In Douglass's contemporary society, the cyclical nature of being born to an enslaved mother who was soon removed from the child for the economic benefit of the mother's slaveowner was socially accepted as a fact of life. By establishing this practice as a norm, the slaveowners ensured and engineered the consent of their slaves. Though mothers mourned the tragedy, they did not resist. If they did, a lashing awaited them. As such, slaveholding, as an ISA, upheld the social order by forcing the slave's consent, with the threat of violence hanging over them at the slightest hint of resistance.

As a result of the physical separation between relatives, family systems were unable to be established and were destroyed before they could form, leaving an individual unable to create a stable sense of self within their family unit. Douglass recounts that at the time of his mother's death, he received the news 'with much the same emotions I should have probably felt at the death of a stranger'.[15] Furthermore, when he learns that his master has decided he must live with the Auld family in Baltimore, he receives this news with much joy. He writes, 'the ties that ordinarily bind children to their homes were all suspended in my case [...] my mother was dead, my grandmother lived far off'.[16] He mentions that 'I had two sisters and one brother, that lived in the same house with me; but the early separation of us from our mother had well nigh blotted the fact of our relationship from our memories'. [17] The removal of the centre of the family unit, the mother, inhibited the formation of a familial connection with his biological siblings. Moreover, just as the distance from his mother did not permit a parent-child connection during her life, the physical distance from his grandmother also crippled his relationship with the woman who was his primary caretaker. The absence of his mother during his formative years denied him the opportunity to form a sense of individuality within a stable family unit.

In her essay, in conversation with object-relations theorists, Kimberly Drake argues that a child's identity is dependent on the social relations that they form in their childhood.[18] Object-relations theorists maintain that forming 'diverse emotional attachments to familial [...] objects' in childhood allows the individual to move towards 'individuation and maturation' as they 'progressively [internalise] and [distinguish] from the self'.[19] Douglass, having been 'ripped' from his family, could not identify as a son, a brother, or a grandchild and, later, could not identify as a stable self. The absence of these emotional attachments stunted the formation of Douglass's identity to the extent that upon his escape from Maryland, he went through four name changes before he settled on Frederick Douglass, the name that he came to be known by and the one that would continue. Although he lived to reinterpellate himself into existence as a man, the ways in which a man was initially 'made' a slave are apparent.

Another method with which consent is engineered within the slaveholding ideology is by withholding knowledge from, and prohibiting education of, the enslaved. During his time with the Auld family, Mrs. Auld endeavours to teach Douglass how to read

and write. Upon learning of this planned undertaking, Hugh Auld admonishes his wife, reminding her that to teach a slave was unlawful and 'unsafe'. Mr Auld says, 'A nigger should know nothing but to obey his master—to do as he is told to do. Learning would spoil the best nigger in the world.'[20] He goes on to add, 'If you teach that nigger [...] how to read, there would be no keeping him'.[21] Following the instruction from her husband, Mrs. Auld quickly comes to agree that 'education and slavery were incompatible with each other'.[22] Upon witnessing this interaction, Douglass becomes emboldened to seek knowledge. This interaction is interesting in that it exposes the slaveowner's anxiety that a learned slave had the potential to become an empowered, independent, and disobedient slave. Furthermore, the use of the word 'unsafe' warrants particular attention. Unsafe for whom? It is clear that the education of the enslaved could prove to be harmful for the master, and more generally, the slaveholder ideology for several reasons.

Firstly, education exposed the individual to the injustices that the slaves experienced at the hands of the slaveholders. Not only would this encourage them to resist against these injustices, it would also teach them how to intellectually refute the arguments that were presented in favour of slavery, just as the slave refutes the master's arguments in Douglass's reading of The Columbian Orator.[23] Secondly, it would allow the slaves to foster independence. An educated slave was a free slave; even if he was still owned, his mind was free. The desire to be free in both mind and body would encourage and empower slaves to rebel by either attempting escape or by inciting insurrection. Finally, an educated slave could access and read the widely distributed abolitionist writing, leading, as with above, to rebellion that could permanently cripple the slaveholding ideology upon which the slaveholders depended. Upon realising the injustice of the slaveholding ideology, Douglass 'was no longer content, therefore, to live with [Mr. Freeland] or any other slaveholder' and sought to become '[his] own master'.[24] Just as the slaveowner believes that 'education and slavery were incompatible,' so too does Douglass come to believe and live this.

As mentioned earlier, 'hailing' contributes to the process of being categorised as slaves. Being made to respond to that categorisation contributes to the making of a man into a slave. The first instance of this categorisation is when we are introduced to Ned Roberts, the young man with whom Aunt Hester was warned to never be caught by her master. Douglass writes that this man, who belonged to Colonel Lloyd, was named 'Ned Roberts, generally called Lloyd's Ned'.[25] Ned, having been rechristened as 'Lloyd's Ned' and being made to respond to that name, is positioned as a slave, as the property of his master. It is of significance that when he is called out by 'his' name, his master's name precedes his own: 'Lloyd's Ned'[26]. The man does not exist without a master, signalling that Ned's identity is always-already as a slave and only as a slave.

Later, we also witness Douglass's own experience of hailing and interpellation at William Gardner's shipyard. While working there, he was 'to do whatever the carpenters commanded me to do' and was to regard all seventy-five men as 'masters'[27]. He writes, 'I was called a dozen ways in the space of a single minute. Three or four voices would strike my ear at the same moment'[28]. At the same time as he was being called 'Fred,' he was also being called slurs like 'darky' and 'nigger'.[2] As multiple voices called him in various ways, some with his name, some with derogatory slurs, Douglass would respond to them all at the same time. Responding to these slurs positioned him within the slaveholding ideology as a slave until he internalised this identity to the extent that he '[feels] himself a slave,' even after securing freedom.[30] In Althusserian theory of ideology, it is argued that 'meaning and identity were communicated at the level of the sign, and any object or gesture—not just verbal or written language—could operate as a sign'.[31] A sign could be a name that one was assigned, as discussed above, as much as it could be a hand gesture to beckon one forward. Responding to, or 'recognition' of, that sign 'on the part of the person [being] hailed positions that person as a subject of' the ideology within which he is being interpellated.[32] In both instances, Ned and Douglass are being interpellated into their appropriate social roles within the slaveholding ideology. By calling them by names that clearly positioned them as slaves, the slaveholders and the carpenters clearly assigned identity to the two men, until that identity is communicated so absolutely that the men internalise it within themselves, becoming slaves first and men second, if at all.

This essay has explored some of the ways in which slaveholding interpellated individuals into the slaveholding ideology and sought to turn men into slaves. Just as Mrs. Auld came to discover that education and slavery are incompatible, this essay has argued that the two facets of identity—man and slave—are also incompatible within the slaveholding ideology. The two facets of identity cannot coexist; one must either be a slave or a man. However, even if individuals are interpellated as slaves and are 'made' into slaves, this transformation of the slave is incomplete and can be reversed. In the words of Cassuto, 'the masters do not succeed in turning the slaves into beasts; they can only approximate doing so'.[33] The opportunity for the slave to reclaim their humanity, their identity as a man, always exists, and we witness this transformation, this reversal, in Narrative of the Life of Fredrick Douglass. By identifying and exposing the methods by which the slaveholding hegemony subjugates the black enslaved population, Douglass seeks to reinterpellate himself into existence as a man and present other slaves with the knowledge, mindset, and framework to begin their own transformation—from man to slave, to man again.

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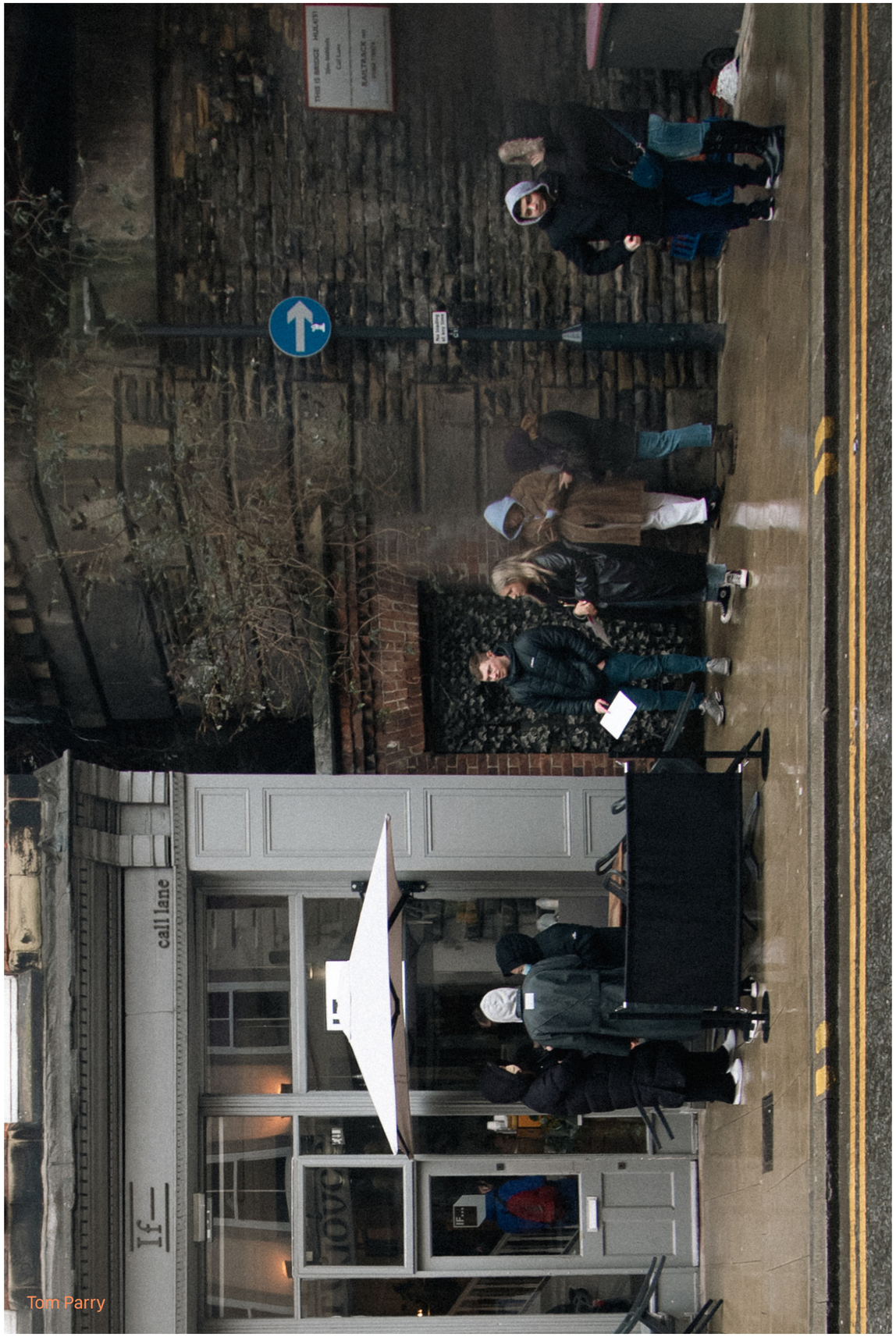
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Tom Parry



'Emancipation as security, therefore, can act as a sanctuary for individuals within a framework of human rights.'

{ Fanni Szöllősi }

Can emancipation as security provide sanctuary?

Fanni Szöllősi

Final Year, BA Sociology and International Relations

In security studies, the Welsh School is known for its critical angle of traditional security approaches. As one of the school's most prominent scholars, Ken Booth (1991) has emphasised the importance of emancipation as security. This essay offers a review of this perspective, focusing on three main points. First, the advantages of equating security with the emancipation of humans are discussed with a focus on the cases of global terrorism and the conflict between Israel and Palestine. Second, the criticism of the underlying universal and Eurocentric connotations is presented along with a rejection of violence as a means for emancipation. Ultimately, the essay argues that instead of violence, the focus on communication and listening that is advocated by postcolonial, and feminist theoretical foundations proves to be more productive. Therefore, emancipation itself should be interpreted as instituting dialogue and balanced consideration of previously marginalised voices. This way, emancipation as security can act as a sanctuary for individuals within a framework of human rights.

Among the ambiguities of security studies lies the discussion of security and emancipation. The two concepts are tied together by strands of human rights and idealism, or as Ken Booth has described it, by utopian realism.[1] This essay will deconstruct Booth's claim that emancipation and security are 'two sides of the same coin' by presenting multiple positions of the discourse: arguing for the need to shift focus from traditional views on security in order to bring humans into its centre, while simultaneously demonstrating awareness of the limits of this standpoint.[2] Although the essay is in agreement with the claim that emancipation and security are interrelated, and that security issues should be considered with recognition of vulnerable communities, it is simultaneously aware of the reasonable criticism on this approach and it rejects the claim that violence is a justifiable measure for true emancipation. The rationalisation as to why Booth makes a strong argument for the case of emancipation as security will be outlined, with further focus on the prioritisation of human security over state security. This will be discussed with examples of global and regional issues, specifically in the contexts of terrorism, and the Israel-Palestine conflict. Recognising opposing views, the essay will review the problematic elements of implied universality and demonstrate why violence needs to be taken out of the equation completely, emphasising the power of discursive change. This will lead to the discussion of why despite the limits of emancipation as security, it is still the most useful approach in global issues like climate change or the refugee crisis. Overcoming exclusion and having global ethics as a base for a security approach turns around the traditional understanding that security is for the welfare of states at the expense of individuals. This essay concludes that this is essentially optimal but changes in conceptualisation need to take place for it to become practical.

Albeit the Welsh School with Ken Booth at the helm has been subject to a lot of criticism for their ethics and human rights-based approach to security, they made an immense contribution to security studies, with ideas presently relevant and thus, worth considering. In the discipline of security studies, the Welsh School has employed a critical approach, which questions the centrality of the state in questions of security. This section will introduce the main elements of an emancipation focused approach to security followed by a supportive commentary, which will lead to a discussion of human security over state security. In order to solidify this reasoning, the essay will demonstrate what emancipation as security would look like in the context of different security issues.

The claim that 'emancipation and security are two sides of the same coin' crafts a different angle from traditional understandings of security.[3] It suggests that security is comprised of much more than military strength, bringing aspects of social justice and global ethics into play. Therefore, next to security from existential threats, this way of looking at it also entails the freedom and ability to pursue goals or "the freeing of people from

those physical or human constraints which stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do."[4] The constraints on individuals are threats such as war and oppression and the absence of these threats equal to security. According to this line of thought, emancipation and security are synonymous.

This critical approach prioritises the promotion of human rights over the accumulation of military resources, therefore shifting the focus from state power and order to ensuring the freedom and security of all individuals.[5] This is an important statement because taking individuals as the referent object of security is ethically the only reasonable way towards achieving it for everyone. After all, states should not exist for the sake of their mere survival as sovereign entities – they are in place for their citizens' safety and rights to live, and therefore, security should be for and about their welfare.[6] Booth described this changeover as treating 'states as the means and people as the ends' of security.[7] By shifting the traditional perspective, human security becomes the priority and states are regarded as the tools of achieving security for the people instead of the other way around. This is essential in order to provide the welfare of all individuals as states are 'unreliable, illogical and too diverse' to use as a base for security.[8] Furthermore, it is often the states that impose danger on their citizens in the form of oppression and human rights abuses, which strips people from their 'possibilities for progressive alternatives.'[9] This is what emancipation as a form of security can ensure.

To demonstrate how this argument stands its ground regarding issues of the contemporary, two areas will be examined: terrorism and the Israel-Palestine conflict. Terrorism proves to be a good example of what thinking of a security issue by means of emancipation might add to security studies. One of the functions of emancipation is that it provides a 'philosophical anchorage' which in the case of terrorism should be regarded as a shift of emphasis from state concerns to individual voices, especially those most vulnerable.[10] This ultimately means that emancipation, rather than being solely understood as supporting the freedom of choice for everyone, it also ensures that marginalised voices are being heard and taken into account in the study of terrorism. A clear benefit of opening up dialogue with individuals considered more vulnerable regarding security concerns is the extra layer of accountability imposed upon states and leaders to scrutinize the extent to which they actually grant the security of their populations.[11] This is the only way to ensure that response to terrorism is done at the expense of no innocent individuals and taking into consideration all angles. Without this, security remains dangerously close to being exploited to use as something that is more accurately described as coercion. The 'war on terror' is a good example of how 'the suspension of liberal democratic values risks undermining the efficacy of anti-terror campaigns.'[12] These practices promote violence and repression, moreover, to this day, they limit the freedoms of asylum-seekers arriving to the US, this being due to the constant reinforcement of false stigmas within the politics of terrorism. An emancipation-based approach would not allow for this to continue as long as it is utilised as a 'guiding normative principle.'[13]

Turning to another example, when we place this security question in the context of the Israeli occupation of Palestine there are two core perspectives battling with each other: one side viewing it as a way of ensuring safety and stability, while the other side is experiencing it as abuse of power.[14] It is difficult to determine a balance in security when the concept is so easily exploited and so broadly understood. What one party may believe to be an important security measure; the other side might see as oppression. Resolving the conflict between Palestine and Israel is not a one bullet point task, it is a long process with many obstacles, but security is an essential aspect of it. A good example of this opposition is the security coordination of the West Bank, which is regarded as a necessary effort towards the preservation of peace on one side but is essentially an increasingly authoritarian way of keeping Palestinians quiet in the area.[15] By promoting a human dimension of the issue, concerns over statehood and sovereignty should fade into the background to be replaced with an approach interested in overcoming exclusion and injustices.

"Security should not be a question that is reduced merely to Israel's and/or Palestine's right to exist as states but rather, we are interested in the existence and welfare of Israelis and Palestinians as individuals and communities."[16] Overall, a cooperation of security based on considerations of human rights and freedoms seems to be a reasonable solution for development in the peace process, which fundamentally aligns with the emancipation focused security agenda of the Welsh School.

Having demonstrated the strength of an emancipation focused security approach, the problematic aspects of this thinking need to be represented and discussed. In his case for emancipation, Booth demonstrates a strong belief in the power of global civil society and in emancipation beginning with the 'reciprocity of rights.'[17] This idea inherently suggests that the theoretical framework of the Welsh School believes morality to be an essential part of politics and international relations.[18] By taking individuals as the referent object, one takes on the perspective that everyone deserves the same rights and freedoms based purely on the fact of their humanity, which is implicit in cosmopolitan thought. In the subsequent paragraphs, the dangers of this view will be outlined using feminist and post-colonial perspectives. Moreover, there will be a critique of the understanding of power as a valid course towards emancipation.

Booth and the Welsh School carry an underlying belief in universality and cosmopolitanism in their model of security. This is a delicate line of thought, which has implications of Eurocentrism and homogeneity. Despite the simultaneous advocation for

emancipation and empowerment, feminist thinkers of security studies believe that this cannot be achieved with a homogenous outlook.[19] Feminist thought claims that by viewing identity to be a core part of security, we gain a more appropriate understanding of how to manage new security challenges. That is since these issues surface based on one's identity, which is not universal.[20] Concurrently, post-colonial scholars argue that focusing on human emancipation does not completely leave old traditions behind as the concept arises from the same liberal principles.[21]

The Eurocentric connotations lie in the Welsh School's approach towards marginalised voices as the object of 'their normative value in Western political theoretic terms.'[22] Therefore, as long as the agents of this visualised emancipation are the leaders of the West within the international community, and the 'weak and the strong' are not considered under the same principles, emancipation as security carries dangerous, imperialist implications.[23] As mentioned with reference to the Israel-Palestine conflict, security is experienced by different communities in different ways. So, rather than being universal, emancipation as security should include individual narratives on an equal basis and take identity into consideration.

This idea leads us to a discussion of another contested aspect of Booth's case for emancipation and security, namely his view on violence being justifiable under certain conditions of the emancipatory process. Going against Booth's contested claim that 'sometimes the force of the better argument has to be replaced by the argument of the better force', this section argues that for emancipation to function as a form of security, violence has no place in the equation.[24] Even though violence and resistance have been part of the emancipatory struggle, security should not be repressive. However, violence will always happen at the expense of someone. The problem with the position Booth takes is that it 'contains the possibility of resurrecting the violence it seeks to eliminate' and attempts to justify military campaigns in certain cases of the emancipatory process, which is contradictory for a theory centred around social justice.[25] However, Marcuse proposes a variation in which security as emancipation enables people to their freedom of choice without violent means, strengthening a position that 'the measure of free society is the extent to which the use of physical violence is absent.'[26] This is evidently the preferable approach because oppression can become the by-product of enforced development.[27] So, in order to avoid this in the future, we need to eliminate violence as a mean of achieving emancipation because progress is so easily used as justification to atrocities.

Having presented two problematic aspects of Booth's claim that emancipation and security are intertwined, there is an opened-up space for countering these challenges by presenting a common ground. Perhaps the most important takeaway from the theoretical framework of critical security studies is the power of discursive change. The focus on the power of communication within the Welsh School and the case represented by the feminist perspective on the need for empathetic listening in security issues is an area of reconciliation between these seemingly contesting sides of the argument.[28] Therefore, emancipation itself should be understood as the joint consideration of non-Eurocentric voices, since it is essentially about opening up additional dialogue with marginalised individuals. This is an important guideline to follow in order to avoid biased and potentially oppressive homogeneity.

While emancipation-based security has its limitations and areas sensitive to criticism, compared with more traditional security thinking it offers definite advantages. Our perception of security has barely altered since the fall of the Berlin Wall, meanwhile, world politics is faced with unprecedented security threats like environmental decline and the refugee crisis. These issues not only transcend beyond national boundaries but produce threats to communities on an inconceivable scale. As a consequence, the traditional finger-pointing to identify the proposer of such threats and responding with the use of force is erased as an option, leaving states in an insecure position.[29] Climate change and mass migration are two crises that have the most vulnerable at its heart, individuals whose freedoms are not being considered. Responsibilities need to be shared globally in order to provide security for the people most vulnerable to the consequences of these challenges, to which emancipation is a good starting point. Emancipation as security, therefore, can act as a sanctuary for individuals within a framework of human rights.

To conclude, this essay has critically evaluated Booth's claim that security and emancipation are two sides of the same coin.[30] This was carried out by analysing the ways in which security issues such as terrorism and the conflict between Israel and Palestine could be resolved by the focus on a human dimension of security. The dangers of the Welsh School's cosmopolitan implications and of the concept of universal emancipation were discussed in relation to post-colonial and feminist perspectives. This was done in order to represent the line of thought within critical theory that could best help overcome issues of universality and potential repression of individual perspectives, which is the emphasis on communication, especially with the empowerment of the most vulnerable voices. Despite recognising the limits of emancipation-based security, the essay comes to the conclusion that compared with other theories, an approach with human rights and ethics at its core is the most reasonable plan of action in global problems like climate change and mass migration. However, in order for this change of outlook to be normalised and achieved within security studies, all elements of violence need to be eliminated from the equation and the emphasis on avoiding Eurocentrism and homogeneity should be prioritised.

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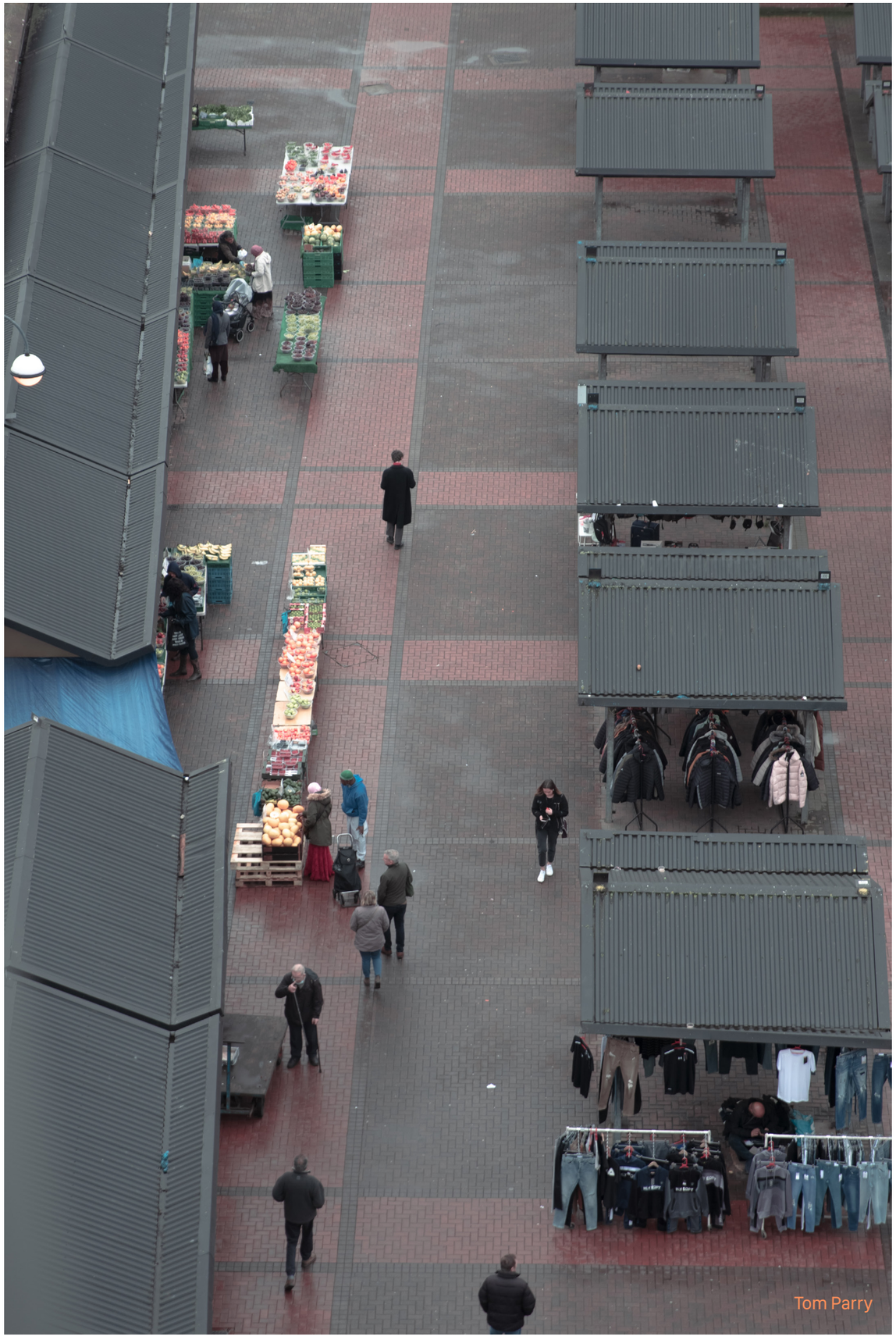
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Tom Parry



'This split recalls an argument made by Fredrick Svenaeus that the experience of illness is inherently uncanny because it exposes the lack of control we have over the biological and genetic determinism of our own bodies.'

{ Megan Fitzwater }

Unnamed and Uncanny: Representations of the disabled self in Joshua Ferris' The Unnamed

Megan Fitzwater Final Year, BA English and French

This essay examines representations of the disabled self in Joshua Ferris's 2010 novel The Unnamed. It contends that Ferris's conceptualisation of characters with disability borrows ideas detailed in Sigmund Freud's 1919 essay, 'The Uncanny': namely, that the disabled self is always configured as recognisably human but also marked by difference. This leads to a feeling of discomfort, and even terror, in the non-disabled spectator. Through the intersection of these two texts, Ferris depicts disability in such a way that simultaneously reinforces notions of disabled difference and posits that disability is an unstable, changing, and socially informed category. The essay explores both the depiction of progressive illness and the idea that the definitions of disability are not static, but rather there are characters who move in and out of varying levels of disability throughout the text. Tim Farnsworth, the novel's protagonist, has a fictitious malady defined by spontaneous pathological walking until he becomes so exhausted his body collapses; his wife, Jane, on the other hand, is diagnosed first with alcoholism, then with cancer, and undergoes the disabling experience of ageing. The essay concludes by extrapolating the conceptualisation of disability as 'uncanny' to Ferris's re-framing of the disability narrative to centre on lived experience.

Recent disability studies scholarship has scrutinised constructions of normalcy and its relationship with disability, contending that they are mutually dependent, rather than opposite, categories. Snyder, Brueggemann, and Garland-Thomson argue that '[t]he disabled self is imagined not as the universal consequence of living an embodied life but as an alien condition', and that the depiction of disability as 'an absolute state of otherness' functions only as a means by which to distance and stigmatise the disabled body, and to aid late-capitalist attempts to standardise the human body. [1] The coexistence of universality and uniqueness therefore present in the disabled body dovetails neatly with Freud's imagining of the uncanny, in which the carefully maintained boundaries between the familiar and unfamiliar are blurred, provoking a feeling of terror. In Joshua Ferris's The Unnamed, the disabled self is neither categorised as an 'alien condition' or as one inevitable to the experience of the embodied self, but rather is located at fluctuating points on a spectrum between the two. Ferris uses particularly Freudian images in order to depict the discomfort of the non-disabled spectator and the impact of disability on the 'core self' and in this way, highlights how the disabled body is invariably othered, but also something deeply familiar to the experience of living 'an embodied life'. Ferris's novel demonstrates a return to the idea that 'disability is indeed a fundamental human experience'. [2]

The novel follows Tim Farnsworth who, a successful lawyer, suffers from an unknown illness characterised by bouts of pathological walking. At any given moment his body forces him to stop what he is doing and walk until he collapses from exhaustion. Despite seeking medical help from countless professionals, there is no explanation for his symptoms. Tim's wife, Jane, and his daughter, Becka, become his primary carers, and between them spend most of their time trying to keep him from walking or driving around to pick him up. Both Jane and Becka also experience disabling moments of ill-health: alcoholism and then cancer, for Jane, and Becka suffers with body image and disordered eating. By the end of the novel his illness takes over completely and he abandons his family and wanders the streets. Subsequently, Tim's sense of self unravels entirely, and he begins to see himself as engaged in permanent conflict with his body. After a short reunion with Jane in hospital before she dies from cancer, he resumes walking, until he succumbs to the harsh conditions of a north-eastern winter and finally dies.

'The Uncanny'

There are two primary ways of interpreting this text considering the uncanny, both of which will be explored over the course of this argument. In his 1919 essay of the same name, Freud describes

the uncanny to be 'that species of the frightening that goes back to what was once well known and had long been familiar', and Nicholas Royle emphasises the way in which the uncanny 'has to do with a sense of ourselves as double, split, at odds with ourselves'. [3] The uncanny is characterised by this cohabitation of the familiar and unfamiliar, which makes it an appropriate lens through which to examine the disabled self.

The first interpretation of this in terms of disability is the discomfort that arises when a non-disabled spectator is forced to confront the overlap between familiar and unfamiliar present in a disabled body. James Porter writes that the disabled body is 'too much a body, too real, too corporeal' and yet also 'deficient [...], not quite a body in the full sense of the word, not real enough', and this inner conflict in non-disabled imaginings of the disabled body dovetails neatly with the way in which Freud articulates the inner conflict of the uncanny.[4] Lennard J. Davis also opens up the study of normalcy; disabled bodies, by definition, are measured against these standards of corporeal 'normalcy', but it is only in relation to disability that normalcy has been explored.[5] As such, disability is simultaneously associated with both normalcy and deviation from these norms. This interpretation of the uncanny within the context of disability studies seeks to scrutinise the non-disabled gaze and the ways in which it is configured to highlight difference.

Secondly, the uncanny can be viewed in relation to the perception of one's own body as it changes over the course of a progressive illness such as Tim's. In this case, pre-determined ideas of a 'core self' are fractured when the body becomes an unfamiliar double. Amelia DeFalco describes this in terms of ageing, and this essay applies the same concept to the process of becoming disabled: 'I experience the uncanny,' she writes, 'when my expectations, [...] are upset; when the familiar, the recognisable, is infiltrated by the strange, the unrecognisable'.[6] This will form the basis for the second half of my argument, which seeks to place the disabled self, rather than the disabled other, at the centre of these interpretations.

The Disabled Other

This boundary between self and other is transgressed by the non-disabled gaze. In a flashback scene early in the novel, Becka, at nine years old, catches a glimpse of her father through a crack in the door, handcuffed to his bed in an attempt to stop his pathological walking. In staring at her father, Ferris creates a clear dichotomy in which Tim's disabled body is posited as the 'other' to Becka's naïve, childlike 'self'—a boundary symbolically mirrored by the threshold of Tim's bedroom. In a passage marked by difference, Becka assumes the role of the non-disabled spectator, observing her father at his most vulnerable and without his knowledge: 'He was dressed differently,' she notices, and attempts to contextualise the 'kind of jerky' movements of his legs as 'Calisthenics, like at school'.[7] The ways that Tim's disabled body differs from her pre-determined ideas of him evokes fear in Becka, who 'fled from the doorway'.[8] Here, Becka's staring, writes Garland-Thomson, registers the perception of difference and gives meaning to impairment by marking it as aberrant'.[9] However, this difference is complicated by the fact that it is not simply his 'otherness' that causes her fear, but rather the collision of the known and the unknown. Earlier in the novel, Becka sees her father completely unrecognisable on a park bench, and yet this does not illicit the same kind of fear of discomfort that witnessing him, perfectly recognisable, in the familiar space of their home does.[10] It is a fear that forces Becka to confront the unfamiliar within the familiar; the 'unnamed' other that she perceives to reside within her father.

Crucially, Becka's stare also brings her father's disability out of the privacy of his bedroom and establishes the Farnsworths' house as a space in which these boundaries are both transgressed and violated. By adopting Becka's perspective of illicit staring, the reader is made complicit in this invasion of Tim's privacy, in what Freud highlights as the moment in which 'everything that was meant to remain secret and hidden [...] has come into the open'.[11] The Farnsworths' house becomes a place of this uncanny collapse of boundaries, powerfully recollective of Freud's native heimlich: 'Becka didn't want him inside the house,' Ferris writes. 'She heard him at night making noises like he was straining to lift something heavy. She heard the rattle of the handcuffs. His curses filled the house and his mumbling carried through the walls'.[12] The word Heimlich (or homely) is central to Freud's uncanny, as its meaning in German both emphasises its association with the familiar, and the more sinister connotations of secrecy and concealment. In using the image of the family house, and its connotations of domestic harmony in direct contrast with the unknowable, hidden, and mysterious nature of Tim's illness, Ferris is able to trace an explicit connection between both the inherent conflict of the word heimlich and the ways in which the Farnsworth family experiences Tim's disability.

The physical aspect of Tim's disability is crucial for understanding the ways in which Ferris uses the feeling of the uncanny to depict both disabled characters' experiences with their bodies and the experience of others viewing those bodies. Tim's disability physically alters his body, both in the loss of several fingers and toes from frostbite, and the control that it exerts over his physical movements. The image of his missing

extremities is another example of the way that Ferris alludes to Freud's essay, who directly maps the feeling of uncanny terror onto images of disabled bodies, writing that '[s]evered limbs, a severed head, a hand detached from the arm [...]—all of these have something highly uncanny about them'.[13] In a particularly uncanny image after he is briefly reunited with Jane at a Waffle House, Tim's hands and their missing fingers become a symbol of his uncanny merging of the familiar and unfamiliar: '...without thinking of how ugly it must look to her, Tim raised his hand and raised back'.[14] Here, a gesture defined by its proximity to recognition and familiarity is performed by Tim's disfigured, 'ugly' hand, and familiarity and unfamiliarity meet at an uncanny equilibrium.

The Disabled Self

So far, this essay has focused on the ways in which Ferris's constructions of the disabled body evoke feelings of uncanny in the spectator. However, the uncanny can also arise from the sensation of the other within oneself. When Freud writes about the uncanny effect of 'feet that dance by themselves', he may not be alluding to the experience of losing control of one's body and thus experiencing it as other, but this is certainly applicable to Tim's experience in The Unnamed.[15] Tim's walking is at odds with his will, and he maintains that his illness is purely physical, a disease in his legs. He maintains a Cartesian split between mind and body, which posits the two as fundamentally separate components. This belief prompts the struggle for dominance between Tim's mind and body that becomes increasingly defined as the novel progresses. In the beginning, this split is characterised in abstract terms, through metaphors that liken Tim's experience of his body to being trapped inside 'the runaway train of mindless matter' or 'watching footage of legs walking from the point of view of the walker'.[16] Here, the language of inanimate objects creates a divide, although still metaphorical at this point, between Tim's 'familiarity and continuity of psyche' and his experience of his body as a 'machine'.[17] Not only this, but these mechanical images recall Freud's analysis of the uncanny effects of automata: 'these arouse in the onlooker,' he writes, 'vague notions of automatic—mechanical—processes that may lie hidden behind the familiar image of a living person'.[18] This is how Tim perceives his own body—as an 'onlooker', watching a machine that bears resemblance not only to a human, but to his own living body—and it is reflected in the title given to the first part of the novel: 'The Feet, Mechanical'.[19] These experiences respectively elicit the feelings of 'horror' and 'terror' as the lack of control he has over his body leads to his experience of it as uncannily double.

This more abstract split eventually progresses into a complete emancipation of mind from body in the most literal manifestation of the split self and uncanny double. Tim begins to refer to his body in the third person, detaching it from any meaningful interpretation of himself. 'I've fed the son of the bitch,' he tells Jane, as he begins to characterise his body as a separate entity with completely different needs to him.[20] Later, the narrative also adopts this perspective, giving Tim's body the pronouns and linguistic autonomy of a subject. This narrative choice reflects the central uncanny feeling of being 'double, split, at odds with [oneself]', exploited by Ferris to reiterate Tim's inner conflict.[21]

This split recalls an argument made by Fredrick Svenaeus that the experience of illness is inherently uncanny because it exposes the lack of control we have over the biological and genetic determinism of our own bodies. He argues that illness 'involves biological processes beyond my control, but these processes still belong to me as lived by me', and this contradiction fractures the coherent sense of self that sees itself as free and autonomous.[22] Likewise, Tim refuses to believe that his mind is 'just body more refined', that his sense of self arises 'from synapses firing and electrical signals, from the stuff in the brain that could be manipulated and X-rayed', and so he 're-volt[s] against the disproportionate power enjoyed by chemical imbalances and shorting neural circuits'.[23] This fractured self is reflected in the gradual unravelling of the novel's structure from clearly defined chapters into a series of fragmented paragraphs and time-jumps, as Tim's sense of self becomes slowly less anchored in the physical world.

'The universal consequence of living an embodied life'

Tim, however, is not the only character who experiences illness in the novel. Ellen Samuels writes that contemporary discourse attempts to identify disability as a fixed and stable category whose boundaries are clear and unchanging, but that this is 'repeatedly and routinely disproved by the actual realities of those bodies' and minds' fluctuating abilities', and these 'fluctuating abilities' can be seen most clearly in the character of Jane.[24] Perhaps the most fitting character to discuss disability as the 'universal consequence of living an embodied life', she moves in and out of these various levels of disability and illness over the course of the novel: diagnosed first with alcoholism, then with cancer, she experiences periods of intense disability coupled with remission from both, all against the backdrop of an ageing body.[25] Through Ferris's characterisation of Jane, the binary categorisation of 'disabled' and 'non-disabled' begins to disintegrate.

Jane experiences a similar destabilisation of the self when she realises the

extent of her alcoholism, and she questions, 'When did she go from someone who liked a glass of wine with dinner to the woman with lights blazing at four a.m.?'.[26] The personal detachment to the words 'the woman' here highlights the way that the disease has destabilised her sense of identity such that she no longer recognises herself and is repeated later: 'She was not that woman. But she was'.[27] Here, by drawing attention to her conflicting sense of self, as she simultaneously 'was' and 'was not' 'that woman', Ferris clearly establishes her experience of disease as one characterised by the destabilisation of boundaries between self and other. Like Tim, her conceptualisation of her 'self' relies on the stability that health and youth provide, and the uncanny effect produced by her illness is one that highlights these internal contradictions.

She also experiences this destabilisation when she goes through menopause, and she describes the effect this has on her perception of a fixed and coherent self: '[o]ne day she had been a young woman, and the next a panting complex of symptoms'.[28] Here, Jane's coherent self is fractured, as the 'young woman' he had previously considered to be at the core of her selfhood is no longer recognisable in her ageing body. Crucially, Ferris's synecdochical depiction of Jane, which uses her symptoms as representative of her whole self, locates Jane's self, or at least part of it, in her physical embodiment—unlike Tim, who refuses to anchor his identity in his material body. DeFalco writes that old age 'makes us aware of the other within, of identity as always different, multiple, shifting, and contradictory' and unveils 'a pre-existing strangeness'.[29] What had previously been a coherent sense of an 'internally young self' is no longer reflected in the external reality of Jane's body, bringing the 'other' within the self to the surface.[30]

However, unlike Tim, Jane can contextualise her symptoms within medical terminology and find community with others experiencing the same thing: '[s]he was alone with specific hot flashes, but she was not alone in the world with them'.[31] Her body's changes are not the result of a medical mystery, but rather the universal affliction of time. Tim, by contrast, is suffering from a disease that has no logical explanation: '[t]here is no laboratory examination to confirm the presence or absence of the condition', one doctor tells him '[s]o there is no reason to believe the disease has a defined physiological cause or, I suppose, even exists at all'.[32] Since Ferris has constructed Tim's illness purely for this novel, the reader shares a similar perspective to Tim's doctor, as the only 'evidence' of his illness is his experience. The uncanny effect produced is such that 'the boundary between fantasy and reality is blurred', as Ferris seamlessly weaves Tim's fictional malady into a narrative that already contains illnesses familiar to the reader: although the knowledge that Jane's symptoms are shared may not lessen their effects, her experiences with menopause, alcoholism, and cancer are recognisable both to other characters and to the reader. Even as Ferris constructs a fictional illness treated by fictional doctors, he is sure to root the novel's medical knowledge in one that is known to the reader, making it easier for them to, in Freud's words, 'adapt [their] judgement to the conditions of the writer's fictional reality'.[33] This heightens the uncanny effect that Tim's illness has on the reader by carefully setting up their expectations for a disease in line with what they already know about medicine.

The depiction of disability in Ferris's novel straddles this space between the 'alien' and the 'universal'. By exploring how the boundaries between 'disabled' and 'non-disabled' are stretched and collapsed, Ferris depicts the experience of the disabled self, as well as the disabled other, as uncanny, and reinforces Samuel's argument that the attempt to categorise people as either one of the other neglects to consider lived experience as the primary means of understanding disability. Ferris's novel questions attitudes to difference that are informed by the binary categorisation of disability and instead represents a return to the idea that disability is, as Garland-Thompson, Snyder, and Brueggeman write, 'the universal consequence of living an embodied life', not something to be feared or othered.

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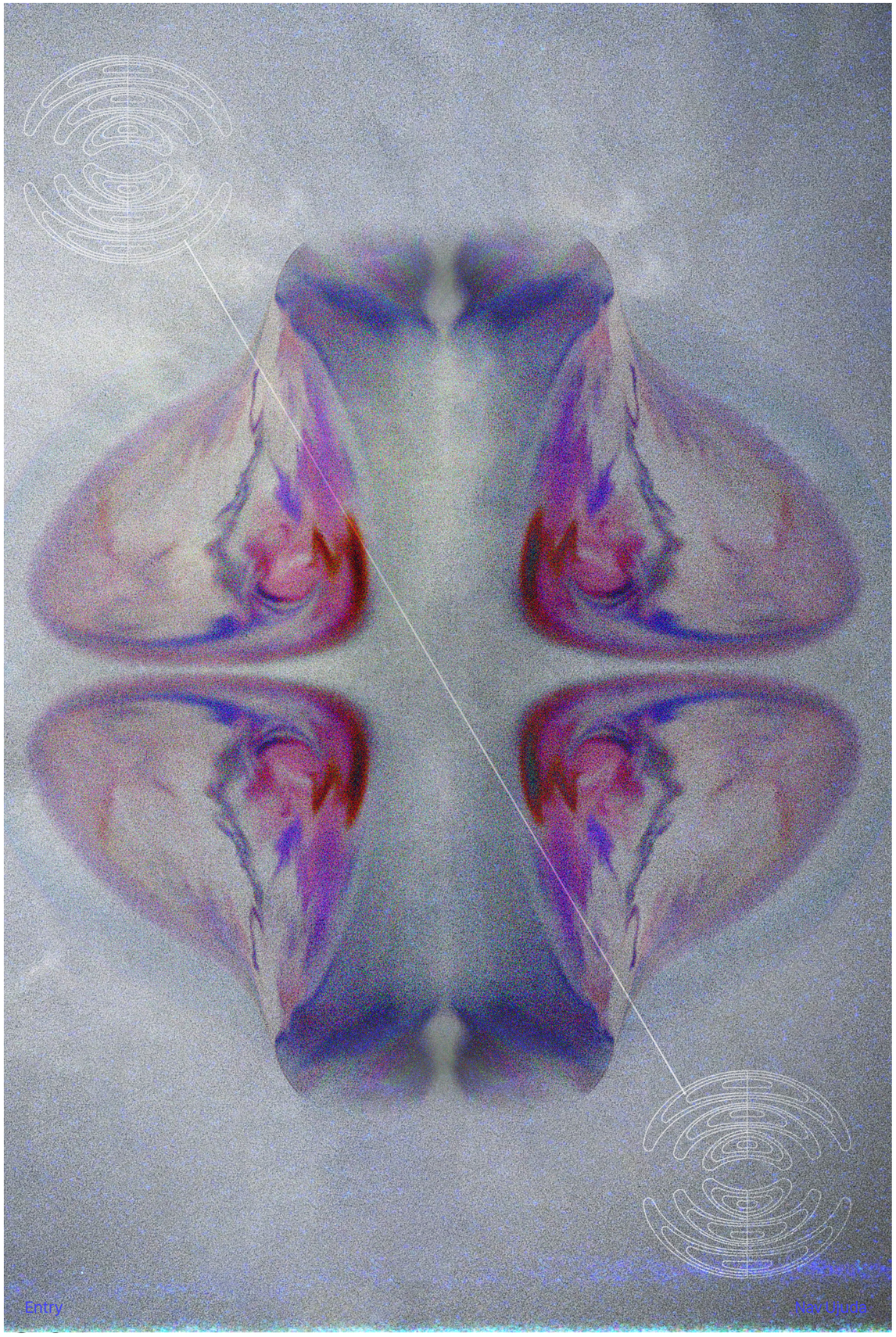
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Tom Parry



"Roma discrimination is a problem all over Europe, and the loss of mobility will make it harder for them to flee any injustice they are facing."

{ Lisa Ray }

The impact of Brexit on marginalised communities: a case study of the Roma community in Govanhill

Lisa Ray Final Year, BA French and European Studies

This report demonstrates the impact of Brexit on the marginalised Roma community in Govanhill, Glasgow. The main impacts are: increased racism, uncertainty over rules of movement, and less resources towards specialist Roma projects. This case study is a microcosm of the potential consequences that Brexit could have on all marginalised groups seeking sanctuary in the UK. This report uses real life data to analyse how Govanhill local authority is supporting the sanctuary of their Roma community. In this context, sanctuary refers to a culture of welcome and inclusion for marginalised groups in local authorities. Considering local circumstances, Govanhill local authority has managed to create some specialist projects which will help empower the Roma community.

Introduction

Whilst being in the EU, the UK and other member states developed National Action Programmes for Social Inclusion (NAPs), this was one of the EU strategies focused on achieving social justice for all citizens of Europe. After Brexit, there is uncertainty on whether local authorities will have a strategy set up to replace this programme. This programme was used alongside other EU funds to help the Roma community, who have some of the worst conditions of any other ethnic groups in numerous categories including health, education and hate crime.1 After the accession of A8 countries into the EU, the UK saw larger inflows of Roma migration.2 This report will focus on Govanhill in Glasgow, an area with an estimated Roma population of 3000, the exact figure is unknown due to a lack of comprehensive data on this community. It will seek to consider whether Brexit has impacted the ability of Govanhill local authority to protect its Roma population. This report will specifically focus on the Roma community, which will offer an insight into whether authorities in the UK will continue fulfilling EU goals of protecting marginalised groups, despite no longer being a member state.

Impact of Brexit on Govanhill's Roma community

Hate crime and community cohesion in Govanhill

After the EU referendum, the Home Office recorded a sharp spike in levels of racism, xenophobia, and intolerance. This resulted in England and Wales recording a 42% increase in hate crimes directly after the referendum (as illustrated in figure 1).3 The marked rise in hate crime and racism is concerning for the wellbeing of Govanhill's large Roma population and overall community cohesion. Glasgow recorded the highest number of hate crimes per 10,000 population in 2017-2018.4 Most of these hate crimes are associated with race aggravation and relate to the high level of ethnic diversity in areas such as Govanhill.

At the European Sociological Association conference, a survey revealed how Brexit has affected specific ethnic groups within Scotland: 77% of young Eastern Europeans experienced xenophobic attacks, and 49% had seen increased racism since the Brexit referendum.5 The majority of Govanhill's Roma population migrated from Slovakia and the Czech Republic, therefore this survey data indicates the negative effect that Brexit has had on them.6 The Council of Europe stated that traditionally, the Roma community suffers from widespread anti-gypsyism and specific forms of racism fuelled by prejudice and stereotype. Roma communities have always been victims of racism; however Brexit has

clearly fuelled an increase in this sort of discrimination.

Govanhill local authority will need to make sure they have a strategy in place to deal with hate crimes, and create a relationship with the Roma community which doesn't involve fear or suspicion. Currently, the local police are taking part in youth engagement programmes and liaising with the Roma community to increase awareness of how they are perceived by other local residents.[7]

Loss of EU funding on Roma projects

The main problem for local authorities and their ability to protect Roma communities will be funding issues. Before Brexit, the UK received European structural and investment funds (ESIF), which provided funds for numerous projects combatting social exclusion in the UK. For example, structural funding went towards projects such as ROMA-NeT, which supported the integration of Roma people across nine European cities including Glasgow. ROMA-NeT has worked with Annette Street local primary school in Govanhill, to encourage Roma families to claim free school meals and clothing grants.8 Community coordinators and translators also worked with Roma parents to show them cultural sights in Glasgow and facilities such as the local swimming pool. This was part of a wider strategy to improve trust between the Roma population and local community (as illustrated in figure 2).9 Now that the UK is no longer part of the EU, it is unclear whether Govanhill will receive enough funding to continue these specialist programmes. This will make it difficult for local authorities to plan ahead, especially as these programmes require approval and organisation from several members of the community.

Impact of Brexit on free movement of the Roma community

Freedom of movement and the ability to be rootless is important for the Roma community. Brexit directly threatens this, as moving across borders will become more complex. A visa will be required when entering the UK, this will involve extra costs and planning which may be difficult to access. R Roma discrimination is a problem all over Europe, and the loss of mobility will make it harder for them to flee any injustice they are facing. These factors will disproportionately affect the Roma community, who are often excluded from vital services which could help them in these distressing situations.
Govanhill local council will have to ensure they have the facilities in place to help this community with any problems they face regarding immigration and their settled status. Govanhill Law Centre is an example of a successful project funded by the Scottish government and Govanhill community Development

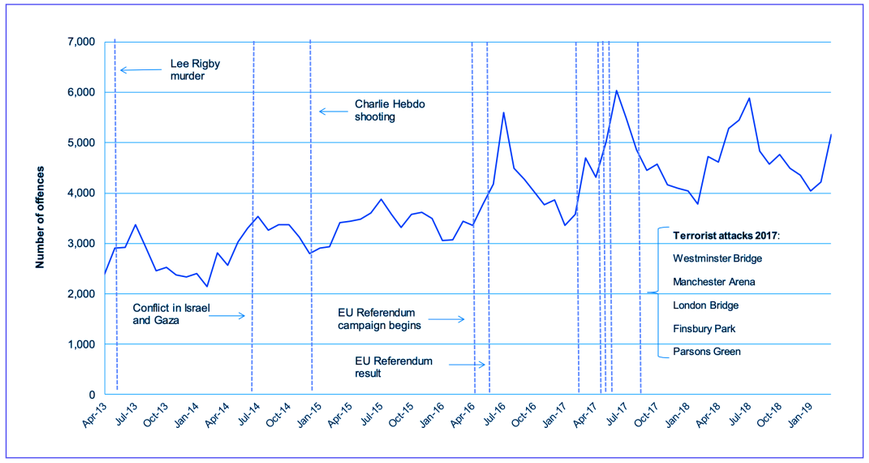


Figure 1.
Number of racially or religiously aggravated offences recorded by the police by month, April 2013 to March 2019

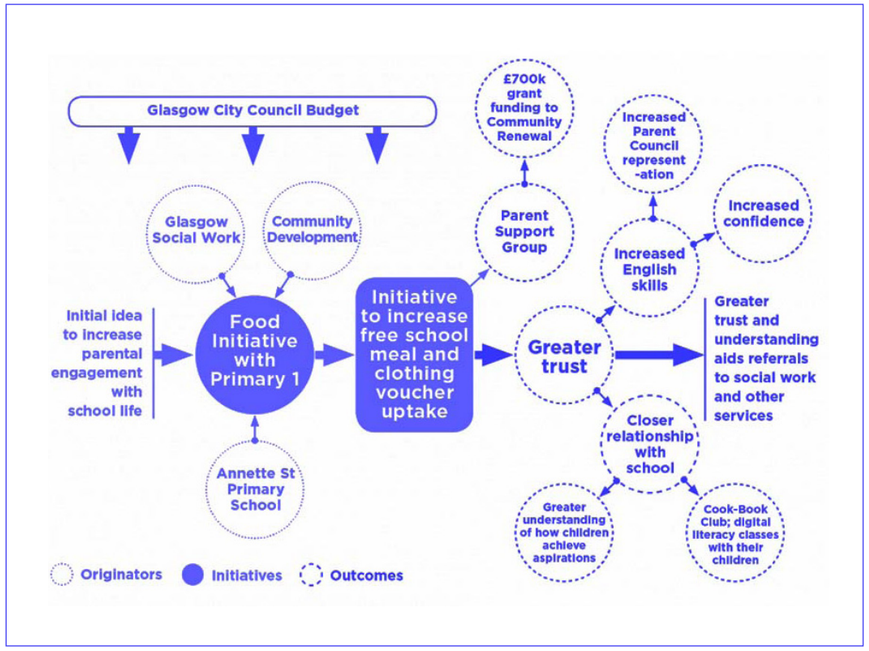


Figure 2.
Number of racially or religiously aggravated offences recorded by the police by month, April 2013 to March 2019

trust. This charity enforces the rights of the Roma community by specialising in helping non-registered A8 national workers, illegal evictions by private landlords and problems registering children for school, these are all issued which the Roma community are disproportionately affected by.

Impact of Brexit on funding for Govanhill local authority

The UK shared prosperity fund (UKSPF) was supposed to match the EU investment funds lost after Brexit. However, the details of this fund remain unclear, and there has only been small-scale, short term and hugely centralised fund-

ing. This has created a complex funding environment where local government has to compete for funds. "The repeated announcement of £1.5 billion by 2024-25 for the Shared property Fund might sound generous, but while the government intends to match what the UK used to receive in EU structural funding, in reality this will lead to a significant shortfall as it doesn't include domestic match funding." If the UK SPF is lower than the previous EU funding, there would be a significant effect on Govanhill's Roma population, who would have less resources directed towards them. From 2014-2020, the UK benefited from 2.4 billion a year in ESIF funds, however, only 1.2 billion came from the EU, whilst the rest was matched by different funding groups from the UK.

This statistic shows the significance of match funding in relation to the total fund available.

Impact of Brexit on Govanhill local authority

Impact of Brexit on funding for Govanhill local authority

EU funding was calculated using GVA per head, which was a good way of showing economic indicators but not necessarily showing factors relating to social cohesion or wellbeing. Some of the main problems surrounding the Roma community in Govanhill relate to a lack of social cohesion and lower mental and physical wellbeing due to difficulty accessing resources. A benefit of replacing EU funds with the UKSPF could be an opportunity to change how funding is allocated. For example, a consideration of the human poverty index or disposable income would be more appropriate in allocating funds to Govanhill, whose large Roma community would score low in both these factors.

Logistics of carrying out policies for Govanhill local authority

Post Brexit, there are specific services and welfare resources that the Roma community will need, however, providing them is highly complex and will involve different departments in Scotland, the UK and internationally. For example, the Scottish government could draw up a code of guidance regarding improved access to welfare services for A8 migrants. Govanhill local council would then be left to carry out the policy whilst making sure they are following Westminster's primary legislation. This is very confusing, and sufficient resources are not always given to local authorities. Before Brexit, charities like the ROMA-NeT branch in Govanhill directly received funds from the EU and worked with the local authority to implement strategies to improve the lives of the Roma community. It is no longer clear how much funding Govanhill local authority will receive. It is also not clear if they will get to decide and implement local projects or if they will have to follow a UK wide strategy, this further exacerbates the difficulties faced when trying to help the Roma community.

Summary

- As the UK has left the EU, there are no clear guidelines as to whether local authorities will have to comply with previous EU regulations regarding social exclusion. This is a direct threat to Govanhill's large Roma population who are already in a "state of invisibility, marginalization and exclusion."

- The main threats to the Roma community after Brexit are: Increased racism which could lead to hate crime, uncertainty over rules of movement and less resources towards specialist Roma projects.

- Govanhill local authority can protect their Roma community after Brexit by:

- Getting clarity over how much funding they will get and what guidelines they will need to follow when using the funding, this will help in creating a clear strategy for Roma initiatives.

- The local authority needs to continue working with the police, schools and other community institutions to create a trusted relationship with the Roma community. This will make it easier for them to report hate crimes.

- Finally, local authorities need to make sure they have a strategy in place to help all marginalised groups that previously benefitted from specialist EU funding and policies.

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"The privacy of both genetic and other personal data has also been disregarded, again in a biopolitical manner, where immigrants and refugees are seen as a collective threat"

{ Oriana Campbell-Palmer }

A Brief Analysis of Social & Ethical Implications for Refugee and Immigrant Groups in the Context of Genomic Development & COVID-19

Oriana Campbell-Palmer

Third Year,
BA Politics and Sociology

In the context of refugee and migration studies, to find sanctuary is directly related to asylum and consequently safety and protection.[1] Yet historically 'sanctuary' has also involved connotations of criminality; during medieval times one could seek sanctuary within churches as a form of protective exile from a prison sentence or worse.[2] Shifting from a historical to a modern perspective, governments' offerings of supposed sanctuary or asylum continue to operate in a subliminal context of suspected criminality, reflected by the treatment of both refugees and some immigrants as they travel across borders. In recognition of recent and ongoing genomic development, the following piece utilises a perspective from genomic development - a lens which has been paramount in both academic literature and seen from many general media outlets in the wake of COVID-19. Subsequently, this piece seeks to highlight the social and ethical issues faced by those seeking safety as exacerbated by, and in the context of, genomic development. This piece is by no means comprehensive of all ethical and social implications that refugees face whilst seeking asylum, but seeks to display a range of disturbing examples in the hope that future literature and policy will continue to further highlight and challenge these implications.

Introduction

Analysis of genomic development and of its social and ethical implications further highlights the sheer amount of societal discrimination currently present and politically entrenched within various societies towards refugee and some immigrant groups. This piece defines genomic developments as genetic sequencing, epigenetics, phenotypes versus genotypes, genetic testing including polymerase chain reaction (PCR) molecular testing, and the developing corresponding discourses. Fundamentally, this piece not only argues that there are severe negative social and ethical implications of genetic developments for refugees, but also that these are worse for refugee groups in comparison to other social groups. Whilst genomic developments have not been wholly negative, and some are undeniably beneficial, it must also be noted that there is a distinct lack of research on the extent of negative implications on refugees. This article seeks to discuss these implications whilst adopting a largely Foucauldian analysis. Therefore, this piece will firstly contextualise PCR testing and outline relevant Foucauldian concepts, then discuss the social implications of genetic testing using governmentality and biopower/biopolitics. It will then use a biopolitical framework to highlight ethical implications such as data and privacy violations. It will finally discuss genetic sequencing and discourses used by institutions and academics in the literature, whilst seeking to provide some recommendations.

Genomic developments have resulted in the use of PCR tests to detect COVID-19, yet PCR testing has been used in a variety of ways for a significant period of time specifically regarding immigration and refugee purposes. PCR tests have been utilised by some countries to detect and quell active malaria strains after migration to Canada, tuberculosis at entry to the United States and to limit outbreaks of certain diseases such as chickenpox in detainment centres in the UK; undeniably, PCR testing has been positive in some ways.[3] However, whilst using the frameworks of biopolitics, biopower and governmentality, a persistent, underlying trend of exclusionary politics towards these social groups is evident. Foucault defined biopower as partially focused on a collective of individuals, or the "species body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes"[4] resulting in a focus on the individual as a biological object. Foucault states that mechanisms of power themselves are not bad, yet his concept of governmentality explores how areas of the state utilise power mechanisms and adopt certain apparatuses, discourses and rationality processes to enforce this, which could potentially involve disciplinary technology and most certainly biopolitics.[5] [6] This type of power is often structural-

ly entrenched in legislation and policy; as MacPherson & Gushulak's illuminating work highlights, the US Immigration Act of 1882 was one of the first to legally entrench health related regulations and procedures for immigrants.[7]

Social Implications

PCR testing in an immigration policy context has been required by some states, like the United States (US), as part of some family reunification schemes and used in this way since the 1980s.[8] This has been supposedly justified by a need to "restore legality in the system"and prevent human trafficking.[9] [10] These tests must be paid for by those arriving into the country, and whilst there is an option to claim the money back, most refugees and their families are by definition fleeing an often dangerous and unstable situation, where financial funds and ownership of official documentation may be either small or nonexistent.[11] In this sense, the US state exercises what Foucault would define as a specific type of biopolitical regulatory control, via a widespread biotechnology to control a population and their lives.[12] With this comes a "power to [...] disallow it [life] to the point of death"; death may occur for those unable to reunite with their family whilst in dire and life-threatening situations. [13] Families are separated, as the US enforces a traditional ideology of the nuclear family upon those entering the country.[14] According to Foucault, since the 18th century, there has been a scientific focus on sexuality that defined "perversions", or anything deviating from the discursive norms of a nuclear family.[15] Policy, such as the above US genetic testing policy, often reflect the political culture in wider society. [16] [17] Genetic testing for immigration purposes operates in the context of health inequity, stigmatisation and criminalisation of refugees themselves[18].

Thus, in both seemingly positive and negative uses of PCR tests, the US has consistently exercised either direct or indirect biopower within immigration contexts, consequently enforcing a mindset operating on a macro level that perceives immigrants and refugees as carrying a threat to the nation-state in some form. The state, in reference to the US, can therefore be seen to exercise and entrench a certain type of rationality on immigration, stimulating damaging 'objective' truths that results in the stigmatisation of refugees, destroying any sense of collectivity and solidarity that the state used as justification for the tests in the first place. In this sense, the US clearly opposes Article 1 (this defines the principle of unity as the core of human genomics), Article 2 (the right to dignity) and Article 6 (which warns against genetic discrimination resulting in infringement of human rights) of the Universal Declaration on the Human Genome and Human Rights.[19] Drawing on the above points, the social implications present for refugee and immigrant groups therefore include splitting up families whilst enforcing familial and thus specific gender roles upon individuals via specific policies, enforcing stigmatisation, discrimination and exclusion. Thus, genetic development can, in some cases, be used to enforce a state's agenda and a government's principles, with some social groups being treated less favourably than others.

Ethical Implications

Blatant ethical issues are also present in the field of genomic and technological development, specifically in the way that both are now utilised. Privacy, consent, data protection and overall respect for refugees and undocumented immigrants are often ignored, as seen via the largely published photograph of the dead body of three year old Aylan Kurdi in 2015. Whilst many media sources were praised for raising awareness through the image, the exclusionary politics present in such cases was clear; Peter Bouckaert from the Human Rights Watch has implied that the image had such an impact because "This is a child that looks a lot like a European child".[20] [21] The privacy of both genetic and other personal data has also been disregarded, again in a biopolitical manner, where immigrants and refugees are seen as a collective threat; in 2017 countries such as Denmark, Germany and Belgium gave rights to immigration officers to "access mobiles and social media profiles of asylum claimants to extract data"[22]. Witteborn argues that this ethical issue may be exacerbated as some may not be able to understand what is happening due to linguistic barriers, whilst many asylum seekers rely on their phones as a key access point to their supportive social network. [23]

Furthermore, Joly et al argue that "there is a very real risk that genetic data and other predictive health data could be used to exclude individuals from opportunities or from participating as equal members of society [...]".[24] [25] Indeed, in an immigration context, individuals are usually required to give their fingerprints and other genetic or health related data.[26] Foucault's analysis of persistent state surveillance as a form of discipline is also relevant here; it is clear that the state in some form consistently observes, but it is the state's decision to decide what policies to enforce within a culture of submission.[27] Whilst Foucault suggested that governmentality included willingness to be governed, it is hard to see where refugees and immigrants have a choice to reject governmentality itself.[28] In all the above examples, biopower, biopolitics and even sovereign power - the power to "let die"which includes the "right of subtraction" - is present as refugees and immigrants are reduced to a collective of bodies that have minimal rights in comparison with 'regular' citizens. [29] [30] Ethical implications, such as lack of data protec-

tion, privacy and consent therefore also arise from this type of culture, within the context of genomic development.

Recommendations

Organisational and policy change

Elements of governmentality have gone beyond state associations to operating within non-governmental organisations.[31] The exclusionary rationality of many states, and their negative attitudes towards refugees and immigrants has also permeated some organisations. The World Health Organisation's guidance on the collection of health data in the context of immigration seems more concerned with technological issues that arise from data collection, rather than on ethical concerns.[32] On the matter of consent, the document states that "explicit consent must be obtained for the collection of personal [health] data"as in accordance with the GDPR.[33] [34] However, it then outlines various guidelines on how this may be done, pointing to different definitions of informed consent. Whilst it does provide 'tips' on how to gain explicit consent, it is at each country's discretion to decide on the means to do this. Even if following European or United Nations guidelines, previous and current actions by states on the Security Council, such as Russia and China, have shown that the protection of refugees is not their main priority, and cannot be forced into providing protection due to the right to sovereignty. Whilst ethical issues are present in all processes and contexts of health data collection, Clara Guerra from the Migration Policy Centre points out that this is more concerning for refugee and immigrant groups; they are in a more vulnerable and stigmatised position in comparison to most of the relevant country's inhabitants.[35] As Foucault states, wherever there is power there is also resistance, which perhaps encourages hope for change in the future.[36] However, both ethical and social implications will continue to arise until more accountable guidelines exist for organisations and institutions - including states - during data collection and in governmental policy making.

Change in academic discourse

However, it is not solely institutions and organisations that perpetuate a biologically derived negative discourse regarding individuals from the so called 'Global South', a term which - although problematic in itself - in strictly geographical terms highlights where most refugees come from.[37] In much of the literature, developments in genetic sequencing have been rightly highly praised, and credited with promoting social collectivity and solidarity.[38] Other literature from less sociological perspectives highlights a data gap: a lack of genetic data from African countries. McGuire et al rightly state that there is thus a "European bias"in certain genetic database systems.[39] [40] They call for increased genetic data collection from those within the African continent, stating that this would be highly beneficial due to the high level of "genetic diversity"within Africa.[41] Their paper is from 2020, and yet consistently refers to Africa as a singular country, whilst failing to note the colonialist reasons for genetic diversity in African countries in the first place. Arguably, by enforcing this simplistic analysis in addition to a lack of sufficient reflexive critical analysis, their paper represents the persistent institutionalised racism and reductionist discourse present in many papers specifically regarding refugees and genetic sequencing.

Genetic sequencing involving refugees also often appears to relate to some sort of 'outbreak' or emphasis of genetic resistance to certain drugs within the literature, thus consistently painting refugees as a public health concern.[42] This can also be seen historically, such as the depiction of HIV and AIDS, which also correlates with an investigation of biocitizenship also involving sexuality.[43] Those who lack citizenship are often questioned as genetically 'safe' individuals, as implied by Happe et al's phenomenal book on biocitizenship.[44] Over time, and as alluded to above, discursive formation results in the production of objective truths, and with it perceived objective knowledge.[45] A further negative implication stimulated by genomic development is therefore that it can easily be used to perpetuate damaging discourse within academic literature. This type of discourse must be questioned further in the literature and in all areas of society immediately, as it could result in further negative social, ethical or policy implications.

Perceptions regarding refugees must be critically analysed for political bias and harmful powerful discourse before they are accepted as 'truths'. Other contexts must also be recognised in relevant literature discussing genomic development; Taki & de Melo-Martin point to the benefits of epigenetic research areas for refugees, as they argue that they are most likely to experience a lack of medical resources and are more likely to have a more dramatic phenotype expression experience due to trauma.[46] However, this does not change that overall more positive change and perhaps a paradigm shift needs to occur regarding exploration of genomic development in relation to refugees.

Summary

In conclusion, in the context of genetic development, this piece has indicated clear negative social implications experienced by refugees in the context of genomic development in addition to COVID-19. These have included, but are not limited to, the splitting up of families, enforcing traditional familial norms, and

further entrenchment of stigmatisation and exclusion. Utilising a Foucauldian analytical framework has displayed the pervasiveness of exclusionary politics in various societies, which has resulted in damaging policy. Ethical implications have included lack of privacy, consent, in addition to data protection issues. Whilst this article has largely used examples from the US, this piece encourages further empirical research based on other countries for more in-depth analysis. Overall, refugees are consistently stigmatised and scapegoated for a variety of issues; this has been especially exemplified during COVID-19, and in the context of general genomic studies and development. The later part of this piece therefore questioned further organisations and the literature itself in perpetuating these implications and overall stigmatisation, calling for more accountability and a paradigm shift for change to occur.

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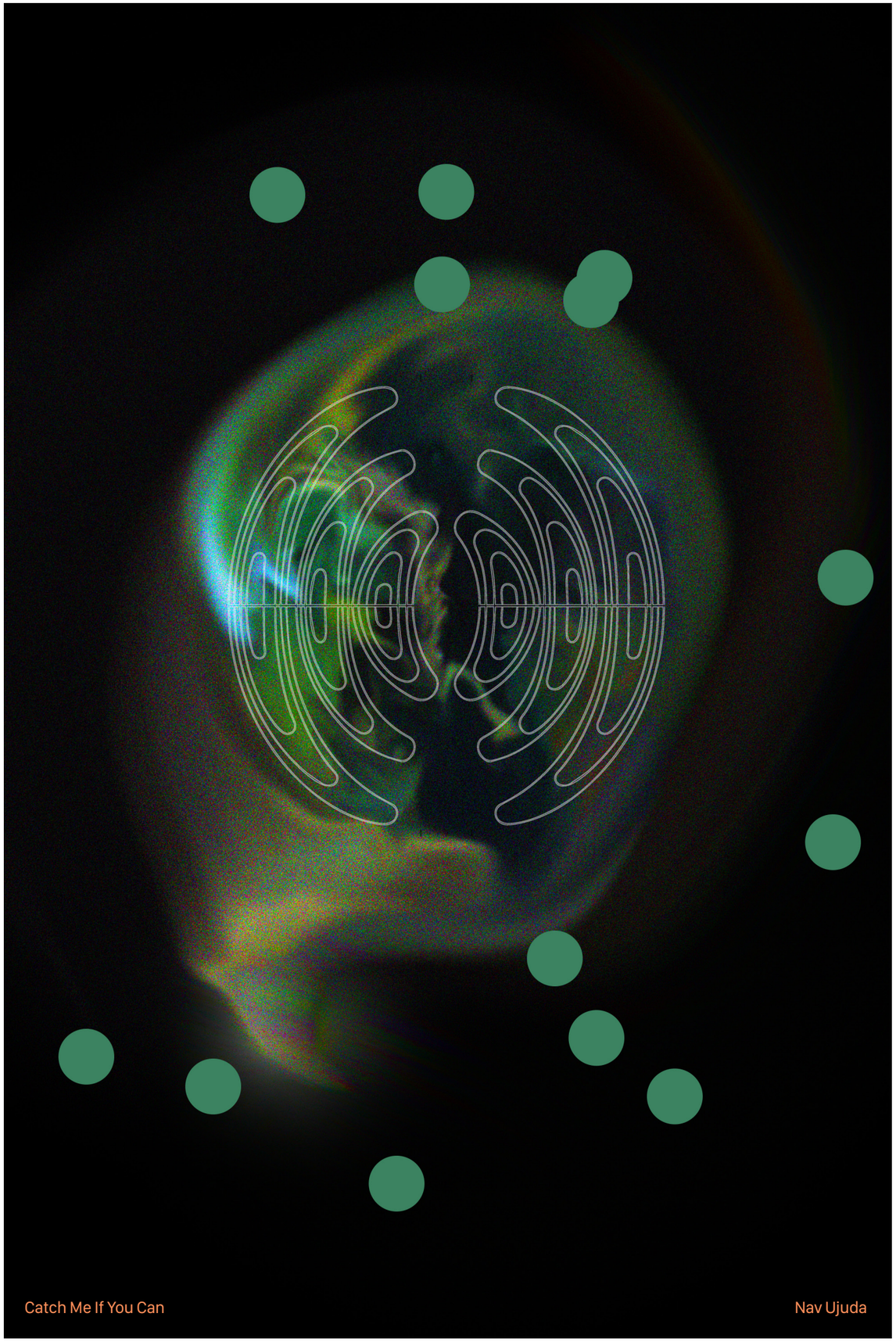
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"Ecological security is a newer discourse which places the biosphere as the referent object of security, seeing it as our natural sanctuary which must be protected and preserved."

{ Louis Newstead }

Recentering the human: how should the discipline of security studies respond to the challenge of climate change?

Louis Newstead

Third Year, BA Politics

Security studies is a research discipline that enquires into many fundamental questions about security, including the contested definition of the word itself.[1] It covers topics from war crimes and terrorism to newly broadened concepts of security such as global health and climate change.[2] As a result, research in the discipline will be increasingly relevant in navigating the global political issues associated with climate change. Yet, security studies will require multiple disciplinary changes to sufficiently address these challenges. This essay examines the multiple environmental security discourses within security studies, summarising, criticising and synthesising knowledge from each to formulate a set of recommendations for the discipline. These recommendations are threefold: first, there must be a greater research focus on sustainable and ethical mitigation and adaptation strategies, focusing particularly on accommodating the needs of the multiplicity of vulnerable communities affected by climate change. Second, the implementation of a critical research agenda that highlights the ways global institutions have contributed to climate change, with the goal of reforming these institutions. Third, and most importantly, there must be an ideational shift in the dominant logics of security studies away from state-centric ontologies. Critical, constructivist, postcolonial and feminist thinkers must attempt to dislodge the hegemonic influence of 'national security' and its underlying assumptions by presenting more holistic and sustainable solutions. Without these disciplinary changes, security studies is unlikely to formulate a sufficient, holistic response to the challenges posed by climate change and help the many marginalised communities affected to obtain sanctuary and protection.

We are in an unprecedented era of planetary history, the Anthropocene. The recognition that "human activities are now so pervasive and profound in their consequences that they affect the Earth at a global scale in complex, interactive and accelerating ways".[3] At the same time, we are facing a global climate crisis which combines temperature changes, ocean acidification and a loss of biodiversity; with the potential to cause innumerable catastrophes.[4] How should security studies respond to these complex, global and accelerating challenges? How should it work towards providing sanctuary to the vulnerable populations who will be harmed by its effects? Throughout this essay I argue that security studies needs multiple disciplinary changes in order to sufficiently address the fundamental questions posed by climate change in all its complexity.

Environmental security is a debate between discourses, rather than a singular concept.[5] By examining these discourses, I can frame the environmental security debate and better understand climate change from various perspectives. This way, I can give theoretical context to my own recommendations for security studies. The discourses that are enabled and responded to often presage and legitimise certain policy responses, practices and responsible actors,[6] resulting in incredibly varied international outcomes. My argument will examine the environmental security discourses outlined by Matt McDonald and newer discourses such as posthumanism, which seek to decentre humanity as the referent object of security and focus more on the natural world itself – a contested assertion.[7] I will summarise, criticise and synthesise information from various viewpoints to support my own recommendations, which are threefold.

First, I believe that there needs to be a greater research focus on sustainable and ethical mitigation and adaptation strategies, focusing particularly on accommodating the needs of the multiplicity of vulnerable and marginalised communities affected by climate change, providing sanctuary to those at risk.[8] However, for this first recommendation to sufficiently work, my second recommendation must also be implemented – a critical research agenda that highlights the ways global institutions have contributed to climate change. The aim here is to create a basis for holistic reforms to global institutions, to better equip them for providing refuge and supporting the aforementioned mitigation and adaptation strategies. Underlying state-centric ontologies that inform national and global institutions are hampering the generation of effective international responses towards climate change.[9] This then brings me onto my third recommendation: an ideational shift in the dominant logics of security studies. This shift is needed precisely because of the limits of state-centric ontologies in responding to global existential threats like climate change. These ontologies continue to dominate the ideas of many theorists and practitioners and restrict the current research paradigm of security studies.[10] If the discipline is to move beyond such limitations and create global,

sustainable climate change responses, I recommend another research agenda with the purpose of challenging these restrictive dominant discourses. Critical, constructivist, postcolonial and feminist thinkers must attempt to dislodge the hegemonic influence of 'national security' and its underlying assumptions by presenting more holistic and sustainable solutions. This ideational shift aspires towards inspiring practical change within the discipline's funding structures and institutions, as we not only need theoretical support from critical disciplines, but also practical support to ensure the adoption of these theories within global institutions possessing the resources to best respond to climate change. Thus, with the combination of an attack on the dominant logics of state-centric security, reforms to global institutions and research into ethical and sustainable mitigation and adaptation strategies within vulnerable communities, security studies may be able to mount an effective response to climate change, providing sanctuary and aid to those who will need it.

Original fears regarding environmental security focused on the perceived link between environmental changes and violent conflict. Theorising that "when scarcity of renewable resources (such as cropland and river water) interacts with harsh social effects (for example, population displacement or economic decline) it can lead to intrastate conflict". [11] Similarly, Robert Kaplan's infamous article 'The Coming Anarchy' presented a neo-Malthusian vision of the future, showing how cultural, racial and geographic identities would clash under the resource competition brought on by environmental change. [12] This violent world was compared to some of the 'failed states' Kaplan had visited in West Africa.[13] The early focal points of resource wars, unstable states, global economic instability and the exacerbation of inequalities were heavily critiqued.[14] Empirically, studies were unable to confirm the Malthusian views of resource wars,[15] and the climate-conflict link remained unclear due to the many surrounding factors which contribute towards inter-state conflict, such as poverty, inequality or transitionary governance.[16] Normative critiques included fears that linking the environment and security together would presage a militaristic and statist response that would be unsuitable for addressing environmental issues,[17] as well as encouraging perverse responses such as the positioning of vulnerable populations as threats to Western national security.[18] Some viewed Kaplan's framing of West Africa as particularly harmful, as it perpetuated the colonial stereotype of "barbaric Southern Others".[19] Since these theories, other scholars have found that resource abundance rather than scarcity may cause conflict, [20] and that environmental degradation may provide opportunities for cooperation instead of violence.[21] Despite substantial criticism of these early theories, they were important for opening the debate towards new forms of security governance in response to new environmental issues, eventually leading to more human-centred and ecological approaches.[22]

One can see the dangers of a state-centric ontology through evaluating these early theories. Though I reject their state-oriented focus, I would argue that the securitisation of climate change – understood here as its labelling by influential governmental institutions as a distinct emergency and threat to human life – affords a certain degree of gravitas and resource commitment in pursuit of mitigation strategies.[23] However, it is important to ensure that this securitisation does not rely solely on such militaristic and statist assumptions. Hence the recommendations outlined in my introduction are key to enabling security studies to sufficiently engage with climate change through challenging these dangerous logics. Instead, substituting them for more human-centred, holistic approaches and offsetting some of the potential negatives of securitisation.[24] Importantly, national security remains a dominant discourse today, both theoretically and within institutions, although mostly adapted to frame climate change as a "threat multiplier" instead of a direct cause of conflict.[25] The persistent influence of this discourse, despite widespread criticisms regarding its application to climate change,[26] exemplifies why mass changes need to occur. We must dispel and criticise state-centric ontologies theoretically, as well as practically applying such criticism to promote more human-centred, nuanced and ethical approaches to climate change within security institutions.

The human security discourse is oriented around the well-being of people rather than states and can be summarised as "peacefully reducing human vulnerability to human-induced environmental degradation by addressing the root causes of environmental degradation and human insecurity".[27] Its aims primarily originated in the Human Development Report 1994, which cautioned that large issues like climate change, human rights and social inequalities can only be addressed through sustainable, human-focused development.[28] Modern human-centred approaches focus on mitigation and adaptation strategies, including goals such as reducing carbon emissions and increasing the adaptive capacity and community resilience of vulnerable populations at risk to the effects of climate change.[29] Human security also notes the role of state-centric ontologies in creating insecurity, as such a focus can encourage short-term and damaging responses such as carbon sinks or biofuel investment.[30] So far, we can see that much of the human security literature aligns with my recommendations of de-centering the state as the referent object of security, prioritising adaptation and mitigation within vulnerable communities and acknowledging the link between current global practices and climate change.[31] However, the approach has been criticised for being unclear about its sense of agency and responsibility for such development and adaptation programmes as well as a potential co-option into neoliberal interventionism.[32] To mitigate these issues, I recommend a greater research focus on reforming current global institutions using critical studies. Research into this area can highlight specific practices that must be reformed due to their links to environmental

degradation. The influence of such critical approaches could provide global institutions with newer, more holistic responses that focus on context-specific vulnerable community adaptations, reducing the influence of top-down neoliberalism. Barnett argues that the success of a human-centred response relies upon legitimising the right actors and sources of information.[33] Therefore, by promoting critical research and campaigning for global reforms, more nuanced approaches should be legitimised within global security discourses. This should hold institutions accountable and ensure that their projects are sufficiently helping vulnerable populations without damaging their livelihoods further through neoliberalist, profit-driven practices such as land-grabs and biofuel farming.[34]

Ecological security is a newer discourse which places the biosphere as the referent object of security, seeing it as our natural sanctuary which must be protected and preserved. It believes that along with human security projects, we must restructure our society in order to re-examine our relationship to the natural environment and understand how global climate change is embedded within international norms and practices.[35] Unfortunately, it has not gained much traction in policy, likely due to its challenge to global political structures.[36] Much of the discourse aligns with my recommendations. However, I believe that it is held back by its fundamental challenges not just to institutions, but anthropocentrism altogether. Whilst I believe we must re-examine humanity's relationship with nature, it is still necessary that humanity continues to be the referent object of climate change as a matter of political practicality. Ensuring that global institutions truly focus on human security is difficult enough; shifting to a non-human referent object is even harder. Thus, my recommendations focus on reforming the human security practices of current global institutions, instead of looking to move beyond them and sacrificing political influence. Although this could be criticised as not revolutionary enough to change the dominant neoliberalism of global institutions,[37] I would argue that the positioning of climate change as an existential threat and the legitimation of critical discourses seeking to reform global institutions provides more feasible goals for security studies. Moving too far beyond current global logics makes recommendations less likely to be adopted.[38] All the while, vulnerable communities continue to be exploited by damaging practices which could be criticised and reformed through my recommendations.[39] Taking a position of global institutional reform instead of revolution is more likely to secure the resources and influence necessary to protect vulnerable communities in sufficient time.[40] Equally, ecological security has been criticised as being an application of familiar security logics to the referent object of the biosphere, instead of a re-invention of such logics altogether.[41] I concur, as underlying security logics must be changed altogether – both practically and ideationally – to sufficiently respond to climate change. It is not a case of simply applying a new referent object, the discipline itself must find new, nuanced and ethical ways to promote effective mitigation and adaptation strategies that help communities to secure safe sanctuary, instead of harming them indirectly through a prioritization of the natural environment.

Various posthuman approaches to International Relations (IR) have been promoted in recent years, generally seeking to fundamentally alter the relationship between humanity and nature by adopting critical positions in relation to anthropocentrism.[42] The breadth of approaches within posthumanism includes the aforementioned ecological security discourse, as well as the 'worldly' approach to security by Audra Mitchell.[43] Her approach seeks to expand the notions of harm and security to a diverse set of affected 'worlds', through a combination of weakening anthropocentrism, new materialism and an expansion of ethical categories.[44] Many more posthuman approaches could be summarized here, but these are two notable examples. Such approaches have been criticised as being too 'globalist' and 'planetary', often ignoring the complexity and multiplicity of international systems in their analyses.[45] Thus, post-humanism runs the risk of blending humanity and non-human nature into a hybrid mass and obscuring the unevenness of human social dynamics, as well as risking the importation of epistemological positions from the natural sciences, which would be problematic and reductive when trying to address complex international systems.[46]

I am using posthumanism to highlight how security studies' traditional assumptions regarding non-human nature must be adapted in response to climate change. For example, Corry suggests a position based on 'old materialism', in which a dialectical relationship between humanity and non-human nature is established when examining the development of the modern world. This dialectic has a wider practical application than other posthuman approaches as it recognises the materialist historical origins of social and international formations, showing how "one conditions and transforms the other, which in turn acts back upon the first in its new form".[47] This shows the Anthropocene in a new light with not only the recognition that humanity has had an undeniable hand in shaping the earth, but also that the new circumstances of life on earth will reshape our international systems and humanity itself.[48] Regarding my own recommendations, the materialist dialectic can be used to examine the historical development of global institutions, their relationship to the natural world and contributions to climate change. Understanding these historical roots and how they link into contemporary practices can enable their reform towards the protection of vulnerable communities, with an awareness of our dialectical relationship with nature. Instead of hard anthropocentrism creating environmental degradation or hard ecocentrism justifying human insecurity, the dialectic enables us to better understand how our efforts to protect humanity often unavoidably affect the natural world.[49] Thus, we can structure future reforms and poli-

cies around this understanding. Instead of oversimplified governance over a complex environment, accepting the multiplicity of the international would enable work into adaptation, mitigation and resilience to take a more holistic approach and understand the intricacies of different community organization contexts and how best to help them.

Throughout this essay I have proposed recommendations for the discipline of security studies regarding how best to adapt practices and research agendas in response to climate change. I have examined multiple environmental security discourses and evaluated their strengths and limitations, whilst synthesising parts of their recommendations into my own. I have also used relevant concepts such as the materialist dialectic proposed by Olaf Corry to further support the application of my points. In conclusion, if state-focused ontologies remain the prevailing logic within security studies, the discipline is unlikely to sufficiently adapt to the new and complex challenges of climate change.[50] Therefore, I advocate for the three recommendations I laid out at the beginning of this essay: the combination of an attack on the dominant logics of state-centric security, reforms to global institutions and research into ethical and sustainable mitigation and adaptation strategies within vulnerable communities, all aimed at helping these communities secure sanctuary and protection from the effects of climate change. Many scholars acknowledge the links between climate change and global institutions, either in the form of globalisation, inequalities or restrictive agricultural production methods leftover from colonialism.[51] Others say that the current dominant discourses are orientated towards the preservation of the status quo and are unable to inform progressive and holistic responses to climate change. [52] Therefore, the discipline must change with respect to the recommendations outlined in this essay. Instead of dictatory, blanket international law, research and work must be conducted within vulnerable communities which seeks to understand the specificities of their circumstances and provide mitigation and adaptation strategies that do not disrupt or damage local livelihoods.[53] Scholars must create platforms which discredit state-centric ontologies, promote structural reform and protect vulnerable communities. This requires a unified shift in research agendas towards these areas and away from status quo preservation. The world has changed, it is time security studies does too.

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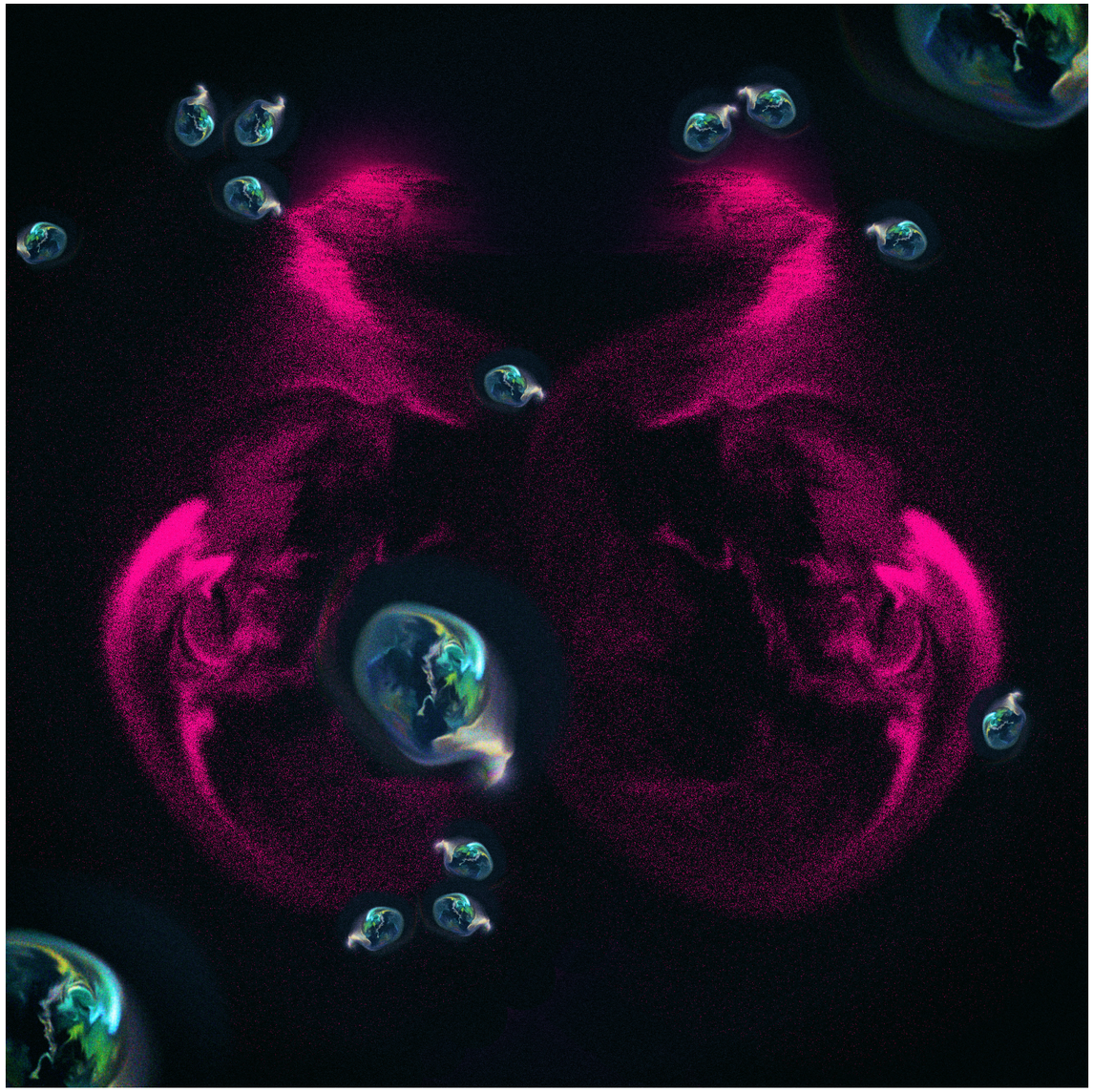
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Cosmos

Nav Ujuda

A project reimagining the 90s rave aesthetic in a contemporary context, questioning how one could adapt notions of community and sanctuary, which are characteristic of the rave scene, into the human response towards the climate crisis.

Featherless

Aimen Mahmood

Graduated in 2021,
BA English Literature

This poem, inspired in part by Zulfikar Ghose's 'Landscape,' was written to explore the experience of migration. Through the imagery of borders, planes, burial, and hiding, the writer seeks to convey the wearing nature of migration, especially migration experienced in youth. By introducing the first-person 'I' later in the poem, the poem shows how those being uprooted from their native land may cope with their shock and grief by divorcing themselves from their emotions—but that endeavour, it can be argued, has always been predetermined to fail.

Protector of familiar homes, native roads,
patrol peaks of mountainous ranges.
Barrier ropes border memories, remain witness and security.

Birds of a feather plucked from the landscape.
Blood binds in embrace, tight and constricting.
Bitter air, pungent with fumes of overhead
planes. Carry strangers with alien names.

Forsake crimson soil, turgid with iron sweat and
copper poisons. Years camouflage,
hiding behind cloaks of birch trees. Inhale songs of finches,

while Empire rages. Bury eight settlements
in home, three nations in soul. Spring bleeds,
flatlining like autumn leaves. Give way to farewells.
Heave—luggage carrying mehndi*, seized.

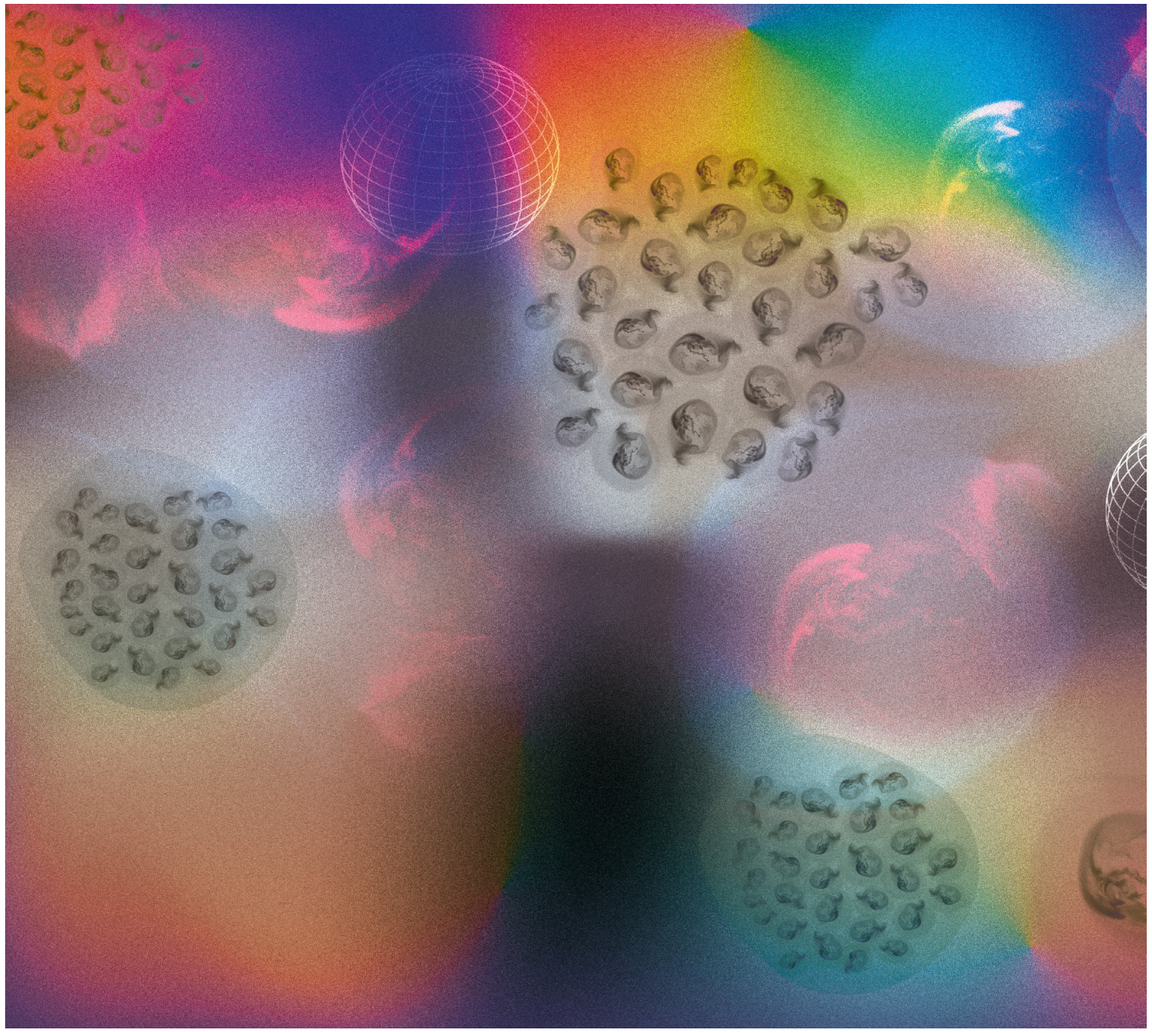
Close heavy lids to perishing scenery.
Violent breezes cackle, while thunder claps.
Stillness is a welcome dream, distant memory.

But at last, British soil beneath blistered feet. The mouth of
Manchester Airport grips, fangs kissing,
claws petting. Stamped with scars of other flags,

hover. Weightless? Stateless? Nameless? No.
Somehow, I have taken a corporeal form.
Stranger or inhabitant,
this will be my burial ground.

This must become my home.

* Refers to the dye used to temporarily stain the skin in South Asian culture, also known as henna.



Don't Step On My Toes

Nav Ujuda

Blog Post of the Year: ‘‘The Right to a Healthy Environment: The Time is Now!’’

Written by the Online Editor, Marria Noor Sajid

During my time as Online Editor there have been a lot of fantastic blog submissions covering a wide range of human rights issues. I would have to say that my favourite blog post this year was Kerry Pearson’s “The Right to a Healthy Environment: The Time is Now!”.

Kerry Pearson's blog submission was published at a time when the United Nations Human Rights Council passed two very crucial resolutions in relation to climate change. The first resolution recognised the right to a clean, healthy, and sustainable environment. The second resolution established a special rapporteur to evaluate and address the impact of climate change on human rights. Considering the far reaching and negative consequences of climate change, as well as the worrying changes in global temperature and the negative effects on the environment, the United Nations resolutions signify a step in the right direction.

It was very insightful to read Kerry Pearson’s blog submission, as it not only analysed the recent UN resolutions and explored the devastating impact of climate change, but also highlighted certain issues often overlooked; the effect of climate change on poorer communities, minority groups, and those in vulnerable positions. Poorer communities, minority groups, and those in vulnerable positions are disproportionately vulnerable and exposed to climate change. Consequently, it can be said that now more than ever, states have a responsibility to take action and protect their citizens.

Written by Kerry Pearson

Greta Thunberg: ‘you say you love your children above all else, and yet you are stealing their future in front of their very eyes’.

—

Climate change is at the forefront of much of the news that we read and watch. And yet, for a long time, it has largely been reported as a phenomenon affecting solely the natural world and resources. Of course, it is. But civil society and States are beginning to acknowledge the devastating impact climate change has on humans and their fundamental rights, namely the rights to health, food, water, housing and life. Climate change is a man-made issue, and the solution must thus come from humans.

During the 48th session of the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC), member states heeded these urgent calls, passing two resolutions: the first recognises the right to a clean, healthy, sustainable environment; the second established a special rapporteur (an independent human rights expert at the UN) to evaluate and address the impact of climate change on human rights. In what was a historic, emotional, and ground-breaking decision, 43 states voted in favour, zero voted against, and 4 abstained (Russia, India, China and Japan).

How are human rights jeopardised by climate change and who is most affected?

The Secretary General of Amnesty International, Kumi Naidoo, said that it was "abundantly clear that climate change is already having an impact on human rights". This impact must not be underestimated; WHO predict that an immense 13.7 million die every year from air pollution and chemicals. This year alone, the world has been both witness and victim to wildfires, floods, droughts, and fossil fuel pollution. On the latter, globally, fossil fuel pollution contributes to 1 in 5 premature deaths.

More specifically, however, climate change affects small islands like the Marshall Islands, where heavy rainfall, floods and storms are wiping out homes and livelihoods. In Madagascar, there has been no rainfall in four years and as a result people are either starving or have been displaced.

Climate change also disproportionately affects minority groups. For example, Amnesty International reported in the United States, houses of poorer communities of colour are more likely to be built near power plants, meaning that the air they breathe is toxic and thus a cause of respiratory illnesses.

What responsibilities do states have?

States and citizens operate on a duty-bearer and rights holder relationship. This means that they are legally (and arguably morally) obliged to protect and respect citizen rights, inter alia, to housing, high standards of health, food and water. It was confirmed by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change that climate change is caused by anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases. Thus, states have a duty to limit such emissions and find healthier alternatives.

As minority groups and people in vulnerable positions are more exposed to, and will feel the worst impact of climate change, states and their representatives have a duty to devote "adequate resources to the realization of the economic, social and cultural rights of all persons, particularly those facing the greatest risks."

If the right is so important, why were some states opposed to it?

Though not legally binding, the resolution and establishment of a special rapporteur means that countries will now be held responsible for their climate change failures inaction.

Ironically, Britain, who are set to hold COP26 in Glasgow later this year, raised some criticisms of the resolution, with the UK mission suggesting that the right lacked momentum because it was not written in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Whilst we have legal concerns about recognising a right to a safe and healthy environment in this way, we continue to engage constructively with the main authors of this resolution at the Human Rights Council."

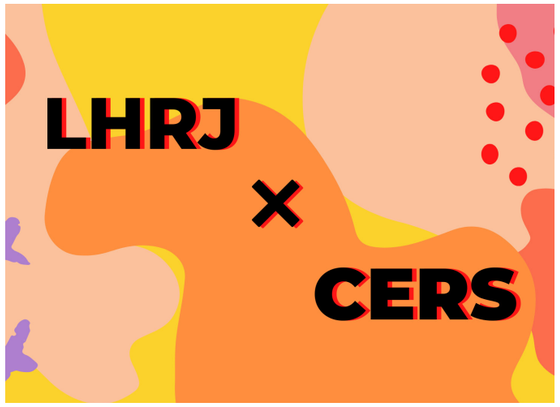
Similarly, America is at risk of looking hypocritical; though not currently a sitting member of the council, they participated in the debates and raised similar concerns to the UK. Their closing statement at the council was discouraging: "The United States has consistently reiterated that there are no universally recognised human rights specifically related to the environment, and we do not believe there is a basis in international law to recognise the right to a clean, healthy, sustainable environment." This breaks from the president rhetoric on his commitment to lead the international fight against climate change.

China and Russia also opposed the resolution. Russia suggested that the resolution risked overloading the council's agenda, and that the environment was not an issue covered by the HRC nor by international law. There were, as always, mentions of 'sovereignty' by states like Brazil about the natural resources of certain states.

The next step

There was a round of applause when the council passed the resolution. For years, civil society organisations, small island states, and human rights activists have pushed for the right to be recognised. Now that it has been, David Boyd, special rapporteur on the environment, has said it should serve as a catalyst for more tangible, concrete legislation. The world is one step closer to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs); COP26 in November will provide states with another opportunity to demonstrate their commitment to combating climate change and respecting human rights.

1. Black History Month Event





On Friday 22nd of October 2021, we hosted our first event of the year in collaboration with the University of Leeds Centre for Ethnicity and Racism Studies (CERS) to commemorate Black History Month. The event was titled 'The Importance of Black History in Education' and featured some guest speakers sharing some of their experience and efforts in promoting black history and heritage in their work.

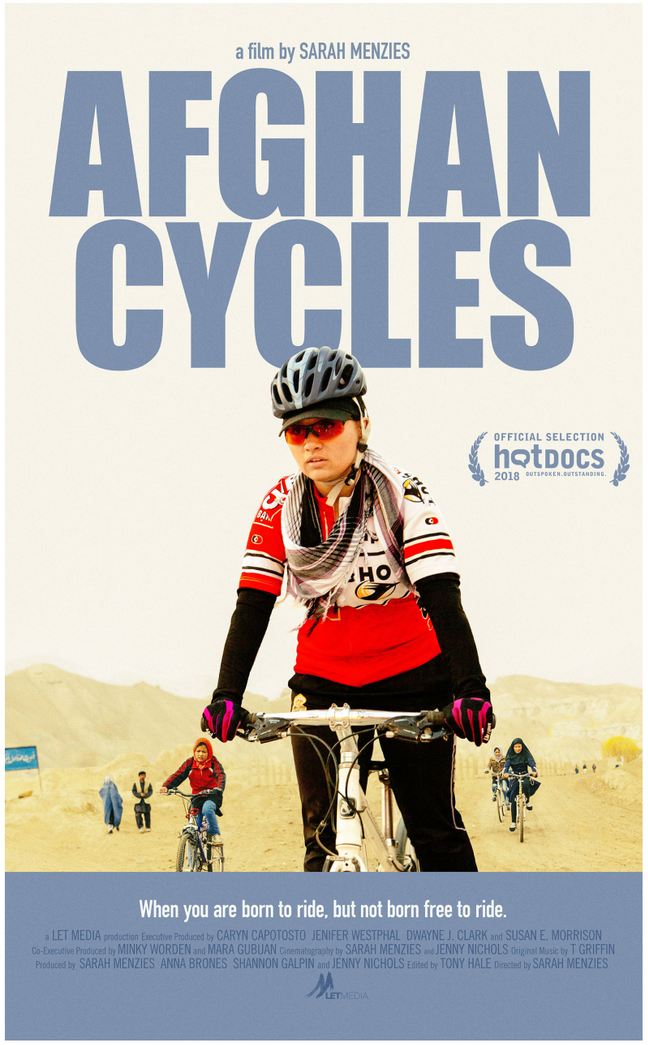
Due to COVID-19 measures, and for the concern of attendees' health and safety, the event was held via Zoom. The event was opened with a warm welcome to the audience by Dr Ipek Demir, Professor of Diaspora Studies and Director of CERS. Following that was a quick introduction and briefing of the event by LHRJ member Aminah Ahmed.
The panel was kicked off by LHRJ Editor-in-Chief, Farida Augustine, who used this opportunity to share her experience of conducting research on West-African French resistance fighters as part of the Laidlaw undergraduate research scholarship. Next up was University of Leeds alumna, Phoebe Eleanor Sheppard, who went on to study MA Human Rights and Democratisation at the Global Campus of Human Rights Europe. Phoebe shared some of her experiences with postgraduate study and presented her undergraduate dissertation, which focussed on Eurocentric beauty standards in the Caribbean diaspora from an intersectional feminist perspective, and its effect on depiction of Black women, including notions of 'desirability'. Final speaker Jonathan Kennedy, who also studied at Leeds and is now Assistant Headteacher at Belle Vue Girl's Academy, shared his efforts of including black history in the school syllabus and exposing students to black heritage, detailing some of the improvements that he has seen in his students and how they have adapted to the inclusion.

To round off the event we presented questions from the audience to the speakers to gain a greater understanding of their backgrounds, deeper insight into their work, and also learned some of their opinions and perspectives on various issues.
We at LHRJ would once again like to give thanks to CERS for helping us host this event; our gratitude is also due to Dr Demir for giving the opening talk at the event and helping us set up measures to ensure that everything went smoothly; and finally, of course, we hugely appreciate our guest speakers, Phoebe and Jonathan, for dedicating their time to speak with us and share details of their work.





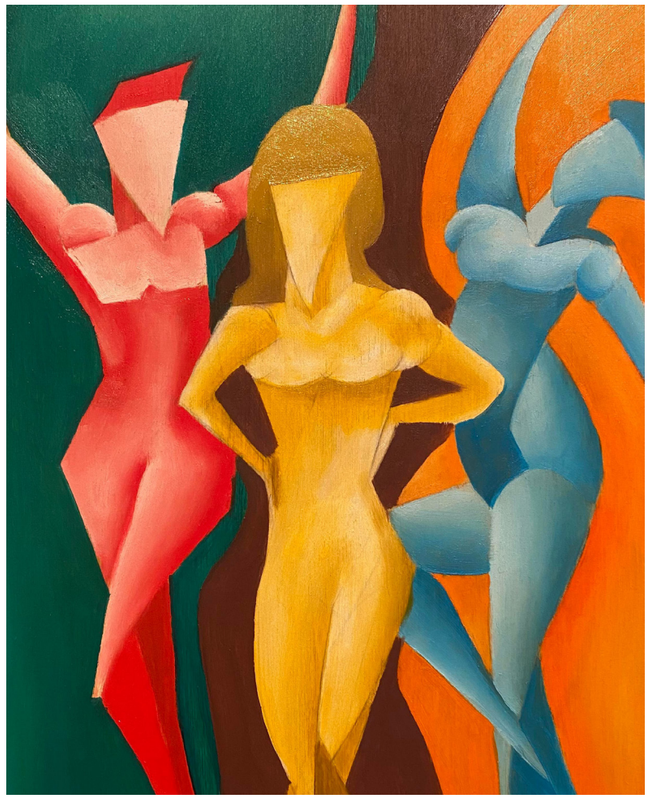
2. Afghan Cycles Film Screening



Our first in person event of the academic year was a film screening of Afghan Cycles, which was chosen due to its relevant theme of the rights of women in Afghanistan. It is a documentary that follows a new generation of Afghan women cyclists for whom the bicycle is a symbol of freedom. The film portrays the daily hardships Afghan women experience and the empowerment the sport brings them in the midst of obstacles. The movie came out in 2018, and has since then gained even more importance, as what is happening right now in Afghanistan has become the most serious women's rights crisis in the world.

The event was a joint effort with the LUU Amnesty Society, which enabled guests to meet like-minded people and facilitated the discussion around human rights in Afghanistan. Vegan and vegetarian pizza, snacks, and drinks were provided throughout the event.

3. Love Wins Charity Fundraiser





Henry McAlpine BA Fine Art (2020)

Love Wins (2020). Oil on wood panel, 15 x 20 cm
Dancers (2020). Acrylic on canvas panel, 10 x8 inches

Every February, the UK celebrates LGBT+ History Month. The month aims to celebrate the progress made over the years for LGBT+ rights, as well as to remember how far there is still to go before full equality is reached. With the lifting of Covid-19 restrictions, the 21-22 editorial team were keen to hold an in-person event over the course of the academic year. On 16th February, the LHRJ team welcomed almost 100 attendees to a live music event which aimed to spotlight LGBT+ artists in Leeds. We were lucky enough to have a wide variety of talented performers, including solo artists and duets, bands, a DJ, and even a drag artist. The goal of the evening was also to fundraise for akt, a charity which seeks to provide safe homes and better futures for LGBT+ young people. We hosted the event at Wharf Chambers, an LGBT+ friendly community space and bar in Leeds. After an evening full of music, drinks, and new conversations, we were delighted to announce that we raised over £300 for akt. This total covers the rent for a disadvantaged young LGBT+ person to live independently for a month. We are grateful to Henry McAlpine for designing our promotional poster, and to all of the artists who made this event possible.

LEEDS HUMAN RIGHTS JOURNAL

Cover Artwork - Dan Woodward

Through the Cracks (2021)
(CGI, Photoscan)

Through the Cracks shows an intersection between natural and manufactured beauty - a hopeful look at how nature can prevail.

The Leeds Human Rights Journal is a student-led undergraduate Journal, published annually during the summer term. This is its tenth year running, and it remains the only Journal of its kind in the country. Each year, articles are submitted by undergraduate students across a broad range of disciplines and then reviewed by their peers to maintain an excellent standard of work. The Journal is a vital tool for encouraging research at an undergraduate level, where there are fewer opportunities for students to display their work.

This year, the 'In Focus' theme is sanctuary. The idea behind this theme is to explore how marginalised communities can achieve sanctuary on this planet. Importantly, we wanted writers to interrogate the concept of the 'human' in human rights discourse by focusing on the environment, other species and groups often depicted as less-than-human. We hope the probing work of University of Leeds undergraduate students will encourage you to expand your definition of human rights and what or who is included in its framework.

From analysing the genomic development of refugees and migrants, representation of the disabled self, environmental security and decolonising human rights, volume X of the Leeds Human Rights Journal aims to provide a refreshing and critical look at global and human rights issues relating to sanctuary.