LEVIATHAN

PRIDE

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

Front Cover Courtesy of:

Reuters - Ueslei Marcelino
Indigenous men attend the closing ceremony of the first World Games for Indigenous Peoples in Palmas, Brazil, October 31, 2015.

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References:

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For this last issue of the year, we chose a powerful theme: pride. This feeling can be a strength and a weakness. It can construct and destroy communities: the legend has it that, since the Trojan War, wars have been waged because of wounded pride. Few would contest that pride still plays an important role in contemporary politics. Certainly, the word carries emotional accents, negative as well as positive, and we sought to get students' own take on the theme.

Clearly, pride is a potent tool in politics, used by community leaders to unite and empower communities. In Brazil, Marielle Franco dedicated her life to the protection and empowerment of black and mixed race LGBTQ+ (Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Trans, Queers) communities against oppression. Having become too much of a threat, she was murdered in March 2018, and she is commemorated in this issue by Katrina Cohen Cosentino.

Minorities fight for cultural recognition. The cover of this issue features indigenous men attending the closing ceremony of the first World Games for Indigenous Peoples, organised in Palmas, Brazil, in October 2015. The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) report for the event read: 'Celebrating is What Matters!' Yet, these games took place in parallel to a wave of protests against assault from the government on indigenous rights and lands. As recently as the 26th of April, 2018, thousands marched in Brasilia against the on-going rollback of indigenous rights, proving that, beyond games, identity politics have very tangible effects on human lives.

Indeed, cultural recognition and institutional protection reinforce each other. In the North American section, Ewan Forrest examines the ramifications of First Nations pride in Canadian cultural and social institutions. In the Asia-Pacific section, Shivam Mishra explains how LGBTQ+ activists and their opponents mobilise around different notions of Indian history and identity, with the aim of influencing national legislation.

Consolidating communities, as many writers noted, has gone hand in hand with the exclusion of designated outsiders. In Argentina, the construction of a national identity of descendants of European immigrants led to an almost schizophrenic denial of a Latin American heritage, and an exclusion of Latin American immigrants (Lucas Augustín Reynoso). In the Middle East, the search for a Jordanian national identity resulted in the socio-economic rejection of Palestinian Jordanians (Loes Ansems). In the western Chinese region of Xinjiang, the Han Chinese majority and Uyghurs have been constructing their identity in opposition to each other, in a way that has, as Jacob Milburn argues, produced intractable divisions along ethnic lines.

This is my last issue as Editor-in-Chief. This experience would not have been the same without this amazing team. As the year went on, I have gotten to know brilliant individuals, whose paths I hope to cross again. I have been involved with Leviathan since my first semester at the University of Edinburgh, as a writer, a regional editor, and now the Editor-in-Chief. As I reflect on these past four years, I can only appreciate how much Leviathan has shaped my skills and interests, and I want to encourage everyone interested, regardless of their previous experience or academic degree, to get in touch with the journal.

I would like to extend my congratulations to Bernardas Jurevicius, who will be Editor-in-Chief next year. I am confident of his commitment to upholding Leviathan's standards and values, and he will be able to rely on our newest Deputy, Sam Cooper-Phillips, for unflinching support and advice. Finally, we would like to thank The School of Social and Political Science, and especially the Politics and International Relations Department, for their continued support.

I hope you enjoy reading this issue,

Sincerely,

Barbara Wojazer

MEET THE TEAM

Editor in Chief

Barbara Wojazer is a fourth year student of Russian and Politics. From Paris, she is the first non-native English Speaker Editor in Chief. Coming back from her year abroad in Russia, she wants to lead the journal using what she learned about the importance of the journalism, free speech and diversity. Often travelling, she enjoys writing, wandering in and taking pictures of the places she visits.

Deputy Editor in Chief

Bernardas Jurevicius has a passion for area studies as well as digital policy. Informed by his motherland's former status within the USSR, he has always had a keen interest in government surveillance as well as municipal governance. His heroes include Nestor Makhno for his defiance of the Red and White Armies during the Russian Civil War, Edward Snowden for his NSA leaks as well as Murray Bookchin for his contributions to political ecology in the 21st Century. His favourite region in contemporary history was Revolutionary Catalonia.

Treasurer

Maria Gharesifard is a fourth-year student of Politics. Maria is Norwegian but grew up in Dubai, surrounded by a multitude of cultures. She has written for Leviathan twice and is now in charge of its funds. Her main interest is security studies, particularly within energy politics. She has interned for the Crop Trust and is also interested in the future of crop diversity. In addition to working with EPU, she is the Fundraising Coordinator for the Middle Eastern Society. Maria recommends a trip to Dean Village for an escape from the city center.

Outreach Coordinator

Aila Kerim Baikhar Zhunussova is a 2nd year International Relations student from Almaty, the south capital of Kazakhstan. She is particularly interested in the public policy matters, which she intends to study in the future. During her free time, she enjoys wandering around Royal Mile and Grassmarket in the Old Town.

Digital Director

Dylan Redding is a fourth year History student from Hertfordshire, but has lived across the U.K. and Ireland, before moving to Scotland at the age of sixteen. Dylan has a special interest in American Political History and British Political History in the 1980s. His interest in Politics comes from his longstanding passion for History, which is inherently politically charged, as well as from watching the weekly mudslinging and drama at Prime Minister's Questions. As well as his position at Leviathan, he is also active within the Buchanan Institute.

Chief of Production

Felix Birch is a second year Civil Engineering student from South West England, spending his free time listening to music and reading. After he graduates, Felix wants to explore the wider issues of sustainability and development closely linked to his degree by volunteering abroad.

Proudction Team Member

Jason Kokkat is a MSc Comparative Public Policy student originally from the United States. His passion for politics came from his first campaign job and extended into his academic work finishing his first degree in Political Science. When he is not focusing on campaigns and labour market policy, he is out traveling. Or, he is sipping masala chai reading the latest adventures of Batman.

Production Team Member

Janelle Brannan is a third-year International Relations with Quantitative Methods student. A Filipina-American who grew up in Ohio, she attributes coming to Edinburgh and her interest in IR to a multicultural background and a desire to get out of Ohio. Her main interests lie in the IR of the Asia Pacific and political data analysis. When she isn't looking for a dog to pet, she is involved with PIRPALS at the University.

Africa Regional Editor

Sam Phillips is a third-year Politics student, originally from Seattle in the United States. He has a particular interest in approaches to organized crime and penology in the developing world. He has served previously as the Chief Copy Editor and Europe and Russia regional editor for the journal.

Asia - Pacific Regional Editor

Kirby Fullerton is a 4th year Social Anthropology and Development student from Arkansas, United States. After spending third year studying and conducing ethnographic research in Seoul, South Korea, she became interested in examining the intersections of neoliberal personhood, state-sponsored nationalism, and gender inequality in Northeast Asia. In addition to writing and editing for Leviathan, Kirby enjoys debating with the Edinburgh Debate Union.

Europe & Russia Regional Editor
Emilie Bruun Sandbye is a postgrad student in International & European Politics. Previously she has worked in the European Parliament and for Danish and Swedish media. Born and raised in Copenhagen, Denmark, she has managed to find her way to Edinburgh in the quest for the only place where it is more rainy and windy.

Latin America Regional Editor
Abrahim Assaily is a third year International Relations Student. A Lebanese-American from New York City, he has become interested in how culture and ideas effect how different states and people interact. He has been influenced by the theories of Antonio Gramsci, the Frankfurt School, Guy Debord and the Autonomist movement In addition he has been influenced by national liberation movements, such as Thomas Sankara's Burkina Faso, and their ability to reject the status quo.

Middle East & North Africa Regional Editor
Alexis Kroot comes to Scotland from Maine, by way of Washington, D.C. She is pursuing a Masters of Science in International Relations of the Middle East with Arabic. Alexis spent her summer doing Arabic immersion in the Middle East, and was surprised to find it possible to miss Edinburgh's rain and clouds.

North America Regional Editor
Hannah Carlson is a postgraduate student in Nationalism Studies. Previously, she taught in French schools and worked at Belt Magazine and Press. Originally from Cleveland, Ohio, she is particularly interested in the current issues affecting the American Rust Belt. She was drawn away from Paris by the promise of good whisky in Edinburgh.

International Regional Editor
Sarah-Luna Luke is a third year student of International Relations & Law from the United States and Egypt. She was evacuated to Washington, D.C. in 2011 due to the Egyptian Revolution, and upon her return she took part in the 2013 revolution that followed, hence why her passion for politics soared.She spent the summer in London, interning in DHL UK's corporate affairs department, working on matters regarding Brexit and public affairs. She is also a student ambassador for the University of Edinburgh.

Chief Copy Editor
Lora Uhlig is a fourth year International Relations student. She is originally from Kansas City in the United States. This is her second year with Leviathan's copyediting team. Previously, Lora has worked for the International Relations Council of Kansas City and spent time teaching English as a second language. Lora is mainly interested in European politics and history. She loves to travel and learn about other cultures, which originally sparked her interest in politics and global studies.

Copy Editor
Dhruti Chakravarthi is an undergraduate student in Sustainable Development, Politics and Anthropology. Having previously worked in extraordinarily international environments and gained dynamic global outlooks, she looks forward to using her panoramic perspectives to generate a fresh focus on rebuilding socio-economic frameworks.

Copy Editor
Charlotte Dibb is a fourth year student in International Relations, from Connecticut, U.S.A. She previously worked in the United States Department of State in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, and in the office of U.S. Senator Chris Murphy. Her interest in politics comes from an outspoken political family, and an inability to do maths. Her interest is largely in Middle Eastern affairs, specifically in countersurgency and counterterrorism efforts post 2003. She came to Edinburgh to finally find a place where the people outnumbered the cows for a change.

Copy Editor
Will Francis is a second year student of Economics and Economic History from Shropshire, England. He is interested in the modern international trade dynamics and their impact on the future of the nation-state. A keen follower of British politics, Will has written for Leviathan twice and enjoys discussing topics with fellow students. He chose to study in Edinburgh because of the city's magnificent architecture and rich history.

SAM PHILLIPS | REGIONAL EDITOR

The spirit of Africa in the first decades of independence was ebullient. After decades of exploitative and brutal colonial rule, the free nations of the continent were now given the reins to their own destiny. This euphoria died with the commodities crash of the 1970s, as scores of African countries found themselves insolvent, forced to either bow before the Soviet jackboot or accept extreme austerity from the IMF and World Bank. In this issue, Orson Gard examines the debilitating effects of those 'structural adjustments' pursued under IMF direction and the inadequacy of contemporary development strategies. He shines a ray of hope for new economic plans that reject the dependency of previous decades and reinvigorate an old spirit of national pride through internally-driven growth.Now enjoying a period of high economic growth and the optimism that accompanies it, African countries can turn to critically reflect on the 'lost decades' and the sacrifices made therein. Robert Jacek Wlodarski looks at the rule of Paul Kagame in Rwanda, and how the stability there after the 1994 genocide has come at the price of genuine democracy. The pride that Rwandans feel in their stable recovery from the horrors of civil war is thus tainted by Kagame's autocratic abuse of the system. Looking at modern Africa cannot be a simple story of recovery and progress, but must also look at the sacrifices and compromises made. Justly earned pride in achievements must be balanced with a critical look at one's own faults and missteps.

Nationalising Development

ORSON GARD discusses the role of national sovereignty in promoting sustainable, pro-poor development

In the immediate post-war period, Kwame Nkrumah, a Ghanaian figurehead of the movement for decolonisation, warned of the dangers of 'neo-colonialism', [1] a term that here means the process by which colonial powers continue to exert undue influence over the domestic affairs of a sovereign state. The complex relationship between economic dependency and political leverage has enabled colonial powers to continue to dominate the domestic affairs of many African states, to the extent that these states, although recognised under international law, are not truly self-governing.[2] Although some may consider the term to be outdated, recent research suggests that continued foreign involvement in African economic affairs, coupled with the rise of NGOs in social service provision, is essentially an extension of the neo-colonial process that Nkrumah believed would hinder the development of independent African states.[3] Accordingly, this article will critically examine the implications of international agency in African development and argue for increased collaboration between sovereign nations and international organisations in the policy-making process, crucial if the goal of sustainable poverty reduction is to be realised.

In the immediate post-war period, many newly independent states embarked on ambitious national development programmes, with a particular focus on investing in social services and national infrastructure. By linking what Thandika Mkandawire, an eminent academic of African development at the London School of Economics, termed the 'social question' with the 'national question', [4] governments attempted to promote national unification and socio-economic development as mutually reinforcing processes. Nigeria, for example, embarked on a series of programmes between 1962 and 1974 that led to substantial increases in primary school enrolment, the construction of higher education institutions, and the modernisation and expansion of healthcare facilities.[5] The Ghanaian government promoted a national education policy that focussed on increasing literacy rates in anticipation of the rise of a service-based economy.[6] Healthcare, which was made universal in Ghana during this period, was framed as a right of citizenship, an example of the symbiotic relationship between social service provision and the process of nation building.[7] The decades that followed independence were certainly not without difficulty for the majority of African nations, yet examples of socio-economic progress — spurred by the emboldening optimism that independence provided — illustrate that African elites possess the political will to invest in their citizens. It seems only sensible to consider the successes of this period when formulating policies for pro-poor development in the present day.

In the late 1970s, this progress was stalled by an international economic crisis, prompted by a 1974 crash in global commodity prices, and the externally-imposed economic reforms that followed. The vulnerability of African economies after the 1974 crisis was capitalised upon by former colonial powers and international financial organisations (IFOs) in order to extend their influence over the domestic policies of sovereign states. The 1981 Berg Report suggested that the roots of economic malaise in African states lay in their poor macroeconomic governance and disconnection from the global economic system.[8] The report recommended that IFOs, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, should provide loans to African governments to fund investment in industry, while attaching conditionalities to these loans to secure the financial viability of these states and encourage their integration into the international economic system.[9] These Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) imposed stringent fiscal measures on national governments in an attempt to balance budgets, necessitating the retrenchment of social spending. In Ghana, for example, government expenditure on healthcare during the adjustment period fell from 0.95 percent of GDP in 1980 to 0.35 percent in 1983.[10] Accordingly, when healthcare facilities introduced fees to plug the funding gap, a significant decrease in outpatient attendances was observed.[11] The human cost of this was immense – a 1987-1988 report stated that 48 percent of sick Ghanaians did not consult a medical professional[12] – and illustrates the detrimental impact that structural adjustment had on many African citizens. Government accountability to citizens is crucial for fostering policies that will promote sustained and equitable development. Structural adjustment weakened the fundamental connection between state and citizens by shifting government accountability from citizens to IFOs, explaining why policies so detrimental to human wellbeing materialised during the adjustment period.

This has continued into the 21st century, albeit in a different form, with the rise of international aid from developed nations facilitating corruption and poor governance. In his recent work *Neo-Colonialism and the Poverty of 'Development' in Africa,* Mark Langan has strongly refuted the idea that aid funding is intrinsically good, highlighting issues with fund allocation and suggesting that Western aid is incorrectly associated with poverty reduction: 'aid becomes less about pro-poor development, than about supporting corporate profit at the expense of worker's rights and environmental sustainability in Africa.' [13] Here, Langan highlights controversies involving the UK Government's Department for International Development (DFiD) fund allocations, with the Independent Commission for Aid Impact pointing out that funds are often used to advance commercial interests at the expense of measures that could reduce poverty rates.[14] He cites the £444 thousand

provided by DFiD to promote the privatisation of the Tanzanian water system as an example of this, with the funds being given to a British company headquartered in London (Adam Smith International) for public relations exercises.[15] In Langan's view, the commercialisation of foreign aid has resulted in externally-imposed policies being directed towards, 'the material interests of foreign elements,' as opposed to the, 'needs of local citizenry.' [16] Dambisa Moyo, an eminent Zambian economist, recently echoed these sentiments in her book *Dead Aid*, suggesting that, 'aid-funded democracy does not guard against a government bent on altering property rights for its own benefit'. [17] Here, Moyo infers that African nations are not merely the unwilling recipients of aid, but actively seek funding, often to prop-up corrupt or poorly-run governments. This goes some way to countering the argument put forth by William Brown in 2013, that African elites possess and capitalise upon the ability to use their national sovereignty as leverage in aid negotiations[18] – although this may be the case, the funds are used to promote the interests of corporate and political elites, not put towards programmes that advance human wellbeing.

At no time has the regressive impact of neo-colonial development strategies been more apparent than during the 2014-15 West African Ebola Crisis.[19] The painfully slow response to the emerging crisis from the affected nations (primarily Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Guinea) can be ascribed to a severe deficiency in the extent and quality of healthcare facilities.[20] This can be attributed to two factors already discussed: the retrenchment of the social sector during the age of structural adjustment and the questionable impact of donor funding on citizen wellbeing. The World Health Organisation has reported that in the affected countries, some regions had less than ten percent the recommended level of healthcare professionals, often concentrated in urban areas.[21] In a report published by The Lancet in the final stages of the crisis, the authors stated that the 'Ebola outbreak exposed health system fragilities,' and recommended drastic improvements in public health capacities to manage future epidemics.[22] The absence of sufficient institutions and frameworks across the three West African nations to adequately respond to the Ebola crisis clearly illustrates the long-term neglect of the social sector as a result of structural adjustment.[23]

All this points to the need for a paradigmatic shift away from externally-imposed development strategies and donor funding. The erosion of national sovereignty, coupled with the long-term retrenchment of key social services, has stalled the development of African nations and enforced a trajectory towards single-commodity export growth that is both vulnerable to exogenous shocks and economically inequitable.[24] The retrenchment of social services, namely education, has prevented many African nations from restructuring their economies away from agriculture and resource-extraction.[25] Developed nations still have a role to play in expanding human wellbeing in developing African nations, and a careful balance should be struck between reinforcing national sovereignty and an international strategy that facilitates responsible social-sector investment. The historical expansion of social services after decolonisation can be a theoretical basis for such a programme, as these demonstrate the symbiosis that can exist between national sovereignty and pro-poor development.

In recent years, this collaborative approach has been adopted by some African nations, such as Burkina Faso, who have attempted to unshackle themselves from the legacy of neo-colonial strategies. The Burkinabe National Plan for Economic and Social Development 2016-2020 is a landmark programme – developed by the national government and supported by a democratically elected President who seeks to 'build, along with the people, a country of democracy, economic and social progress, freedom, and justice' [26] – that reflects the developmental typology this article advocates.[27] In addition, the Burkinabe government has taken initiatives from a number of international sources, including the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals and the African Union Agenda 2063, illustrating that a collaborative approach can be fruitful.[28] The programme includes measures to develop the nation's human capital, such as an expansion of healthcare services and renewed investment in primary, secondary, and tertiary education. Crucially, the programme also addresses the fundamental issue of governance, highlighting the need to reform and strengthen national institutions to prevent corruption and improve the monitoring of key wellbeing indicators.[29] Indeed, the African Development Bank quickly pledged its support for the programme in light of its commitment to advancing human wellbeing by reforming public administration and focussing on inequality reduction, solidifying the long-term financial viability of the programme.[30]

The commercialisation of development is only the latest stage in the neo-colonial process, following attempts by colonial powers to maintain direct political influence after independence, such as the 1946 creation of the French Union as an attempted continuation of the colonial model.[31] By degrading an already fragile social sector and fostering socio-economic dependency, developed nations and IFOs have managed to suppress Africa's development while promoting their involvement in African affairs as intrinsically moralistic. This has been to the detriment of democratic accountability, good governance, and effective policy-making in African states and it is therefore clear that a new approach is needed. It is imperative that states retain their right to exercise sovereignty, as this promotes accountability and encourages political elites to act on behalf of citizens, not foreign entities. At the same time, developed nations must take an active role in facilitating and funding projects that can place African nations on a trajectory towards self-sufficiency. Efforts by the Burkinabe government to control the direction of their development, while building international support for such programmes, should be considered a model for future endeavours. Development is too often seen as a process that should be imposed on African states, a view that denies the importance of national sovereignty in the formation of prosperous and free societies.

Orson Gard is a First Year History and Politics student at the University of Edinburgh.

Rwanda's Faustian Bargain

ROBERT JACEK WŁODARSKI argues that Paul Kagame, the President of Rwanda, hails Rwandan unity and stability in order to maximise his power.

Rwanda is a modern success story. In 1994, the country was ruined by a genocide that killed between 800,000 and a million people and left two million displaced.[1] State structures were practically non-existent,[2] and all indicators of standards of living hit rock bottom.[3] Within twenty years, Rwanda became the fastest developing country in Africa. In 2018, the nation is less corrupt than many European countries.[4] It is also one of the safest and most stable places in Sub-Saharan Africa.[5] Kigali is renowned for being the cleanest, least violent, and most ordered African capital.[6] Rwanda's GDP has been growing by 8 percent yearly, which has been hailed as an economic miracle.[7] Moreover, the state has the highest ratio of female members of parliament in the world, which stood at 61 per cent in 2015.[8] It is renowned for protecting the rights of

ethnic, racial, and sexual minorities,[9] and President Kagame has recently been appointed the chairman of the African Union.[10] However, the price for the overwhelming development was high. The economic miracle has been partially funded by regular looting of the war-torn Democratic Republic of Congo since the end of 1990s.[11] Moreover, Rwandan democracy is a farce, as Paul Kagame has held semi-authoritarian power for 24 years.

Collin Waugh describes Rwanda as a hard-working and determined nation, proud of its recent economic development.[12] Most of its politicians stress that its biggest priority is fighting poverty and racial divisions.[13] It is uncommon to hear President Kagame use terms like 'Hutu' or 'Tutsi', and it has become an unwritten rule not to use these terms in the public space at all.[14] This is sanctioned by a series of restrictive laws, referred to as the anti-divisionism laws, which have been introduced by the parliament since 2001.[15] They were created to address the calls for stability and to end racial divisions in the country. Nevertheless, apart from preventing the recreation of the Tutsi-Hutu separation in the political life, the measures also facilitated considerable abuse by the government. The regime has skilfully used imprecisions in the electoral laws in order to ban undesired candidates.[16] Even the slightest questioning of the official approach is heavily sanctioned. This has allowed the authorities to ban, arrest and try various opposition candidates ever since the first free presidential election in 2003. Moreover, the atmosphere of intimidation makes it easier for the ruling elites to eliminate the undesirable politicians. When the unwanted contenders do not break anti-divisionism laws, they are harassed or simply assassinated. As a result, the only opposition that is left alive and free either openly supports Kagame or does not challenge his ideas to change the constitution, allowing him to rule until 2034.[17] The story of Rwanda is how the desperate need for stability was addressed by the appropriate, yet imprecise laws, which were then used to intimidate and ban the opposition.

Rwanda undoubtedly needed stability and an end to the racial divisions after the 1994 Genocide. The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) seized power shortly after the massacre and formed an authoritarian government of national unity.[18] The first elections were scheduled for December 2003 and multi-party politics were outlawed until then.[19] Rwandans and the international community begrudgingly accepted the lengthy interim period, as the country desperately needed stability and development.[20] The successive provisional governments formed from the RPF and the pre-1994 opposition members, which were dominated by Kagame, repetitively stressed that the nation had to overcome all racial and regional divisions before experiencing a full-scale democracy.[21] Accordingly, all of the key measures regulating elections and political life in Rwanda have been designed primarily to protect stability and avert racial tensions. Paul Kagame has repeatedly praised the Rwandan law for preventing genocide.[22] Moreover, he has frequently compared it to the American and European legal systems, which forbid hate speech and the promotion of totalitarianism.[23] The 2001 Law on Prevention, Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Discrimination and Sectarianism was the first key measure preventing the revival of racist ideology in Rwanda.[24] Initially, the law was warmly welcomed by the international community,[25] as it progressively attempted to protect, not only racial and ethnic, but also religious, political, and sexual minorities.[26] Nonetheless, Amnesty International stressed that the imprecisions of the law might lead to abuses of power and oppression in Rwandan society.[27] The organisation also stated that the measure does not meet the requirements of the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights.[28] The new laws regarding the electoral system and internal politics follow the undemocratic trend set in 2001.[29] Hilde Coffé of Utrecht University

claims that the laws led to semi-authoritarian consensus-based politics dominated by Paul Kagame.[30] She says that citizens cannot shape policy, but merely accept or reject it.[31] Importantly, all subsequent regulations have been based on the 2001 law.[32] Therefore, while officially the regulations allowed Rwanda to stabilise its political scene and focus on economic development, they also created the foundation for potential power abuses.

Indeed, the Rwandan authorities have repetitively used anti-divisionism laws to ban opposition parties and their candidates from running in elections. For example, Victoire Ingabire Umuhoza was the Unified Democratic Forces candidate in the 2010 presidential elections.[33] At the beginning of the campaign she questioned why only ethnic Tutsis are commemorated in the 1994 Genocide memorials.[34] She pointed out that many moderate Hutus, who had opposed the atrocities, had also been murdered.[35] As a result, her party was banned from participating in the election and she was charged with treason, terrorism and 'belittling the 1994 Genocide'.[36] She was sentenced to eight years in prison, although the prosecutor asked for a life sentence.[37] Her supporters have been prosecuted since then, with the last wave of arrests taking place in 2017.[38] Furthermore, not only was her sentence increased in 2013,[39] but her detention conditions have allegedly worsened.[40] Similarly, Diane Rwigara, a 35-year-old entrepreneur, was supposed to be the main independent opposition candidate in 2017 presidential elections.[41] A few days after she announced her candidacy, naked pictures of her were published online.[42] Rwigara denounced them as a blatant intimidation by the RPF and continued to challenge Kagame.[43] Afterwards, the electoral commission accused her of supplying names of dead and non-existent people as her supporters and disqualified her from the presidential elections.[44] Nonetheless, she remained active in Rwandan politics.[45] Finally, Rwigara was arrested and charged with crimes against state security and treason,[46] based on the anti-divisionism laws.[47] Moreover, her mother and sister were imprisoned because of alleged tax evasion only a few days later.[48] The cases of Victoire Ingabire Umuhoza and Diane Rwigara are only two examples, amongst many more, of Paul Kagame's use of genocide-prevention laws and fabricated charges to weaken any opposition.

The waves of arrests and accusations have created an atmosphere of intimidation in the country, which is reinforced by 'mysterious' assassinations of the opposition politicians. Andre Kagwa Rwisereka, the vice-president of the Democratic Green Party, was one of the key opposition leaders during the elections of 2010.[49] He had been an outspoken critic of the Kagame's administration and was brutally murdered shortly before the election.[50] In the same way, Jean Damascene Habarugira, another outspoken critic of Kagame's administration from the United Democratic Forces (FDU) and candidate presumptive in the 2017 presidential election,[51] disappeared three months before the election. Within three days, his body was found 60 kilometres from his home.[52] Boniface Twagirimana, the FDU Vice-President, claimed that the murder was politically motivated due to his opposition to the government's agricultural policy.[53] The party members who had seen Habarugira's body claimed that his head had been almost disintegrated and his eyes gouged.[54] Sadly, these are not isolated examples of politically-motivated assassinations in the country.[55] Ironically, all of the assassinations benefit a President who has repeatedly claimed that his greatest dream is a peaceful and unprejudiced political scene in Rwanda.[56]

As a result of the murder of party leaders and the waves of arrests, the only opposition allowed to contest Paul Kagame and the RPF in the elections is either very weak or suspiciously supportive of the incumbent's policies. For example, Alivera Mukabaramab, a former

member of the National Transitional Assembly and the leader of the Party of Progress and Concord (PPC),[57] was one of the main candidates in the 2003 Presidential election.[58] However, she withdrew shortly before the vote and immediately endorsed Paul Kagame.[64] Afterwards, she was chosen to be a senator and appointed the State Minister for Social Affairs and Community Development.[60] Even though she contested Kagame in 2010 she kept her positions.[61] This suggests that real opposition in the African state is virtually non-existent. Moreover, Dr. Vincent Biruta, a leader of the Social Democratic Party (PSD), the biggest opposition party in Rwanda, and the Natural Resources Minister, decided to unconditionally support the president before the 2017 elections.[62] The party unanimously supported this decision.[63] Moreover, the Liberal Party (PL), the third-largest political movement in the country, also endorsed Kagame.[64] Consequently, Kagame simultaneously became the candidate of the ruling RPF and the opposition PSD and PL, proving that democracy in Rwanda is essentially political theatre. Finally, Hilde Coffé points out that all opposition candidates in 2010 favoured the policy of continuation of Kagame's development strategies.[65] This implies that even the politicians who challenged Kagame were, in fact, supporters of his policies. This shows that the mission to stabilise Rwanda and fight poverty has become prioritised to such a large extent that the entire opposition left free and alive endorses the semi-authoritarian leader.

Rwanda has undoubtedly benefitted from the stability of the last 24 years. However, the main strategy to stabilise the country's politics has also been used by the authorities to ban undesirable opposition candidates. Moreover, the atmosphere of intimidation on the political scene has led to the assassination of a number of the President's outspoken critics. Consequently, the only political leaders who are not imprisoned or murdered are either weak or openly support the current government. Paul Kagame is often compared to Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, who had been referred to as a 'benevolent dictator'. [66] Indeed, both of them governed the rapidly evolving countries. However, unlike Yew, Kagame does not seem to allow younger generations to take power.[67] His third decade in rule is likely to bring more stagnation in Rwanda's development, which might lead to a return of instability and racially-based dialogue in the country.[68] In addition, a lack of a clear succession strategy could result in internal conflict that would ruin the improvements that have been made within the last 24 years. Is the risk really worth it?

Robert Jacek Włodarski is a First Year Economics student at the University of Edinburgh.

This issue highlights two forms of pride that are igniting many regions of Asia-Pacific in various ways. Ethno-religious pride, either recently manifested or long-term tension between ethnic groups as well as between ethnic groups and the state, and secondly, the increased visibility and emerging campaigns for LGBTQ rights across the continent. Both variations, and the complex overlaps between them, require a close examination of how groups mobilize variable conceptions of history to advocate for or against increased economic, political, and cultural rights.

Jacob Milburn addresses the long-standing tension between the

Muslim Uyghur people and the Han Chinese in Western China. This reveals the costs of an increasingly Han-Chinese centric China that excludes thousands of groups and regions within one of the largest and most diverse nations in the world.

Shivam Mishra delves into the current debates on LGBTQ rights in India to examine how post-colonial Indian nation-building plays a role in current contestations surrounding legal frameworks to repeal the Indian constitution's ban on homosexuality. LGBTQ activists' campaign asserts a pre-colonial India more open to homosexuality and transgendered persons. This contestation reveals the way groups can use history to form the basis of claims for or against increased human rights, within a similar rhetoric of national identity.

Long Standing Ethnic Pride in Xinjiang Poses Obstacle to Economic and Social Development

JACOB MILBURN examines how ethnic pride has produced intractable divisions between the Uyghur and Han Chinese populations of the western Chinese region of Xinjiang.

The western Chinese region of Xinjiang has been plagued by ethnic conflict between the Uyghur and Han Chinese populations for many years. The Uyghurs, who are native to the region, are ethnically Turkic, practice Islam, and speak a Turkic language. They have no cultural or linguistic similarities to the Han Chinese, who make up the majority of China's population.[1] Ethnic tensions between the two groups first emerged centuries ago, but have worsened over time as each of the groups has developed a distinct ethnic pride that has caused it to distrust the other.[2] This article will explore the origins of the ethnic pride that has fuelled tensions between the groups, examine how this ethnic pride currently produces and reinforces divisions, and explain how China's recent attempts to reframe the ethnic tensions in Xinjiang as a problem of underdevelopment may exacerbate those tensions.

The origins of the ethnic pride that fuels Uyghur-Han tensions in Xinjiang in 2018 can be traced to the 19th century, when the Chinese state changed its policies towards the region's indigenous groups.[3] Originally, the state was largely tolerant of these indigenous groups, including the Uyghurs.[4] From the 1760s, when Xinjiang was originally annexed by the Qing dynasty, until the early 19th century, the Qing state avoided interfering in the religious and cultural practices of these groups and did not attempt to integrate the region culturally into the rest of China.[5] This accommodationist policy prevented the state from alienating the Uyghurs, and it proved to be a fairly effective method of avoiding ethnic conflict in the region.[6] In the early 19th century however, when the Qing state faced an economic crisis and discord in its central government, it decided to adopt anti-Muslim policies in order to divert the Han population's attention away from these issues and towards the non-Han population.[7] It abandoned the principle of equality among its subject peoples, encouraged previously forbidden Han Chinese settlement of Uyghur land in southern Xinjiang, and allowed the Han settlers to openly discriminate against the Uyghurs and other Muslim minority groups.[8] These anti-Muslim policies stirred up a dangerous kind of ethnic pride among the Han population and Uyghur populations. The Han population, newly emboldened by the state's tacit endorsement of anti-Muslim discrimination, began to think of themselves

as superior to the Uyghurs.[9] At the same time, the Uyghur population, whose communal bonds were strengthened by their shared experience of state-sanctioned persecution, united in defence of their culture and developed a strong resentment of both the Chinese state and the growing Han population in Xinjiang.[10]

The relationship between Xinjiang's Uyghur and Han populations deteriorated further in the later half of the 20th century, when the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) government's brutal repression of the Uyghurs further reinforced Han and Uyghur ethnic pride. The CCP government, which came to power in 1949, was not initially at odds with the Uyghurs, but the Cultural Revolution, a socialist reform campaign launched in 1966 under the leadership of Mao Zedong, turned them into enemies of the state.[11] During this campaign, which called for complete cultural conformity and the elimination of religious, cultural, and linguistic differences, the Uyghurs became targets of state-sanctioned persecutions, just as they had in the 19th century.[12] With the approval of the state, so called Han Chinese 'activists' in Xinjiang tormented the Uyghur population, destroying their mosques and religious texts, threatening those who wore religious clothing, and forcing Uyghur men to shave their beards.[13] This oppression of Uyghurs by Han Chinese ultimately affected the two groups in the same way that the state-sanctioned persecution of Uyghurs in the 19th century had; it increased each group's pride in their ethnicity and heightened their mistrust of and opposition to members of the other group.

This ethnic pride that was created and strengthened by the policies of the Chinese state plays a significant role in perpetuating conflict between Uyghurs and Han Chinese in Xinjiang today because it reinforces strict boundaries between the groups, preventing them from interacting and building mutual trust.[14] Because of this ethnic pride, the groups are unable to eat together, live in the same neighbourhoods, or even follow the same time zone.[15] Ethnic pride prevents the groups from eating together because it of the mutual distrust it has created. Although most Uyghurs are Muslim and follow a Halal diet that bans pork, one of the staples of Han Chinese cuisine, they could still dine together like many Muslims and non-Muslims in other parts of the world, but choose not to because of 'polemics around food consumption' in Xinjiang that reinforce strict interethnic boundaries.[16] Ethnic pride has also led to the de facto segregation of residential areas in Xinjiang.[17] Xinjiang's cities had not always been segregated, despite the ethnic conflict: prior to the 1980s the Chinese economy was centrally planned and workers were allocated housing, so some Han Chinese and Uyghurs were forced to live together.[18] Due to their ethnic pride, however, this intermixing disappeared quickly after the end of the planned economy. Neighbourhoods have since become 'increasingly segregated along ethnic lines'.[19] Ethnic pride has even led the Uyghurs and Han Chinese to follow different time zones, despite the obvious inconvenience this causes.[20] Uyghurs choose to follow Xinjiang time, the natural time zone

of the region, and reject China's official nationwide time zone of Beijing time, which is two hours ahead, in order to resist the Han Chinese and the hegemony of the Chinese state.[21] Han Chinese, conversely, stubbornly follow to Beijing time in order to show their 'loyalty toward the Chinese state and their separation from the Uyghurs'.[22]

Although intergroup discriminations between Uyghurs and Han Chinese in Xinjiang has a negative effect on both groups, the Uyghurs undoubtedly suffer the most, as they are the less powerful of the two groups and usually have discriminatory policies imposed upon them. This dynamic is well illustrated by the case of language policy in the region, where there has been an unwritten policy shift to a monocultural model that emphasises the high status of Mandarin and the importance of learning it and perpetuates discrimination against Uyghur language-speakers who do not.[23] Though little has changed rhetorically, as the Chinese state still promotes bilingual education and recommends that the Han population learn Uyghur, there is in practice a new emphasis on assimilation.[24] The bilingual education curriculum in Xinjiang's schools, for instance, no longer involves continuing education in Uyghur, and is instead designed to help Uyghur students 'make a rapid and smooth transition from their native language to the dominant language'.[25] Additionally, fewer textbooks are being published in minority languages in Xinjiang, as the state focuses on Chinese language instruction.[26] Because this monolingual model portrays Mandarin Chinese as the ideal, it perpetuates assumptions that the Uyghur language is of low quality, or 'not as useful', and leads Han Chinese to stereotypically view Uyghurs as uneducated.[27] Ironically, Uyghurs who are fluent in Mandarin are often frowned upon by non-Mandarin speaking Uyghurs because they are viewed as too culturally similar to the Han.[28]

The power imbalance between the two groups has also exacerbated economic inequalities between them because it has led to the segregation of Han and Uyghur businesses and limited the growth of Uyghur business.[29] This segregation developed as Xinjiang has become increasingly urbanised, with both Han and Uyghur migrants moving to its cities to find work.[30] While most Han migrants are able find jobs, Uyghurs typically struggle to do so because the state-owned enterprises and the Han-owned firms that dominate the economy are reluctant to hire them.[31] This leads to a surplus of Uyghur labor and tends to restrict Uyghurs to working for and with other Uyghurs, creating ethnic enclaves in the economy.[32] Because this restriction of Uyghur businesses to within the Uyghur community severely hinders their growth, some Uyghur entrepreneurs have attempted to break out of the ethnic enclave and build relationships with businesses outside their community.[33] However, due to the competition they face from more experienced Han Chinese entrepreneurs, as well as their lack of familiarity with Han Culture and Mandarin language, many Uyghur entrepreneurs find it difficult to access non-Uyghur business networks.[34] Though the Chinese state has recognised this issue of minority-owned businesses struggling to access outside business networks, and has apparently offered loans specifically for such businesses, it is difficult for Uyghurs to access these loans because they lack the right connections to government officials and sometimes feel that cultural differences prevent them from building these connections.[35] As one Uyghur entrepreneur explained, forming a personal relationship with government officials in order to secure loans or other funding might require drinking or dining together, which would conflict with his Islamic dietary restrictions.[36] Ultimately, because of issues such as this, interethnic cooperation in the business world remains difficult and Uyghur and Han businesses remain largely segregated.[37]

In recent years, the Chinese state has attempted to reframe the ethnic tensions in Xinjiang as a problem of underdevelopment and has accordingly adopted a program of 'economic normalisation' in order to solve it.[38] This economic normalisation program mostly consists of investment in the region to build infrastructure, but it has also involved the introduction of schemes to promote 'local private enterprise' and the establishment of special economic zones.[39] Most of these programs do not directly target ethnic minorities such as Uyghurs; the scheme for supporting private enterprise, for example, is specifically geared toward the Han population because they are viewed as economically risk-averse by the government.[40] Some argue, however, that the state's promotion of economic development as a means of solving ethnic tensions in Xinjiang is in fact an example of their paternalistic attitude towards ethnic minorities.[41] This is because it suggests that ethnic minorities, such as the Uyghurs, are like mischievous children whose problems stem from their immaturity and who need the support of an 'more advanced elder brother' in the form of the Han in order to mature.[42] Therefore, although the state appears to be trying to assist minority groups such as the Uyghurs, its actions are unlikely to be well received because they are misguided and condescending and will most likely exacerbate ethnic tensions in Xinjiang.

Ultimately, the ethnic tensions in Xinjiang that have caused conflict between the Uyghur and Han populations for many years are likely to continue for the foreseeable future. Both groups have built up strong feelings of ethnic pride over the course of centuries, which has driven them apart in the past and continues to effectively segregate them in both public and private life. The actions of the Chinese state have also strained the relationship between the two groups, and China's government continues to exacerbate the tensions today by misdiagnosing them as a symptom of underdevelopment. Affecting meaningful change and reconciling the differences between the groups is therefore likely to take some time.

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LGBTQ Community in India Strives to Find a Place in Culture and Constitution

SHIVAM MISHRA explores how notions of Indian culture are asserted by both LGBT activists striving to carve a place in Indian history and modernity, as well as those who seek to uphold the colonial-era penal code criminalising homosexuality.

In 1994, the city of Bombay changed its name to Mumbai. This was done as part of a larger trend of renaming Indian cities, which was aimed at restoring their pre-colonial names.[1] These political decisions were rooted in modern Indian identity, but need to be understood within the post-colonial context, as an important part of Indian pride and identity comes from celebrating India's triumph against European imperialism. And indeed, since its independence in 1947, there has been an effort to create a unified Indian identity that draws from India's extensive pre-colonial history.[2] Even after seven decades of freedom, the exact definitions of this ideal Indian society have yet to be determined. Many policies and issues in India have continued to polarise people among religious, ethnic and generational lines, and this includes reproductive and sexual rights due to their involvement in this greater debate of pride.

A recent controversy brought into the spotlight was the Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code (IPC).[3] This law was directly inherited from the penal code introduced by the British Empire in 1861, and declared that it

was unlawful for a person to have voluntary 'carnal intercourse against the order of nature', with punishments ranging up to 10 years imprisonment.[4,5] This crucial excerpt from the article has since been largely interpreted to mean any non-heteronormative sexual activity.[6]

Though there have been numerous LGBT voices in Indian political discourse, especially in arts and literature, the movement to repeal Section 377 only began in December 2001 when the Naz Foundation filed a petition in the Delhi High Court to legalise homosexual intercourse amongst consenting adults.[7] In 2009, after several reviews and petitions, the court repealed the 150 year-old Article 377, thus decriminalising homosexual activity.[8] The seminal judgment was incredibly divisive, from the highest ministries of government to the general public's conscience.[9] The government at the time, led by a seemingly progressive Indian National Congress, was divided on the issue: the Ministry of Health supported the petition and the judgment, while the Ministry of Home Affairs opposed it.[10]

An analysis of the judgment's transcripts reveals the complex discourse around this issue. The majority of the judgement's conclusion focused on constitutional arguments. Section 377 directly contradicts the fundamental rights promised by the Constitution; i.e. the right to equality (Article 14) and the right to health (Article 21, as criminalisation of homosexual intercourse hinders AIDS prevention measures).[11] The court also presented a cultural argument, describing the Constitution as a reflection of the diverse and inclusive Indian society, stating that 'the inclusiveness that Indian society traditionally displayed, literally in every aspect of life, is manifest in recognising a role in society for everyone.'[12] This statement went directly against the context established by the Anglo-Christian origins of Section 377, a notion highlighted in the introduction to the case.[13] The judgment therefore made an effort to justify and assert its stance based on Indianness.

The LGBT activists in India adopt a similar approach to the debate, asserting their place in society by framing homophobia as a colonial relic that needs to be removed.[14] Dr Devdutt Patnaik, a writer renowned of for his work on ancient Indian scriptures, has highlighted many characters within Indian mythology that do not fit with colonial notions of masculinity and femininity.[15] An example of this include celebrated characters such as Shikhandini, from the Mahabharata, a lesbian who is raised by her father as a male warrior in order to avenge him.[16] Another story from the Puranas tells the story of the god Vishnu becoming a beautiful woman and having a child with another God called Shiv.[17] Their child Ayappa is revered as a god in his own right, especially in the Southern states.[18] Many other queer characters from history and mythology have a place in conversations in Indian households. The LGBT community uses this familiarity to affirm its place within Indian culture. This is reflected in a common placard seen at pride parades in India, which reads '*Vikriti Evam Prakriti*', a Sanskrit phrase from the most ancient Hindu scripture, the Rig Veda. It translates to 'what seems unnatural is also natural'.[19]

India's relationship with the LGBTQ community is complicated: though same-sex relations are seen as immoral by much of Indian society, transgender and non-binary identities are tolerated and have a space in India's social fabric. For example, Hijras are a community of people who are generally born with male genitals but wish to undergo ceremonial operations and live like women.[20] The word 'transgender' is not an appropriate term for Hijras as it explains not only the person's gender identity, but also refers to a broader culture and community of the Hijras.[21] This ancient community is ostracised to an extent, but at the same time widely tolerated and recognised. In fact, the first judgment to provide concrete protection to any sexual minority came in favour of the Hijras when the Supreme Court ruled in 2009 that transgender people should be treated as a 'third category' of gender or as a 'socially and economically backward' class entitled to proportional access and representation in education and jobs.[22,23]

The 2009 judgment, seen as the first step towards equality for all sexual minorities was declared null in 2013.[24] Decisions of a High Court on the constitutional nature of a law apply throughout India, and can only be challenged by other state High Courts or the Supreme Court itself.[25] In December 2013, the Supreme Court reversed the Delhi High Court's judgment stating that 'in view of the above discussion, we hold that Section 377 IPC does not suffer from the vice of unconstitutionality and the declaration made by the Division Bench of the High court is legally unsustainable.'[26] The Supreme Court argued that only the parliament can strike down or amend sections of the IPC.[27] At the same time Justice Shanghvi, once of the judges, said that the LGBT community constitutes a 'miniscule fraction' of the populace and the prosecution of 'only 200' people in the last 150 years is not enough to get rid of the law. He went on to state that he had never met an LGBT person himself.[28] Such statements pushed many to question the neutrality of the judgement, and wonder whether the law had been reversed on the basis constitutional technicality or because of plain bigotry.

The judgment was extremely polarising. Even the conservative Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which came into power in 2014, remains divided on the issue. Rajnath Singh, the current Home Minster, has called homosexuality 'unnatural' and Sushma Swaraj, the current External Affairs minister spoke out against surrogacy for same sex couples.[29,30] On the other hand, Arun Jaitely, the current Finance minister, and Shaina NC, a BJP spokesperson, have supported decriminalising same-sex intercourse.[31,32] However, Prime Minster Modi has remained silent on the issue. Wide-scale public demonstrations against the Supreme Court's judgment and numerous pride parades across the nation's cities reflect a changing public perception, despite the fact that homosexuality remains one of the biggest sexual taboos in Indian society.[33]

Unsurprisingly the debate has unanimously united the religious right-wing, which is often at odds with each itself. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad, a right-wing Hindu organisation, said in a statement: 'this is a right decision, we welcome it. Homosexuality is against Indian culture, against nature and against science.'[34] Maulana Madni of the Jamiat Ulema (Organisation of Indian Islamic Scholars) stated that 'homosexuality is a crime according to scriptures and is unnatural.'[35] Reverend Paul Swarup of the Cathedral Church of the Redemption in Delhi in stating his views on what he believes to be the unnaturalness of homosexuality, stated that 'spiritually, human sexual relations are identified as those shared by a man and a woman. The Supreme Court's view is an endorsement of our scriptures'. [36]

The anti-LGBT side of the debate also makes use of the recurring arguments about Indian culture and the unnaturalness of homosexuality, and the pro-LGBT side focuses on Section 377 as unconstitutional and as a colonial relic. Both sides assert their legitimacy in the context of Indian culture and civilisation. This is significantly different from the LGBT movements in the West, which tend to have a stronger focus on liberalism and human rights and a less on national identity and cultural legitimacy. This could be attributed to the colonial experiences that much of the Global South has endured. It is indicative of how only now the younger generations, who are free from colonial legacy, are defining their culture and values on their own terms.

After several appeals of the 2013 judgement, the Supreme Court agreed to review it.[37] In 2017, in a landmark ruling, the Supreme Court unanimously declared that citizens have a right to privacy, and crucially, this right to privacy includes the right to pursue a same-sex relationship.[38] The ruling does not have any immediate effect on India's Section 377, and the appeal is still under consideration. However, this interim ruling has been seen as fresh hope for India's sexual minorities.

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EMILIE BRUUN SANDBYE | REGIONAL EDITOR

Whereas national pride throughout Russian and European history has not always been a negative driving force, this section's writers all take on a critical perspective to the evolvement of national pride in Europe and Russia. There are many indicators of nationalism and political pride on the rise across the continent, especially with regard to election outcomes in France, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and most recently in Russia.

Alex Redpath criticises the perception of the famous Dutch tolerant society, uncovering the juxtaposition of LGBT rights, drug legalisation and gender equality on one hand and underlying post-colonialism and structural racism on the other. Arguing that Dutch tolerance might even be an empty phrase, he calls for more attention to systemic oppression in the modern Netherlands. Alex Gamota looks at how the West has continued to misinterpret the strong Russian nationalism of this complex nation. Ever since the fall of the Soviet Union, Russian leaders have relied on maintaining a certain Russian pride to unite a nation with a tumultuous history.

Lost in Translation: Reinterpreting Russia

ALEX GAMOTA argues that understanding Russian motives on the international stage might be easier than it seems.

Six years ago, during the US presidential debate, Republican candidate Mitt Romney asserted that Russia was America's 'number one geopolitical foe'.[1] Barack Obama, the opposing Democratic candidate at the time, mocked this assertion by sneering: 'the 1980s are now calling to ask for their foreign policy back, because the Cold War's been over for 20 years'. [2] However, recent events such as the spy poisoning controversy in the British small-town of Salisbury, allegations of Russia's involvement in the 2016 American election, the invasion of Ukraine, and Russia's role in Syria, Mr. Romney's stance is no longer considered antique as it has become the common view of most in the West today. Considering Russia's increasing divergence from Western standards, it has become paramount to understand the reasons for the nature of their actions.

Western attempts to understand Russian motives have a lamentable track record to say the least. Churchill's infamous adage that Russia is 'a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma' [3] reflects the befuddlement that Western observers tend to feel when trying to understand Russian actions. Churchill further hypothesised that if there was to be a key to understanding Russia's actions, it would be an understanding of Russia's national interest.[4] Churchill provides an avenue to better understand the stereotypically complex nation. Russia also believes that the West has misunderstood it, as Vladimir Putin has once said that 'we have often come up against the failure to understand our position and sometimes even an unwillingness to understand'.[5] But fortunately, while Russian actions may initially seem irrational to the Western observer, an understanding of the reasons for the country's unique national interests helps decipher some of the seemingly cryptic actions. This article will use Russian pride as a means for better understanding the country's national interest. Pride provides insight because it illuminates a country values, and shows how these values are manifested in concrete political-economic actions.

To understand Russian pride today, one must look to what impact the fall of the Soviet Union, and the subsequent turbulent 1990s had on the country's psyche. For the West, the 1990s were generally a time of optimism; encouraged by the burgeoning tech industry, the United States enjoyed the longest economic expansion in the country's history.[6] Cool Britannia threatened to take over a world that had entered a time of peace without precedent since the advent of the Great War. As the West was experiencing a decade of decadence, Russia was mired in one of economic depression.[7]

After the unexpected collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia was eager to be adopted into the Western Liberal Democracy family. Indicative of this optimism was Boris Yeltsin and George Bush's claim in June 1992 that the United States and Russia were entering into 'a new era of friendship and partnership'.[8] The contentious history between the two superpowers that tarnished their relationship for some time was thought to be a relic of the ending Cold War era, as the two superpowers sought to eschew imperialistic inclinations in favour of creating an integrated world market economy.[9] Boris Yeltsin echoed what Russia hoped for in the beginning of the decade in a speech given in October 1991, saying that 'things will be worse for everyone, but then prices will fall, the consumer market will be filled with goods, and by the autumn of 1992 there will be economic stabilisation and a gradual improvement in people's lives.' [10] This optimism morphed into disillusionment as the country struggled through the following decade. By the autumn of 1992, Russia fell into a downward spiral rather starting to stabilise as Yeltsin had promised, a spiral that would not be reversed until Putin's election in 2000. From 1991 to 1998 Russia's gross domestic product declined by 43.4 percent.[11] By the time Putin rose to power, 41.2 percent of Russia was living under the poverty line, which is under the rouble equivalent of 500 dollars a year.[12] This catastrophic era, which has been referred to as a time when Russia was 'on the edge of a precipice', had grave consequences on the Russian psyche.[13] In 1991 alone, the percentage of Russians who identified with the phrase 'we are worse than everyone else' jumped from 7 to a shocking 57 percent.[14] As Yeltsin's popularity was rapidly diminishing, he began to feel vulnerable as nationalist movements on both the left and the right gained popular support. The fear of political polarisation encouraged Yeltsin to find means to reconcile an increasingly fractured country. The fear of political polarisation reached new heights when the Constitutional crisis of 1993 suggested that the country was not far from a Civil War.[15] In 1996, Yeltsin reflected on this need for a uniting ideology, at an annual celebration of Russia's independence: 'There were different periods in Russia's twentieth century history – the monarch, totalitarianism, perestroika, and the democratic path of development. Each era had its own ideology. We do not have one [...] The most important thing for Russia is the search for a national idea, a national ideology.' [16] For a country whose landscape ranges from forests and tundra, to subtropical beaches, the concept of the 'Motherland' is one of the links that can make a citizen of St. Petersburg feel connected to a citizen of Vladivostok, despite the fact that a fourth of the world's circumference lies between them.[17] These intentions showed in the 1990s, with Yeltsin's move to appoint the nationalist General Alexander Lebed to his cabinet, as well as lifting the ideological ban imposed on patriotic themes.[18] As the country finally began to rebound under Putin, Russians began to see the newfound success as an indication that a unique Russian third way was the most appropriate model for Russian development rather than imported Western liberal democracy, which only lowered the country into disaster. At the beginning of the 1990s, 60 percent of Russians considered the Western model (political system, market economics, and way of life) as one to emulate. By 2001, 67 percent of respondents told

the same survey that they thought the Western model was not appropriate for Russians.[19] Vladimir Putin reflected the sentiment of the nation in a speech given in the beginning of his first term, saying 'Russia will not quickly become, if she ever does, a second version of, let's say, the USA or England', 'for Russians, a strong state is not an anomaly, but the originator and primary force for change'.[20] In another speech, Putin dedicated the achievements of cutting poverty in half since the beginning of his rule and Russia's entrance into the rankings of the top ten world economies to a distinctive Russian culture, which should be looked at with pride, and one which could compete with the West. 'To be frank, our policy of stable and gradual development is not to everyone's taste. […] Spiritual unity of the people and the moral values that bring us together are just as important development factors as political and economic values. […]Society can only set forth and tackle large national issues when it has a single system of moral values, when a country respects its own language, cultural values, the memory of its ancestors'. [21]

This desire to unite a vast nation after a tumultuous decade can explain to the Western viewer why Russian pride is so pronounced. This desire of the Russian people for a unified political view is displayed by a poll conducted in 2002 showing that fifty-seven percent of Russians favoured the imposition of state censorship on the Russian media.[22] This desire has important consequences when one also considers that one-third of the growing number of television viewers never turn off their television sets in the course of a day.[23]

After a temporary reset in the nineties, the relationship between Russia and the West has continued to be tense. In his first major speech as NATO Secretary General, Anders Fogh Rasmussen stated that out of all NATO's partnerships, the NATO-Russia relationship was the most 'burdened by misperceptions, mistrust and diverging political agendas'.[24] Although there is a past history of miscommunication between the two world powers, a more nuanced and considerate approach to understanding Russian pride can help diminish the Western misperceptions of Russia. By seeing Russia's unique pride, exemplified by Putin's claim that the 'retention of the state over a vast space' was Russia's 'thousand-year-old spiritual feat' [25] as a response to a turbulent history and a peculiar geographic situation, suddenly Russia does not appear so cryptic.

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Systemic Racism and the Famed Dutch Tolerance

ALEX REDPATH takes a postcolonial approach to examining the place of tolerance in Dutch national identity, and highlights the contradictions that exist within Dutch society regarding minority integration and acceptance.

The Netherlands, like many countries in Europe, has seen a steady growth in support for right-wing populism in recent years.[1] However, Dutch populism is distinguished by a uniquely progressive character that has inspired its fellow European counterparts.[2] The Dutch right-populist Party for Freedom (PVV) and its leader, Geert Wilders, have claimed to support LGBT rights and gender equality,[3] despite Wilders having become notorious for his islamophobic and exclusionary rhetoric.[4] This is a reflection of how the Dutch take pride in a supposedly tolerant and accepting society,[5] despite the many aspects of Dutch culture that suggest this is a nationalist myth. Widespread islamophobic

sentiment, the modern acceptance of racist imagery from the Netherlands' colonial era, and the continued existence of institutional discrimination against people of colour point to the the contradictions between the Dutch tolerance myth and the intolerant reality.

The emergence of tolerance as a part of Dutch national identity must be placed within the context of historical developments, beginning in the previous century. While the Netherlands has had to negotiate differences among its people since its inception,[6] the methods it has used to unite the country do not exactly correspond with the modern progressive view of tolerance. For much of the 20th century, Dutch society was marked by a pluricentric system of social organisation known as pillarisation [*verzuiling*], which almost completely divided the Dutch citizenry between the so-called pillars [*zuilen*] of Protestantism, Catholicism, social democracy, and liberalism.[7] While the era of pillarisation was marked by a degree of cooperation in the political sphere, forced by the lack of proportional dominance of any one pillar over another,[8] the typical means of negotiating the political and religious differences in Dutch society until the late 20th century was a near-total segregation of the social and cultural institutions in which members of each pillar could participate.[9] Membership within a pillar would determine the education one received, the media outlets one used, the trade union one joined, the party for which one would vote, the sort of person one would marry.[10] At their most stratified, in contrast with the more open and permissive culture we normally associate with the Netherlands today, the pillarised institutions were successful instruments of social control that dominated the lives of their members from cradle to grave.[11] Furthermore, relations between the pillars could often be fraught; in 1954, for example, Dutch Catholic bishops issued a pastoral letter that threatened excommunication for engaging with social democratic organisations.[12]

Contrary to a common narrative that places a tradition of Dutch tolerance within a long history of pragmatic religious accommodation,[13] modern Dutch ideas surrounding tolerance can be more reliably traced to an individualistic reconceptualisation of Dutch identity that had begun with the wider cultural changes that took place in Europe in the 1960s and 1970s,[14] and the effects that these had on the heavily pillarised and conformist Dutch society of the time. These changes manifested, for instance, in the electoral gains of the then newly founded social-liberal Democrats 66 (D66) in the 1967 and 1971 general elections,[15] as well as the countercultural Provo and Kabouters movements outside of the electoral sphere.[16] This liberalisation of Dutch society that resulted from the collapse of the pillars is vital to understanding the developments in Dutch immigration policy from the 1960s to the present, which in turn reflect the changing pressures on Dutch identity.

In contrast with the so-called 'repatriation' policy of the 1950s that encouraged about 300,000 Indonesians,[17] mostly of European and Eurasian origin,[18] to migrate to the Netherlands after independence and assimilate into Dutch society, integration policy in later decades would be marked by an attempt to replicate pillarisation for migrant communities.[19] The 1960s and 1970s saw an influx of workers from Turkey and Morocco by invitation of the Dutch government, on the presumption, shared on both sides, that their residence would be temporary.[20] On this basis, and despite the fact that the boundaries between the traditional pillars were rapidly dissolving throughout this period, the Dutch authorities actively encouraged the formation of community-specific institutions and the retention of cultural identities.[21] However, as it became clear that Turkish and Moroccan migrants would not be in a position to return to their home countries, and following a migration of (what then constituted) a quarter of the Surinamese population after full sovereignty was transferred in 1975,[22] it was gradually recognised that this approach was limiting participation in the Netherlands' supposedly liberated society. By 1990, unemployment was rife in the Turkish and Moroccan Dutch communities.[23]

Three months before the assassination of the right-wing populist Pim Fortuyn in May 2002, he gave a controversial interview to *de Volkskrant*, stating that he had no desire to, 'emancipat[e] women and gays all over again.'[24] Fortuyn was speaking in the context of his aversion to any further immigration from Turkey and Morocco, having also accused Islam of being a 'backwards culture' in the same interview.[25] He also expressed pride in the fact that the Netherlands was so tolerant that he, an openly gay man, could receive extensive grassroots support.[26] In more recent times, Wilders has employed rhetoric attacking Islam for being a 'totalitarian ideology', highlighted misogyny and homophobia in certain European Muslim communities to present a positive picture of Western culture as free and tolerant,[27] and argued for national pride as a solution to what he perceives as the 'globalist' nature of Islam.[28] Nationalistic attitudes have also found their way into the rhetoric of the conservative-liberal People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD), as seen, for example, in the open letter penned by the Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte during the 2017 general elections that listed examples of 'normal' Dutch behaviour, while also vilifying an unnamed group of people, widely interpreted as referring to immigrants,[29] who 'harass gay people, hoot at women in short skirts, or call ordinary Dutch people racists.' [30] It seems that even intolerant rhetoric in the Netherlands still manages to incorporate the concept of tolerance within articulations of Dutch identity, albeit as a means to contrast so-called 'normal' Dutch people with the supposed 'danger' posed by Islam and its adherents.

Elsewhere, we see the Dutch identity predicate itself upon the perpetuation of colonial imagery into modern times. Every year in the run up to the annual Sinterklaas celebrations in the Netherlands, when Saint Nicholas is said to arrive bearing presents for children, the country engages in a fierce debate surrounding Saint Nicholas' helper, *Zwarte Piet*. The character is commonly depicted by white people donning blackface, dressing in a manner that has been compared to that of 18th century child slaves,[31] and adopting characteristics that Dutch culture stereotypically associates with black people, even to the point of affecting a faux-Surinamese accent.[32] Controversy in recent years has emerged between those who seek to abolish this practice and those who wish to maintain what many in the Netherlands see as a national tradition, despite its colonial history.[33] The latter faction have been very keen to defend the practice, as seen by the many peculiar rationalisations of Zwarte Piet that have emerged, such as the notion that Piet is only black because he climbs down chimneys,[34] or, rather paradoxically, that the sight of men and women in blackface is in fact a sign of racial emancipation and integration.
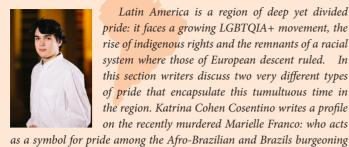
Such rationalisations suggest a reluctance among the Dutch to adequately engage with issues surrounding race, a concept that many Dutch people see as obsolete or generally irrelevant to the context of Dutch society.[36] However, alongside the discourse and imagery that has been discussed above, racism pervades the everyday life of people of colour in the Netherlands. Turkish and Moroccan Dutch people, as well as Dutch people of colour have been depicted as lazy, violent, and dishonest in popular discourse.[37] People of colour in the Netherlands face systemic disadvantages in both education and the workplace, including disproportionately harsh punitive measures that lead to greater dropout rates, underrepresentation in higher education compared to white Dutch nationals, reduced employment opportunities, and alienation in their places of work.[38] The Turkish and Moroccan Dutch communities in particular, living in an increasingly Islamophobic society,[39] have been placed at the bottom of an already highly stratified racial hierarchy.[40] Far from being an obsolete issue, racism is alive and well in the Netherlands, which poses a serious challenge to any claim that the Dutch are tolerant or progressive.

However, rather than treating the issue of integration as one requiring a bilateral response between state and minorities, policies that segregated minority communities from the rest of Dutch society were replaced with policies that placed the onus of integration onto the minorities themselves, which has proved to be counterproductive and to have further deepened racial stratification.[41,42] This paradigm began after the 1994 election of the first so-called Purple cabinet, led by the Labour Party's (PvdA) Wim Kok,[43] with a series of policies intended to encourage *allochtonen* [those from abroad] to integrate into Dutch society while still retaining their cultural identity.[44] The failure of these policies to desegregate migrant communities in the Netherlands, or to solve issues surrounding delinquency,[45] eventually helped fuel the already growing clash of civilisations narrative that encouraged divisions between the 'enlightened' West and a 'backwards' Islam;[46] this narrative was further encouraged in the Netherlands by 9/11 and the assassinations of Pim Fortuyn and the controversial film director Theo van Gogh in 2002 and 2004, respectively.[47] Successive governments after the Purple years have been more than keen to satisfy the resulting appetite for a more hardline assimilatory approach to protect Dutch society from a perceived 'threat' of Islamisation.[48] Since 2002, over the course of seven cabinets and two prime ministers, the Dutch government has implemented increasingly harsh integration measures,[49] which have been predicated on blaming immigrants for failing to take responsibility for their own integration,[50] even though this approach has failed to address the systemic racial issues that actually prevent integration into Dutch society.[51]

The implementation of assimilatory integration policies is directly relevant to questions surrounding the nature of Dutch national identity, since the assimilation demanded of minorities in modern times presumes such an identity exists. Yet even today there is still great uncertainty about what it means to be Dutch. The 2017 general election, for instance, was dominated by questions of *identiteit*, which framed much of the media discussion,[52] as well as the electoral strategies employed by the various political parties in contention.[53] A primary motivation for the introduction of more draconian integration measures was the desire to protect a modern and forward-thinking Dutch identity from the influence of an imagined backwards Islamic culture.[54] Yet it seems that the Dutch have become more unsure of themselves, not less. The need to define a tolerant Dutch identity has been met with a growing awareness of the possibility that the Dutch have not been as tolerant as they think. As the Zwarte-Piet debate demonstrates, despite support for 'keeping Zwarte Piet black' having fallen in recent years,[55] the result is a society that is not only in the midst of an identity crisis, but one that is also willing, in the true spirit of nationalism, to double down on tradition if it means not having to acknowledge the contradictions it has created for itself.

Until more white Dutch people are willing to do away with the myth and actively work to address the systemic racism that persists in the modern Netherlands, 'Dutch tolerance' will continue to be an empty phrase.

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ABRAHIM ASSAILY | REGIONAL EDITOR

Latin America is a region of deep yet divided pride: it faces a growing LGBTQIA+ movement, the rise of indigenous rights and the remnants of a racial system where those of European descent ruled. In this section writers discuss two very different types of pride that encapsulate this tumultuous time in the region. Katrina Cohen Cosentino writes a profile on the recently murdered Marielle Franco: who acts as a symbol for pride among the Afro-Brazilian and Brazils burgeoning LGBTQIA+ community. Describing who Franco was, why she was murdered, and what this murder means for the wider communities that she represented. Describing the current political climate surrounding immigration in Argentina, Lucas Agustín Reynoso, Argentinian himself, writes on the dichotomy between the treatment of white European immigration and Latin American immigration in his home country, Through this he highlights the hypocrisy of the current system, where Argentina prides itself as a nation for all immigrants, while having a strong and deeply seeded preference for European immigrants.*

Latin American Pride: Why should Argentina Welcome Immigrants?

LUCAS AUGUSTÍN REYNOSO challenges the apparent pride Argentina takes in its multicultural society.

Argentina is a nation that prides itself on being built by immigrants. Openness to migration has been a pillar of its national identity, but it does not seem to be held to the same regard today. The new wave of Latin American immigrants is perceived differently from the old European ones. While the waves of immigration of the beginning of the 20th century were mainly composed of Europeans, today the majority of immigrants are from Latin American countries: from 8.6 percent 1914 to 68.9 percent 2010.[1] In February 2018, Bolivia rejected a request from Argentina to have reciprocity in the provision of free healthcare. It concerned healthcare for non-permanent residents but became a catalyst for a wider debate on migration. Such cases are isolated, but reflect the tensions in Argentine identity, namely its pride as a Latin American nation. It expresses how the double standard in the reception of European immigrants led to an assumed homogeneous European identity, whilst the need to welcome immigrants from otherbackgrounds, especially South American, becomes a challenge for true diversity in modern Argentina.

Argentina's historical preference for white European immigration is evident in Article 25 of the Constitution, which states that 'the Federal Government shall promote European immigration'.[2] This discourse of openness was never as inclusive as it seemed, because it was biased towards constructing a white nation of European descendants rather than a true multicultural society. European immigrants and their heritage were included in school textbooks as a part of national identity, while the contributions of Latin American migrants and indigenous peoples were overlooked.[3] It is true that Argentina never formally excluded non-European expatriates, and that when large-scale immigration started in the 19th century, all immigrants enjoyed rights almost equal to naturalized Argentinians.[4] However, benefits such as subsidised travel and free stays in the Immigrants Hotel in Buenos Aires were offered to Europeans, who were the target of promotion campaigns.[5] Other groups were not culturally recognized and racial categories were eliminated from the census as they assumed a racial homogeneity and European ancestry.[6,7] This presumed homogenisation of European Argentinians created further divisions, with ethnic Bolivians becoming socially Bolivian and considered foreign, even if they are legally Argentinian.[8] The narrative slowly shifted so as to present Argentina as a country that descended from settler ships, despite the fact that Europeans never constituted the majority of immigrants.[9,10]

The contradictions in Argentina's borders policy can be seen today in relations with Latin America, especially through inertia over access to public services. In one province in Northern Argentina, Jujuy, between 5 and 7 percent of patients in hospitals are ethnically Bolivian.[11] This includes naturalised Bolivians, but also those who cross the border to take advantage of Argentine universal healthcare. In February 2018, Argentina issued a request for services reciprocity in medical services for Argentinians travelling to Bolivia. The country refused, and later explained that it had only received a general verbal proposition from the Argentine Embassy rather than an official request. After a few days the Bolivian Minister of Foreign Affairs capitulated, and allowed Argentinians to access healthcare.[12] The dispute might have been settled, but it awakened a wider public debate over migration. Concerns about migrants eroding public services spread across headlines, coupled with demands that the Bolivian State pay for its predicament.[13][14] Luis Petri, one of the vice-presidents of the Argentine Chamber of Deputies, proposed an unsuccessful bill to charge a compensation for the provision of education and healthcare to non-permanent residents in case reciprocity agreements fell through.[15] The bill would not just affect Bolivians crossing over to Jujuy; it would put immigrants across Argentina into a precarious legal status, as well as students from across Latin America doing studies.

According to a 2010 census, 4.5 percent of the population are immigrants, a miniscule number in comparison to other countries, in a striking contrast to the 1914 census, in which these numbers reached 30 percent.[16] Similarly, Petri's bill for education fees reflects a popular perception of foreigners as well as migrant students draining Argentine resources. It is true that Argentina has been an attractive destination for international students, especially for Latin Americans, because of free tuition, the relative ease of obtaining a visa paired with a work permit, as well as its lack of admission requirements for public universities.[17] But even as these numbers are rising, international students represent only 2.8 percent of all students in public universities.[18] Framed as a problem, the number of international students actually only represent a small proportion, even less so in primary and secondary education (1.6 percent and 1.9 percent respectively).[19] The Bolivian case also tried to magnify a problem that was non-existent or generally neither representative nor relevant. Moreover, few Argentinians would benefit from reciprocity since most travel with travel insurance. Granovski remarked that the dispute led to an 'unfair and useless humiliation of Bolivia'.[20] It should be noted that Bolivia expressed a sentiment of disappointment through its consul in Jujuy, commenting on 'how sad it was that a State that always had a humanitarian orientation does not see now in the same way the situation of immigrants'.[21]

The discourse that arose is based on an inherent double standard towards Latin Americans and Europeans.[22][23] Europeams were portrayed as 'hard working' and contributed to progressing the country into a civilized nation. In contrast, today's immigrants are labeled as criminals, blamed for the lack of jobs and generally considered an obstacle to development.[24] Even if European immigrants came mostly bare-handed, Latin Americans are the ones that have been associated with economic opportunism, social malaise and 'aimless immigration', especially at

times of crisis.[25] [26] Grimson explains that they started to be used as a scapegoat by the government in the 1990s, to justify unemployment and crime, becoming a key issue when they were previously been – although partially – protected by cultural homogeneity.[27] The 1990s saw a fast-rising number of detained immigrants.[28] Last year, President Macri signed a decree to deport foreigners with 'criminal convictions' and to restrict their access as a way to fight crime.[29] The year before that, Miguel Ángel Pichetto, a prominent senator, asked 'how much more misery could misery take' in reference to Argentina's problems of 'the culture of equality', calling for Argentinians 'to stop being dumb' in a 'world that is changing; it is a world that is closing itself'.[30] He concluded that Argentina 'incorporated all the waste' of other countries while said countries improved and benefitted.[31] Pichetto's declarations point towards the anger and frustration that many Argentinians feel regarding the political system. They are disillusioned by the social injustice and economic problems that they experience. Immigrants are magnified in public discourse as opportunists, and this feeds their anger.[32] [33] All this ignores the fact that, although Argentina has many problems, they are by no means caused by its small percentage of immigrants. Immigrants suffer from economic hardships too, and contribute to the construction of the country, as did the European immigrants in the past.

This attitude does not mean that there is not a degree of openness in national laws, which justifies the Argentinian sense of pride in a history of immigration. The Constitution of Argentina states in its preamble that it is open to 'all men in the world that want to live in Argentine soil' and Article 20 establishes that foreigners 'enjoy in all the territory of the nation the same civil rights as an Argentinian citizen'.[34] Moreover, although charging people from other countries for education and healthcare is discussed, it remains free for all, regardless of nationality. In this, Argentina is somewhat of a rare case, and the lack of reciprocity from other countries can lead to animosity.

Further supporting this is a poll conducted by the Argentine University of Enterprise showing that 70 percent of Argentinians are in favour of foreigners having free access to education and healthcare (although that number is reduced to 50 percent in Buenos Aires).[35] Moreover, when asked about the image of immigrants, opinion was split, with 60 percent viewing immigrants positively, and 30 percent negatively. Nevertheless, only 50 percent of Argentinians view immigrants as a group 'strengthening Argentina, with work and knowledge'.[36] Around 40 percent view them as a 'burden, taking our jobs, education and housing'. Moreover, half of Argentinians want fewer immigrants and 65 percent said that there was discrimination against immigrants, while 66 percent did not consider immigrants to be a threat to national culture.[37] These numbers show a majority that supports immigrants, and this is reflected by the public condemnation of Pichetto's remarks by politicians across the political spectrum.[38] However, it is still surprising that a section of the population in a nation founded by immigrants can identify with Pichetto's sentiments. Even if isolated, these voices are concerning because they express xenophobic elements that are present in Argentine society. Argentinians must remember that the culture of equality that Pichetto criticises is in fact a source of Argentine pride, and must therefore be maintained regardless of the changing world.

Argentinian writer Julio Cortázar once explained how he was happy to be Argentinian, but that, above all, 'he was a Latin American', which is a condition he only discovered while living in Europe.[39] [40] He noted how 'many Argentinians would be angry' about this ascribed identity, and that comment represents the struggle to reconcile with Argentinians with parts of their Latin American identity. Some parts of Argentine society do not fully recognize other Latin American countries as brothers and believe to be closer to Europe instead.[41] It relates to Europeans being constructed as different to and better than Latin Americans. The diplomatic incident with Bolivia represents an enduring immigration problem, which is a symbol of the wider identity struggle. Argentina has a responsibility to welcome more Latin American immigrants if it is to maintain pride in its history as a melting pot nation with a past of openness. Argentinians must remember that many of their ancestors were immigrants as well.

The national identity needs to consolidate its Latin American pride because it is a nation that shares more than 200 years of common ancestry of struggle and movements with the continent, as well as common problems in the contemporary world. When the controversy with Bolivia was resolved, Bolivian President Evo Morales said that the 'Argentinian brother had all reason in asking for the same treatment' and tweeted: 'I want to tell our Argentinian brothers not to worry, we are the Great Fatherland, the brothers and sisters that live in Bolivia have the same rights as any Bolivian citizen'.[42] [43] That brotherhood must be strengthened and immigrants ought to be welcomed. The Migrations Law of 2003 approved during the Kirchner government gave protection to undocumented migrants and facilitated immigration from neighbouring countries. It made it easier for immigrants to formalize their stay, and also recognized the right to free education and social services.[44] In 2007 Argentina also became the first 'receiving state' to sign the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. Polls now show major acceptance of immigrants compared to the 1990s. Grimson remarks that the 2001 crisis that led to Argentinians to emigrate made Argentinians see the causes of hardship more visibly and that immigrants could no longer be used as scapegoats. Ko notes how Argentina is now becoming a country that sees itself as 'pluricultural' and starts to embrace a diversity that was previously hidden. Diversity is now seen as part of progress and a 'Latin Americanist position' is slowly replacing 'exceptionalism' within the region.[48]

Achievements exist and are a reason for pride. However, the public discourse regarding issues such as the controversy with Bolivia serve as a reminder that Argentina still has to genuinely consolidate its pride of being a nation open to immigrants. Immigrants have always been welcomed, but now that welcome must be expanded to include all groups. Pride is a positive feeling, but it also involves the responsibility to uphold one's principles. It is important not to let political controversies, such as the Bolivian incident, keep Argentina from embracing an inclusive Latin American identity.

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Profile: Marielle Franco - Marielle Presente

KATRINA COHEN COSENTINO pays tribute to Councilwoman Marielle Franco, remembered today for her dedication to fighting for human rights in Brazil.

Marielle Franco was, and continues to be, the embodiment of black female pride in Brazil. Born and raised in the Mare, one of Rio de Janeiro's largest favelas, Councilwoman Franco, who was murdered in March 2018, dedicated her life to fighting for human rights.[1] Her identity and experience as a single mother and black LGBTQ+ (Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Trans, Queers) woman from a background similar to that of those she sought to protect was the foundation of

her political platform. Today, she is remembered and celebrated for her strength and passion in seeking to empower young women from impoverished neighbourhoods to dream big and seek change, rather than conforming to entrenched inequality and institutional discrimination in Brazil.

Franco challenged President Michel Temer and the current Brazilian government's decision to allow military forces to enter the favelas in order to control organized crime. As Franco suspected, this had opposite results, as violence increased at the hands of armed forces. Days before she was murdered, referring to military violence, Franco tweeted: 'How many more will have to die for this war to end?'[2]

On Wednesday, 14 March 2018, Marielle Franco was killed along with her driver while returning from an event aimed at empowering young black women, 'Jovens Negras Movendo Estruturas' (Young Black Women Moving Structures).[3] Her death sent a shockwave through communities worldwide. The next day, the front page of *The Washington Post* read: 'From Rio official to global symbol'.[4] Black, LGBTQ+, and from one of Rio's largest favelas, the odds were always against her, but this did not stop her. In 2016 she was elected to the City Council, the only black woman (and one of seven women total) of the 51 seat Council.[5] 'She represented hope for so many women who never felt like they had a voice', said Ilona Szabó, executive director of Igarapé Institute for public safety policies.[6]

Her murder sought to send a clear message to those fighting against the established authorities in Brazil. Marielle was an outspoken critic of police brutality in the favelas, and only a few weeks before her murder she was appointed Head of a commission in charge of monitoring police and military intervention in the favelas.[7] Many cases of police brutality in these areas are brushed aside, if not completely ignored, as the lines between victim and criminal are blurred: victims are seen as either criminals or killed by police in self-defence.[8] The bullets used to kill her and her driver were from a batch bought by the federal police in 2006, and were also a match for a massacre in Sao Paulo in 2015.[9] On Sunday, 8 April 2018 a month after Marielle's murder, another community activist, Carlos Alexandre Pereira, was found murdered in his car in Rio.[10] Two days prior to being killed, a councilman with whom Pereira had been working had spoken to investigators regarding a lead in the Councilwoman's case.[11]

Marielle's death is not an isolated event, not in a nation in which authorities resolve internal conflicts through violence— the same way as they approach the favelas. Yet her murder stands out for a different reason. She spoke out on behalf of a majority that has been silenced and disenfranchised for too long by a racist and elitist minority. Marielle Franco represented the nearly 50% *mulatto* or mixed race, and black population largely excluded from a government led by white politicians – according to estimations from 2010.[12] The Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre put forward the concept of 'racial democracy' in the 1930s, arguing that racial discrimination in Brazil was more moderate than in other countries, but this seems difficult to believe given that the city council is significantly whiter than the electorate, and there are significantly higher crime rates for people identifying as either black or *mulatto.[13]* This theory, though developed in comparison to other societies and over sixty years ago, gives the illusion Brazil seems to represent an ideal when it comes to racial equality, but this is not the case.

Black women constitute over 25 percent of the Brazilian population and also represent the group most likely to be victims of crime in the country.[14] Official statistics show that six out of ten women murdered by the police are black, and that, between 2011 and 2013, 64 percent of all women murdered were black.[15] This percentage is rapidly increasing. A reliable source—the Mapa da Violencia 2015 (Violence Map) developed by UNESCO, Flacso (Latin American Social Sciences Institute) and the Brazilian government—indicates that murder reports of black women in

Brazil rose by 54.2 percent between 2003 and 2013.[16] Brazil also has the highest rate of transgender-related murders, approximately 16.4 percent higher than any other country.[17] Marielle defended the community she embodied, a community that is continuously discriminated against, subjected to violence, and pushed aside by a government that does not seem to care enough to seek positive change.

The media coverage of violence on the favelas, pitting black against white and police against criminals, only increases the stigmatisation of the favela's residents. Nathalie Jimenez argues that '[t]he sensationalist coverage of violence in the favelas and the interests it meets could help create a sustainable media campaign which perpetuates the idea that the problem is not within the country's institutions but found outside of them. Often, in the words of Franco, this problem has a "color, social class, and territory"'.[18] It becomes increasingly apparent that the media is acting in line with the governing institutions. In the months following Marielle's murder, little to no advances have been made in the investigation, and coverage of her death has begun to fade away. Social media, on the other hand, has been used in the days following the murder to pay homage to her and focus attention on the injustice of her death.

Marielle Franco worked to pave the way for other young women to achieve their dreams. The reactions to her murder serve as evidence that, though her life was cut short, she leaves behind a powerful message for women around the world. Tens of thousands protested her death in cities worldwide.[19] Her name was mentioned in 3 million tweets across 54 countries in the days following her death.[20] In Brazil, the protests brought women of all ages together in Marielle's name, mourning her death while celebrating her strength and achievements. She was proud of her identity, city and country, and will inspire future generations to continue fighting for equal rights, equal representation, and equal protection under the law. The embodiment of pride, she will remain an exemplary symbol of black female pride for young girls everywhere.

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Identity exists within our world as a social construct, and in no place is that more apparent than in the Middle East, a region vivisected by imperial and colonial powers without regard to the populations that lived there. Oliva Nolan profiles the resurgence of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP) and their deployment of a Pan-Syrian ideology. In rejecting the boundaries imposed on the region the SSNP looks to resurrect a common regional identity in order to erode divisions instituted by Sykes-Picot and sectarianism. Loes Ansems addresses the issues lurking within Jordanian national identity, as the gap between Transjordanians and Palestinian Jordanians continues to be

heightened and manipulated for political purposes. The current King of Jordan faces the task of bridging this gap in order to foster a national pride which revolves around the role of the monarchy, but is this a tenable basis for identity? Noura Chalati examines the central role women play in identity construction in the Democratic Federation of Northern Syria, Rojava. The status of women has been held up by the Kurdish Democratic Union Party (PYD) as a contrast to the patriarchal structures imposed by the Syrian regime and the Islamic State, in addition to presenting a way in which all communities, regardless of ethnicity or religion can participate in the national project. Yet, this presentation of women, muddled together with Western fetishisation of 'fighting heroines', does not present a clear picture of the road ahead for women in Rojava.

Embracing Pan-Syrian Ideology in the Levant

OLIVIA NOLAN explains how Pan-Syrianism is gaining support in a region divided by years of conflict.

Pan-Syrian nationalism, or Pan-Syrianism, is an ideology that arose during the al-Nahda period of Middle Eastern history, remembered as a time of cultural and intellectual creation, modernisation, and reformation in the late 19th century.[1] Pan-Syrianism, referring to nationalism seeking to unite the territories of Palestine, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria and Iraq, is now becoming an increasingly popular ideology for Syrians and Lebanese due to the political manoeuvres of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP), in addition to the founding tenets of the ideology, such as anti-imperialism and secular nationalism.[2] While the SSNP began as a niche party of intellectuals who aligned themselves with the fascist movement in the 1930s,[3] they have risen to greater prominence in recent years.[4] This is due to their success in capitalising on the political chaos that has arisen in Syria and Lebanon because of the Syrian Civil War and border infractions by the State of Israel.[5] Their rise in popularity can be traced to a number of factors, namely the rise of anti-imperialist sentiment and the increased support for secular nationalism throughout the region, as well as their military defence of both Lebanon and Syria against encroaching forces.[6] The strengthening of the SSNP proves that the ideology of Pan-Syrian nationalism still holds a prominent place of hope for a better future in the heart of the Levant.

One of the reasons Pan-Syrian nationalism has seen an increase in support recently is its strong stance on anti-imperialism, specifically towards Western European countries, the United States, and the State of Israel.[7] Anti-imperialism was one of the founding principles of the SSNP and is maintained as one of their central tenets to this day.[8] Modern Pan-Syrianism bases its ideology on the idea that the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel artificially created borders between the states of Greater Syria and Iraq.[9] The Sykes-Picot Agreement was a secret negotiation for territory between Britain and France during World War I, which resulted in the division of what was Greater Syria into the individual territories of Palestine, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria, and the division of Iraq into Iraq and Kuwait.[10] These new territories were to be ruled over by the governments of Britain and France as colonial holdings and spheres of influence.[11]

Similarly, the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel was a deal made between the World Zionist Organisation (WZO) and the British government to hand over the land known as Palestine to the WZO in order to form the State of Israel upon the release of Palestine

from the British Mandate.[12] Pan-Syrianists see these agreements as illegitimate claims to Middle Eastern territory by foreign imperialist powers, and use these agreements as motivation for their anti-imperialist sentiment.[13] In recent decades the actions of Britain, the United States, and other member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) have interfered in the politics of Middle Eastern countries, as well as supported Israel in border conflicts with Lebanon and the Palestinian territories. This has only strengthened the anti-imperialism of the SSNP and those who support the re-formation of Greater Syria.[14]

Another way in which the ideology of Pan-Syrianism, and the politics of the SSNP, have garnered popularity in recent years is the increase in support for the SSNP's brand of secular nationalism.[15] The Syrian Civil War is a heavily sectarian conflict, fought predominantly between the Shi'ite Ba'athist Party forces and various Sunni rebel groups such as the Free Syrian Army (FSA), al-Nusra, al-Qaeda, and Daesh.[16] Meanwhile, in Lebanon, the sectarian government, where all seats and positions are designated based on religious affiliation, is weakening in influence, as the Shi'ite militia group Hezbollah grows in power and popularity daily.[17] Thus, a secular brand of nationalism for a Greater Syria is becoming an increasingly popular option for Syrians and Lebanese who seek an end to the various sectarian religious conflicts throughout the region, especially for those who are members of religious minorities fearing persecution if the rebel groups succeed in establishing a Sunni government in Syria.[18]

Adonis Nusr, a former leading member of the armed militia wing of the SSNP, The Eagles of the Whirlwind,[19] characterised the SSNP's vision of a Greater Syria by describing the party's views on sectarianism. 'It is not [just] a party of minorities,' he claimed, 'but a party for all Syrians, because it is built on Syrian nationalism, not on sects, or ethnicity, or language.'[20] The principle of secularism in the Pan-Syrian ideology can be traced back to its inception in the late 19th century by Lebanese scholar Batrus al-Bustani.[21] Al-Bustani believed the best way to unify, strengthen and stabilise the region of Greater Syria was to replace religious sectarianism with secular nationalism, and is quoted as saying that 'love of the homeland is itself a matter of faith.'[22] This idea has been embraced in recent years among modern supporters of pan-Syrianism, who wish to see an end to the violence and chaos of the Syrian Civil War, and other such conflicts caused by religious sectarianism throughout the Levant region.[23]

That is not to say, however, that the SSNP members themselves have not engaged in violence of their own –[24] they have successfully used the militarism of their armed wing, the Eagles of the Whirlwind, to gain popularity for themselves and their pan-nationalist cause.[25] The Eagles of the Whirlwind has many members from both Syria and Lebanon[26] and they work on operations to defend territory in both of these countries from encroaching forces, such as Israel in Lebanon, and the rebel groups in the Syrian Civil War.[27] As they work to defend both Lebanon and Syria,

they are seen as an example of how pan-Syrianism can exist even within a time of immense upheaval and violence. The SSNP and the Eagles hold a strong presence in the politics and military defence of both Lebanon and Syria, fighting alongside Hezbollah to defend against Israeli border conflicts in Lebanon,[28] and alongside the Ba'athist-controlled Syrian Armed Forces to defend Syrian territory against rebel attacks.[29]

Nusr was a Lebanese citizen, and fought and died in Syria defending the Homs desert from al-Nusra attacks, along with many other Lebanese recruits who fought to defend Syrian territory.[30] Meanwhile, Syrian citizens are equally deployed in Lebanon, such as an anonymous member of the Eagles of Syrian descent, who, while deployed in Beirut, told Foreign Policy that it was his duty 'to participate and protect the resistance [against Israel] […] our fight is to keep Syria whole.'[31] The military action the SSNP has taken to defend Syria and Lebanon against enemy forces has proven the party's commitment to pan-Syrianism in the eyes of anti-rebel Syrians and anti-Israel Lebanese, who anxiously seek an alternative that might successfully stabilise their homeland.[32]

The sectarianism, imperialism, and violence that have divided the Middle East into smaller and smaller regions and factions since the turn of the 20th century has cost its people more than can ever be recovered. Nowhere is this truer than in the Levant region, where the Syrian Civil War has destabilised and dilapidated parts of Lebanon and Syria. While the final solution to this state of affairs may not be complete reunification of the region, it is evident that many Syrians and Lebanese are turning to the ideology of pan-Syrian nationalism, and its supporting party the SSNP, as an option that may help turn the tide of Syrian society and politics in a new direction.[33] Through advertising the pan-Syrian ideology as irredentist, secularly nationalist, and anti-imperialist, the SSNP has gained a great deal of support during the recent years of the Syrian Civil War, as they work to spread a new kind of pride amongst the Syrian people, who are anxious for peace and stability.

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The Creation of Jordanian Identity

LOES ANSEMS explains how the social exclusion of Palestinian Jordanians consolidates both the Jordanian national identity and the monarchy.

Since the creation of the state of Transjordan in the year 1921, and the later creation of the independent state of Jordan in the year 1946, the country has had to overcome many crises.[1] The geographical location itself has made the country the centre of many conflicts. As the neighbour of Syria, Iraq, Israel, and Palestine, Jordan has been constantly influenced by the politics of these countries. In this context, the current King of Jordan, Abdullah II, is continuously looking for creative ways to consolidate national unity in a country whose foundations have been so divided, while preserving the central position of the monarchy within it.[2] Out of this struggle to define a Jordanian identity, the large Palestinian community in the country has served as a convenient 'Other,' against which comparisons can serve as the basis for a more unified national identity.[3] This article will reflect on the creation of the Jordanian identity and the process of 'Othering' still going on in current-day Jordan.

The geographical area currently known as Jordan has not always been referred to as Jordan or Transjordan. Over the years, many foreign powers made a claim to this land and its people. The boundaries used today were only put into place about a century ago, when the Ottoman Empire fell and the British created the mandate of the Emirate of Transjordan in 1921.[4] The Hashemite royal family of the Hijaz, Saudi-Arabia, was put into power by the British, as a reward for the successfully waging war against the Ottomans.[5]

To create national unity, the King of this new country was faced with the challenge of constructing a true Jordanian identity. To do so, the King created alliances with the existing tribes of Jordan.[6] However, this was not a smooth process: the King had a difficult time integrating all the different tribal groups into one state, under one authority.[7] Eventually, the King secured their affiliation by offering the tribes positions in the national army, and employment in the emerging civil service.[8] This coalition still plays a role in the divide between Transjordanians and Palestinian Jordanians in contemporary Jordan, since Palestinian Jordanians were not included in the original arrangement.

Section 1, Article 3 of Jordan's Nationality Law of 1954 states that the Jordanian is:

1. Anyone who received Jordanian nationality or a Jordanian passport, according to Jordanian Nationality Law of 1928 and its amendments, and this law of 1954.

2. Anyone who carried Palestinian nationality other than Jews before 15 May 1948 and resided permanently in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan from 20 Dec. 1949 through 16 Feb. 1954.

3. One born to a father with Jordanian nationality.[9]

In addition to this description from the Nationality Law, Brand describes 4 basic elements of the official state version of the Jordanian identity:[10] (1) it legitimises the kingdom, linking the Hashemite's lineage back to Prophet Muhammad, (2) it is committed to an expression of Arabism, (3) it is a commitment to Palestine and (4) it is a unity of two peoples: the Palestinians and the Transjordanians, as two branches of the same family.[11] As argued before and as seen in this conceptualisation of the Jordanian identity, Jordan has never had the opportunity to form an identity on its own and can therefore be seen as a bi-national country.[12] Although this official description of the Jordanian identity hints to an inclusive and bi-national nature of citizenship, this is not the reality which exists in Jordan today.

On the ground, a divide between Transjordanians and Palestinian Jordanians is visible, in areas such as employment and education.[13] This can be explained through combining the theory of the 'Imagined Community' by Anderson,[14] the concept of 'Othering,'[15] and the 'Narcissism of Minor Differences'.[16] Like many nation-states, Jordan is an 'invented state', filled with recently developed traditions. The creation of national identity is also built upon traditions that were fabricated to support national unity. King Abdullah, the first Jordanian King, and his alliance with the Bedouin Tribes, chose to use the tribes' cultural heritage in the creation of the national story and community.[17] This story was used in the early years of the state to create a comradeship amongst all Transjordanians. With this he aimed to construct the nation as 'an imagined political community.'[18]

The story of Jordan, however, was complicated by the deep connection with the struggle for an independent Palestine. During the period known as Al-Nakba in 1948, or 'The Catastrophe' in English, a vast majority of refugees fleeing Palestine settled in Jordan.[19] Between 1948 and 1967, the West Bank of Palestine was annexed by Jordan, and Palestinians there were afforded full citizenship rights.[20] As previously noted, the commitment of Jordan to Palestine is considered one of the pillars on which Jordanian identity is built.[21] However, the comradeship that is supposed to work for all of its citizens, became a story of exclusion for Palestinian Jordanians.[22] The so-called 'melting pot' of nationalities shows many cracks when looking beyond the ideal supported by

the King. On the ground a clear process of 'Othering' is seen, and the comment that 'the Jordanian is the one who is not Palestinian' – expressed by a Transjordanian journalist – is not unique.[23] Palestinian Jordanians are increasingly defined in terms of disloyalty, and in relation to their right and duty to return to their 'lands and homes.'[24] They are seen as 'unwelcome interlopers who bring troubles from next door.'[25] By defining the Palestinian Jordanian as the other, the formation of a Jordanian national self becomes clearer.[26] Moreover, the differences between the tribes no longer play a role as tribes unify in the 'face of the Palestinian Jordanian "Other."'[27]

Why is it Palestinians that are being projected as the other? Firstly, it is worth noting that identities do not emerge in isolation; rather identity 'crucially depends on [the] dialogical relation with others.'[28] Secondly, it is precisely the perceived similarity between Palestinians and Transjordanians, due to the way in which Jordan has historically highlighted Arabism, and the deep ties between Jordan and Palestine,[29] that makes Palestinians the perfect candidate to form the 'Other.' As Blok suggests, 'the narcissism of minor differences manifests itself in the emphasis on and exaggeration of subtle distinctions vis-à-vis others with whom there are many similarities.'[30] What is closest, eventually also forms the biggest threat.

The threat that Palestinian Jordanians present to Jordanians has everything to do with the weak structure of the nation-state. Fear plays a big role in this equation: Transjordanians fear that the rhetoric of 'Jordan is Palestine' will return, that the Jordanian identity will disappear for good, and that the government will completely abandon them in their quest for better economic opportunities.[31 32 33 34] This fear is only growing with the increasing number of Palestinians in Jordan, and the widening gap between Transjordanians and Palestinian Jordanians on the job market.[35] Whereas Transjordanians – because of their alliance with the King – are over-represented in the civil service and politics, Palestinians are seen as better businessmen, with overflowing wealth.[36] Moreover, there is a 'general perception amongst Transjordanians that the Palestinian upper and middle classes […] are engaging in a nation-class narrative of superiority over Transjordanians.'[37]

Though the discourse on Jordanian identity by both the King and those in Jordanian society has been made clear, it is still necessary to join these conflicting views together. Time after time the King talks about the Jordanian society in terms of 'unity in diversity,' and by using slogans such as 'We are All Jordan' and 'Jordan First,' but at the same time there is a hostile division between Transjordanians and Palestinian Jordanians.[38]

Although the two discourses seem to be conflicting, they are actually part of a larger strategy of the Jordanian King. The regime promotes a form of 'civic nationalism' based on the unifying force of the monarchy.[39] This civic nationalism points towards a nationhood defined by a common citizenship. However, this is exactly the problem in Jordan: the two groups do not share the same requirements for Jordanian citizenship. Transjordanians benefit from the concept of 'Belonging,' while Palestinian Jordanians have the impossible task of proving their loyalty to the nation.[40] By sustaining the opposition between the Transjordanians and the Palestinian Jordanians, the King can enter the picture as a bridge between them. Therefore, the opposition between the two groups is a blessing in disguise for the monarchy.

One other way to view this is the 'divide and conquer' tactic. In this perspective, the King is not only the bridge between the two groups, but forms a direct barrier between them. Though the regime talks about national unity, it uses the strategy of divide and rule, and 'opens fissures in response to any opposition.'[41] Bustani discusses the regime as an autocracy, and shows how the Jordanian Constitution puts the king in the middle of the political system, without making him liable and responsible.[42] The state-sponsored identity divisions results in the position of political authority being 'both mediator for all and guarantor for each of the struggling fragments.'[43]

Although the Jordanian identity is often portrayed as one of inclusion, in reality this identity is exclusive for Palestinian Jordanians. Through looking at the position of the King in the system, it can be concluded that Palestinian Jordanians are a logical 'Other,' as they form both allies, and a threats, to Transjordanians. The King is the bridge-builder in between them, which is vital for the continuation of the monarchy, and the maintenance of a perceived national unity. Yet, the divide between these two groups is only growing, due to the immense pressure the country faces in the economy, and the refugee crisis caused by the ongoing Syrian Civil War. Perhaps national unity could be achieved if there were different 'Other' to unite the Jordanians as a whole, which might, in the future, be represented by the growing Syrian refugee population in the country. However, by changing the standards on which this delicate matter of national identity and pride rests, the Jordanian King might undermine his ability to act as the bridge-builder.

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Women as the Standard-bearers of National Identity in Rojava

NOURA CHALATI reflects on the central place of women in the construction of national identity in Rojava.

The development of a new state or of new governance structures is always accompanied by the building of a new identity that serves as legitimisation to rule. The centrality of women's political and military representation in the Democratic Federation of Northern Syria, Rojava, raises the question of women's role in the Democratic Union Party's (PYD) construction of a collective identity.[1] The PYD, closely related to the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) in Turkey, has faced oppression within a dominantly Arab nation-state, which has denied their minority rights and aspirations. The PYD has pursued, and still pursues, political and armed struggle for autonomy and independence, and has built effective governance structures during the Syrian War.[2] The war setting in Northern Syria is very complex with various actors fighting for power, such as Islamic State (IS), Jihadist and other rebel groups financed by Turkey and the Syrian regime militias. Turkey recently launched an offensive against PYD territories in Afrin in an attempt to prevent growing Kurdish influence in the region.[3] Despite this hostile environment the PYD does not only build on women as boundary markers of their group's identity, while allowing for the centrality of women in the governance project, but their party's ideology directly demands it. Therefore, women actively take part in forming the identity and society, as well as being an important part of the PYD themselves. This article will explore the formation of identity, and how the Kurdish project being carried out by the PYD centres on women in identity construction.

National identity is the main political form of collective identity, which defines a group by distinguishing it from others.[4] Whereas the desire for a nation-state is not a prerequisite for national identity, Anthony Smith points out that national identity is needed to construct a

nation. He names five central elements of national identity:

'an historic territory, or homeland, common myths and historical memories, a common, mass public culture, common legal rights and duties for all members [and] a common economy with territorial mobility for members.'[5]

National identity is influenced by the formation process of the nation; thus, it is dependent of the type and understanding of the nation.[6] Benedict Anderson perceives the nation as a social construct, a product of imagination with reference to cultural foundations.[7] National identity often also serves for the legitimation and support of states, its organs and borders.[8]

Even from a constructivist perspective, there is a consensus that political or cultural elites build upon existing commonalities and utilise them to create an identification offer for the collective.[9] These commonalities may be language, history, territory, culture, religion and origin. They are primordial codes that are utilised to create an emotionally comprehensible and coherent idea of the constructed identity.[10] Therefore, national symbols such as flags, statues, national holidays, currency and important people manifest the constructed identity.[11] The process of differentiating one's own group from others is especially significant in contexts of crises, wars and violence as differences with the outgroup are being emphasised and those within the ingroup neglected.[12] Identity is then presented as being fixed and unchangeable.[13] The ingroup is – consciously or unconsciously – positively depicted while the outgroup is characterised with negative features.[14]

With regard to their governing position in the Kurdish Autonomous Region, Rojava, the PYD faces the possibility and the necessity to redefine the collective identity of its inhabitants, consisting of Kurds, Arabs, Turkmens, Assyrians, Armenians and more, all present in institutions.[15] Some regions are even Arab majority territories. The PYD is the main actor in the construction of the new governance project and thereby draws extensively on the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan's ideological basis as fundament of the new society.[16] While Abdullah Öcalan states that culture represents the mindset of a society, he does not base the democratic nation on a society's culture, but on their shared mindset instead.[17] The democratic nation shall be an inclusive nation in which all ethnicities and cultural and religious groups can participate on the common ground of free will.[18] He distances himself from the wide-spread assumption that a common homeland and market, language, religion, culture and history play decisive roles in the building of a nation.[19] He rather promotes a national identity based on the shared political culture and values of stateless *democratic confederalism*.[20] This is of particular interest in the Northern Syrian reality, where different and significant religious and ethnic groups live under the PYD administration and participate in it.[21] It also means that it cannot be drawn on specific Kurdish cultural or linguistic aspects.

Women in Rojava play a role as boundary markers and as reference points for emotions towards the overall national project. The position of women in society is used to highlight the contrariness of Rojava, with the Kurdish project placed in contrast to the murderous and misogynistic IS surrounding it.[22] Members of the Women's Protection Units (YPJ), who have been fighting throughout the conflict, also distinguish themselves from the position they held in the Syrian state, in which women were suppressed due to patriarchal structures.[23] On the other hand, they equally distinguish themselves from Western feminism, which they believe is not enhancing women's freedom.[24] Western media, however, mostly includes only certain aspects of the women fighting for Rojava against IS such as their attractive and effective violent struggle for 'freedom', fascinated by this supposedly new phenomenon.[25] This misjudges the reality and deliberately drops aspects like their ideological background conflicting with Western interests in the region.[26] The threatening state of violence of the Syrian war is used to build an identity on the basis of these demarcations described above. They create a sense of unity against the brutal and discriminatory environment and establish a new pride in the advanced society associated with their identity. Identification is generally encouraged by references to famous personalities, in this case women, such as the former PYD's co-chair Asia Abdullah.[27]

In contrast to their position in many Arab countries, women in Rojava do not represent the vulnerable part of society that is in need of protection, but rather they are military fighters of their own defending their convictions against IS, other rebel groups and regime militias.[28] Currently, there are around 24,000 female fighters actively participating in the YPJ.[29] Women are present in both administrative and governing bodies, in addition to their roles in military defense (YPG/ YPJ) and internal security forces (Asayîs). They occupy important positions within party ranks and in the governing bodies because the PYD has introduced a co-chairpersonship system for men and women on the local and confederation level, regardless of their ethnic or religious background.[30] Women have to be represented in all other institutions by at least 40%.[31] This shows that women themselves are important actors in the construction of identity in the PYD project. The centrality of women in Rojava is also detectable in the introduction of a new mandatory school subject, "Jineology" or the Science of Women, which shall help create awareness for women's issues and emancipate society. [32] This is due to Öcalan's ideology that places women and their liberation at the center of the project. The PYD has created an environment in which the liberation of women is seen as a prerequisite to the success of the whole project. Öcalan understands sexism as the ideological pillar of the nation-state and perceives women as the oldest colonised group.[33] The aim of a free, thus in Öcalan's terms, democratic society can only be achieved if women are liberated.[34]

Although the PYD is dependent on the support or at least acceptance of the large part of non-Kurdish populations under its rule, this is not only true from a realistic perspective of the situation on the ground, but Öcalan's ideology also demands the inclusion and equal treatment of all other ethnic, religious and social groups. These are distinctions considered less important than the common framework of a shared mindset.[35] Therefore, in the middle of a highly sectarian conflict such as the Syrian War, women act as a bridge between the disparate groups and an identification marker. They allow for the creation of a common symbol of pride and identity for all people under the PYD rule. Additionally, while a lot of revolutions and struggles for national liberation tend to marginalise women, women are ideologically at the core of the national liberation process in Rojava as Öcalan makes their freedom a condition of a free, democratic society. Women's revolution is superordinate to the general liberation struggle and the construction of a national identity and carries its special status to the liberation struggle already in the party's ideological roots.

It will be interesting to see whether the central role taken by women in the formation of a common identity in Rojava will translate into a permanent place for them in this burgeoning society and a future Syrian state. Additionally, the future will clarify how the Western and PYD image of women as fighting heroines against IS and the patriarchal system will change once the war has ended.

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'Pride' would appear to offer immediate, and obvious, article topics for the North American section. For this issue, the writers of in the North American section have, delightfully and astutely, gone off course to assess forms of pride in North American nations that rarely receive the attention they deserve from mainstream and international media. These prides are resurgent in character and have set their focus on fundamentally altering the dominant discourse of their respective nations. In this section's profile piece, Will Francis evaluates the outsider candidate in Mexico's upcoming presidential elections, *Andrés Manuel López Obrador and his goals to radically transform civic life in Mexico. With a focus on imbuing Mexicans with pride in their nation, Obrador hopes to bring about monumental shifts in the federal government. Ewan Forrest reviews the resistance movements of First Nations peoples in Canada against interventions from the Canadian Government and large corporations upon reserve lands. A pan-First Nation identity, and mutual political support between nations, he argues, would not be possible without a pride derived from First Nations' sense of their distinctiveness from other Canadian citizens. A sense of pride, our writers show, is what drives resistance and revolution in the face of established authority.*

Profile Piece: Andrés Manuel López Obrador

WILL FRANCIS argues that Andrés Manuel López Obrador's campaign for presidency seeks to emphasise Mexican civic pride.

Modern Mexico is plagued by corruption. Endemic in its socio-political system, corruption seriously hampers development, preventing the nation of 127 million from becoming the large economic power it could be.[1] With the most important elections in its modern history being held this coming July, Mexico now has the chance to tackle the problem. The failure of its two main parties, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and the Party of National Action (PAN), to deal with corruption has created a void of dissatisfaction in Mexican politics that leftist presidential candidate Andrés Manuel López Obrador is perfectly placed to fill.[2] A more favourable political environment and a growing desire to rid Mexico of corruption give Obrador a strong chance of winning. Opinion polls put him well ahead of other candidates, at around 40 percent.[3] Obrador may or may not be the solution to corruption in Mexico, but the political engagement and discourse that follows his candidacy will be crucial in empowering Mexico to demand change.

Obrador, popularly known by his initials AMLO, is running for the Mexican Presidency for the third time. His first attempt in 2006, as the candidate for the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), came on the back of a five-year term as Mayor of Mexico City.[4] After narrowly losing by less than one percentage point, he contested the result and made accusations of vote rigging;[5] his legion of loyal supporters proclaiming him the 'legitimate president'.[6] While this cost him credibility among many voters, his refusal to conform to the establishment strengthened his support among others, making Obrador the most divisive figure in Mexican politics. With this reputation, he stood as the PRD candidate again in 2012, although his fortunes proved no different.[7] Following this second loss, AMLO created the National Regeneration Movement (MORENO) in an attempt to maintain his relevance. It is this party which has nominated him for President in 2018.[8]

A left-wing populist who speaks with undertones of economic nationalism and state intervention, Obrador's political rise conforms, in many ways, to Latin America's 'pink tide' movement. His similarity to Hugo Chávez is apparent to many, not least his political opponents, who frequently draw the comparison.[9] Obrador opposes what he sees as the neoliberalism of the PRI and PAN. Certainly, the liberalisation of trade and industry in Mexico since the 1980s has had mixed effects; regions in the north have benefitted from international investment and trade with the United States, while other regions, especially those in the

south, have not shared in this prosperity. The result is two Mexicos[10] – one of industry, high productivity, and wealth, and one of poverty, poor infrastructure, and economic stagnation. Obrador uses this inequality to frame his campaign's platform – the PRI and PAN represent those who gain from the current system, and he is the only alternative to rescue those left behind.[11] One policy area in which he has signalled disagreement is the liberalisation of the energy sector and sale of state-owned oil reserves to international companies. In 2013, President Nieto opened the sector to international investment, ending the 75-year monopoly of the state-owned oil company Mexican Petroleum (PEMEX).[12] By allowing international oil companies to enter the market, Nieto hoped that they would bring the expertise, capital, and technology that PEMEX lacked, thereby raising productivity after years of decline.[13] This, in turn, would create high skilled jobs and boost local infrastructure. In 2017, one round of investment raised \$93 billion, with Royal Dutch Shell winning nine contracts.[14] However, many are concerned about the influence of these companies and the distribution of their profits.[15] Obrador initially stated interest in reinstating PEMEX's monopoly,[16] but has since moderated his tone, suggesting instead that all contracts will be re-examined and future auctions of assets suspended.[17] This would still be a radical change, and would symbolise a departure from the current economic model, as energy reform was Nieto's flagship policy.

Not much about Obrador has changed, as a candidate, since 2006. He is twelve years older, but campaigns with the same passion. He has twice failed to convince a majority of voters that his policies are right for Mexico, yet he has held on to his positions. Obrador stands to succeed where he failed in 2006 and 2012 not because he has changed his own radical formula, but because the country he seeks to represent has changed. Numerous scandals since 2012 have raised public awareness of corruption and increased dissatisfaction with the political establishment. In Mexico, corruption is common at all levels of society.[18] Tedious, bureaucratic procedures and regulations known as tramites plague the lives of ordinary Mexicans, increasing the time it takes to pay a speeding fine or establish a business.[19] The quickest way around these tramites – indeed the quickest way to make public services like education, refuse collection, and the judiciary actually work – is to offer small bribes, which collectively amount to an estimated \$2.5 billion a year.[20] This happens because local governments, which can have weak links to central government due to poor infrastructure, are often in collusion with the police and criminal groups.[21] Public sector employees benefit from corruption and face little risk of being held accountable for it.[22] Meanwhile, corruption in the private sector, federal politics, and state-run companies is also common.[23] Corruption does significant damage to Mexico's economy and society. It perpetuates inequality, as petty bribes are disproportionately paid by the poor,[24] and imposes unnecessary costs and risks on businesses, reducing investment and growth. In 2017, the Mexican economy grew by only two

percent,[25] while China, often framed as Mexico's rival,[26] saw growth of nearly seven percent.[27] This corruption is rooted in the consolidation of power after the revolution in the early 20th century. At that time, the PRI established a one-party state under the guise of a democracy, making it unaccountable to the public. It ruled Mexico continuously from 1929 to 2000 through clientelism, offering bribes to influential constituents.[28] The Mexican government ultimately became dominated by an elite that used the public service to get rich. The public had little democratic recourse to protest this, although quick economic growth and rising living standards made tackling the issue less urgent.[29]

In 2018, Mexico's disappointing and unequal economic performance has highlighted the social costs of corruption, and the strengthening of the country's democracy gives the public the means to contest it. High profile scandals have created the impression that those at the top benefit from illicit dealings, while average citizens struggle to get by. President Nieto became embroiled in scandal in 2014 when it was revealed that his wife owned a house under the name of a construction company that had previously been awarded government contracts when Nieto was a state governor.[30] A number of PRI governors have also been implicated in scandals, three of them currently serving time in prison for corruption and several more under investigation.[31] For the 2018 election Obrador has made tackling corruption one of the key issues of his campaign. He promises to change the philosophy of public service and revise the system for awarding government contracts to extinguish corruption in the public sector,[32][33] while reinstating the government's commitment to the rule of law and civil liberties.[34] These promises are given extra credibility by Obrador's reputation as a political outsider. The PRI and PAN, on the other hand, as the established parties with well-known histories of corruption,[35] lack this credibility.

Obrador's victory is not yet certain. He is noted to have toned down some of his positions in recent months, especially in regard to Nieto's energy reforms.[36] If this costs him his reputation as a radical, he could lose much of his core support. On the other hand, his radical image is an affront to many voters, and no amount of moderation will change this. Furthermore, the political situation that currently benefits him could soon change. As it stands, the anti-Obrador vote is split between the PRI, the PAN, and Margarita Zavala, the wife of former PAN President Felipe Calderon, who decided to run as an independent after failing to secure the PAN nomination.[37] Opinion polls show that, between them, they share around 60 percent of the vote.[38] The PRI and PAN both benefit from the current system, and know that an Obrador Presidency would seriously damage their status. If the threat of an outsider can unify opposition, Obrador would struggle to win the election.

As it stands, Obrador has his chances to win the Mexican Presidency in July because Mexico is ready for political change. After years of corruption and economic stagnation, patience with the PRI and PAN is wearing thin. To retain any chance of success, these parties must recognise the changes the Mexican electorate has undergone, and change their message. With political change sweeping the rest of the world, the need for domestic change in Mexico has become more pronounced. However, not all agree with the direction that Obrador would take the country. A student at the Autonomous Technological Institute of Mexico framed the election as a choice between the corrupt status quo and an entirely new agenda that the educated know is not the answer to Mexico's problems. Whatever the result of the election, though, the change Mexico needs will come, as more and more Mexicans wish to take pride in their nation and civic institutions.

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Separate and Proud: Politics and Pride in Canada's First Nations

EWAN FORREST examines questions of identity and pride in Canada's First Nations as expressed through political separatism and resistance to outside threats, as well as investigating issues of pride and solidarity amongst indigenous women.

I dentity and pride amongst the Canadian First Nations are inseparable from the political questions faced by their communities. The distinctiveness of First Nations' political institutions, in contrast with the Canadian state, is a source of pride for many. Changes in the political landscape that appear to undermine this independence are often fiercely contested. A constant state of tension exists between First Nations, corporations and the Canadian state. Likewise, First Nations pride and current incursions into protected reserves cannot be divorced from history. At the time of writing, for instance, activists from the Sipekne'katik Mi'kmaq First Nation have set up a permanent blockade on the banks of the Shubenacadie River in Nova Scotia to prevent access to an Alton Gas natural gas storage facility, citing a 1752 treaty as a legal justification.[1,2] The intersecting issues of identity and claims for political autonomy in the First Nations must be examined with a multi-faceted approach. It is also worth discussing a less-examined issue of identity faced by First Nations peoples: the growing movement of indigenous women for equal protection under the law in cases of femicide. The term 'First Nation' carries political baggage in Canada and, as such, oughts to be clarified. It refers to those who belong to a Status Indian group as defined by the 1876 Indian Act, in contrast with non-Status Indians who have lost said status through enfranchisement and who are unable, or do not wish, to re-register.[3] The term also does not encompass the Inuit or Métis people, who are covered in separate legislation.[4] As the First Nations experienced unique conditions under the Indian Act and various treaties, in addition to their greater proximity to the non-aboriginal Canadian population, it is justifiable to analyse them separately when examining political issues of indigeneity.[5] For the purposes of this article, 'First Nations' will refer to these groups as defined by legislation, specifically; 'aboriginal' and 'indigenous' will refer to all Status, non-Status, Inuit and Métis groups; while 'Indian' will only be used in reference to specific terminology in legislation.

The intersection between pride and institutional autonomy in First Nations communities is a prime example of the politicised nature of their collective identity. The Indian Act, as well as setting the legal category of 'First Nation', also applied special legislative programmes to these groups and encouraged the large-scale development of largely self-administered reserves. While the reserve system experiences considerable problems of its own, the limited political autonomy which was enshrined in the Act became a flashpoint of political disputes between First Nations and the Canadian state. Proposals by the Pierre Trudeau government to end the 'dependency' of reserves on the federal government in 1969 involved the repeal of the Indian Act, removal of special legal status, cutbacks to the Indian Affairs Department and integration of welfare programs into the Provincial system.[7] The response from the First Nations was, unsurprisingly, hostile, and a spirited defence against what was perceived to be the enabling of cultural genocide forced the government to back down in 1971.[8]

While the agglomeration of large swathes of First Nations communities into a national reserve system undoubtedly contributed

to the growth of a broader First Nations identity, there are key structural limits to the reservations that hinder the development of local self-determination.[9] The most glaring of these limitations is the fact that the Crown, rather than the inhabitants, holds the title to all national reserves, effectively rendering them pockets of federal jurisdiction within the provincial system and preventing the inhabitants from exercising genuine political autonomy.[10] However, some moves have been made to break away from the Indian Act and establish greater political independence on some reservations. The Sechelt Reserve in British Columbia was able to successfully legislate for its own removal from the Indian Act in 1986, gaining its own land deeds and the freedom to manage themselves, resulting in economic revitalisation rarely seen on most reserves.[11] It must be said, however, that such manoeuvres risk losing the Indian Status of reserves. As such, many First Nations remain in a limbo of fiercely defending what little autonomy they have whilst being constrained by the antiquated Indian Act. This could be seen in a 1992 legal case during which Joseph Peters appealed to an external court to intervene against members of his Coast Salish people following complications from a marital dispute, which created considerable debate over the legitimacy of the Canadian legal system in practice when applied to aboriginal groups.[12] Questions over individual versus collective rights, as well as the Canadian government's jurisdiction in First Nations reserves altogether, are often contested in interactions between First Nations political institutions and those of the Canadian state. The political defence of First Nations' legal autonomy arguably functions as much as an assertion of pride and identity as it does a political manoeuvre, and as such remains integral to many First Nations today.

The defence of political institutions, autonomy and status are key points of pride in the First Nations in the 21st Century. An issue which has grown in recent years, however, and one which similarly provides salient political reasons for the assertion of First Nations identity, is the increasing and negative interaction of First Nations with large corporations. Large scale resource extraction projects such as the so-called Tar Sands zone in Alberta and Saskatchewan, through the perceived threat they pose to the natural environment and indigenous communities, have provided an opportunity for First Nations to come together in resistance and separation from the institutions of Canada.[13] Opposition to the significantly destructive Tar Sands bitumen extraction process has brought together a large number of First Nations- according to Chief Larry Nooski of Nadleh Whut'en, more than eighty First Nations in British Columbia alone have expressed total opposition.[14,15] For many First Nations, the approach of the Canadian government to the dispute has been an affirmation of the distinctiveness of their interests. Rhetoric from policy briefs has largely stressed the extraction of oil from the Tar Sands bitumen as the best social use of the land, citing an apparent need for Canada as a growing economy to contribute to the global market and expand its private oil sector.[16,17] Combined with this, a significantly limited definition of 'sustainability' adopted by extractive corporations seriously overlooks the material inequalities faced by First Nations communities and the exacerbation of these inequalities through 'sustainable' resource extraction.[18] It is perhaps unsurprising that in the face of such a threat, First Nations look to one another rather than to Canadian state authorities.

In the face of stubborn resistance by a broad coalition of First Nations and non-indigenous activists, Canadian federal authorities deployed newly formed counter-terrorism police units to the tar sands area in a move which further confirmed a fundamental separation between the Canadian state and First Nations in the eyes of the latter.[19] Such pan-First Nations solidarity and pride expressed through localised conflicts is nothing new in Canada's modern history. The 1990 Oka Crisis resulted in, arguably, one of the most iconic images of the dilemmas facing First Nations today: a masked Anishinaabe warrior facing down a Canadian soldier. The image gained national headlines after a local dispute over a golf course resulted in an armed stand-off, which lasted 78 days, between a Mohawk Warrior Society blockade and the Canadian military in Quebec.[20] While the actions of the Mohawk themselves attracted international press attention, the unconditional support they received from other First Nations in contrast to the hostility of the local police and non-aboriginal population helped cement a sense of unity between First Nations.[21] Pride in one's First Nations identity drives the movement for political autonomy. Tar Sands and Oka highlight an attitude of solidarity in resistance to adversity across the First Nations. Like the case of the Sipekne'katik Mi'kmaq, these struggles are on-going and represent loci of both communal and pan-First Nations pride.

This fostering of pride through political struggle is especially apparent within First Nations communities, and it is important for a more comprehensive analysis to not treat such communities as homogenous. Women, not only in First Nations, but in indigenous communities more generally are subject to greater disadvantages and additional political struggles in contrast with their male counterparts – not least financially, where the average indigenous woman earns roughly one third of the income of the average non-indigenous man.[22] Indigenous women also face considerable social adversities such as a disproportionate rate of disappearances and murders, many of which remain unsolved.[23] These disappearances prompted Holly Jarett, an Inuk woman and cousin of one of the victims, to start the Twitter hashtag #AmINext, which called for a national inquiry into the disappearances of indigenous women and drew international headlines.[24] This heightened sense of vulnerability in the face of intense adversity had a remarkable impact; indigenous women rallied around both their indigeneity and their womanhood to display solidarity with one another, using social media to elevate their political voices. Numerous indigenous women's associations exist throughout Canada and in many places play an increasing and active role in political decision making, especially in First Nations. The Nishnawbe Aski Nation in northern Ontario for instance, representing around 45,000 First Nations people, granted a women-only council unique, veto power in its internal political structure.[25] In particular the council had special powers over health issues, which disproportionately affect indigenous women especially on reserves.[26] The unique struggles faced by indigenous women in Canada exemplify the intersectional nature of indigenous identities in First Nation communities across North America.

Pride in being part of a First Nation in many ways revolves around a sense of distinction from the Canadian state. This distinctiveness can take the form of claims for political and legal autonomy. Pride among First Nations peoples is often inherently political. It is no coincidence that some of the most prominent manifestations of First Nations pride in recent history have been through direct political resistance to adversity, such as at Tar Sands, the Shubenacadie River or at Oka. Pride and solidarity in the face of structural challenges are even more pronounced amongst groups within First Nations, such as women, who face a multitude of social adversities in addition to those experienced as indigenous peoples. First Nations communities pride in their cultural identity continues to manifest itself as a considerable political force across the First Nations.

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For our last issue, Pride could not be a better theme. The last few years have brought about great developments for the LGBTQ community, and though it would be nice to read about its progress, we wanted to highlight issues in which pride is contentious.

Though pride usually evokes images of national unity, it can also have negative connotations and present itself in ways detrimental to society. We experience the damaging

side effects daily. Lydia DeFelice writes an excellent piece examining the role of masculinity in political legitimacy. She explores how toxic masculinity manifests itself on the world stage, by analysing the wording and rhetoric used by our male world leaders. She reminds us to be wary and reject this norm.

Sam Phillips analyses the 'earning to give' idea in charity work and argues for a structural change within the system in order to have true effective altruism. He paints a clear picture as to why charitable donations alone are ineffective and only depoliticise poverty.

This is Not the Way

SAMUEL COOPER-PHILLIPS contends that faith in aid-driven poverty reduction is misplaced and argues for structural change.

The effective altruism movement, pioneered by Peter Singer and a number of his former students, has three basic tenets: the wealthy should give to the poor, this giving should occur in the most efficient manner possible, and the wealthy should concentrate on maximising their earnings so that they can increase the amount they give charitably.[1] The last claim has been the most controversial, arguing as it does that careers as stockbrokers or venture capitalists – as long as earnings as given to charity – can do more good than lifetimes in medicine or charity work. This notion has fostered a great amount of personal pride in those who 'earn to give', as they believe that their actions can concretely end the perennial scourge of human poverty.[2] The concept of 'earning to give' has had an undoubtedly positive impact by inspiring wealthy individuals to give away large portions of their wealth to the global poor,[3] but faith in its ability to solve global poverty is misplaced. The 'earning' side of the concept fails to acknowledge that many high-salary jobs involve activities that directly or indirectly cause harm to the global poor, harms which earners are unable to redress with money. The 'giving' side of the concept fails to recognise that global poverty is caused by larger structural factors, creating systemic inequalities that cannot be solved through charitable giving alone. 'Earning to give' is not a bad way for individuals to help the global poor – it is far better than not giving – but it cannot be a solution on its own and it does not replace the need for other forms of reform and action.

Participating in the global economic system at a high level means making decisions with global repercussions, many of them negatively affecting the global poor. Many of the careers recommended by William McAskill and other advocates of 'earning to give' mean complicity, if not outright participation, in exploitative and deeply harmful corporate practices.[4] Large multinational firms take advantage of local corruption to despoil huge swathes of poor countries and export their profits to tax havens abroad,[5] while the speculation of financial firms can destabilise national economies, deepening and lengthening the poverty of millions.[6] Complicity in harms to the global poor raises two major problems for the 'earning' side of 'earning to give': the morality of causing harm in pursuit of a virtuous goal, and the ability of monetary giving to redress certain kinds of harm to the global poor. If either of these objections are accepted, then the aim of maximising earnings needs to be qualified by a requirement to not accept positions where one is complicit in harm.

The issue of complicity in harms against the global poor through work in finance, extractive industries, or other positions has been raised against effective altruism before.[7] Mr. McAskill has responded to this concern by arguing that if the earner had not accepted the harmful position, someone else would have and the harm would still have been done; therefore, the altruistic earner should accept the position because the outcome will be the same except the altruistic earner will give their salary to charity.[8] Mr. McAskill's proposition that the earner – as opposed to another less charitable candidate – accepting the position is a net positive fulfills utilitarian logic, but it does not address the fundamental immorality of causing harm. The negative obligation to not harm, found in Biblical teachings as well as the work of secular philosophers like Henry Shue, imposes more stringent moral requirements than the positive obligation to help others in need.[9] This means that the obligation to not harm the poor is more morally compelling than the obligation to help the poor, rendering 'earning to give' immoral if it involves complicity in significant harms. Causing harm also creates a moral obligation of redress,[10] meaning that even a net virtuous activity would not fulfill moral obligations if those helped were different than those harmed because the specific duty towards those harmed would remain unfulfilled. This logic would imply that it is not morally acceptable to cause harm in the process of fulfilling a positive duty, especially if the group helped is not the same as the group harmed.

The types of harms caused to the global poor by certain financiers and corporations cannot easily be calculated or redressed through monetary transfers alone, and, in some cases, redress may be impossible. This means that, even in utilitarian calculus, no amount of charitable giving can account for the harm caused. This is most obviously true for deaths, malnutrition, or sickness caused by corporate malpractice; saving another child elsewhere cannot redress these wrongs, nor can any amount of money. Similarly, environmental damage cannot be easily equated to monetary damages. The destruction of biodiversity, acceleration of climate change, and pollution of the environment cannot be reversed. These harms create a permanent impediment to the safety and economic development of the global poor by destroying the very material preconditions for wealth and economic development,[11] causing a harm to the global poor that cannot be expressed monetarily.

Even actions whose monetary cost can be calculated, like a severe economic collapse precipitated by currency speculation, involve harms beyond the ability of charitable giving to redress. While charitable giving could theoretically redress all the wealth lost in the recession and more, the movement from a self-sufficient impoverished life to dependency on charity is a significant shift in power away from the global poor; a transfer that should be recognised as a harm in its own right. This shift leaves the poor both vulnerable to reductions in charitable flows from the rich world and subject to a profound power inequality because of this dependence. Even when harms can be redressed directly and monetarily, the poor are still further disempowered by their nascent dependence on charity, a troubling consequence of 'earning to give' that can only be addressed by prioritising the prevention of harm.

Charitable giving, like the type advocated by effective altruists, cannot provide a solution to the larger issues of global poverty and global

inequality because it is based on a limited and faulty understanding of the sources of poverty. Advocates of 'earning to give' assume that poverty is a static and stable condition,[12] whereas poverty is best thought of an ongoing process in which the global poor are continuously exploited and impoverished within the global economic system. The issue of global poverty begins with the fact that wealth and resources hemorrhage from poor countries to wealthy countries, meaning the primary issue is not increasing the inflow of charitable donations to poor countries but stopping the massive outflow of wealth to rich countries. This outflow is enabled by weak regulation of global finance, allowing companies to make billions in poor countries and pay only pittance in taxes;[13] austerity conditions imposed by the IMF, forcing the world's poorest states to cut back basic services for their population so that they can repay decades-old loans;[14] and WTO regulations that open the markets of poor states to exports and prevent poor countries from protecting nascent industries, but simultaneously protect Western textile and agricultural sectors from competition.[15] Collectively, the warped trade balance between the developing world and developed world means that, in 2012, $3.3 trillion flowed from poor countries into rich countries, more than three times the total of all aid and investment from rich countries to the developing world that year.[16] For the poor to move permanently out of poverty, this massive outflow of wealth must be staunched, and that requires a reform of the global economic system.

Theoretically, money could be given to the global poor in amounts that met and exceeded current losses to wealthy countries, but this would not change the economic structure draining wealth from the poor countries, meaning that the removal of millions from poverty would be totally contingent on the continuation of this massive redistributive enterprise. Furthermore, this solution retains the power imbalance between rich and poor, leaving the global poor totally and precariously dependent on the continued generosity of the wealthy. The continued dependence of the global poor would deny them the right to self-determination, since their actions would be restricted by what resources the global rich deigned to give to them. The long and tragic histories of colonialism and imperialism catalogue the folly of letting the rich dominate a disempowered poor, and the inequalities of power created by 'earning to give' should be treated with the greatest caution. Giving to those who are perpetually robbed and disempowered should be considered a duty, not a source of pride for that unfortunately small minority that does regularly give.

To build on Peter Singer's analogy of global poverty as a pond in which a child is drowning,[17] I suggest the following changes to reflect the aggressive systemic factors causing and prolonging global poverty. In this analogy, the drowning child is not alone, but is accompanied by another child at the edge of the pond. This other child, a bully, is the one who threw the first child into the pond and occasionally pushes him underwater again. The passerby can still wade into the pond and help the drowning child, but, unless he stays there, there is no guarantee that the bully will not simply throw the child back into the pond. While saving the child is not a bad solution, it is clear that a permanent solution involves incapacitating the bully.

The idea that charitable giving alone is sufficient for solving global poverty is harmful because it depoliticises poverty. The concept of 'earning to give' does not totally disregard politics – Mr. McAskill notes that a life as a politician legislating pro-poor policies can potentially do as more good than a charitable stockbroker – but it also does not recognise the central and predominant position of politics in solving global poverty.[18] By placing charity at the core of its plan to improve the world, 'earning to give' recommends an individual and non-political solution to global poverty, despite this approach being inadequate to solve the systemic basis of the problem. The institutional guardians of the contemporary global economic order and its inequalities – the IMF, WTO, and World Bank – are already distant entities with agendas and responsibilities unclear to the layperson. The claim that 'earning to give' is sufficient to solve global poverty allows the structural inequality of the global order to remain outside the public conscious and marginalises political activism by providing the relatively simple and understandable, but hopelessly insufficient, solution of individual charity. The pride of 'making a difference' through effective altruism is based on a false image of the problem and an empty idea of their impact, out of touch with the systemic factors immiserating the world.

While 'earning to give' is undoubtedly an improvement over earning and not giving, it cannot on its own solve the poverty and inequality reproduced by the global economic system. Moreover, claiming that 'earning to give' can unilaterally solve this issue only obscures the role of structural factors in creating poverty and depoliticises what is an essentially political issue. Even if charitable giving did address more than the symptoms of global poverty, aspects of the concept would remain problematic. The proposal perpetuates the power inequalities between global rich and poor by keeping the poor dependent on the charity of the wealthy, depriving the global poor of their limited self-determination and autonomy. Additionally, the exhortation of effective altruists to maximise earnings – and thus charity – needs be modified to account for the harms caused by large corporations by prioritising the Christian obligation to first 'do no harm'. With this modification, 'earning to give' can benefit the global poor, but any pride in the idea as a panacea to global ills is deeply misplaced.

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Misplaced Pride? Masculinity in Politics

LYDIA DEFELICE raises the issue of violent masculinities in politics.

On the 22nd of March 2018, former Vice President Joe Biden referred to President Trump's infamous locker room talk, in which Trump spoke vulgarly about a woman, arguing that, had this happened in high school, he would have 'beaten the hell' out of Trump.[1] Both Trump and Biden seem to take pride in displaying their masculinity, the former by denigrating women, the latter by threatening his opponent with violence. Both statements were received positively by a portion of their audience, indicating a general legitimisation of violence in politics against both men and women. This legitimisation of violence should be examined by analysing the role of masculinity in politics.

To better understand these leaders' behaviour, it is necessary to look at gender and politics, and more specifically the role of masculinity in building political legitimacy. Gender relations have often been analysed by distinguishing men from women and examining the consequent power relations between men and women.[2] However, it is no longer sufficient to scrutinize gender dynamics in such a simple way: this would ignore many dimensions within socially constructed gender hierarchies, such as class, race, and religion within groups of men and within groups of women.[3] The intersectional character of gender inequalities

thus needs to be taken into account, in other words, masculinity and femininity must be examined as multifaceted constructs resulting from the institutionalization of gender inequalities, societal norms, and how those dynamics differ between classes, races, and regions.[4] The strict, early differentiation between powerful men and powerless women did not account for the experiences of other groups, such as those of homosexual men, to whom a lesser form of masculinity is attributed.[5] For instance, in 1998 a Malaysian politician, Anwar Ibrahim, was accused of homosexuality and spent six years in jail as a result. When his political party regained success, he was charged with sodomy.[6] His masculinity was attacked for political gain, and attacks on his sexuality were aimed at making him appear less masculine – as thus less able, in a logic similar to the Biden-Trump correspondence, who have also attacked each other's masculinity.[7] It is crucial to note that Joe Biden and Donald Trump stand on opposite ends of the political spectrum, illustrating that these types of attacks on masculinity are not restricted to a political side. Clearly, not only do male-female relations need to be examined, but so do the hierarchies created within gender categories.

This idea of dominating masculinity and a hierarchy of gender situates men who display the most acclaimed model of masculinity, hegemonic masculinity, in a superior position.[8] The term hegemonic masculinity was formed alongside the idea of emphasized femininity to acknowledge the unequal positions of men and women in a patriarchal society.[9] Hegemonic masculinity explains how the connection of a specific type of man with power and economic achievements has become the norm. These men tends to be predominantly white and heterosexual, while black men or gay men are attributed a different masculinity or even feminised and are thus less advantaged by the system. This hegemony legitimates a hierarchical relationship between men and women and among men themselves.[10] As Raewyn Connell and James Messerschmidt point out, the understanding of hegemonic masculinity should incorporate a holistic, broad comprehension of gender hierarchy and the mutual conditioning of gender dynamics.[11] It should not isolate men's studies but encompass gender dynamics as a whole to combat the notion that this is an issue of men's power over women, since it also disadvantages men.[12]

Based on this concept of hegemonic masculinity and how its socially normalized, several models of masculinities arose in new research across different countries, institutions, and cultural settings proving the complexity and relevance of masculinity.[13] This broader discussion of gender dynamics and forms of masculinity helps shed light on gender in politics, like the correspondence between Biden and Trump or the incarceration of the Malaysian politician. Furthermore, it may expose further information on how society elects its leaders and what values contribute to their choices.

President Trump displays several models of masculinity that all serve to perpetuate diverse forms of inequality, while becoming the norm. For many, Trump has a fixed 'authoritarian personality',[14] but according to Messerschmidt, this is too restrictive a definition, as his masculinity is more fluid than this would allow.[15] An authoritarian personality is one dimensional and constant, while Trump's actions can be contradictory, conflicting, unexpected, but all together constructing his 'dominating masculinity'.[16] Trump establishes himself as the alpha-male by boosting his masculinity through the subordination of other men by insulting their strength and calling them weak.[17] He has done this to Biden, as aforementioned, as well as to Marco Rubio, Jeb Bush, and John McCain.[18] Trump has even accused veterans suffering from PTSD (Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder) of being inept because they cannot handle combat.[19] Another way Trump projects his masculinity is by building himself up as a hero: he portrays himself as the saviour

of the American people by sealing the border and ridding the country of dangerous, illegal Mexican or Muslim immigrants.[20] His rhetoric, like that of many politicians, is riddled with statements such as 'I will fight for you. I will win for you' to advertise himself as a protector of American's freedom.[21] Beyond protecting the nation at home, Trump chooses not to engage in diplomacy abroad and, his foreign policy has been characterised as impulsive, reckless and overly combative.[22] Trump's masculinity extends beyond these forms and also relies on his capabilities with women as he continuously asserts his entitlement to their bodies.[23] This contradicts the previous form of masculinity as a protector of the people as several women have accused Trump of sexual assault.[24] As James Messerschmidt and Tristan Bridges conclude, recognizing these different forms of masculinity is a mechanism that reinforces and justifies inequality on a local, regional, and global level.[25]

A constructive way to break down societal norms and examine hegemonic masculinities is to examine them on three levels: local, regional and global.[26] The local level involves personal interactions, domestic life, and community life. The regional level examines gender in context to the nation-state and the political culture. The global level consists of transnational business, media, globalization, or world politics. These three levels are of course not entirely separate and influence each other. Global factors put pressures on regional and local levels, while regional masculinities are played out through local circumstances.[27] Understanding the distinction and impact of these levels helps further scrutinize gender relations.

We can examine these levels and how they interact with each other by looking at how they present themselves in different societies. For instance, Vladimir Putin relies on his Kremlin team to promote a structured image of his masculinity for political legitimation.[28] Putin's campaign team has long worked to promote Putin as a strong leader, using photos of him bare chested, shooting wild animals, even publishing articles titled 'Become Like Putin'.[29] At the national level, this is a success. It is important that the public see him as the ultimate Russian man by promoting his physique.[30] At the global level, we can see that Putin's rhetoric and of Trump's language echo each other. Moreover, both are focused on the need to protect they country from terrorism.[31] However, this is not consistent worldwide, with leaders such as Justin Trudeau embodying a less violent attitude.[32] In the U.S., it is important for leaders to be seen as family men and the First Lady is usually in the public light throughout her husband's presidency.[33] In contrast to this, Putin's family is 'conspicuously absent'.[34] While serving as a husband is not how Putin displays his heterosexuality, the sexualisation of him to the public is prominent in his publicity. Music videos were released in 2011 filming attractive females jumping and pining for the chance to engage sexually with Putin, suggesting this is what affirms a 'real man'.[35] To contrast this further, in Japan hegemonic masculinity is constructed at the regional level through the idea that men are the breadwinners for their families – 'salarymen'.[36] However, at the local level, this has resulted in Japanese men spending less time with their children and families are being characterized as 'fatherless'.[37] Masculinity is emulated in different ways based on geographical locations and societies therefore value different models of masculinity in their leaders.

Hegemony is able to function so powerfully because it appears as the natural order and has been engrained in society for so long, but hegemonic masculinity can be the result of a conscious construction.[38] Both Trump and Putin project masculinity in similar and different ways and both use it for political legitimation. When gender norms, like women pining over Putin in music videos, are used for political advancement, it validates inequality and patriarchy.[39] To encourage consistent and enduring hegemony requires mechanisms for men to monitor each

other and to intentionally subordinate women.[40] Mechanisms to achieve this exist whether it's the rejection of 'soft' options in the 'hard' world of international relations and war, violent homophobic crimes, or the teasing of young boys for being weak.[41] Making use of gender norms and sexualisation in politics reinforces the traditional boundaries of gender and that harms men and women.

These tactics and projections of masculinity clearly hold appeal to the public, seeing as the discussed politicians remain in office. As Trump and Putin hold great pride in their masculine strength and appeal, the public takes pride in having such a 'masculine' leader represent them. Despite his sexualisation of women, opinion polls after the election in 2004, demonstrate that Putin was more popular amongst women than men.[42] They found him reliable and strong. In fact, in a 2012 poll, 20 percent of women said they would marry Putin.[43] For President Trump, his approval rating, as of March 2018, is at 42 percent according to a CNN poll, which may be lower in comparison to past presidents in their first year, but that actually reflects a seven point increase from the month before.[44] Furthermore, 86 percent of Republicans approve of the job he is doing.[45]

Elin Bjarnegård argues that this hegemony is sustained because we, as a society, are accustomed to it as the norm.[46] However, as stated, hegemonic masculinity is not inherent in society or self-reproducing, it is also sustained intentionally.[47] In consequence, the study of men has to be looked at not just alongside, but in pursuit of improving the conditions of both women and men.[48] Examining the different models of masculinities and how they are projected by our leaders, whether political leaders or educational and cultural actors, will be an effective and crucial step in reshaping gender dynamics as a whole.

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