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'At Home and Abroad: Politics and Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century'

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Editors' Introduction

The articles in this special issue were initially presented as papers at the annual University of Southampton Twentieth Century Studies Postgraduate Conference in June 2016, 'At Home and Abroad: Politics and Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century'. The conference was opened by Professor Ian Talbot, Director of the Humanities Graduate School at the University of Southampton, who posed questions about how the twentieth century should be remembered. Keynote addresses were given by Associate Professor Joan Tumblety on the fascist new man in twentieth century France, and Dr Chris Prior on British knowledge and agency in 1960s Africa after the end of British rule.

The articles in this special issue address different countries and time periods, encompassing a wide range of recent postgraduate work on the twentieth century. As a whole, the collection expands our understanding of key themes in current twentieth century scholarship: nationalism, identity, gender, international relations, social and cultural hierarchies, and religion.

Tom Harper's article considers the evolution of China's foreign policy as its economic and global status developed in the twentieth century. Harper traces how China's national and cultural identity adapted to its emergence as an important agent in international politics and trade. Twentieth century nationalism is also the focus of Dr Yulia Minetova's article, which explores the nationalist beliefs of different groups in Russian society around the controversial renaming of St Petersburg in 1914. Minetova draws upon translations of Russian newspaper articles, poetry and personal diaries to argue that class and ethnicity influenced the multiple reactions to the cities nomenclature.

Khola Cheema's contribution on Sikh naming rituals in twentieth century colonial Punjab considers the intersection between nationalism and cultural identity, as well as entrenched beliefs about gender. Cheema argues that ideal femininity was constructed among the twentieth-century Sikh community around depictions of a strong, martial Sikh masculinity and that this reinforced traditional, domestic roles for Sikh women.

The remaining two articles focus on the second half of the twentieth-century. Sophie Smith assesses Jennifer Worth's memoir, *Call the Midwife.* Smith suggests that Worth creates in her autobiography an idealised image of 1950s England and argues that this glosses over the reality of tensions apparent in mid-twentieth century medical care provision.

Yegor Lanovenko's article unpicks the history of New Labour's Higher Education policy. He argues that the source material used in previous considerations of Labour's approach to the university sector has been limited and proposes that the influence of productivity and globalisation be acknowledged as influential in the formation and evolution of New Labour's approach to Higher Education policy.

For funding both the conference and the publication of this special issue, the Southampton University Postgraduate Twentieth Century Studies Committee would like to thank the Faculty of Humanities Graduate School. Finally, we would like to express great thanks to the academics who acted as reviewers.

Holly Dunbar, Alex Ferguson, Jennie Lewis and Rob Joy

Dedication

This issue of Emergence is dedicated to the memory of Clare Bakhtiar. Clare whirled into our lives when she started studying towards a Ph.D. in English and Psychiatry in 2014. She died suddenly in September 2016, but through the open-eyed power of her personality, we sometimes find it hard, despite the short time we knew her, to imagine that there had been anything before her. Her passion for literature and music, her unapologetic and articulate intersectional Left politics, her ceaseless drive to be ever better and her merciless but kind insistence that those around her (especially those blessed to be her friends) be ever better, the free and nourishing love she gave her son whom she raised as a single mum (who in his own clear-sightedness and dignity is a tribute to her), and of course, her endless capacity for wit, fun, and beer—for all these reasons and countless more besides, we are almost as sad for the loss of her as we are grateful and happy for the knowing of her.

James McGuiggan

Foreword

The articles in this special issue of *Emergence* were initially delivered at the annual University of Southampton Twentieth Century Studies Postgraduate Conference held on 17 June 2016 on the theme, 'At Home and Abroad: Politics and Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century'. The event brought together speakers from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds from the Faculty of Humanities and other Universities. The breadth of approach is reflected in this collection in terms of the range of countries and chronological periods that are encompassed. They are unified by the concerns with issues of power, representation and identity that form key areas of Twentieth Century studies.

The organising of the student-led conference and the resultant collection attests to the vibrancy of doctoral researchers in the Humanities at Southampton. It is further evidence of the way in which postgraduate student enterprise supported by the Faculty of Humanities Graduate School enhances the doctoral researcher environment within the Faculty. I was delighted as a Twentieth Century Historian to provide a keynote reflection.

This special issue of *Emergence* is not only an impressive academic achievement, but attests to the strength of collective activity and the community spirit amongst Humanities doctoral students. On behalf of my colleagues, I would like to thank firstly all the contributors; secondly the conference organisers and finally the peer-reviewers and editors of the submissions that appear in the issue.

Ian Talbot

Professor of Modern British History

Director, Faculty of Humanities Graduate School

The Return of the Emperor: Chinese Diplomacy and Identity in the Twentieth Century

Tom Harper

Introduction

Few nations have implemented as drastic a reversal of status as China, which transformed from a backward, isolated empire to one of the major powers of the present day. There has been no better reflection of China's change in status than in its ties with the United Kingdom; China's rise as a political and economic superpower turned the tables on the nation that had once dominated it. The controversy over Chinese involvement in Hinkley Point and Britain's sudden decision to approve it only serves as the latest episode of the long relationship of conflict and cooperation between China and the West.[1]

The policies followed by China's leadership have often reflected the changes in China's identity. The arguments over the creation of Chinese foreign policy claim that they are due to China's internal situation, and most scholars of China's foreign relations have often perceived China as a political actor.[2] This assumes that Chinese policies will follow the path of previous Great Powers, illustrated by John Mearsheimer's 'China's Unpeaceful Rise', which predicts a Sino-American clash.[3] China has traditionally been a cultural rather than a political actor, its borders defined by those who adhere to Chinese culture.[4] Over the course of the twentieth century, successive regimes sought to define China as a political state. What this paper seeks to argue is that Chinese identity has changed over the course of the twentieth century, going

[1] 'Hinkley Point: UK Approves Nuclear Plant Deal', *BBC News*, 15 September 2016, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-37369786 [Accessed April 1, 2017].

[2] Yong Deng, *China's Struggle for Status: The Realignment of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 229.

[3] John Mearsheimer, 'China's Unpeaceful Rise', *Current History* 105:690 (April 2006): 161.

[4] Fei-Ling Wang, 'Self- Image and Strategic Intentions: National Confidence and Political Insecurity,' in *In the Eyes of the Dragon*, eds. Yong Deng and Fei-Ling Wang (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 24.

from a political to a cultural actor, and that these changes have been reflected in the policies followed by China to the present day.

The Decline of the Qing and the Early Chinese Republic

Until the mid-nineteenth century, China was the hegemon of East Asia. Chinese imperial authority was largely derived from cultural and bureaucratic sources that China's vassals strived to emulate, most notably adopting China's writing system and the Confucian doctrine.[5] Chinese authority was governed by the tributary system (朝贡体系), under which vassal states paid tribute depending on their status in the international order (天下) where the Chinese emperor stood as the ultimate source of moral authority.[6] These concepts have undergone a revival as China under Xi Jinping's leadership looks back to the nation's past achievements to gain greater prestige.

However, the rise of the European empires shattered the Sinocentric order. In a bid to ease the trade deficit between Britain and China, British traders exported opium to China. The refusal of Qing authorities to sell this opium led to the Opium Wars.[7] China's defeat in the war resulted in irreparable damage to Chinese prestige and sparked what would later be termed as the "Century of Humiliation" (百年国耻), a period in which internal strife and the loss of territory through a series of unequal treaties devastated China. Due to these failings, China's relations with the Great Powers were fraught with suspicion and xenophobia, manifesting itself in the Boxer Rebellion against the colonial powers. Amidst the failure to reform and the

[5] Maria Hsia Chang, *Return of the Dragon: China's Wounded Nationalism* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2001), 45.
[6] Bart Dessein, 'All under Heaven and the Chinese Nation State', in *Interpreting China as a Regional and Global Power: Nationalism and Historical Consciousness in World Politics*, ed. Bart Dessein (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 66.
[7] Julia Lowell, *The Opium War: Drugs, Dreams and the Making of China* (London: Picador, 2011), 23.

conclusion of domestic disaster, in 1911 the Qing were overthrown by Sun Yat-Sen's republican Tongmenghui (同盟会), turning China from a crumbling empire into an unstable republic. These moves reflect the first steps away from China's cultural identity and towards the political dimensions of it that dominated the country's history for much of the twentieth century.

However, China's problems continued to persist. The new Kuomintang (国民党) or KMT government was beset by psychological and technological backwardness. It also held a tenuous grip over China's far-flung provinces. Many of these provinces were controlled by regional warlords, a consequence of the regional armies set up during the Taiping rebellion (太平天国运动) between 1850 and 1864 where local officials set up their own forces in the face of the ineffectual central government. This lack of centralised control haunted China for the first half of the twentieth century as the Kuomintang struggled to hold the country together.

China's Relations during the Second Sino-Japanese War

Throughout the twentieth century, China's foreign relations and identity were reflected in its fraught relations with three of the major powers: Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union. In this sense, China's foreign relations largely reflected the shift in China's image from the hegemon of East Asia to a failed state, preyed upon by warlords and imperial powers.

Except for the Chinese labour corps, China was largely absent from the First World War, but was a victim of Japanese aggression during the second. Japan was initially viewed as a potential role model for China's modernisation and a possible counter to Russian expansionism during the Russo-Japanese War; Japan's hunger for resources and status made

this impossible.[8] The legacy of the Sino-Japanese hostility continues to poison their relations, particularly in relation to Japan's revisionism of its conduct during the Second World War as illustrated by the accusations that flew around in 2005 that Japan's New History Textbook (新しい歴史教科書) played down Japanese atrocities.[9]

One of the main initial sources of support for China during the civil war and later the Japanese invasion came from the Soviet Union, which provided military assistance to nationalist China. Isolated from the world in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution, the USSR was receptive towards China, promising to revoke the unequal treaties imposed on it.[10] Soviet assistance came largely in the form of military aid, with Soviet advisors training China's Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's forces. At the same time, the USSR also assisted Chiang's domestic rival, the Communist Party (中华共产党), which the KMT were fighting at the same time as the Japanese. The Soviet embrace of the Chinese communists furthered the largely cautious relationship between Chiang's China and the USSR.

During the Second Sino-Japanese war of 1937, China's most successful diplomatic manoeuvring was with the United States. China's connections with the United States had been strong since the Sun era, but would reach their zenith under Chiang. Chiang's wife, Soong May-Ling, played an integral role in boosting Sino-American ties.[11] These successes included the increase of American military assistance and advisers to China in the light of Japanese atrocities. This period saw the birth of the "China Lobby", an association of influential

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[8] Rana Mitter, *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 133.

[9] Claudia Schneider, 'The Japanese History Textbook Controversy in East Asian Perspective', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617:1 (May 2008): 108.

[10] Zhihua Shen and Danhui Li, *After Leaning to One Side: China and its Allies in the Cold War* (Washington D.C.; Stanford, California: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, 2011), 5.

[11] Hannah Pakula, *The Last Empress: Madame Chiang Kai-shek and the Birth of Modern China* (London: Phoenix, 2010), 324.

American and Chinese officials who sought to influence American foreign policy in a way that would benefit Chiang's KMT. They would become particularly important to Sino-American interactions throughout the twentieth century. These developments in Chinese foreign policy illustrates how China shifted from the isolated empire of the Qing dynasty to being a crucial American ally.

With Japan's momentum in China gradually sapping away due to over extension and American entry into the war in the Pacific, China emerged on the victorious side. American lobbying was crucial in the ascension of the Republic of China (ROC) to permanent member status in the nascent United Nations, a move that Churchill viewed as part of an attempt to break up the British Empire.[12] With the support of both the major superpowers, it appeared that Chiang's China was on the ascent. However, the war had rendered the country fragile, loosening his grip on the country and eventually allowed the Chinese communists under Mao Zedong to seize control. China would go from being an American ally to becoming a communist enemy. Although China's turn away from the capitalist world highlights the continued influence of China's internal politics upon its diplomatic affairs, international factors were also key in shaping China's moves to create a political identity.

Revolutionary Chinese Foreign Policy

As with Europe, China became one of the fronts of the emerging struggle between capitalism and communism. It was this period that saw the most drastic changes to Chinese identity since the Xinhai Revolution of 1911, epitomised by Mao's claim that China had finally "stood up", ending the decline in China's status. Chinese foreign policy, particularly Chinese

[12] Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 389.

intervention in the Korean War on the side of North Korea, reflected this shift.[13] Chinese success in reversing the advances of UN forces displayed its strength and illustrated how China had become an enemy of the United States. Chinese intervention convinced American policymakers that China was behind the Korean War and that the intervention was part of a worldwide contagion of communism that needed to be contained. The United States then increased aid to the Republic of China in Taiwan, rendering the war a disaster for Sino-American relations.

During the Maoist era, China perceived itself as the vanguard for communist revolution in the post-colonial world. Such an aspiration advocated assistance to anti-colonial movements in Africa and Asia. The adoption of the Three Worlds Theory (三世界理论) which advocated Chinese leadership of the Third World reflected these changes. Chinese policymakers used the experience of colonialism they shared with these groups to justify Chinese leadership and further ties with the developing world, something that would become particularly important in China's post-Cold War diplomacy. In this sense, China became an ideological role model where it had once been a cultural one. This development suggests that the beginning of the communist era indicates a degree of continuity with China's previous role. While much of what rendered China a cultural role model in the past was suppressed during the Cultural Revolution of 1966 to 1976, China was now exporting the Maoist brand of an agrarian communist revolution, to the former colonies. While this indicates the continuity with China's previous role, it also highlights the moves to build a more political identity, something that came with Mao's desire to move away from the past. The pursuit of revolution was not the sole goal of Chinese foreign policy nor was it the only reflection of the continuation of the move to create a political identity.

[13] A. Doak Barnett, *China and the Major Powers in East Asia* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1977), 27.

The Quest for Recognition

If China was competing against the Soviet Union as the vanguard of international communism, it was equally in a contest with the exiled Republic of China for international recognition, including an attempt to acquire China's seat at the United Nations. At the end of the Chinese Civil War, the communist bloc recognised Mao's People's Republic of China (PRC) whilst much of the Western world continued to support Chiang's ROC, most notably the United States.

During this period, the China Lobby became a powerful voice in the prevention of American recognition of the PRC. The struggle between capitalism and communism augmented the influence of this body as well as the desire of the United States to keep the PRC out of the UN. Such moves included the cross-party committee of one million against China's admission as well as pressure upon Washington. Despite their influence, the work of the Lobby to prevent American recognition was ultimately doomed due to the shifts in American foreign policy throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

One such change came in the form of the Vietnam War. As the conflict became an expensive quagmire for the United States, its leadership sought to extract itself from the war without losing face. This escalated during the Nixon administration, which advocated a restoration of relations between the U.S. and the PRC.[14] Throughout the quest for recognition, the China Lobby worked to prevent this from happening. Ultimately, the China Lobby's objectives were overridden by the Nixon administration seeking to gradually limit American involvement in Vietnam. Due to liaisons between the American and Chinese attachés in Paris,

[14] University of Southern California US-China Institute, 'Assignment: China – The Week that Changed the World', 31 January 2016 [Accessed: http://china.usc.edu/assignment-china-week-changed-world.htm 5 March 2017].

Henry Kissinger visited the PRC in 1971, followed later by Nixon's visit the following year. Sino-American discussions eventually resulted in American recognition in 1977.

With American recognition, China became an issue for the USSR, which now had to guard against a hostile China as much as NATO. China had finally come in from the cold as well as gaining legitimacy after securing China's seat at the UN in 1971. While only a few states continue to recognise the ROC, the quest for recognition symbolised one of the goals of China's political identity. The greatest shift in China's identity came at the end of the Cold War, a move that also saw the abandonment of the goals earlier in the century for a new Chinese identity.

Post-Cold War Chinese Foreign Policy

With the demise of the Soviet Union, China saw the collapse of one of its major rivals. However, with the apparent failure of communism, this also stripped China of its raison d'être. Thus, China required a new foreign policy goal. This new objective was the pursuit of economic development initiated by Mao's successor, Deng Xiaoping. To achieve this new source of legitimacy, China needed to build relations with economically crucial states, particularly those with vast reserves of natural resources. China's previous relations with the developing world would play a crucial role in achieving this objective.[15]

This era has seen the greatest shifts in China's identity, reflected in Chinese foreign policy. This also illustrates a degree of continuity and change. China's rapid economic development gave rise to what is termed as the "Beijing Consensus" of economic development without democratic norms, something that poses a challenge for the assumptions regarding development.[16] While some have hailed the "Beijing Consensus" as a new model of

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[15] Chris Alden and Christopher Hughes, 'Harmony and Discord in China's Africa Strategy', *China Quarterly* 199 (September 2009), 569.
[16] Stefan Halper, *The Beijing Consensus: Legitimising Authoritarianism in Our Time* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 36.

development, others have criticised it for facilitating authoritarian norms. Thus, one of the main aspects of present Chinese policy is to return to its traditional role as an example for others to follow.

To achieve these goals, China pursued a strategy of cultural soft power (文化软力量) to win global hearts and minds. The utilisation of China's traditional culture reflects the shift in China's identity from a political to a cultural actor, posing itself as the successor of four thousand years of civilisation and an apparent return to the identity that China had held before the Xinhai revolution. This has also seen a revival of Confucianism, previously supressed by Mao, its terminology dominating the Chinese discourse where Maoism once stood. One of these concepts, Tianxia (天下), a reference to the old tributary system, is particularly reflective of China's present identity.[17]

In keeping with this concept, alongside the more aspirational turn of Chinese foreign policy, it also appears that China's rise has led to an attempt to reshape the present international system. Since the late 1990s, China has set up its own international institutions, whether they be military alliances in the case of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) or economic institutions such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). Scholars perceive these as an attempt to circumvent the traditional institutions and to build an anti-American bloc described by some as a new Warsaw Pact.[18] The case of the SCO illustrates the shift in Sino-Russian relations as well as the changes in the balance of power. The two former rivals have now become allies of convenience, a relationship that has gained even more traction in the crisis of Russo-American relations as well as China's return to the region of the old Silk Road in the guise of the Belt Road initiative. The Belt Road initiative is a plan to wean Chinese trade

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[17] Zhao Tingyang, 'Rethinking Empire from a Chinese Concept "All under Heaven"', *Social Identities* 12:1 (September 2006), 31.

[18] Antonia Habova, 'Silk Road Economic Belt: China's Marshall Plan, Pivot to Eurasia or China's Way of Foreign Policy', *KSI Transactions on Knowledge Society* 8:1 (March 2015), 68.

off maritime routes via the construction of a series of rail links connecting China with Western Europe. This move came to Britain with the arrival of a Chinese train, appropriately named the East Wind to Barking, carrying goods for British markets, and serving as a symbol of Chinese aspirations and the spirit of the Silk Road.

China's relations with the United States best reflects these changes. In recent years, China has emerged as a challenger to the American-led international order. Towards the end of the twentieth century, Sino-American relations became more contentious due to the Taiwan crisis over the victory of Lee Teng-hui, an advocate of Taiwan's independence from Beijing, to the Taiwanese presidency as well as the downing of an American spy plane at Hainan Island. Relations have been strained further by China's newfound confidence, leading to the potential of the two powers falling into superpower conflict. In fitting with the "return" of China, it appears that China is attempting to return to the role it had once occupied, albeit on a scale that even the previous Sons of Heaven could never imagine possible.

Conclusion: From Crumbling Empire to Superpower

China's foreign relations and diplomacy reflect how China's status has changed throughout the twentieth century, going from a crumbling empire to one of the great powers of the twenty-first century. These developments illustrate the more symbolic nature of Chinese foreign policy for much of the previous century and beyond. These changes demonstrated an attempt to turn China from a cultural to a political actor before reverting to the former in the final years of the twentieth century. Despite the radical changes of the twentieth century, elements of China's identity remained consistent, most notably the idea that China is an example for others to follow, a theme that has gained prominence in recent years. This has reflected the changes in China's present identity as China attempts to return to the role that it

once occupied centuries ago, going from a political to a cultural actor. China has largely continued its previous role as an example for others to follow, with economic development replacing communist revolution as a model to follow. These changes will have consequences for the rest of the world as China's power and influence grows. We can already see China's wider global ambitions replacing the isolationism that dogged it throughout the dying days of the Qing dynasty and into the Maoist era. Thus, China has returned to old tactics in its rise to global power status, a development reflected in Chinese diplomatic and foreign policy strategies.

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Fighting the language: reactions to the renaming of Saint Petersburg in August 1914

Yulia Minetova

In August 1914, shortly after the start of the First World War, Russian Emperor Nikolas II signed the Manifest renaming the capital of the Russian Empire *Petrograd* instead of German-sounding *Sankt Peterburg*. This was caused by public revulsion among the Russians against Germany and any symbols of German power, as Germany became the main enemy of the Russian Empire at this stage of the First World War. The present study explores the public reaction to the renaming, being a part of a larger project aiming to analyse the popular response to the outbreak of war through the poems published in Russian newspapers during the first weeks of the Great War. The study is based on the articles and poems published in the great mass-circulation newspapers such as metropolitan *Birzhevye vedomosti* or Moscow's *Vechernie izvestiia* as well as publications in small local newspapers such as *Amurskii listok* (Blagoveshchensk), *Zapadnaia zaria* (Warsaw) etc. The dates of newspaper publications, as well as all other dates in the text and references, are given by Julian calendar (used in Russia in 1914) with the dates by Gregorian calendar given in brackets.

While the capital's renaming attracted the attention of numerous newspapers, a closer study of them reveals a number of articles and poems not yet known to modern researchers. These materials should amplify the existing understanding of the public reaction, both official and unofficial, to this event. Though many researchers have dealt with this topic, there are a number of sources first presented in this article, which may clarify our understanding of the reasons and consequences of the renaming. Thus, the purpose of the article is to describe, based on the existing understanding, an updated image of the contemporaries' reactions and attitude to the event.

In 1703, Peter I founded a new fortress (which could not even be classified as a city then) on the Neva river called *Sanktpiterburch,* the Dutch name for ‘Saint Peter’s fortress’ after his patron saint, Peter.

[1] In April 1704 the first church devoted to Saints Peter and Paul was consecrated within the fortress. Since then the fortress was given the alternative name, *Petropavlovskaia,* as it is today. Only a few years later, in 1712, Peter I made the newly-founded city his capital. The documents issued in the reign of Peter I reveals over 30 variants of how the new capital’s name was spelt. The presence of many foreign specialists from different European countries invited by the Emperor to serve him made the matter even more complicated. It was only by the 1720s that the name *Sankt-Peterburg* became firmly established.[2]

During the eighteenth century, the Russian Empire was much influenced by European civilization in social, political, cultural ways and consequently language spheres. This was necessary to help the young empire catch up with developed European countries and to become a mature partner for them. But at the same time Russia was losing much of its national identity and culture. By the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, a large part of Russian nobility spoke French much better than Russian, while some could hardly speak Russian at all.[3] In these circumstances the enlightened part of society divided into two antagonistic ideological movements – Slavophilism and Westernism. Slavophilism was characterized *inter alia* by an attentive attitude to the Russian language, and in radical cases with language purism. Some Slavophils wished to replace all the borrows with Russian equivalents and were ready to

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[1] About St Peter and Peter the First see, for example, Evgenii Pchelov ‘Dinastiia Romanovykh: genealogiia i antroponimika’ [Romanov Dynasty: Genealogy and Anthroponomics]’. *Voprosi istorii* 6 (June 2009), 76-83. (in Russian)

[2] On the establishing of the toponym ‘Sankt-Peterburg’ see, for example, Evgenii Anisimov *‘Peterburg vremen Petra Velikogo [Peterburg at the times of Peter the Great]’*. (Moscow: Tsentrpoligraf, 2008). (in Russian)

[3] See, for example: Boris Uspenskii. *Kratkii ocherk istorii russkogo literaturnogo iazyka (11-19 veka) [A short review of the Russian literary language (11-19 centuries)]* (Moscow: Gnozis, 1994). (in Russian)

invent such equivalents when necessary. Of course, this provoked lots of mockery from the opponents.[4]

Among the Slavophils the idea of having the capital renamed was very widely discussed. In the 1870s there were a number of attempts to initiate the renaming of St Petersburg into Petrograd. This idea was revived in the very beginning of the twentieth-century when the 200th anniversary of Saint Petersburg was celebrated. But official newspapers, while mentioning those suggestions, characterized them in quite disrespectful terms such as 'quite a ridiculous announce' or 'milling the wind'.[5]

In the very beginning of the twentieth century the idea of Panslavism correlated to Slavophilism rose up, which was resulting from Balkan Wars, and came to the peak at the beginning of the First World War.[6] Nationalistic moods, already very strong in society, found a proper soil to become an official (or at least officially approved) ideology. The German Embassy was sacked; mass anti-German demonstrations and boycotting German shops and commodities spread widely across the country. German language and those who spoke German or had German-sounding names or surnames became targets for public aggression.[7] Thus, one of the leading metropolitan newspapers 'Birzhevye vedomosti', targeting businessmen and intellectuals, reported: 'On July 29th in the night the policemen came to the Astoria Hotel and presented the St Petersburg Governor's order for closing the hotel as well as the restaurant because it is owned by a German joint stock company and most of its guests are Germans or

[4] About Slavophilism and Westernism and their relations, as well as the connection between Slovophiliism and Panslavism, see, for example, Astrid S. Tuminez. *Russian nationalism since 1856: Ideology and the Making of Foreign Policy* (Lanham, MD, 2000), 63-65.
[5] *Novosti dnia* (Moscow, 31 March (13 April) 1902), p 3. All translations are mine. In most cases articles' authors remained anonymous; 'Peterburg ili Petrograd? [Peterburg or Petrograd?]'. *Novosti dnia* (Moscow, 4 (17) May 1903), 2.
[6] See: Tuminez. *Russian nationalism since 1856…*
[7] See, for example: Boris Antonov. *Peterburg-1914-Petrograd. Khronologicheskaia mozaika stolichnoi zhizni [Petersburg-1914-Petrograd. A chronological mosaic of the capital's living]* (Moscow, St Petersburg: Tsentrpoligraf, 2014), 315-320. (in Russian)

Austrians'.[8] Very representative is a contemporary advertisement having to explain that the owners of the 'Trading House Kunst and Albert' were Russian residents, one of them 'with three sons serving in the Russian army as reserve warrant officers'.[9]

In such circumstances the name of the capital was changed to a Russian equivalent, *Petrograd*. It is now impossible to tell when this name was first used and who suggested it; but it was used widely in the age of Catherine the Great (the second half of the eighteenth century) and then during the nineteenth century. The word 'Petrograd' may often be found in the literature, for example in Derzhavin's, Zhukovskii's and Pushkin's poems. Those who wanted the capital to be renamed usually referred to the Alexander Pushkin's poem 'The Bronze Horseman'.[10]

In 1914, it was the Czech diaspora of Saint Petersburg who first officially suggested, through 'Birzhevye vedomosti', to rename the capital of Russian Empire with the Slavic word: 'It is time to correct the mistake of the ancestors to throw away the last shadow of the German ward. We, the Czechs, ask the public administration of the capital to present a petition to the Emperor's Name for the confirmation and the obligatory use henceforward of the Russian name *Petrograd* for the capital'.[11] Czech support for renaming Saint Petersburg was influenced by Bohemia being part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the early-twentieth-century. When the war between the Slavs and the Austro-Hungarians started, the Czechs staying abroad had to choose between the hostile sides, i.e. between citizenship and nationality. Choosing to fight at the Slavic side, Czechs would feel it necessary to manifest their choice. This may have been the reason to submit a petition urging the necessity of the capital's renaming – to help the

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[8] 'Budet li zakryta Astoriia? [Will Astoria be closed?]'. *Birzhevye vedomosti. Morning edition* (Petrograd, 30 July (12 August) 1914), 3.
[9] *Amurskii listok* (Blagoveshchensk, 29 July (11 August) 1914), 5.
[10] About the name 'Petrograd' see, for example; Viacheslav Nesterov. 'Imia goroda [City's name]'. *Neva 5* (Leningrad, 1974), 213-216.
[11] 'Ne Peterburg, a Petrograd [Not Peterburg, but Petrograd]'. *Birzhevye vedomosti. Evening Edition: extra edition* (Petrograd, 31 July (13 August) 1914), 2.

Czech diaspore look ‘as much Slavic as possible’. But as soon as the proposal was brought forward, it could no longer be ignored. The renaming was discussed widely in society; many people questioned the validity of a decision or the proper name to be accepted. At that time, it was still possible even to publish such reflections in the newspapers – for example, with the opinions that changing the city’s name to *Petrograd* would offend the memory of Peter I; the suggested name was *Sankt-Piterburch* which was given to the place by Peter I, and was Dutch rather than German in origin.[12] However, this alternative did not fit with the nationalistic feelings and therefore could not be accepted.

The Emperor Nikolai II did not write in his diary what his main reason was for signing the renaming Manifest .[13] A number of people in his entourage prompted this decision.[14] Apparently, the main purpose was to encourage public solidarity and enthusiasm during the first weeks of the war, but there were some problems. First, the capital’s renaming contradicted the will of the first Russian Emperor Peter the Great who had founded Saint Petersburg. And the image of Peter was widely used as an example of the successful warlord associated with a number of famous victories. Another problem was that the new name did not include the prefix ‘Saint’, which was extremely important for those who considered Orthodox faith an essential part of the Russian mentality.[15] Baron Nikolai Vrangel mentioned in his diary that in Vilnus one of the hotels was subsequently renamed into a ridiculous ‘Sankt-Petrogradskaia’.[16]

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[12] *Zapadnaia zaria* (Warsaw, 15 (28) August 1914), p 1.

[13] *Dnevniki imperatora Nikolaia II [The Diaries of the Emperor Nikolai II]. 1894-1918*. Vol. II. 1905-1918. Part 2. 1914-1918 (Moscow, 2013*),* 43-56.

[14] See, for example, Andrei Rumiantsev. ‘Stolitsa meniaet imia [The Capital is Changing Its Name]’ [Accessed: https://spbarchives.ru/web/group/cgia_publications/-/asset_publisher/g4rFGGpSaTS7/content/-stolica-menaet-ima-o-pereimenovanii-s-peterburga-v-petrograd/maximized?p_p_auth=CVUMBk1p&_101_INSTANCE_g4rFGGpSaTS7_redirect=https%3A%2F%2Fspbarchives.ru%2Fweb%2Fgroup%2Fcgia_publications%2F-%2Fasset_publisher%2Fg4rFGGpSaTS7%2Fcontent%2F-stolica-menaet-ima-o-pereimenovanii-s-peterburga-v-petrograd%2Fmaximized%3Fp_p_auth%3DCVUMBk1p&_101_INSTANCE_g4rFGGpSaTS7_cur=0&_101_INSTANCE_g4rFGGpSaTS7_page=1. 1 April 2017]. (in Russian)

[15] Rumiantsev. ‘Stolitsa meniaet imia.

[16] Nikolai Vrangel, *Dni skorbi [The Days of the Sorrow]*. *Diary 1914-1915* (St Petersburg: ‘Neva’ Magazine 2001), 95.

The renaming garnered considerable popular and press attention. Metropolitan and provincial newspapers were often delighted by the idea, for example one of the mass-circulation metropolitan newspapers *Peterburgskii listok* in the anonymous article ‘Petrograd the capital’ suggested:

> In the age of the great building of Russia, when Peter the Great could not succeed without the foreigners, it was quite clear when the city founded in the Neva delta and which later became a capital was given the name of Petersburg. But now when the Russian people has achieved great successes in all the fields of the human activity, Russia – the head of the Slavdom – must follow it is own historically unique way’.[17]

These articles usually had a similar structure: first the news was reported, followed by a more or less detailed review of St Petersburg’s naming history and finally there were a few optimistic phrases about the meaning and opportuneness of the renaming. In some cases a more specific quasi-‘analytics’ can be found, devoted to different aspects of the renaming, usually nationalistic, such as Moscow mass-circulation newspaper *Moskovskie izvestiia*: ‘And suddenly by the single change of letters the city of the Great Peter became closer and more familiar to us <…> Our great heroic motherland is on the brink of a complete renewal’.[18] These articles regarded the renaming as a guarantee of future victories. Moreover, the renaming was regarded as the first step to quitting the dependence on imports which were widely acknowledged in the first month of war; for example, we can read in the newspaper *Novoe vremia*, popular nationalistic edition: ‘The great race of Russians should not stay in the dependence on the foreigners for the most necessary crafts and products’.[19] Outside the press, the renaming gave ground for rumours and anecdotes to spread in society; for example,

[17] ‘Stolitsa Petrograd [Petrograd the capital]’. *Peterburgskiy listok* (St Petersburg, 19 August (1 September) 1914), 1.
[18] 'Nakanune [The Eve]’. *Vechernie izvestiya* (Moscow, 20 August (2 September) 1914), 1.
[19] 'Raznemechenie Rossii [Degermanization of Russia]’. *Novoe vremia* (Moscow, 24 August (6 September) 1914), 5.

Rukhlov[20] allegedly said: Your Majesty, are you going to correct Peter the Great?! And how do you think the Emperor responded? … 'Well, Tsar Peter demanded from his generals the "*raporty o victoriiakh"* [reports of victories – *Y. M.-L.*], and I would be happy to receive the "*vesti o pobedakh*" [the same sense but in Slav-sounded words – Y. M.-L.]…'[21] Their function was to add more detail to the laconic text of the news, to make them look more attractive and frantic.

Unfortunately, the enthusiastic articles published on 19 August (1 September) coincided with the news of the first serious defeat of the Russian army in the War – the so-called 'Second battle of Tannenberg' in Eastern Prussia where the 2nd Russian army was encircled and destroyed by the Germans and the army commander general Samsonov was among the dead (newspapers wrote he was killed with a projectile hit; the overwhelming majority of modern historians believe him to have committed suicide).[22] According to diary records, many people considered the close reporting of the two news stories extremely inappropriate. For example, N. Vrangel wrote in his diary: '…publishing this renaming 'to spite the Germans' today of all days, in the day of our defeat, should be considered extremely improper'.[23]

There were also literary responses to the Saint Petersburg's renaming. First of all, some examples of the mass poetry will be discussed. They could be described as 'newspaper poetry', and that is not only because they appeared in newspapers (and were usually only published once due to the low quality of these texts; in most cases we know nothing about authors of

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[20] Sergei Rukhlov (1852-1918) was the Minister of the Railway Transport of the Russian Empire, the member of the State Council with the rank of the Active privy councillor in August 1914.

[21] Ivan Tkhorzhevskii, 'Iz zapisok starogo kamergera [From the Old Chamberlain's Memories]'. *Neva 1* (St Petersburg 1992), 266. Ivan Tkhorzhevskiy was the Steward of the Chancellery at the General Board of Agricultural and Land Regulation in August 1914.

[22] See, for example: 'Kak pogib general Samsonov (rasskaz uchastnika boia) [How general Samsonov has died (the battle participant's report)]'. *Aleksandr-Grushevskaia malenkaia gazeta* (Aleksandrovsk-Grushevskii, 31 August (13 September) 1914), p 3; see, for example: Steward Ross. *World War I: Timelines (London, 2012),* p 8.

[23] Nikolai Vrangel, *Dni skorbi [The Days of the Sorrow]*. *Diary 1914-1915* (St Petersburg: 'Neva' Magazine, 2001), 44.

these poems, only their names or even pseudonyms). These poems were written as a spontaneous reaction to some pressing issues; their functions were close to those of the newspaper articles: both to reflect the most important facts of social life and to create public opinion. And the impression formed by the poetry is always stronger than that by the journalists' essays.

But the case of renaming is of special interest as it deals with the language; and the poetry may be more credible in what refers to language. So, poets could be considered as the most revealing source of information. No wonder, most poems devoted to the renaming promised their readers that the new name was the start of the new life. Some of them, for example, this poem of S. Kopytkin, being first published in one of the metropolitan newspapers, was later republished in a number of provincial editions, for example, in Batumi newspaper:

> With what a delight this word
> Was taken by *Rus* from the Tzar's hands!
> ...Off with German poison!
> Off with German words!
> The Russian State henceforward
> Is crowned with the Russian head![24]

In the name changing poets saw a symbol of the future – most of them of the future victories, for example, in this poem of A. Meisner published in 'Birzhevye vedomosti': 'And there, far away, the combat is going / For the peace… For Rus, for Petrograd's fame!'[25]

It was not only the 'newspaper poets' who paid attention to this topic; reputed poets addressed the renaming as well. Their texts were produced over a much longer period (it took them months, not days). These poems are characterized with more complicated metaphors, unusual rhymes, elaborate imagery. These poems present the renaming as culturally

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[24] Sergei Kopytkin, 'Petrograd!' *Batumskie vesti* (Batumi, 29 August (11 September) 1914), 3.
[25] A. Meisner, 'Sonet Petrogradu [A Sonnet to Petrograd]'. *Birzhevye vedomosti (22 August (4 September) 1914),* 2.

determined and appropriated: 'It was decided centuries ago: we will be given that moment. / The hero, all hammered of the bronze, tells us / That the Russian Name is the profounded talisman.'[26]

A very interesting interpretation of St Petersburg renaming is provided by one of the greatest Russian futurist poets, V. Maiakovskii. The idea of renewing the language was essential for Russian futurists; and all the futurists beginning with the Italian Philippo Marinetti saw the war as one of the most futurist events breaking out of common morals, values and aesthetics. During the first months of the First World War, Maiakovskii wrote a number of essays devoted to changes he expected the war to bring into literature and language. From his point of view, the war employed a lot of new instruments which have to be described by war poetry. This relates to the new human feelings as well: old words should not be used to depict the impressions of the war because they had already been used too often to reflect common feelings and now they have lost their imaginative potential. That is why the old poetry language becomes out of date and useless; therefore the futurist poets should create new words, the new language adequate to the modern world. In one of his essays, 'The War and the Language', Maiakovskii welcomed the capital's renaming as the confirmation of his theory: 'The review of old words arsenal and creating new words are poets' combat missions. There was printed 'Peterburg' on yesterday's page. With the 'Petrograd' word the new page of Russian poetry and literature is turned over.'[27]

Although the press embraced the renaming of St. Petersburg, studying contemporary diaries shows that many people, first of all, among aristocracy and the artistic intelligentsia, were outraged at the renaming of the capital. They described it as 'useless', 'meaningless',

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[26] Konstantin Balmont, 'Znak [The Sign]' [Accessed: http://silveragepoetry.blogspot.ru/2016/03/blog-post_81.html. 12 January 2017].

[27] Vladimir Maiakovskii, 'Voina i iazyk [The War and the Language]'. *Omnibus edition, Vol. 1* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1955), 328.

‘pinnacle of stupidity’ and so on, mostly due to the reasons aforementioned, for example: ‘Petrograd… Something rustic. And to imitate bad Russified Germans, who changed their surnames in a rush! … Petersburg was displeased. It was renamed without asking: as if it was busted…’[28] Of course, all these opinions were not expected to be published. The best illustration may be the case of the Head of St Petersburg city *Duma* count Ivan Tolstoi: newspapers published the following information: ‘As count Tolstoi reports, he has received a number of private petitions for the necessity of renaming the capital, however he did not find himself in a position to step forward on behalf of the city administration with an intercession to the Highest name for renaming *Peterburg* into *Petrograd*‘[29] At the same time, Tolstoi had written in his diary: ‘The chauvinism of this kind does not please me at all, being a rather ill omen: who is to be made happy with that? If the renaming is joyous for someone, this joy must be much shaded by the news which has already appeared in the same morning newspapers (and also of today) of a serious defeat if not destruction of the Russian army in Prussia’.[30]

But probably the rudest opinion about the renaming could be found in Zinaida Gippius’s diary and the poem ‘ “Petrograd” ’.[31] While others may refer to the renaming as a mistake, wondering who had advised it to the Emperor, Gippius expressly blamed the Emperor of having betrayed Peter I’s cause. Her texts are full of rage and contempt: ‘Who has encroached on Peter’s creation? / Who dared to offend the perfect work of his hands / By bereaving even a word, / Who dared to change a sound in it? / … / And what your talentless heart is celebrating? / Poor Slavdom? Or that / The herd of sluttish rhymes / Adhere to

[28] Ivan Tkhorzhevskii, ‘From the Old Chamberlain’s Memories’. *Neva 1* (St Petersburg 1992), 266.
[29] ‘Pereimenovanie stolitsy [The capital’s renaming]’. *Russkoe slovo* (Moscow, 19 August (1 September) 1914), 2.
[30] Ivan Tolstoi, ‘Diaries’, quoted by Sergei Achildiev, *Postizhenie Peterburga: v chem smysl i znachenie Severnoi stolitsy [Comprehending St Petersburg: What is the Sense and Mission of the North Capital]* (St Petersburg: Tsentrpoligraf, 2015)
[31] Zinaida Gippius was one of the famous Russian Symbolist poets of the Silver Age of Russian culture.

'Petrograd' hoyden and unceremoniously?'[32] While Maiakovskii saw new opportunities for language development in this renaming, Gippius considered the renaming and the usage of the word 'Petrograd' as the corruption of both language and Russian culture. It was not the presage of a future catastrophe as it was depicted in some sources – it is a catastrophe itself. So, the texts of Gippius should be presented in this survey as the most radical point of view.

After the February Revolution some intellectuals urged to rename the capital back; but after the October Revolution this was absolutely impossible.[33] It was only in 1991 that the city recovered its original name. The renaming of St Petersburg resulted from a number of social processes initiated or sharpened by the outbreak of the First World War. Among the factors that led to the renaming was Slavophilism - a social movement that had developed in nineteenth-century Russia; Slavic nationalistic moods growing drastically with the beginning of the war; the necessity for minorities to manifest their solidarity with the Russian Empire; and the need to encourage patriotic feelings during the war. While working class Russians were enthusiastic with the renaming, many intellectuals remained sceptical. Their scepticism was focused on the validity of the new name and whether it offended the will of Peter the Great as well as on the inappropriate moment for the renaming, taking into account the military defeats. The mere need for the renaming was also in doubt. The enlightened part of society was sure that the war was to be fought against Germany, not German language, and there was no use to mask war failures with changing names. Sceptical opinions were forced out of the public domain for censure reasons; but thanks to the contemporary poetry published later or preserved in drafts, as well as diaries and memoirs, a more complicated picture of social moods may be reconstructed.

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[32] Zinaida Gippius, ' "Petrograd" '. *Rech* (Petrograd, 17 (30) March 1917), 2.
[33] See, for example: Liudmila Tiukhina, 'O pereimenovanii Sankt-Peterburga v Petrograd [About the renaming Saint Petersburg to the Petrograd]'. *Istoriia Peterburga 44:4* (St Petersburg 2008), 75-78.

Making ‘Kaur’ in Twentieth Century Colonial Punjab

Khola Cheema

The social identities such as ethnicity, sexuality, religion, and nationality have come to the center of political mobilization. However, there is little agreement about the true cause of this emerging importance of social identities or about its most likely political effects. The differences that exist between social identities in their genesis, manifestation, and political effects are immense but most importantly identities need to be analyzed in their cultural location as well as in relation to their historical epoch. In fact, identities are often created under the umbrella of colonialism, religious boundaries, gender construction, racial and sexual subordination, and national conflicts.[1] Shaping and reshaping of identities through gender is a widely accepted phenomenon under imperialism. Similarly, the case of the Sikhs of Punjab being understood as Sikh identity was essentially fabricated by the colonial state. But one cannot ignore the religious diversity within the Punjab and plural identities within the religious communities.[2] The start of the twentieth century was a crucial time for South Asian religious communities regarding the formation of identities. It was the time when communal consciousness led to religious purification movements and distinct communal identities.

The role and status of women in Punjabi society has always been uncertain. Guru Nanak Dev Ji (1469-1539), the founder of the Sikh religion and the first of a succession of ten Sikh Gurus or Prophet-teachers, became the source of social renewal of the Punjabi society. However, women enjoyed a high status in Guru Nanak’s proposed society as an equal partner of men in all walks of life.[3] At Guru Nanak’s times, the childbirth was considered polluted in

[1] Pauline Kollontai, ‘Transplanting Religion: Defining Community and Expressing Identity’, in *Community Identity: Dynamics of Religion in Context*, eds. Sebastian C.H. Kim and Pauline Kollontai (London: T & T Clark, 2007), 62.
[2] Harjot Oberoi, *The construction of Religious Boundaries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 89.
[3] Nikky-Guninder Kaur Singh, *Sikhism: An Introduction* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 22.

Hindu society[4] and women were considered impure due to menstruation and postnatal conditions. In some other images, women appeared as part of *maya* (illusion: concept associated with worldly things), to be a distraction from *mukti* (salvation). Guru Nanak also challenged this existing concept of non-purification about women as well as about childbirth. His following verses are often quoted:

> Our birth is from a woman and in a woman we grow.
> We are engaged to and wed a woman.
> Woman is our friend and from woman comes the family.
> If one woman dies we seek another;
> Without woman there can be no bond.
> Why call woman bad when she gives birth to rajas?
> Woman herself is born of a woman,
> And none comes into this world without her.
> Nanak, only the True One alone is independent of woman.
>
> *(AG 473)*

It is often argued that the female prevailed in Sikh sacred literature, with the feminine phenomenon, feminine tone, feminine terminology, feminine imagery and feminine consciousness being core to the Sikh scriptures.[5] But Sikh women remained in the background and were treated as inferior to men, their role confined to the four walls of the household. The early Sikh texts focus on the masculine identity of Sikhs and did not assign a significant place to the women. Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1708), the tenth and the last Sikh guru, laid the foundation of Khalsa Panth (Sikh nation) in 1699. He raised the slogan "the Khalsa shall (ultimately) rule and none shall defy." He gave the name of Khalsa[6] to the Sikh community which meant "the chosen or elect of God" and ordered them to use the surname Singh meaning lion with their names. On the other hand, women were not referred to with any specific name,

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[4] Childbirth was considered impure due to postnatal bleeding. The period of forty days after childbirth was known as *'Sutak'* and in Indian tradition, women were separated from rest of the family and were not allowed to enter in kitchen or to touch pickle.

[5] Nikky-Guninder Kaur Singh, *The feminine Principle in the Sikh Vision of the Transcendent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 3.

[6] The term "Khalsa" is derived from Arabic word "Khalis" means pure. During Mughal era this term was used for the crown land which was administered directly by the king. In the Sikh tradition, this term acquired a special connotation when Guru Gobind Singh designated this term to the Sikhs. Although, the words "Khalsa Ji" are also used loosely to address an individual but in wider perspective the Khalsa implies the collective spiritually directed community.

they were simply labelled as ‘Sikhni’ (lioness) or ‘Gursikhni’ (lioness of Guru). Even in 18th and 19th century Punjab, a highly centralized identity of Sikh men had existed and it harmonized the Khalsa identity. Almost all the identity markers, for instance, turban, weaponry, and breeches were clearly symbolized hyper-masculinity within the community. All the writings and literature which was produced was male dominated and the role of the female was completely ignored or kept in darkness.

The history recorded, recognized and remembered by men has made modern Sikh females the victims of hyper-masculine attitudes and practices; men either chose to disregard women’s contributions or did not think their contributions worthy of note. Thus, the guiding principle in Sikh history regarding women is silence.[7] The history of the construction of female Sikh identity has long been neglected. Historians are influenced by their biological, cultural and religious upbringings and are not free of biases. But it was not only historians who chose to record men’s experiences. The perspective of historians has been limited and distorted by commentators, with their male-stream interpretations; other academics, with their interest in the study of male heroes; and contemporary practitioners with their hostility toward feminist scholarship about the tradition.

The first literary attempt to reinstate the dignity and recognize the role of Sikh women came from Bhai Vir Singh[8] (1872-1957), who tried to restore their ‘lost glory’ by creating female role models in his writings like Sundri, Satwant Kaur, Rani Raj Kaur, and Sushil Kaur, who Singh presented as paradigms of moral virtue, valour, strength and all that is good in Sikhism.

[7] Anshu Malhotra, *Gender, Caste and Religious Identities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 43.
[8] Vir Singh was a poet, scholar, exegete and major reformer of Singh Sabha. He was the founder of Punjabi weekly, the *Khalsa Samachar*. He devoted his life for welfare and education of Sikh community.

Bhai Vir Singh was one of the eminent Singh Sabha[9] intellectuals and 'Sundri' was the first ever Punjabi novel, published in 1898. Bhai Vir Singh characterized the 'Sikh heroine' who fought bravely for her faith.[10] He drew a comparison between Sikh women and their Hindu/Muslim equivalents, presenting the high moral values of Sikh women and their courageous devotion towards their belief. Bhai Vir Singh constructed his novels very carefully on the groundwork of Sikh history, but the moral character with regard to women in Sikh culture was not much different from that of women in Hindu or Muslim culture.[11] Bhai Vir Singh also wrote a large number of tracts on the appropriate status of Sikh women, their behavioural values and attitude towards their duties as well as towards society. These tracts proved to be a very skilful tool, used by the Sikh reformers to control and manipulate the female sexuality and productivity. Moreover, they helped to maintain patriarchal social privileges. Bhai Vir Singh very skilfully impressed his audience with his imaginary but 'true Sikh women' model.

The early decades of the twentieth century saw a decisive transformation of the Sikh women and a marked alteration of the discourse of the identity within the community. This was the time when the women of the Sikh faith were perceived to be effete, decadent, confused and unsure of their own identity. But in the early half of the twentieth century, the Sikh community employed separate gendered identities in an attempt to define the collective identity of the community through numerous means including educational reforms of Singh Sabha reformers, activities of Sikh reformists, writings of Singh Sabha reformers, legal developments to define role of Sikh female and more importantly the colonial construction of Sikh identity. The role of women was standardized, legitimized and ritually sanctioned through an ingenious

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[9] Singh Sabha was a reform movement of Sikhs in Indian Sub-Continent during 19th and twentieth century. This movement not only deeply influenced the Sikh community but it also reoriented its outlook and spirit.
[10] Bhai Vir Singh, *Sundri* (New Delhi: Bhai Vir Singh Sahitya Sadan, 2009), 24.
[11] Eleanor Nesbitt, *Sikhism A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 107.

process of rewriting of history. Unfortunately, the construction of Sikh identity did not give justice to the role women played during the formative decades of the twentieth century.

Educational initiatives were an important aspect of the reformist discourse of the twentieth century by which reformers actively constructed and defined gender. Singh Sabha claimed that among the Sikhs, women were always entitled to receive education on equal levels as men were. Sikh reformers were aware of the need for female education but the form, content, and end of that endeavour was not clear. The Sikh reformers were afraid of the educational activities of Arya Samajies[12] and Christian missionaries in regard to the religious conversion as they knew that the ultimate goal of these Samajies and missionaries was to achieve the maximum conversion. Reformers realized the need to protect their young women from the educational advances of the Arya Samaj as well as from Christian missionaries. Singh Sabha's educational ideals for Sikh women were not different from Arya Samajies. Reformers of Singh Sabha considered that an educated woman could make home a happier place; home-keeping was something that could never be satisfactorily accomplished unless women were well educated. The form education was to take was also of great concern, the focus centring on religious and moral education. Books were very selective and were chosen with great care. The underlying idea was that only learning based on Sikh religious principles could once again return the fallen Sikh populace to a position worthy of their calling as true representatives of the gurus.[13] In 1890's, Bhai Takhat Singh[14], a highly motivated student, took a stand for 'abla' (helpless); in particular, he took up their cause of education to help Sikh women. He established

[12] Arya Samaj was a Hindu reform movement with focus on the purification of Hindu Dharam (religion). This movement was started by Dayanand Sarswati in 1875 with aim to reinforce *Vedas* (ancient Hindu Scriptures) in its true form.

[13] Doris R. Jakobsh, *Relocating Gender in Sikh Studies* (New Dehli: Oxford University Press, 2003), 11.

[14] Bhai Takhat Singh (1870-1937) was a prominent Singh Sabha reformer. He was the first to give importance to women education. He also launched a literary and social magazine for Sikh women named *Panjabi Bhain* (Punabi sister). Due to his prominent services for the community, he was known as *Zinda Shahid* (living martyr) among his contemporaries.

Sikh Kanya Mahavidyala[15] at Ferozpur for girl's education in 1892. His wife Bibi[16] Harnam Kaur also played an important role in running of Mahavidyala and she established a boarding school.[17]

Although there were loud proclamations by the Singh Sabha about the amelioration of females as being centre to Singh Sabha's reform mission, the Tat Khalsa[18] very systematically narrowed down and lemmatized what it meant to be a 'Sikh woman': the Tat Khalsa intended to produce 'true' Sikh women who would take up their proper place at home. A golden example is Bhai Takhat Singh's ideal of an educated girl: "an educated girl should prove of the greatest use to the house. She ought to be religious and chaste, and wholly and solely devoted to the service of her husband and children. Whenever I get a chance, I impress these lessons on the minds of the girls in my charge. Simplicity is another virtue on which I lay equal emphasis."[19] Bibi Harnam Kaur: "education would also lead to happier conjugal relations and peace in the home, the responsibility for her husband's contentment could easily be traced to the housewife's heeding to the educational call."[20]

The activities of Sikh reformists were also central means by which reformers actively constructed and defined 'woman', and women increasingly became a primary site of reform. Although, one of the early writers of Sikh history, McAuliffe tried to debate on the status of women in Sikh tradition in a very positive manner and showed conclusively that Sikhs had much to offer women in Punjab in contrast to Hinduism. But many common practices like the

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[15] Kanya means girl and Mahavidyala means educational institute.
[16] *Bibi* means lady and it is used in term of respect.
[17] G.W. Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab* (Patiala: Language Department Punjab, 1971), 107.
[18] Singh Sabha was divided into two considerable groups in which one was radical Lahore branch of Singh Sabha known as Tat Khalsa (True Khalsa). The other group was of traditionalists known as Sanatan, it also known as Amritsar Singh Sabha. Major difference between these two groups was that Sanatans considered Sikhs as part of wider Hindu community but on the other hand Tat Khalsa group believed on separate and distinct Sikh communal identity.
[19] Bhai Suraj Singh, *Sri Mata Bibi Harnam Kaur* (Amritsar: Wazir Hind Press, 1908), 88.
[20] Singh, *Mata Harnam*, 93-94.

plight of widows, infanticide, and practice of Sati were also very common in Punjabi society and among Sikhs as well, it gave the colonial rulers a moral justification of their rule and presence in India. Imperial masters highly criticized the degraded status of women in Indian as well as in Punjabi society and they took the role of heroic knights to save innocent women. So women as weak, passive and helpless victims became the focus of British efforts to uplift Indian society from its excessive degeneration. Missionary activities had also been spurred on considerably due to this conviction. According to an early Missionary report; "the degree of attention devoted to this country to work amongst women and girls was one of the most striking features of missionary work."[21] This criticism of Imperial rulers on Indian womanhood and prime focus of missionary activities, under the umbrella of British administration, on women alerted the Sikh community and Singh Sabha reforms. To encounter this challenge, the Indian communities turned towards their sacred scriptures and history. For example, Hindu reforms drawn examples from Vedas and tried to indicate high status of women in ancient India. Like their Hindu and Muslim counterparts, Sikh reformers attached great importance to the gender and put a lot of efforts to redefine status, role, and identity of Sikh women in Punjabi society. They also focused on customs and behaviours traditionally associated with women and come up with new ideals of Sikh women through their writings. Sikh women as the traditional bearers of tradition and observers of popular religious reforms became important sites upon which the margins of Sikh identity were constructed. In this way, Singh Sabha reformers got their way to developing a controlled space for Sikh women. Moreover, due to the issue of competitive reformism in colonial Punjab among different religious communities, a great deal of attention was focused on distinguishing Sikh women from their Hindu and Muslim counterparts. The writings of the reformists consciously confined the women's role according to the ideal of a

[21] Doris R. Jakobsh, *Relocating Gender,* 76.

'pativrata'[22] ideal of a wife.[23] Singh Sabha reformists tried to create the controlled roles of women which would fulfill women's expected place in society without giving any harm to the social privilege of men. For this purpose, the reformists like Bhai Kahn Singh[24] emphasized the creation of role models from Sikh history and wrote about the historical characters of the brave Sikh women such as Bibi Nanki,[25] Bibi Bhani,[26] Mata Sahib Devi,[27] Mai Bhago[28] etc. Qualities such as honor, bravery, sacrifice and love and devotion for the Sikh faith were associated with those characters. The Anand Marriage Act,[29] which was introduced in 1909 in the Legislative Council of the viceroy by Tikka Sahib of Nabha, was a decisive effort in this regard but it completely neglected the need to define a proper place of Sikh women in society. The Sikh Rahit Maryada[30] outlined definitions for Sikh religious identity, including correct Sikh behaviour and avoidance; the proper ways of conducting rituals surrounding birth, marriage, and death; and a large number of other personal and community disciplines. The Sikh Rahit Maryada attempted to enshrine non-gendered practices and leadership roles. It allowed women to participate in gurdwara activities such as *ragis* or *granthis*; in initiation rites; by leading public processions during *Gurpurbs* and during Baisakhi celebrations honouring the

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[22] Pati means husband, vrata means vow, meaning devoted and loyal wife.

[23] Kamlesh Mohan, 'Clamping Shutters and Valorizing Women: Tensions in Sculpting Gender-Identities in the Colonial Punjab', in *Punjabi Identity in a Global Context,* eds. Pritam Singh and Shinder Singh Thandi (New Dehli: Oxford University Press, 1999), 185-7.

[24] Kahn Singh (1861-1938), popularly known as Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha was a prominent scholar, encyclopedist and Sikh reformer. Among his works, these are prominent: *Gurushabad Ratanakar Mahan Kosh, Raj Dharam, Natak Bhavarth Dipika, Hum Hindu Nahin, Gurmat Prabhakar, Gurmat Sudhakar, Guru Chhand Divakar, Gur Sabad Alankar, Guru Gira Kasauti, Sharab Nikhedh* and many more. His writings were highly influential in regard to the identity question of the Sikh community.

[25] Bibi Nanki (1464-1518) was the elder sister of Baba Guru Nanak Dev ji, the founder and first Guru of Sikh religion.

[26] Bibi Bhani (1535-1598) was the daughter of third Sikh Guru Amar Das, wife of fourth Guru Ram Das and mother of fifth Guru Arjan Dev Ji. She is remembered as a symbol of service in Sikh history due to her untiring services to the third Guru, his father.

[27] Mata Sahib Devi (1681-1747), wife of tenth Sikh Guru, Guru Gobind Singh. She is known as the mother of Khalsa nation.

[28] Mai Bhago was brave Sikh woman who led Sikhs in the war against Mughal army in 1705 to protect the Guru Gobind Singh, tenth Sikh Guru.

[29] This act validated the Sikh marriage ceremony called Anand.

[30] Rahit is derived from the Punjabi word *rehin* (to live), Maryada is Sansikrat word meaning limits of mortality and propriety. Sikh Rahit is based on teachings of ten Gurus and Rahitnamas. Singh Sabha, in order to restore the purity of Sikh beliefs compiled the first draft of Sikh Rahit Maryada in 1931.

birth of the Khalsa.[31] The name 'Kaur' (Princess) became stipulated via a Sikh code of conduct, Sikh Rahit Maryada[32]. Many other 'feministic' changes took place in identity construction during the first half of the twentieth century, in which female initiation into the Khalsa was prominent. The difference between men and women with regard to the initiation ceremony came to an end.

To see how female identity was articulated within the Sikh community, it is also relevant to look at it as colonial construction. The articulation of identity is always a conscious activity and in the case of Sikhs, it challenged previously existing identity expression and concepts of the community. For the British, the notion of society was historically rooted in the evolution of a moral community where the people were sharing a singular religion. The understanding of the colonized South Asian society presented a set of problems for the British. To consolidate their colonial rule, the British recognized Sikhism as a singular tradition. It is evident that for the purpose of recruitment to the army, a particular Sikh identity was recognized, encouraged and nurtured. Additionally, one cannot ignore the role of census politics during all these developments regarding the construction of identity process in colonial India. Grewal argued that "The colonial rulers, in spite of their professed religious neutrality, thought in terms of religious communities".[33] Grewal continued to emphasize the political consequences of this colonial perception. Placed in the larger South Asian context, the construction of Sikh identity began as a political project under the British during their colonial rule. In the colonial era, the British focused on Sikh masculinity, thus largely ignoring the female side of Sikh identity so that historians of the time and of later adopted the 'manly'

[31] Nikky-Guninder Kaur Singh, *The feminine Principle in the Sikh Vision of the Transcendent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 77.
[32] The first draft of the Sikh Rahit Maryada was compiled in 1931 during British colonial times but the final draft which is being followed now world widely was finalized in 1950.
[33] J.S.Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 156.

impression of Sikh identity.[34] There were many political reasons behind this adaptation, one of which was to create the martial image of the Sikhs, which provided a sense of honor and pride to masculinity and ultimately led the Sikh community to consider the girl as less valued than the boy. As a result, the ratio of female infanticide was increased. The colonial administration reintroduced the caste names instead of the family names, which also contributed to patriarchal Sikh identities. The revenue policies implemented by the colonial regime denied the right of Punjabi women to inherit agricultural land and reinforced sexist attitudes and practices in their homes and community.

The whole process of 'Sikhization' of Sikh women was an effort to re-make the women's image, role, and status within the Sikhism as well as in Punjabi society. Various models and interpretations of ideal Sikh women by Singh Sabha reformers changed the outlook of Sikh female throughout the Sikh tradition. The process of making *Kaur* was completed through various means and ways in colonial Punjab which included the educational reforms of Singh Sabha, the Anand Marriage Act, the literary activities of the feminist writers, the Sikh Rahit Maryada, and colonial construction of gendered identities.

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[34] Ian J. Kerr, 'Sikhs and State: Troublesome Relationships and a Fundamental Continuity with Particular Reference to the Period 1849-1919', in *Sikh Identity: Continuity and Change*, eds. Pashaura Singh and N. Gerald Barrier (New Delhi: Manohar, 1999), 158.

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Nurses, Nuns and the NHS: The 1950s and the Golden Age of Community Medicine

Sophie Melissa Smith

Introduction

From the opening lines of her 2002 memoir, *Call the Midwife*, Jennifer Worth makes it clear she is a woman on a mission. Inspired by a 1998 study by Terri Coates, which concluded that 'midwives are virtually non-existent in literature', Worth proudly declares her intention to raise the midwife from the 'overlooked' 'shadowy figure' to the 'literary heroine' they deserve to be.[1] Having picked up the gauntlet thrown down by Coates to 'do for midwifery what James Herriot did for veterinary practice', the popularity of her memoirs and the hugely successful BBC adaptation have eclipsed even Herriot, launching the midwife to stratospheric heights.[2]

A great deal of this popularity comes from the appeal of locating the midwives within a particular historical context, a highly romanticised image of the 1950s as a Golden Age of community medicine. Though Worth's East End may be rough and ready, the images of an integrated and unified local and medical community are placed upon a pedestal as a superior bygone era, in which community care can absolve almost every societal ill. Reinforced by the presentation as memoir, this stylisation both places Worth in the role of witness and offers a veneer of realism which allows her to present her work as innately factual, as a figure 'in the thick of it' who 'sees it all', giving her account the illusion of reliability.[3] And it is through this aura of truth Worth both champions midwives and achieves a more covert aim, manipulating the nostalgic tones of her memoir to deliver a social commentary on modern medical practice

[1] Terri Coates, 'Impressions of the Midwife in Literature' quoted in Jennifer Worth, *Call the Midwife* London: Phoenix, 2009 X.; Jennifer Worth, *Call the Midwife*. X-XI.
[2] Coates, 'Impressions' in Worth, *Midwife*, XI.
[3] Worth, *Midwife*, XI.

through this juxtaposition with a 'Golden Age'. Yet, given the self-declared propagandic nature of the work, how authentic can Worth's vision of the past, and the lessons she aims to teach regarding the 'breakdown' of modern society, really be?[4]

As her initial intentions show, her work is highly partisan, functioning both as memoir and as a form of social criticism in which she attempts to use her credibility to critique modern medical practice.[5]

The Personal Touch

Without doubt, the greatest selling point of Worth's image of a Golden Age of district midwifery lies in her romanticised recollections of community care, which she champions just as fervently as the practitioners themselves, so that the virtue of both becomes inextricably linked. For Worth, the district based medicine of the 1950s marks the pinnacle of practice in being considerably 'more personal' than modern day practice, chiefly in offering drastically increased levels of contact with a familiar face from neo to post-natal care.[6] As she states, it was standard practice to visit new mothers 'twice a day for fourteen days after delivery', so that the midwives became a consistent presence during the pregnancy and the adjustment process.[7] In emphasising the frequency of these home visits, Worth is able to present not only the health benefits, but the cosy appeal of district medicine. In their steady presence, her midwives take on a comforting familiarity and reassurance, becoming a regular feature of the home to forge not only a sense of nurturing through this steady monitoring and handholding, but also creating a sense of intimacy. In sharp contrast to the relative anonymity of the conveyor

[4] Worth, *Midwife,* 4.
[5] Worth, *Midwife*, XI-X.
[6] Worth, *Midwife*, 102.
[7] Worth, *Midwife*, 51.

belt of modern contemporary medical practice, where even the constancy of a consistent family doctor is threatened, the community-centric nature of district medicine is so appealing chiefly because it creates the impression of consistency and strong interpersonal relationships.

This contrast is something Worth plays upon heavily in her suggestions that to provide truly good care, practitioners must be able to forge these personal ties and 'really get to know our patients as people.'[8] As she demonstrates in the case of former workhouse inmate and vagrant Mrs Jenkins, the insight gained through forming these interpersonal relationships and an awareness of the community is a critical factor in being able to provide effective care. Because of both dementia and previous institutional abuse which caused the death of her children, Mrs Jenkins is morbidly afraid of medical intervention, becoming violent as she repulses all attempts at treatment. However, they are ultimately successful in treating her as a direct result of being able to understand the inner world of the patient.[9] In being aware of her personal background, Sister Evangelina, unlike Worth and the doctors, can assuage her fear of medical figures, using her own East End upbringing to bond with her using lavatorial humour. In doing so, she utilises her inter-personal skills to bridge the divide created by uniform and status, to form a personal connection that establishes a significant enough level of trust to successfully conduct the necessary treatments. In presenting this as a success story, Worth can champion the significance of more directly and personably integrating with the community, and to suggest the role has even greater social significance as it is as much 'people work' as healthcare.[10]

This, then, reinforces Worth's championing of community medicine, as it highlights the centrality of a positive relationship between patient and professional, supporting Worth's

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[8] Worth, *Midwife,* 102.
[9] Ian R. McWhinney, *A Textbook of Family Medicine*, 2nd edn New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, 71.
[10] Anne Borsay and Billie Hunter, eds., *Nursing and Midwifery in Britain Since 1700* Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, 215.

conviction that personal care is as significant as, and often the cause of, cure. But, importantly, Worth only aligns this sense of community with the nurses and midwives. Corroborating Anne Oakley's position that the nurse held a far higher status than the doctor amongst lower class patients, Worth's narrative presents the doctor's reception as a figure of suspicion due to the lingering association with corrupt institutional care.[11] According to Worth, the 'fear' was so 'commonplace' and extreme that many women 'believed her mother more than she believed the doctor' and would consequently only accept medical intervention from the nurses and midwives, who were perceived as infinitely more trustworthy as familiar members of the community.

Presenting these attitudes through her patients' words, Worth can further legitimise the necessity of forming trust through the familiarity and intimacy created by pastoral care. By contrasting their reception with the fearful view of doctors, Worth is also able to reinforce the image of the nurse-midwife's role as a social saviour, delivering medical care which may otherwise have been refused by vitally combining an image of care and cure. This allows her not only to champion the period and practitioners, but also to form an attack what she appears to view as the falling standards of the Nation Health Service in the twenty-first Century. Directly stating that 'modern medicine doesn't know it all', Worth suggestively uses her heavily romanticised images to condemn the more impartial and remote nature of current practice necessitated by the over-prescription and under-funding within the current NHS.[12]

However, we must question: how competent was Worth's own NHS and district practice? Beneath the nostalgic veneer, Worth's memoir demonstrates several biases and contradictions. Worth herself frequently damages her own arguments, such as the lauded popularity and integrity of the Nonnatus team, in her criticism of Sister Evangelina. In stating

[11] Ann Oakley, *Essays on Women, Medicine and Health* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993, 46.
[12] Worth, *Midwife*, 303.

that Sister Evangelina 'did nothing to dispel this fear of hospitals' and instead 'actively encouraged it', we can see that at least part of the communal reverence and dependence stems from the effective use of scare mongering to discredit rival institutions or practitioners to preserve their own practice.[13] Indeed, as this very attempt to retain patients suggests, the need to resort to such tactics suggests an industry in decline. As Hunter notes, in 1956 the Cranbrook Committee wanted to increase hospital births to 70% due to poor structure of maternity care, a desire which was echoed by the general public in an earlier 1949 CMB annual report which noted that home births were already on the decline.[14] Such statistics, then, demonstrate a clear bias in representation which indicate the extent of Worth's romanticising of the era for her own propaganda intentions.

Ministering Angels

Rather ironically, when the flaws of practice are addressed, the strains and failures are refashioned to raise the nurse-midwife to a figure beyond standard virtue. Detailing the extensive burden of their workload, Worth's nurse-midwives must not only deal with 'eighty to hundred deliveries a month', but are so chronically overworked and understaffed that they regularly attend these births on 'three hours sleep after a seventeen hour working day'.[15] Though this, and Worth's assertion that 'only an idiot' or 'mad' person would take on such a job, may initially appear as a dose of realism to detract from Worth's idealisation, it nevertheless is used to emphasis it.[16] In openly acknowledging the hardships of their personal labour, which the 1946 Ministry of Health report presented as jeopardising the health of nurses and midwives, Worth is able to valorise her level of commitment in highlighting the extent of

[13] Worth, *Midwife,* 205.
[14] Hunter and Borsay, *Nursing*, 158-159.
[15] Worth, *Midwife*, 5.; 9.
[16] Worth, *Midwife*, 9.

the burden of the role to present an image of 'personal morality'.[17] In representing how she and other nurse-midwives are so dedicated to their work that they would 'never, never, never' swap her job 'for anything on earth' Worth creates a sense of altruistic joy that inspires this blind dedication, and in doing so, her nurse-midwives become 'heroines of society' by virtue of their cheerful self-sacrificing approach.[18]

Indeed, Worth's nurse-midwives evoke a sense of dedication despite the difficulties of the job, which greatly reinforces Worth's veneration in suggesting that such a role is a vocation rather than merely a job. As Tania McIntosh states, the role becomes stereotypical in that it becomes their 'whole life', creating a tangible parallel to the Nonnatus Nuns they work beside strengthening the image of self-sacrifice to such an extent it moves beyond the heroic to the almost saintly and angelic.[19] And this image is further reinforced by Worth, in her description of the near sacred position of the nurse-midwife within the East End; she confidently states that they were completely safe from any harassment by virtue of their position, as the local people viewed them with a 'deep respect' bordering almost upon 'reverence.'[20]

The continuation of this need for a sense of reverence underpins Worth's entire work. Clearly affronted as she is by the lack of status given to the profession, engendering this reverence serves her propagandic intention by not only raising the profile of, but also the respect for midwives in a tangible way. As J. D. Davidson notes, literature plays a crucial role in creating cultural perceptions, so that these images of angelic self-sacrifice perpetuate a vital image of 'faith and trust' that serve real as well as authorial ends.[21] In a current climate where

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[17] Tania McIntosh, *A Social History of Maternity and Childbirth: Key Themes in Maternity Care* Oxford & New York: Routledge, 2012 . 79.; Miller, 'Virtue', 77.
[18] Worth,*Midwife*, 20; 16.
[19] McIntosh,*Social History,* 81.
[20] Worth, *Midwife*, 10.
[21] J.D. Davidson, cited in Joseph McAleer, 'Love, Romance, and the National Health Service', in *Classes, Cultures, and Politics: Essays on British History for Ross Mckibbin*, ed. by Clare V.J. Griffiths Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, 177.

faith and trust are being steadily eroded by quality of care scandals, particularly regarding waiting times and lack of beds, such an image is crucial in reminding the public of the core motivation of practitioners and their continued sacrifices in order to provide services.

Yet, this image may serve as a double-edge sword that undercuts its own rewards. In emphasising their unquestioning willingness to sacrifice all of their time and effort, Worth falls into the trap, identified by Leslie Fielder, of sentimentalising and idealising medical professionals.[22] Though her depictions recognise and applaud the dedication of medical professionals, it also normalises the cultural perception of the cheerful acceptance of excessive demands upon the practitioner, reinforcing an unfortunate stereotype that legitimises increasing encroachment.[23] As recent attempts by the Conservative government to order medical practitioners to provide seven days a week access to services show, expectations are already dangerously high, and worsening as budgets are increasingly slashed. With such comparisons being perpetuated between former and current standards of healthcare, this normalisation of angelic self-sacrifice consequently suggests that the reasonable refusals presented by current practitioners to work seventy hour weeks are incompatible with the idealised notion of the 'good' practitioner. Practitioners' self-interest becomes positioned as selfish, unreasonable and unprofessional, enforcing the notion that good professionals, like Worth's midwives, must put up and shut up as an unalterable consequence of their vocation. The presentation of such attitudes as pseudo-fact through memoir, then, help to perpetuate a damaging myth which nostalgically glosses over the difficulties of a period Worth places on a pedestal, and may insidiously aggravate tensions within an NHS already in crisis.

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[22] Leslie A. Fiedler, 'Images of the Nurse in Fiction and Popular Culture', *Literature and Medicine*, 2 (1983), 79–90; 84.
[23] Worth, *Midwife*, 16.

Social Saviours, Social Police?

Indeed, in her relentless attempt to glorify the medical profession and the community based system of the 1950s, Worth's angelic depictions are heightened yet further in her presentation and legitimation of additional extensions to an already over-demanding role. As the chapters concerning Mrs Jenkins illustrate, Worth's nurses and midwives are not merely limited to medical roles, but are core figures in social intervention as part of the wider scope of their pastoral care. In demonstrating how both she and Sister Evangelina do 'a great deal to improve her intolerable conditions' in orchestrating not only the renovation of her home, but in gaining her access to free meals and a pension, they extend the remit of their roles to such an extent that community medicine becomes a social as well as physical saviour.[24]

This powerful appeal of district medicine then, appears to lie not only in the apparently close ties it forges between practitioner and patient, but in its power to expose and resolve 'social inadequacies.'[25] As we see in the alleviation of poverty and policing of child neglect, this is undoubtedly necessary and beneficial, but the extent to which Worth's characters provide a safety net for the failures of other welfare services is ultimately untenable. It provides again, a heavily romanticised image, an overinflated extension of the parameters of the existing responsibilities of already overworked practitioners, which reinforces an image of superhuman capabilities.

Yet, interestingly, such instances also demonstrate how Worth's desire to propagate this image of district medicine and practitioners frequently undermines and contradicts itself. In having the power and intention to fix social inadequacies, Worth's nurse-midwives become agents of social control.[26] Though Worth claims that they were 'less intrusive into family life'

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[24] Worth, *Midwife,* 224.
[25] Alastair V. Campbell, *Moderated Love: A Theology of Professional Care* London: SPCK, 1984, 30.
[26] Agnes Miles, *Women, Health and Medicine* United Kingdom: Open University Press, 1991,184.

during the 1950s, she contradicts herself in her frequent references to making reports 'to the sisters' on that very subject, and the regular intervention of her midwives into the private lives of the families they interact with.[27] This very ability to intervene then, re-fashions her presentations of centrality and inclusivity. Though they are evidently aided in their endeavours in being able to personally connect with their patients, their centrality to the community is perhaps more akin to a Foucauldian Panopticon.[28] Being at once both central and 'set apart' as figures of authority, their consistent presence and ability to penetrate the domestic sphere present them as an 'All Seeing Eye' which encourages self-censure and regulation through their reportage.[29] This consequently fosters a culture of surveillance which enforces compliance to normalised middle class, standards of conduct and household management; failure to do so risks not only the social shame of gossip and derision, but the very real threat of intervention.

As Worth herself states, the necessity of complying with certain standards 'literally killed many old people', as their failure to maintain them resulted in forced relocations due to the squalid nature of housing within the community.[30] Ironically, in such instances, the social intervention not only damages the patient, but threatens the very community district medicine fosters both spiritually, through the removal of individuals, and physically, in accelerating the condemnation and eventual destruction of the very buildings. But, whilst this is justifiable, the negative effects of social policing are far more damning in the depiction of teenage mother Mary. Though the intervention of Worth saves Mary from an abusive pimp, the enforcement of moral standards mandates the removal of her illegitimate daughter, and her subsequent mental breakdown.

[27] Worth, *Midwife*, 303, 36.
[28] Gary Gutting, *Foucault: A Very Short Introduction* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005, 84.
[29] McIntosh, *Social History*, 83.
[30] Worth, *Midwife*, 5.

However, Worth nevertheless attempts to disassociate this from the role of the nurse-midwife and community medicine to preserve her image of nostalgic professionalism. Crucially, whilst she accepts and promotes the direct involvement in positive cases, she deflects the negative ones as a consequence of other agencies within the welfare state. For instance, Worth categorically states that she was not 'a health visitor, nor a social worker', despite frequently taking on such a role, presenting herself instead as an instigator and mediator.[31] This, and the tone of outrage at the actions of specific social workers, such as those at the Mother and Baby Home, creates a sense of separation that allows her to distance herself from such individuals, who she presents as the true culprits for the removal of Mary's baby. Thus, in presenting the nurse-midwife's involvement as a stepping stone in the process of welfare in this way, Worth can present the nurse-midwife as solely motivated by a desire to do good, able to take credit for positive outcomes, but crucially also able to absolve nurse-midwives and the institution of community medicine from blame in negative cases. In doing so, Worth can preserve the image of community medicine as socially constructive in intention, and thus partially preserve her façade of a Golden Age of district midwifery in presenting patient and midwife as a united front.

The Magic of Myth

Considering all this, it is easy to see just how Worth's memoir has become such a success, in print and on screen. Her stories give not only recognition, but applause, to the heroic, but often overlooked, dedication and contribution of nurses and midwives. They focus on the very matter of life, and through it human relationships, creating on the surface a palpably appealing vision of care which nostalgically intimates and celebrates a strong sense of community and good old fashioned values. Yet, however appealing her vision is, it is just that.

[31] Worth, *Midwife*, 303.

Though carefully packaged as a true story, her work is full of contradictions and an expressed declaration of propaganda which question her reliability. Her work is an idealised representation, which though noble in its expressed intention, and the more covert intention of promoting reform, it is ultimately unsustainable escapism. Her over-arching message marks a yearning for an illusionary bygone era and a romantic vision of care and practitioners that can serve as a source of inspiration and faith, but which cannot ever fully be realised in either historical fact or a modern NHS under crippling strain.

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New Labour and Higher Education: Revisiting the Scholarship

Yegor Lanovenko

The primacy of 'education, education, education' in both the discourse, policy and ideological programme of New Labour (1997-2007) presents a convenient lens through which to analyse the period. However, despite sustained academic attention on New Labour school-level policy and its socio-political contexts, the body of scholarship on Higher Education (HE) and universities during the same period is less comprehensive. This is not to suggest that HE policy of the period has eluded scholarly attention entirely. On the contrary, this article argues that the majority of the narratives of New Labour HE policy have been too limited in their focus, which has been on what is perceived as the 'dominant' agenda of student funding and widening participation. Reducing the entire New Labour HE policy to fees and participation conceals other major developments in HE policy discourse, with implications stretching beyond the UK to global HE policy paradigms and the evolution of the 'idea' of university. As such, both the New Labour HE policy and the surrounding political and economic contexts within which it emerged warrant a re-evaluation.

This article aims to begin assembling a more holistic account of what the New Labour HE policy was, how universities were conceived of in the policy discourse and what roles they were expected to perform in national and global contexts. This will be achieved by focussing on an analysis of the types of relevant scholarship on New Labour HE currently available. This article will contribute a synthesis and a summary of previously disparate strands of research on the topic, point to the limitations of the current source selection and methodological approaches

and therefore demonstrate the need to close gaps in existing assessments of the New Labour impact on both HE policy and the idea of university. The existing scholarship on the subject can be split into two loose cross-disciplinary categories: one is a more reductionist narrative that considers New Labour HE policy to be limited to specific measures such as funding and participation, the other describes Labour's policy in this period as fundamental reform, though interpretations of why and what was reformed differ greatly. Both, however, share a set of limitations around the sources selected and how they were approached, as well as the conclusions drawn and how they were contextualised. These two categories will now be discussed to highlight both their contributions and limitations, so as to synthesise these studies into a summary of currently available accounts of HE under New Labour.

What can be labelled as the reductionist trend is often expressed in studies produced during or shortly after Tony Blair's first term as Prime Minister or those with a specialist interest in fair access. Smith and Standish embody the perceived disregard of HE by New Labour by stating that it was hard to imagine that the new government was particularly interested in higher education.[1] Similarly, Smithers argues that when Labour was elected the 'priority was school education', effectively '[putting] higher education on hold'.[2] This was despite the election manifesto announcing plans for 'University for Industry' and containing significant hints to the economically instrumentalist vision of HE that would hegemonise the policy discourse.[3] It is also typical of such early analyses to focus overwhelmingly on the 1998 funding changes and the participation target of 50% as defining HE policy. The narrow focus

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[1] Richard Smith and Paul Standish, 'It Lifted My Sights': Revaluing Higher Education in an Age of New Technology', in *Taking Education Really Seriously: Four Years' Hard Labour*, ed. Michael Fielding London, 2001, 119.
[2] Alan Smithers, 'Education Policy', in *The Blair Effect: The Blair Government 1997-2001,* ed. Anthony Seldon London, 2001, 421.
[3] The Labour Party, *New Labour Because Britain Deserves Better: Labour Manifesto 1997* (London, 1997) [Accessed: http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/man/lab97.htm 10 December 2016].

is even more pronounced in studies with a specific interest in participation, access and student experience. These range from statistical analyses to examinations of the impact of single policy proposals on widening participation, such as the work the Department of Education and Skills (DfES) 2003 White Paper *The Future of Higher Education* by Jones and Thomas.[4] Further enquiries into the experience of particular student groups, for example evaluating the success of New Labour policies for disabled or 'non-traditional' students in the 'widening participation dream' have also been undertaken.[5] Understandably, scholars concerned with fair access and student experience have limited their source selection to specific groups, however the conclusions and assumptions about New Labour HE policy drawn or implied in the process contribute to an overly-generalised, reductionist account of HE in the period.

Despite the evidence for a more economic agenda for HE in the same sources (such as the 2003 DfES White Paper), the restricted focus on funding and participation could be explained by a more positivist approach to policy texts apparent in these works. It tends to be assumed that descriptions in the publications can be taken literally and represent reality directly. As a result, policy texts are often evaluated almost scientifically by these authors, based on the validity of the policy recommendations and their political logic. A more discursive approach, which involves a closer examination of the rhetoric, of the way reality is represented and how the problems the policy is supposed to be solving are constructed can be more revealing of the agenda under New Labour. Changing the approach to the same sources in this way makes it possible to discern a HE policy agenda stretching far beyond funding and participation. There is a growing tendency among HE scholars to apply such methodology to

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[4] For an overview of this research, see Stephen Gorard and Emma Smith, *Review of Widening Participation Research: Addressing the Barriers to Participation in Higher Education* (York, 2006). Robert Jones and Liz Thomas, 'The 2003 UK Government Higher Education White Paper: A Critical Assessment of Its Implications for the Access and Widening Participation Agenda'*Journal of Education Policy*20:5 (September 2005), 615 - 30

[5] Sheila Riddell et al, 'New Labour, Social Justice and Disabled Students in Higher Education', *British Educational Research Journal* 31, 5:10 (October 2005): 623-43; Carole Leathwood and Paul O'Connell, 'It's a Struggle: The Construction of the 'New Student' in Higher Education', *Journal of Education Policy,* 18:6 (2003), 597-615.

policy texts, which treats policy itself as discourse and policy texts as literary and narrative structures.[6] The benefits of this method for studying both education and New Labour are demonstrated by Nicoll and Edwards in a case study of the 'lifelong learning' metaphor in the 1998 Green Paper.[7] It is not being suggested that every study of HE policy must delve into the textual devices used in constructing or setting out policy problems, but there are clear advantages to simply being aware of the textuality of policy documents, considering that policy texts also contribute to the construction of the realities and problems they seek to describe and solve.

Such sensitivity to the significance of rhetoric and discourse is noticeable in the second strand of scholarship on HE under New Labour, one that constructs a narrative of some sort of fundamental reform. For scholars concerned with institutional identities and organisational structures in universities, such as Deem, this reform consisted of the introduction of the discourse of new managerialism into HE contexts as part of a wider neoliberal 'political project', described by Shore and Wright as a re-engineering of power relations by coercively transforming universities into financial institutions through KPIs.[8] In these works, new managerialism tends to be accepted, rather than evidenced, as a flourishing dominant policy paradigm defining HE in the period. This and the more sociological interest in institutional structures mean that this scholarship provides only one facet of a more comprehensive account of HE under New Labour. It does however confirm the importance of considering the impact of policy language, rather than only the measures themselves.

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[6] For example, Sandra Taylor, 'Researching Educational Policy and Change in 'New Times': Using Critical Discourse Analysis', *Journal of Education Policy* 19:4 (2004): 433-51; Norman Fairclough, *New Labour, New Language?* (London, 2001).

[7] Katherine Nicoll and Richard Edwards, 'Reading Policy Texts: Lifelong Learning as Metaphor', *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 19:5 (2000): 459-69.

[8] Rosemary Deem et al, *Knowledge Higher Education, and the New Managerialism* (Oxford, 2007), 8, 16, 23; Cris Shore and Susan Wright, 'Audit Culture and Anthropology: New Liberalism in British Higher Education', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 5:4 (December 1999): 559. For an excellent introduction to this research, see Rosemary Deem and Kevin J. Brehony, 'Management as Ideology: The Case of 'New Managerialism' in Higher Education, *Oxford Review of Education* 31:2 (June 2005): 217-35.

The other narrative of reform stems from political studies arguing that HE policy was re-aligned to the Third Way principles. Jary aims to demonstrate the 'force of Third Way thinking in policy discourses', arguing that when seen in 'Third Way terms', New Labour HE policy can be interpreted as 'a [coherent] response to the imperatives facing UK higher education arising from the global conditions'.[9] Despite clearly appreciating the inextricable connection between HE policy and concepts of globalisation and the knowledge economy, Jary does not question the ideological use of these concepts in shaping the policy itself. As a result, the repetitive self-referential rhetoric of the New Labour policy discourse is only further perpetuated in the studies analysing the policy, without investigating the way these concepts are deployed ideologically to justify the New Labour programme itself.[10] Similarly, Naidoo perfectly summarises the New Labour vision for HE by describing 'the expectation that higher education will contribute to enhancing the nation state's competitive edge in the global marketplace by developing innovations in knowledge and technology and producing the new 'smart' workers'.[11] However the rhetoric of such supposed globalisation challenges faced by the national economy and HE is accepted without an examination of its origins and influence on the policy. This leads to the 'globalisation thesis' remaining unquestioned as reality rather than an ideological force used to justify the New Labour programme including HE policy.[12]

This acceptance of the realities constructed by the New Labour policy rhetoric is partially caused by both these authors' choice of what is described as key policy documents and a lack of discursive engagement with these texts. There is an almost exclusive focus on DfE/DfES

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[9] David Jary, 'UK Higher Education Policy and the 'Global Third Way'', *Policy and Politics: Studies of Local Government and its Services,* 33 (October 2005): 638.
[10] Jary, 'UK Higher Education', 637, 638, 652. Cole, 'Globalisation', 316.
[11] Rajani Naidoo, 'The 'Third Way' to Widening Participation and Maintaining Quality in Higher Education', *Journal of Educational Enquiry* 1:2 (2000): 25.
[12] Michael Cole, 'Globalisation, Modernisation and Competitiveness: A Critique of the New Labour Project in Education', *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 8:5 (1998): 315.

publications and the 2003 White Paper and the Higher Education Act of 2004, which is too narrow a source selection. Expanding the scope to consider the research and policy documents produced by the Treasury would not only necessitate the inclusion of business-university collaboration as one of the key policy measures, but would also testify to the self-referential process through which the 'problems' and 'challenges' facing the UK and universities – such as the threats of globalisation – were perpetuated by the Treasury, and replicated as motivation for policy designed to address the same challenges by other departments such as the DfES.[13] Ball hints at this 'globaloney' problem: 'globalization thesis can be used to explain almost anything and everything and is ubiquitous in current policy documents and policy analysis'.[14] Elsewhere, Ball further suggests that the 'general orientation of Labour education policy to the global competitiveness of the economy is very clear and recurs constantly in policy texts of various types'.[15] However, these observations are too generalised, and are linked to global education policy trends as local manifestations of global paradigms.[16] On an even broader scale, sweeping studies in global HE trends such as the shift to mode 2 research, commodification of knowledge, the impact of globalisation or post-modernity on universities have all been popular.[17] What is lacking, however, is a detailed historical analysis of both the New Labour HE policy in its own right and as a specific instance of these generalised global observations – a study that firmly positions the New Labour period within these broader meta-narratives of HE developments.

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[13] HM Treasury, *Lambert Review of Business-University Collaboration* (HM Treasury, 2003).
[14] Stephen J. Ball, 'Big Policies / Small World: An Introduction to International Perspectives in Education Policy', *Comparative Education* 34 (1998): 120.
[15] Stephen J. Ball, 'Labour, Learning and the Economy: A 'Policy Sociology' Perspective', *Cambridge Journal of Education* 29:2 (1999): 198, 200.
[16] Ball, 'Labour', 195.
[17] For a seminal narrative of the 'posthistrorical' university and its relationship with the nation-state, globalisation and multinational corporations see Bill Readings, *The University in Ruins* (Cambridge, MA, 1999) and Ronald Barnett, *Realizing the University in an Age of Supercomplexity* (Buckingham, 2000); for an overview of Mode 2 research: Helga Nowotny et al, ''Mode 2' Revisited: The New Production of Knowledge', *Minerva* 41 (2003), 179-194; for links between HE, globalisation and knowledge economy: Mark Olsen and Michael A. Peters, 'Neoliberalism, Higher Education and the Knowledge Economy: From the Free Market to Knowledge Capitalism', *Journal of Education Policy* 20:3 (2005): 313-345.

This can only be achieved through an approach that synthesises the contributions and overcomes the limitations of the scholarship strands discussed above. This article has attempted to commence this process, presenting a selection of scholarship relevant to HE policy under New Labour and its contributions to assembling a comprehensive understanding of what the policy was, what roles universities were assigned by the policy, and how the idea of HE functioned in the broader Third Way discourse. Some of the limitations and gaps in the current scholarship have also been highlighted, which can be summarised as follows:

1) The existing scholarship uses too narrow a set of sources, commonly relying solely on a selection of 'landmark' publications from the DfE/DfES, or speeches interpreted as policy-setting occasions. HE policy recommendations, rhetoric and problems originating from the Treasury are almost entirely ignored.
2) The policy sources that *are* used tend to be approached in a way that does not consider them as texts, failing to analyse their discursive relationships and narrative structures. This obscures the extent to which specific discourses such as productivity and globalisation shaped HE policy problems and solutions, and the dissemination of self-referential rhetoric emanating from the Treasury.
3) Partially as a result of the restricted source choice, and the literal reading, current research is too specialised to provide a holistic account of HE under New Labour, obscuring the paramount importance of the economic and technocratic roles assigned to universities by the Treasury in favour of a more narrow focus, be it on participation or managerialism. As a result, the ensuing policy measures centered on business-university collaboration, increasing national productivity and skills levels tend to be underemphasised.
4) With a few notable exceptions, it fails to systematically analyse the relationship between this economically instrumentalist view of HE and the wider political context

or Third Way programme, which shaped the way universities were conceived of - especially the influence of neoliberalism, globalisation and 'knowledge economy'. This obstructs the possibility of fruitfully linking the HE policy of the period as a local manifestation of wider global developments in the idea of university.

This article has summarised the types of scholarship and the various narratives of New Labour HE policy currently available in secondary literature, so as to synthesise the disparate research, which has been disproportionately tailored to benefit only specialists in policy and certain scholars of HE policy. It has also suggested how this scholarship could be enriched in at least three ways: by employing Treasury sources such as White Papers and Budget Reports that have previously not been considered in this context; by adopting a more discursive approach to policy texts; and lastly by using three state-backed quasi-university initiatives (University for Industry, NHS University and UKeU) as original case studies for the New Labour idea of university. The latter could be particularly original, as these initiatives are almost entirely ignored in the scholarship on both HE and New Labour and present a unique case study not only for the technocratic way in which HE was perceived by the New Labour governments, but also for the evolution of the idea of university in relation to globalisation and the knowledge economy.[18] More broadly, this article has explains the benefits of a broader and a more interdisciplinary approach to HE policy, and in doing so, has opened up a debate about how such studies could be approached in future work.

[18] Apart from a rare study on NHSU by Scott Taylor et al, 'The Institution that Wasn't: The British National Health Service University', *The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education* (December 2007): 1-26; and brief mentions like by Michael Shattock, 'Policy Drivers in UK Higher Education in Historical Perspective: 'Inside Out', 'Outside in' and the Contribution of Research', *Higher Education Quarterly* 60 (2006): 130-40.

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