CONTENTS:

EDITORIAL

Welcome to the new instalment of Estro, as an Editorial team we are proud of the multidisciplinary nature of the journal which has provided a diverse yet unified issue. Filled with insightful articles provided by the students of the University of Essex, both undergraduate and post graduate; we are thrilled to offer a plethora of subjects ranging across the University's departments which truly demonstrate the scope and flair of the students. We start this issue with an excellent creative writing piece by Lydia Graystone, a promising young writer who has provided a fantastic short story *Wife Swap*. This work updates the *Sleeping Beauty* fairy tale with a modern twist inspired by J. D. Salinger's short story 'A Perfect Day for Banana Fish'. Funny, moving and grotesque, Graystone offers a delightfully rotten, reality television watching mother-in-law, an ineffectual and emasculated husband; and a flawed and damaged heroine. Graystone's linguistic ability is a delight to read and we hope you enjoy the prose.

The next three articles are united under the umbrella of subjectivity, starting with Robert Panners's article 'The eyes are a window into the soul: A consideration of point-of-view with reference to Rear Window' which explores the extent and effects of audience manipulation trough the use of the cinematic point of view shot. Panners investigates how point of view is evidenced in Alfred Hitchcock's masterpiece, *Rear Window,* and both questions and utilises the debate of how the female on film is often the subject of 'the look' as defined by Laura Mulvey. Panners's is a particularly relevant article when considering the current debate surrounding the portrayal of women in the media and how this portrayal affects the behaviour of young people.

The subjectivity of the viewer and the positioning of women on screen create women as an 'Other', this positioning of the other is explored in Harriet Jackson's article 'Subject Relations theory and the Dialectics of Difference: the Necessity of an Interpersonal Psychoanalytic 'Language of Subjectivity?' Jackson explores how subjectivity has been psychoanalytically theorised through language. Using Christopher Bollas's theory of Subject Relations, Jackson argues that there is a need to 'construct and symbolically represent the Other in the dialectics of Difference' which creates a situation in which power dynamics and underlying prejudices of language can be excavated to explore the unconscious processes by which the Subject is constituted through relationality. This exploration provides some necessary tools for understanding how the Other is experienced, understood and (at times) reified. A complex yet insightful article, Jackson provides a thoughtful overview of the theory of Subject Relations before raising a series of

important questions concerning how this theory can be developed in connection with clinical practice.

This emphasis upon practical application is very clearly observed in John Stevens' research on 'Education social networks'. Stevens compares staff and student email networks in the University and concludes that not only are the networks structured in different ways but that the motivations for using this method of communication differ. Elaborating these differences empirically lays important groundwork for considering how new technologies (and the inevitable changes in how we interact with those in our social networks) will shape subjectivity through shifting the inter-subjective connections between the Subject and the Other.

Modernity and reactions to modernity shape the next two articles, Tom Blowers article 'Peter the Great and the Westernisation of Russia?' examines the extent to which Peter the Great was responsible for the Westernisation of Russia and in doing so speaks to the broader notions of national consciousness and identity. This consideration of historical westernisation provides an insight into the modernity of the age. Blowers outlines a series of competing tensions which situates Russia at the threshold of geographical (Europe and Asia) and ideological (Despotism and Enlightenment) tensions; tensions often at the heart of modernity of all ages. Russia's economic and political modernisation was, in part, motivated by Peter's own dynamic relation with Britain and France, through the Grand Embassy to Europe (1697-8), and his own country.

The second article which deals with modernity does so from the position of the present modernity. Richard Wade's '*A post-great recession mandate for the Bank of England*' explores related economic and political changes in a contemporary setting and outlines potential responses to the recent crisis. Wade presents a convincing argument for the continued, but cautious, use inflation targeting in order to manage economic growth in the future. Wade argues that the recent economic problems are not the fault of this policy but that 'a certain amount of hubris' may have led to carelessness. This mandate calls for further consideration of the ways in which economic and political discourse bring people into new type of relationship. In short, these changes connect notions of multiple modernities with varied subjectivities.

The last two pieces for consideration are united under the subject of art. Frederick Slater's article 'What do Olmec were-jaguars and jaguar babies tell us about Olmec religion?' explores the importance of the figure of the jaguar in the artworks of the ancient South American Olmec people and how the exploration of such artworks provides an insight into the lives, social structures and beliefs of these somewhat elusive peoples. At a time when

funding for the arts is dwindling, this piece reminds us of the importance of art to all societies, past, present and future.

That only leaves it for us to thank all those who have contributed to this issue of the journal, without all your hard work it would not have been possible, with a particular thank you to all the reviewers, whose efforts gain them neither money nor glory but our gratitude.

Aaron Reeves and Lucy Cook, Editors

Wife Swap

Lydia Graystone

It was the first day of spring today. One of those really bright, dazzling days, when it seems like the sunlight is trying to force its way through your eyes and into your head. I didn't wake up until past noon, so I didn't have a chance to get used to it. My husband just threw open the curtains when he brought me breakfast, and the sun hit him like a sonata as he informed me that it was a beautiful day. It wasn't nearly as beautiful as he is – six foot tall and broad of breast with hair of gold. I married a prince. He is beautiful, and his mother's blood runs through him like a river.

He said there was a little bird's nest in the rafters of the kitchen porch. I went to look for it later, when I felt more awake. Not to touch – you can't touch a baby bird, or its mother won't want it any more. I was just hoping that maybe the sight of them could choke up all the feelings caught in my throat like mangled worms. But the nest was gone. Nothing young ever lingers here too long, because my husband is his mother's son.

It's just like me to sleep through something like that. I used to think that once I woke up I'd never go back to bed again – I wanted to travel the world on foot just because I had feet. I suppose, in the depths of my drowsy mind, I thought when I woke up it would all be the same. I'd still be the lithe, light girl I was before, picking flowers and riding my pony and dreaming of my prince. But I awoke, and my flesh is tough as mutton, my joints stiff and slow. I creak. I am still beautiful, and my husband loves me so, but what was once flesh and blood and bone is now porcelain and dust, and I am so very tired.

*

'For heaven's sake, Charles,' sniffed Lucille. 'I can't imagine what you're dithering about. Simply take the damned thing off her and have done with it.'

'Come now, mother,' said Charles uncomfortably. 'She says it helps her.'

'Writing helps no woman,' declared Lucille, brandishing her Bloody Mary like a weapon. She was reclining upon her favourite chaise longue, her thin body snapped tightly into a Chanel suit and containing, as usual, far more alcohol than sustenance. 'What man wants to marry a girl who picks up a pen and records it every time he falls short?' she continued. 'Far too obvious. If you want to destroy your husband, you have to be subtle about it.'

'She doesn't want to destroy me!' exclaimed Charles. 'She's just... going through a tough time at the moment, and this little project helps her work things through. Anyway, what if she turns out to have real talent? You won't be so quick to dismiss her writing if she turns out to be the next Emily Dickinson.'

'Emily Dickinson!' snorted Lucille. 'The woman was miserable! Never married, of course. You can always tell.'

'Well, she wore enough white.'

'Don't be pert, Charles. You know I can't abide it when you're pert. Anyway,' said Lucille expansively, gesturing for the maid to bring her more vodka, 'I've taken a look at this ridiculous little diary, and it's nothing but nonsense. The girl's wasting her time rambling on about springtime and princes and I don't know what else. She's got two infants to care for!'

'Now, be fair, mother,' said Charles, frowning. 'She's only been out of her coma for six weeks.'

'That's nothing!' declared Lucille. 'I was in a coma once, and it didn't do me any harm. Nothing but a two week nap! I woke up at three PM on my fourteenth birthday, just in time for the party.'

'I don't think that's right.'

'Well, people were tougher back then. Nobody ever sat around moping about how hard it is to be young, rich and happily married. Do you know, Charles, I'm not sure if we shouldn't take Little Miss Dreary down to a different ward in the hospital, if you know what I mean.'

'I know exactly what you mean, mother, and I won't hear of it. It was eclampsia, not schizophrenia. Just because it's taking her a bit of time to recover does not mean she's crazy.'

'I'm not so sure, Charles. She married you, didn't she?' With that, Lucille burst into a loud cackle of laughter, and refused to stop until Charles changed the subject entirely.

*

All I ever hear any more is crying, and I know why it is, too. The babies don't like it here. They don't want to be trapped here in this big, empty place, where they scream and scream for their mother but she never comes. Their cries just clang loudly against the ceiling, then rebound back down and slap them in the face.

Their mother never comes because she is gone, and I am here in her place. I think perhaps I was her, a long time ago, because Charles asks me 'Where's the girl I used to know?' and I know it's not me, because he always looks so sad. I know what he wants. He wants me to get up and put on a clean gown and smile and kiss him and care for the babies. He wants the sweet, pregnant girl who fell asleep. Sometimes in the night I think I should pretend that I am she, but then dawn comes, and I can barely lift my head.

I'm not sure Charles can be trusted. He's too close to his mother. I saw her in here last week when she thought I was asleep, going through my things. I didn't open my eyes but I knew it was her, because of her smell. It's always the same. She thinks she can conceal it with perfume, but I can sniff it out. She reeks of blood. I talked to Charles – I begged him not to let her near the babies, because I know what she is. I know what she's got planned.

I don't think they're mine. I don't remember giving birth. He brings them to me and tries to make me hold them, feed them, but I can't, because if there ever was a drop of milk inside me it went sour long ago, and now it's curdled into a lump at the pit of my stomach. Still, I can't stand the thought of her caring for them, because I know her. I've seen her kind long ago, before I was cursed. Rail thin, because her prey doesn't come around often, she feeds them up with sweets from the kitchen and coos over their chubby little arms and legs as though she truly loves them, but she's just waiting until they're fat enough to toss into her cauldron so she can gobble them up like chocolates. She thinks I don't know because I mostly stay in bed, but the truth is that sometimes when I'm not too tired I creep over to the window and look down into the garden. That's where she's building her cauldron, and every day she adds to it – stirring the water, stoking the fire, sprinkling salt and pepper to taste. She's going to eat them.

There isn't much time.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

'Monothematic delusions? Well, what does that mean?'

'Good Lord, Charles, what do you think it means?' snorted Lucille. 'The girl's gone round the twist.'

Charles shot his mother a glare and turned away from her, pressing the telephone to his ear. 'Yes... yes... I – no, wait, the seizures have stopped! It – oh. I see. And... and how serious is that? ... I see.'

The conversation continued in this vein for twelve minutes. During the fourth, Charles decided to vacate the room to avoid having to listen to his mother's comments. When he returned, she was apparently immersed in an

episode of *Wife Swap* and full of injured claims that she would never eavesdrop upon a private conversation, especially one involving her own son.

'Yes, of course, mother,' said Charles wearily. 'Look, it's obvious you want to know. Doctor Kleinman says she's suffering from brain damage.'

'Well, I could have told you that,' said Lucille. 'She married you, didn't she?'

'Mother, now is not the time!'

'Oh Charles, don't be such a bore,' said Lucille airily. 'It's nothing to worry about. Brain damage is such a dramatic term. Just make sure she keeps popping those pills and stop worrying about it. It's ageing you, dear. You're far too stressed. Niles says you haven't been to the country club in weeks.'

'You can tell Niles that I'm a little busy at the moment,' said Charles. 'Listen, Doctor Kleinman's on vacation at the moment, but he'll be coming around for her next Thursday, and I think that maybe we should move the babies away from her room – you know she needs her sleep. So if you could make sure you're –'

'For heaven's sake, Charles. I'm not going to schedule my life around that little chit. Those revolting builders say my Jacuzzi will be ready tomorrow, and I'm damn well going to use it. Now, have you seen this programme? It's simply dreadful. The gentleman on the left is going to have to do his own laundry in a moment. Can you imagine?'

*

She's got him. She's got Charles. He's not who I thought he was. Oh, he's still just as tall and as handsome, and he says he loves me, but I know he's not what he was. She always carries a goblet of blood in her hands and I suppose it must be his. She's drained him dry of everything he was, and now it's nothing but her green ogre blood that pumps him forward and all he can do is say yes, yes, yes, to every word she says.

She's got the babies. It feels like weeks since I've seen them now, and I know why. It's because they're dead. Her cauldron's been boiling over for nights. I know when she cooked them, because I heard these ghastly plopping noises from the garden, and I haven't heard them cry since. I think she must be taking her time as she eats them, maybe only crunching a bone or two each day. I still hear her cauldron and I can't sleep the way I used to because it's always bubbling viciously beneath my window.

She put it there for a reason. I know I'm next. She wants to see me boiled alive, and as far as I can tell there's only one escape. I don't mind. I'm not sure if I was ever supposed to wake up anyway.

*

Rose put down her biro. She got out of bed. Clad only in the sweaty, stained nightgown she had worn ever since the troubled childbirth, she quietly unlatched the bedroom door and made her slow, dreamy way down the stairs. Everyone was asleep.

Rose let herself out of the back door and, with a little skip in her step, moved forward. Without so much as a backward glance, she stripped, climbed into the Jacuzzi, ducked her head underwater, and held herself there.

It was going, she thought hazily before the darkness met her, to be a very deep sleep.

The eyes are a window into the soul: A consideration of point-of-view with reference to Rear Window.

Robert Panners

ABSTRACT

This essay is an exploration of the reasons why Alfred Hitchcock relies on the use of the point-of-view shot in his suspense thriller *Rear Window*. The essay suggests that Hitchcock uses this particular shot to mimic our own objectifying gazes. It draws on the views of critics including Mulvey, Sallitt and Modleski and discusses some of their ideas in relation to the point-of-view shot, including ideas to do with the pleasure of looking (scopophillia), and psychological subjectivity. A number of extracts from their works are looked at and analyzed to identify possible explanations for Hitchcock's heavy reliance on the point-of-view shot in the film. The main conclusions of the essay show that the point-of-view shot is often used to obtain maximum emotional impact from the audience and to exploit their fascination with the voyeuristic and the erotic.

The point-of-view shot is one of the most influential shots a director can use when constructing a film. Its application can skilfully direct and manipulate audiences into experiencing particular thoughts and emotions that perhaps other types of shots would not be able to achieve as effectively. In the film *Rear Window*, Alfred Hitchcock cleverly uses the point-of-view shot to elicit from the audience various feelings, which include the emotions tension, intrigue, humour, and relief. This essay will discuss how Hitchcock uses the point-of-view shot to manipulate his audience and what effects this manipulation produces.

We can see many instances within *Rear Window* where the point-of-view shot is used effectively in order to manipulate the audience. A good example of this is when Jeffries (James Stewart) observes a newly wedded couple checking into a hotel room. The sequence starts with a shot of Jeffries looking out of his window and then we cut to a shot from his point-of-view. Through this we see the couple begin to eagerly embrace; they then pull back due to the hotel manager's unwelcome reappearance, but then are able to fully embrace again once the manager departs. This provides the audience with humour and a feeling of contentedness, but these feelings are reinforced when the film then cuts to a reverse shot of Jeffries smiling. With this mirroring effect, Hitchcock also to emphasises the fact that we are observing events from Jeffries' point-of-view, and that by the use of this particular shot in the editing process we are successfully being manipulated to experience particular emotions.

The earlier reverse-shot of Jeffries within this scene, at the moment that the couple kiss, is also worth mentioning. Arguably, this shot of the kissing couple highlights our voyeuristic tendencies as a cinema-going audience and Jeffries' subsequent coy look away, and then sheepish look back, echoes our own inner conflict about what we think is decent and indecent to observe. Indeed Jeffries' nurse Stella (Thelma Ritter) even states that: "we are becoming a race of Peeping Toms". Laura Mulvey talks extensively about the gaze and its use in cinema. She writes:

> 'The cinema offers a number of possible pleasures. One is scopophilia. There are circumstances in which looking itself is a source of pleasure....Freud isolated scopophilia as one of the component instincts of sexuality....he associated scopophilia with taking other people as objects, subjecting them to a controlling and curious gaze.' (Mulvey, 2004: 839)

The use of the point-of-view shot takes advantage of the audience's pleasure of looking and objectifying the people they see in front of them, which further draws us into the narrative of the film and reinforces our feelings by seeing Jeffries mirroring our reactions in the reverse shots. In this case the feelings of voyeurism, curiosity, and conflict are explored.

Mulvey also draws on the idea of sexuality being fundamental to our pleasure in gazing, and it could be argued that Hitchcock also uses sexuality in his point-of-view shots in order to further manipulate the audience. For example, Mulvey writes:

> 'In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its phantasy on to the female figure which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact' (Mulvey, 2004: 841)

A good example to illustrate this idea in *Rear Window* is at the beginning of the film when we observe, from Jeffries' point-of-view, one of his young, attractive, female neighbours practicing ballet in skimpy attire who he labels "Miss Torso". This reinforces Mulvey's argument that the male gaze is at the root of mainstream cinema and that the film's point-of-view is essentially derived from the male perspective. The use of point-of-view shot in this instance manipulates the audience by satisfying our pleasure of looking at what we should not. However, it should also be noted that this primarily satisfies the male audience due to the erotic connotations of the sequence.

Mulvey also proposes an example of sexuality being utilized in the film towards its conclusion. She writes:

> '…Douchet takes the film as a metaphor for the cinema. Jeffries is the audience, the events in the apartment block opposite correspond to the screen. As he watches, an erotic dimension is added to his look…His girlfriend Lisa had been of little sexual interest to him…so long as she remained on the spectator side. When she crosses the barrier between his room and the block opposite, their relationship is re-born erotically. He does not merely watch her through his lens, as a distant meaningful image, he also sees her as a guilty intruder exposed by a dangerous man threatening her with punishment, and thus finally saves her.' (Mulvey, 2004: 845-6)

Douchet's talk of the film as a metaphor is a very interesting argument and is supported by the points Mulvey puts forward. Indeed, to reinforce and extend the metaphor, one could add that the windows Jeffries peers into symbolize cinema screens. Once Lisa (Grace Kelly) enters the "phantasy" (Mulvey, 2004: 841), world Jeffries has created for himself, she becomes an object of desire for him, and he becomes distraught at the thought of the danger awaiting her. Additionally, it is also worth mentioning, that Hitchcock uses the point-of-view shot admirably in this sequence to create tension within the audience. As we wait for Thorwald (Raymond Burr) to return to his apartment, and while Lisa is sneaking around inside for evidence, the audience experience tension, and this is reflected in Jeffries' facial expression in the reverse shot. Additionally, when Thorwald catches Lisa as he enters his apartment, the point-of-view shot is again used to manipulate the audience into a state of horror, which is again reflected on the facial expression of Jeffries.

A different perspective on the point-of-view shot, of particular interest for a discussion of *Rear Window*, can be seen in Daniel Sallit's notion of the disembodied point-of-view shot. Susan Smith quotes Daniel Sallitt who suggests that: "…the point-of-view shot is somehow impersonal and remote from the character whose point-of-view is being used…" and that "The point-of-view shot is a means of putting the spectator in some relation, not to the character, but to the film universe" (Sallitt cited in Smith, 2000: 85-6). Smith goes on to elaborate on Sallitt's theory:

> 'In de-emphasising the importance of point-of-view shooting as an identification device…and in stressing its indicativeness of a 'broader interest in a visual exploration of the film universe' in Hitchcock's cinema, Sallitt challenges the oversimplified assumption…'that Hitchcock's films are in some ways dedicated to a notion of psychological subjectivity, that the films examine

reality from an individual's viewpoint which we are compelled to share.' Instead the point-of-view shot is seen as a means by which 'to evoke...the sense of a pair of eyes *within* the film universe..."' (Smith, 2000: 86)

Sallitt here problematises our typical sense of the point-of-view shot as serving to make the viewer identify with the film's characters. A key point Sallitt is making is that the viewer is often put into Hitchcock's films directly, our experience not always mediated by characters' points-of-view. We could argue that this statement can be effectively applied to the use of the disembodied point-of-view shot in *Rear Window*. A good example to illustrate this point would be when Lisa first enters the picture and greets Jeffries. We begin with what seems to be a regular point-of-view shot of Lisa leaning in towards the camera, we then cut to a reverse shot of Jeffries waking up, then another point-of-view shot of Lisa leaning in, and then finally a tight close-up shot of Lisa passionately kissing Jeffries, which shows both Lisa and Jeff in the shot. We could infer that this final shot is a disembodied point-of-view shot. The beginning of this sequence aligns us with the point-of-view of Jeffries, and in correspondence to the "male gaze" (Mulvey, 2004: 841), but then, in the close-up at the end, places us as near to Jeffries' perspective as possible so that we can still feel the intensity of the moment when Lisa kisses him. Indeed, as well as using the disembodied point-of-view shot, Hitchcock also uses a slower frame speed to manipulate the audience further into feeling arousal during the close-up of the two main characters, and to highlight the sexual connotations that are present throughout the film.

Smith refers to the idea discussed above when she says: "Sallitt coins the term 'intrarealistic' to describe this effect ["the sense of a pair of eyes *within* the film universe" (Smith, 2000: 86)] and cites the use of extreme physical proximity of characters and the camera track-in device as two other key strategies used to create it." (Smith, 2000: 86) It is also worth mentioning that Sallitt's theory is justified when referring to the regular point-of-view shot as well as the disembodied one. For example, when we see the first point-of-view shot of Lisa leaning in, and then cut to a reverse shot of Jeffries, we see that he still has his eyes closed and is just waking up. Clearly this first shot of Lisa is not Jeffries' direct point-of-view, and this adds weight to the notion that there is a "pair of eyes *within* the film" (Smith, 2000: 86). This again clearly shows Hitchcock's skilful use of editing, and shows how he is able to use a subjective and disembodied point-of-view to elicit and enhance the audience's arousal.

Again, continuing with our central theme of sexuality and voyeurism, it is worth exploring the concept of mirroring that takes place in the film. This is evident when we see Jeffries mirroring our feelings and reactions after

being presented with his point-of-view, but it is also present in another way. In order to explore this fully we need to first look at the theory of the mirror stage. Laura Mulvey succinctly describes the mirror stage, which is a psychoanalytic theory developed by Jacques Lacan:

> 'Jacques Lacan has described how the moment when a child recognises its own image in the mirror is crucial for the construction of the ego….The mirror phase occurs at a time when the child's physical ambitions outstrip his motor capacity, with the result that his recognition of himself is joyous in that he imagines his mirror image to be more complete, more perfect than he experiences his own body.' (Mulvey, 2004: 840)

This statement can be applied to Jeffries, as he observes the actions occurring outside his window. Jeffries re-experiences the nostalgic effects of the mirror stage, and consequently also experiences the pleasure associated with its creation. Since the actions of the film are an allegory for the act of watching cinema itself, and a reflection of our own behaviours towards watching films, it could be argued that Hitchcock is attempting to make a statement about how we all experience the same sense of 'ego-reformation' that Jeffries does when he watches the exciting actions unfolding before him. It is this displacement of our own ego onto the 'ego-ideal' of the character, or characters, on screen that makes us really enjoy a particular film. However, the course of the film is arguably more about Jeffries' projection of his worries and insecurities about marriage onto the content of the narrative, rather than the mirroring of his own circumstances. For example, at the beginning of the film Jeffries is having a telephone conversation and is expressing his attitude towards marriage: "Yeah, can't you just see me rushing home to a hot apartment to listen to the automatic laundry and the electric dishwasher and the garbage disposal…a nagging wife". It is not until the end of the film that Jeffries really experiences the mirror stage as expressed by Lacan. He finally develops his 'ego' when appreciating the value of Lisa after her altercation with Thorwald. Tania Modleski adds to this when she says: "By the end of the film Jeff has supposedly learnt his lesson and 'has realized the corollary psychic costs of both voyeurism and solitude': he is now ready for the marriage he has all along resisted and for the 'mature' sexual relation that this implies" (Modleski, 2004: 851). When we take this reading of Jeffries' psyche into consideration we can see yet another dimension to Hitchcock's use of point-of-view to manipulate the audience. He causes us to question the virtues and benefits of marriage and arguably does not depict the idea of marriage in the most positive form. Of course the worries and concerns Jeffries has may be entirely justified, but time is the only thing that will show whether this is the case.

To conclude, we can see that Hitchcock uses point-of-view in a variety of ways throughout *Rear Window* to convey to the audience certain ideas and emotions that he wishes us to experience. He uses both subjective point-of-view and disembodied point-of-view shots to highlight the film's preoccupation with the themes of voyeurism and eroticism, whilst also successfully manipulating the audience into experiencing various different moods, including humour, tension, and relief. The entire film is arguably a metaphor for our own relationship with cinema and the world around us. As human beings we have an unhealthy obsession with unreality. The reality of our own lives is mundane and ordinary and we use fiction in order to escape these doldrums. When we watch cinema we couple this desire with the pleasure of looking, which ultimately provides us with an entertaining and enjoyable experience. Often we care more about the events that unfold on the cinema screen than the events that take place in our own lives, and Jeffries beautifully illustrates this idea in the film. As we have already discussed, it is only when Lisa crosses from the 'real' world of Jeffries' apartment to the "phantasy" (Mulvey, 2004: 841) world of Thorwald's apartment that Jeffries becomes concerned for her safety. It is only when the disassociated world of the rear window becomes entangled with his own world that Jeffries fully understands how unpleasant it is, and what he has to lose. This is a concept, that as cinemagoers we should all be mindful of. All of these effects are aided and achieved by the use of the point-of-view shot, and additionally helps to add a moral component to the overall story as well. It is due to theses reasons, the use of tension and suspense, and the exploration of complex psychoanalytic and cultural concepts, that *Rear Window* is one of the greatest films ever made and why Alfred Hitchcock is one of the true masters of his art.

Bibliography

Belton, John. *Alfred Hitchcock's "Rear Window"*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Freeman, Jonathan and Richard Millington. *Hitchcock's America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Krohn, Bill. *Hitchcock at Work*. Italy: Phaidon Press Limited, 2000.

Lacan, Jacques. "The Mirror Stage as Formative of the I Function". In Bruce Fink Eds. *Ecrits*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2006.

Metz, Christian. "From the Imaginary Signifier: Identification, Mirror". In Leo Brady and Marshall Cohen Eds. *Film Theory and Criticism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Modleski, Tania. "From Women Who Knew Too Much: Hitchcock and Feminist Theory, The Master's Dollhouse: *Rear Window*". In Leo Brady and Marshall Cohen Eds. *Film Theory and Criticism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Mulvey, Laura. " Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema". In Leo Brady and Marshall Cohen Eds. *Film Theory and Criticism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Sharfe, Stefan. *The Art of Looking in Hitchcock's Rear Window*. London: Limelight Editions, 1997.

Smith, Susan. *Hitchcock: Suspense, Humour and Tone*. London: BFI Publishing, 2000.

Filmography
Rear Window, dir. Alfred Hitchcock, feat. James Stewart, Grace Kelly, Thelma Ritter (Universal Pictures, 1954).

Subject Relations theory and the Dialectics of Difference: the necessity of an Interpersonal Psychoanalytic 'Language of Subjectivity?

Harriet Jackson

ABSTRACT:

This paper seeks to explore the question of whether the psychoanalyst Christopher Bollas' theory of Subject Relations can provide us with a new conceptual psycho-social 'language' of subjectivity. The purpose of this is to provide us with a psychoanalytic understanding of the unconscious processes by which individuals within groups subjectively experience, construct and symbolically represent the Other in the dialectics of Difference. It's argued that the subjectivity of the individual and the role of the Other in the formation of individual identity and relationships has been underemphasised in psychoanalytic Object relations theory resulting in an 'Other Blindness' wherein there is the danger of homogenising the Other/difference. The consequences of this are the existence of certain gaps in our understanding of how society – a composition of inter-subjective relations between peoples - works. This has manifested in a Winnicottian 'False Self' identity in language and practice of psychoanalysis. Suggested counter-measures against the objectification of the individual might be the development of a new conceptual 'language of subjectivity' or 'Subject Relations' theory in psychoanalysis alongside use of heuristic, reflexive and phenomenological methods which focus on the experiential and subjective dimensions of both the interpreter and the subject's reality. In doing so, it facilitates the examination of underlying prejudices, stereotypes and power dynamics within psychoanalysis that are unconsciously communicated through language thereby re-claiming a 'democratization of psychoanalytic knowledge' and the birth of a 'true self' psychoanalysis that acknowledges its own inherent ambiguities.

Introduction

In the first part of the paper, I will outline the question of Subjectivity in psychoanalytic theory and critique some of the psychoanalytic writings in this field. In the second part, I will examine how Bollas' theory of Subject Relations might enable us to understand from a psychoanalytic perspective the articulation of subjectivity and difference in I/you relations. To conclude, I put forward the notion of a new Interpersonal Language of Subjectivity in Psychoanalytic Object Relations theory with specific reference to Bollas' theory of Subject Relations.

Questions concerning the nature of human experience and subjectivity have been the pre-occupation of philosophical enquiry which has in turn influenced psychoanalytic thinking. Thus, Heidegger (1927) was concerned with the

question of what exactly the Essence of Being is and what its experience actually entails. Also, the founder of phenomenology, the philosopher Husserl (1931) endeavoured to understand human interaction by developing a phenomenological methodology whose aim was to 'bracket human experience' i.e. study human interaction as an object it itself to be observed in its minutiae independent of the environment.

Indeed, Bollas refers to the word 'phenomenology' several times in his writing and puts forward a theory of the individual within the context of inter-subjective relationships. This might be described as a psychoanalytic 'phenomenology of being' with the distinction of an emphasis on the uniqueness of the subjective internal experiences individuals have through social interaction within inter-subjective relationships.

A critique of psychoanalytic language in classical psychoanalysis and the move towards a 'subjective turn'

The theorization of Subjectivity or Subject relations in Psychoanalysis[1] is by no means new and has been popularized with the emergence of the perspective of Inter-subjectivity and its emphasis on interpersonal relations and triangularity. Subject Relations Theory has been widely written about, especially in the USA, as noted in the writings of Thomas Ogden (1994); Stephen Mitchell (1988, 1993); James Grotstein (2000), Jessica Benjamin (1995) and Christopher Bollas (1987). Inter-subjectivity and Subject Relations theory in psychoanalysis has been advocated in lieu of what has been argued to be a neglect of this aspect of the human psyche in Classical Psychoanalysis and Object Relations theory (Grotstein, 2000). The former has tended to focus on the drives whilst the latter has tended to concentrate on the dynamics of the therapeutic relationship but at the expense of other equally important aspects of the therapeutic relationship. These include: firstly, the private inner world of the individual, as Roger Kennedy observes '...there is still not enough attention paid in Object Relations theory to the subjective side of the analytic encounter (Kennedy, 1998:9); secondly, the actual underlying social mores, prejudices and politics that also contribute to shaping the respective psyches and subjective worlds of the analyst and patient and thirdly, the subjective elements of the 'present moment' as it is experienced in the now (Stern, 2004).

Another criticism that might be directed at Object Relations theory, is that of reductionism i.e. its tendency to focus on the individual to the exclusion of the external influences of society – a kind of 'closed off individualism' that omits contemporary social influences.

---

1 Other psychoanalytic authors who have written on 'Subject Relations' include Roger Kennedy (1998); James Grotstein (2000); Thomas Ogden (1994) and Jessica Benjamin (1995)

In addition, there is a dearth of literature on the role of individual agency in Object Relations theory. The individual is theorised as being primarily motivated by and subject to the determinants of Instinctual Drives (Freudian theory); Defense Mechanisms (Klein) or the role of the Environmental Mother on the infant's development (Winnicott). There is an element of the individual being dis-empowered, of his/her being stripped of his/her own 'uniqueness' and in turn, of human relations being reduced to unconscious factors alone and deleting the 'I-ness' and 'You-ness' qualities that we experience in our day to day interpersonal relationships.

Hitherto, traditional psychoanalytic Object Relations theory has tended to use a highly neutral and objective style of psychoanalytic language. This has been in the supposed interests of keeping the discipline neutral and scientifically unbiased. However, this has led to a clinical and cold approach to analysing the intimacies, experiences and subjectivities of the subject in analysis and everyday life. There is a distinct lack of colour, richness or texture that captures the subject's experience of human interaction with the Other. This has led to a 'top down' detached approach in psychoanalysis which attempts to describe the individual's reality without taking into consideration how the individual subjectively sees or experiences this reality: this in effect is dis-empowering. In addition, there has been an implicit homogenization of difference in psychoanalysis – whereby differences of race, ethnicity and class are under-emphasised. It might be argued that Classical Psychoanalysis and Object Relations theory developed some kind of Winnicottian 'False Self' that sought to standardise and repress the nuances and subtleties of difference and subjectivity of the individual in the name of psychoanalysis as a discipline aiming for scientific standardisation and its use of a homogenising language reflected this. In contrast, a 'True Self' Subjectivist Psychoanalysis might encompass difference and Otherness by developing a psychoanalytic language that reflects the subjective ambiguities and complexities of the self and Other. I will return to this in the final part of the paper.

The need for the introduction of a new language of Subject Relations that both empowers the individual and inserts the 'personal', the 'human' and the 'subjective' back into Object Relations theory cannot be understated. In order to understand both the Self and the Other we need to develop a psychoanalytic language of Subject Relations that describes the 'richness' and 'textuality' of the subjective 'I-ness' and 'you-ness' that are experienced in our relations with others. Thus, we need to develop a subjective 'personalised' psychoanalytic discourse that captures the textual experience of the dialectics of difference that are experienced by each of us in human inter-action.

Indeed, in addressing the individual and human relationships in psychoanalysis we need to take a psycho-social approach that also incorporates the subjective and experiential. It might be asked: What defines the uniqueness

of the 'I' and difference of the 'You/Other'? What is the relationship between the micro (psychological) and macro (social/political) variables and the role of human agency in both shaping our experiential subjective worlds, our attitudes and subjective relations with the Other and how do they manifest in a Dialectics of Difference? How can psychoanalysis sensitise itself to the subtle nuances that colour our respective subjective everyday life worlds and, in turn, our interaction with the Other?

Bollas' theory of Subject Relations

In his first book, 'The Shadow of the Object: Psychoanalysis of the Unthought Known,' Bollas (1987) asks a series of questions which seem to set the theme to his theory of Subject Relations. Thus, he states:

> "I am particularly concerned to emphasise the necessity of asking how each person relates to himself as an object within intra-subjective space. Who is speaking? What part of the self is speaking and what part of the self is being addressed? What is the nature of this object relation? Is it a good enough object relation? Is instinct permitted representation? In what way? As a demand? Or are instinctual needs elaborated into the wish so that they become part of the subject's range of desire? Is desire represented in coherent ways so as to be syntonic with the other parts of the self, or is it sexually communicated in a persecutory manner, perhaps through the structure of the perverse, which could constitute a breakdown in the intra-subjective object relation?...Each person who possesses a capacity for intra-subjective relating is an object of his own self management, and the nature of how the self is handled as an object of one's own management is worth of scrutiny." (Bollas, 1987:44-45)

Here, Bollas' argues for a self-object relation that emphasises the importance of internal self examination and heuristic reflexivity.

Bollas uses the term 'Subject Relations' Theory as applied to the relationship between the therapist and client and differentiates it to object Relations theory when he states:

> "...analysis is the interplay of two subjectivities...any analytic session is a dialectic between two subjectivities, and although they will form and project internal mental representations of one another, the understanding of which we term object relations theory, they will also act in a successional interplay of idiom[2] elements, which I think we should say is more of Subject Relations theory." (Bollas, 1989:108)

---

[2] When Bollas uses the term the 'idiom' of a person he refers to '...the unique nucleus of each individual...which under favorable circumstances can evolve and articulate; 'idiom is the defining essence of each subject...' (Bollas, 1989: 212).

Bollas goes on to distinguish Subject Relations Theory as follows:

> "If object relations theory attends to the formation and projection of self and object representations, subject relations theory attends to the interplay of two human sensibilities, who together create environments unique to their cohabitation. The concepts of interplay, interrelating, intersubjectivity, have as much use in a subject relations theory as in an object relations theory." (Bollas, 1989:108)

Bollas highlights the role of the analyst's and patient's subjectivity in establishing a 'dialectics of difference' between them. He argues that self identity is continuously constructed through an unconscious interaction with the Other through a '...dialectics of two subjectivities' within an 'intermediate area of experiencing' (ibid, 1989:108-9). This might begin with the infant's experience of the mother and her personal idiom[3], but later refer to the transmission of a 'generational' culture (ibid, 1992:274) and its associative values to the infant. Of the therapeutic dyad itself, Bollas refers to how a dialectics of difference '...constitutes a particular relation to subjectivity, in which the analyst uses the fact of subjective idiom to his [sic] and his [sic] patient's psychoanalytic advantage' (ibid, 1989:71).

Bollas purports that the presence and experience of the Other is crucial to the formation of our self identity when he argues that:

> 'Through the experience of being the other's object, which we internalise, we establish a sense of two-ness in our being, and this subject-object paradigm further allows us to address our inherited disposition, or true self, as other. We use the structure of the mothers' imagining and handling of our self to objectify and manage our true self.' (Bollas, 1987:51)

The author likens the relationship between Winnicott's concepts of a false self and a true self to a 'phenomenology of relations to the self as an object' (Bollas, 1987: 51). He continues, 'The false self is derived from the mother's communication of her assumptions about existence while the true self, the object of this care, is the historical kernel of the infant's instinctual and ego dispositions' (Bollas, 1987:51).

Here, it seems that Bollas is making the following points: first, through experiencing a reciprocal relationship with the Other we have our first experience of the true self; second, that the false self and true self are inherent parts of the unconscious identity; third, that the false self and true self constitute an internal dialectic conflict of the unconscious that is a core part of

---

3 See footnote 2.

the unconscious identity; fourth, that their dialectical relationship of conflict actually creates an internal phenomenology of the self as an object, a 'self-object[4]' – how it relates to itself; fifth, that the false self is that part of the identity that is initially culturally transmitted by the mother whilst the true self is the natural authentic biological and ego-centred aspect of the self/unconscious; sixth and above all, by suggesting that there is a phenomenological relationship to the self as object via the dialectics of the false self and the true self, Bollas seems to be portraying a picture of the unconscious that is dynamic, conflicted, multi-faceted and in constant motion and motivated and defined by the presence of the Other[5].

The implications of this for the question of the Other for psychoanalysis as a discipline are clear: Bollas is suggesting that the existence/inclusion of the Other is a core part of unconscious identity which is embodied in the false self and true self aspects of the un-conscious identity; that the experience of the Other is essential for facilitating the experience of the true self. The false self is the external self that inherits the cultural values of the mother and society and the true self is the authentic genetic and egoistic self. It might be deemed that the fostering of prejudices against Differences in the Other whether these be of class, gender, age, race, etc. are learnt from either the mother or society that nurtures the individual and comes to constitute the 'false self' of the individual whilst the true self[6] is that authentic self that is the biological ego self that comes prior to inheriting the host cultures values and norms.

The possibility of a new democratic psychoanalytic language of subjectivity

Thus, it's argued that the notion of a new democratic subjective language of psychoanalysis needs to be developed that addresses the individual's personalised day-to-day experiences. It's asked, has the psychoanalytic theory of Inter-subjectivity[7] adequately developed a psychoanalytic language of Subjectivity that enables us to gain greater insight in the individual's personal and inter-personal worlds?[8]

Thus, what the perspective of Inter-subjectivity has done for psychoanalysis, as highlighted in writings such as Stephen Mitchell (1988, 1993); Christopher Bollas (1987, 1989); Thomas Ogden (1968; 1994); Jessica Benjamin, 1995)

---

4 Heinz Kohut (1971) the founder of Self Psychology also uses the term 'self-object'.
5 Indeed, Bollas seems to have been influenced by Kohut's (1971) 'Self Psychology' in his reference to the ideas of a conflicted internal self and an ego-based True Self.
6 Bollas seems to acknowledge the Other as a part of the True Self when he states: 'There is no pure culture of the true self...' and that 'any ego operation in adult life will inevitably be some kind of mix of true self and true self's negotiation with the [outside] world' (ibid, 1989:17).
7 Psychoanalytic Inter-subjective Theory is prominent in the United States as a critique of the classical psychoanalytic model's traditional positivistic approach,
8 A fully comprehensive in-depth answer to this question cannot be given here given space limitations in this paper and only an overview can be given here.

and James Grotstein (2000), is widen the parameters of psychoanalysis and its conceptual language so that it now conceives the individual within the interpersonal matrix. The psyche, from the inter-subjective perspective, is considered not as an isolated entity but contextually in terms of race, culture, gender and other environmental influences. For example, in analysis, greater consideration can be given to the therapist's own subjectivity, which might in turn, effect the patient's inner experience. Moreover, in this context, the counter-transference is seen as the interactive totality of both the patient's and therapists' subjective mind states, rather than the analyst being seen as a blank slate onto which the patient projects on to, nor is the patient being a tabula rasa for the analysts' interpretations. Rather the analytic dyad is considered as an interpersonal matrix of two dialectic subjectivities[9] that when studied can unmask the unconscious dynamics of this complex relationship. Bollas (1987) adds to this how the analyst relives aspects of his own childhood in the analytic relationship and how interpretation derives from a worked through subjectivity and scrupulous monitoring of feelings as opposed to any notion of authoritative knowledge. Benjamin (1995) argues that the dialectics of inter-subjective relations is grounded in a dialectics of difference that begins in the intra-subjectivity primary mother-child relationship that lays the foundation for other relationships extended throughout life. She suggests that as the child makes the transition from dependence to independence, there is a crucial recognition of difference, of the m/other's distinction from the self. Thus, primary inter-subjectivity in the mother-child relationship emphasizes a mutual recognition of 'otherness', of different respective subjectivities that define our relationships into adulthood and beyond. The expansion of the analytic frame and its ensuing psychoanalytic language to incorporate notions of difference, environmental context and mutual inter-subjectivity has profound ramifications in terms of it encompassing developmentally areas such as class, gender, race, age etc.

As a relatively young discipline, Psychoanalysis, is a subject that is continually developing and evolving alongside the external changes of society in the 21st Century. This includes the continual expansion of the conceptual language of psychoanalysis to address the changing nuances of subjective and inter-subjective realities of human social worlds. The evolution of non-classical Subjectivist psychoanalytic perspectives such as Subject Relations and Inter-subjectivity have widened the scope of psychoanalysis and prompted the ongoing development of the discipline's language to encompass greater reflexivity and cultural sensitivity.

Thus, Bollas' theory of Subject Relations can contribute the following to psychoanalysis and the perspective of Intersubjectivity:

---

[9] Ogden (1994) refers to this as the 'inter-subjective analytic third.'

- The development of a new empowering democratic language of Subjectivity that incorporates the subtleties and textual nuances of subjective experience of both the Self and its dialectical interaction with the Other.
- A de-construction of existing psychoanalytic language – its inherent unconscious assumptions, prejudices and 'silences' concerning Difference/the Other and to the subsequent tendency to 'split' accordingly.
- Applied to clinical practice: (i) the heuristic reflexive intra-subjective study of the self in relation to the Other – in particular, that the therapist studies himself and is aware of the internal conflicts, ambiguities and prejudices towards the Other that might constitute his /her identity; (ii) the psycho-phenomenological study of the inter-subjective interactions between therapist and patient's and how the unconscious processes, prejudices and assumptions of 'Othering' are built up in the discourse and dialectics of therapy and in everyday life.
- In taking on such a project, psychoanalysis might experience discover it's unconscious true self/identity – an unconscious self that embodies the ambiguities and conflicts concerning the existence 'difference' embodied the Other with its own psychoanalytic conceptual language, as opposed to a hitherto historically defended 'false self' that denies the existence of the Other through an emphasis on a cross-culturally homogeneous unconscious.
- That such a new democratic subjective language of psychoanalysis is 'psycho-social' and is not afraid of acknowledging the political.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed Christopher Bollas' idea of a new 'Language of Subjectivity' as applied to the development of a heuristic and reflexive psychoanalytic understanding of 'Subject Relations' as experienced between the Self and the Other in an inter-subjective 'Dialectics of Difference'. I have discussed how Bollas highlights the inclusion of the Other as a key aspect of subjective self identity and experience. Additionally, I have suggested the need for a new method of psychoanalytic phenomenology which focuses on the 'experiential' dimension of psychoanalytic language as it is used and experienced both academically and subjectively in the therapeutic dyad.

There are a number of questions that are left open from this paper that I suggest need further investigation and in-depth research: exactly what are the subjective and psycho-social phenomenological processes that take place in the construction of the Other between individuals and groups and where do they begin? How do we observe these in the clinic, in groups and in everyday life? Can the process of 'Subjective Relations' and the Dialectics of Difference be psycho-phenomenologically 'bracketed' and studied a similar way that the phenomenologist Husserl (1954) suggested? Or will its study require new conceptual tools and methods of analysis?

Bibliography

Benjamin, J (1995) *Like Subjects, Love Objects: Essays on Recognition and Sexual Difference.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

Bollas, C (1987) *The Shadow of the Object: Psychoanalysis of the Unthought Known.* Free Association Books. London

Bollas, C (1989) *Forces of Destiny: Psychoanalysis and Human Idiom.* Free Association

Bollas, C (1992) *Being a Character: Psychoanalysis and Self Experience.* New York: Hill & Wang

Freud, S (1921) *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego.* SE 18: 69-143

Freud, S (1930) *Civilization and its Discontents.* SE 21: 64-145

Grotstein, J.S. (2000) *Who is the Dreamer who Dreams the Dream?* The Analytic Press, New Jersey

Heidegger , M (1927) *Being and Time.* trans. J. Macquarrie and E. Robinson, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962

Husserl, E (1931) *Ideas: An Introduction to Pure Phenomenology.* MacMillan: New York

Kennedy, R (1998) *The Elusive Subject.* Free Association Books Ltd, London

Kennedy, R (2007) *The Many Voices of Psychoanalysis.* Routledge, London

Khan, M (1974) *The Private Self.* Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psychoanalysis, London

Klein, M, Heimann, P, Isaacs S & Riviere, J: Hogarth Press, London

Kohut, H (1971) *The Analysis of Self.* New York: International Universities Press

Mitchell, S (1988) *Relational Concepts in Psychoanalysis: An Integration.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Mitchell, S (1993) *Hope and Dread in Psychoanalysis.* New York: Basic Books

Ogden, T (1986) *The Matrix of the Mind.* Northvale, New Jersey: Jason Aronson

Ogden, T (1994) *Subjects of Analysis.* Karnac Books, London

Nagel, T, (1979) *Mortal Questions.* Cambridge University Press

St Clair, M (2004) *Object Relations and Self Psychology: An Introduction.* Thomson Brooks/Cole, Belmont, CA, USA

Winnicott, D W (1958) *Collected Papers: Through Psychiatrics to Psycho-Analysis.* Basic Books. New York

Comparison of education social networks

John Stevens

ABSTRACT:
Social network analysis largely concentrates on one-point-in-time network data. I demonstrate the suitability of social network techniques (developed in Stevens (2010)) to compare education-based social network data. This paper uses university email networks, and concentrates on structures arising when users choose to contact, reply to, or copy other members of the network into communications, through the cc email attachment. Staff and students use e-mail differently. While social connection features in the e-mails of most users, staff devote a higher proportion of their e-mail to research, teaching and administrative functions. Social contacts and learning feature more prominently in the e-mails of undergraduates, and postgraduate student e-mails have characteristics lying between these groups. The email activity between staff and students mainly relates to teaching and learning.

1 Introduction

An important feature of this paper is the exploration of the belief that students are characterized by their social nature and ability to make new friendships. The article compares two email networks and concentrates on their network structure of friendships.

2 Other Social Network Studies

Social network studies tend to be case studies of a single group or setting. Relatively less attention has been paid to comparisons using networks from multiple datasets and longitudinal comparisons. Studies employing multiple datasets focus on one of two distinct general questions. The first asks whether a network of a specific relational content, in aggregate, exhibits common structural tendencies. The second enquires as to what structural features are distinguished among different kinds of social relations. In approaching the first sort of question, some studies have examined the same relation measured in multiple settings. Empirical examples include friendships in schools or classrooms (Bearman, Jones, and Udry 1997; Hallinan 1989; and Leinhardt 1972).

Paul Holland and Samuel Leinhardt (1976) used triples or triad census counts to compare local structural similarities among a collection of fifty-one networks of different relational contents, measured on different species. Stanley Wasserman and Philippa Pattison (1996) compare the direction and magnitude of parameters (size, density, and connectedness) in networks using graphs, allowing the calculation of measures of dissimilarity between graphs for a variety of social networks. Both studies found differences in the "structural

signatures" of different kinds of relations, notably antagonistic relations such as fighting and dominance on the one hand, and relations of affection (friendship, liking) and affiliation on the other.

Social networking techniques have been used equally effectively to compare the networks formed by other species, as well as to compare human networks with the networks of other species. John Skvoretz and Katherine Faust (2002) documented that humans show tendencies toward mutuality and in-stars and away from transitivity, compared to non-human primates, which showed tendencies in the opposite direction on these properties. Later the triad census approach was applied (2007) to study forty-two networks among four types of species, human, nonhuman primates, non-primate mammals, and birds. Faust and Skvoretz also introduced the technique of applying network analysis to study change across time. Their aim was to assess whether two, three… or many differing networks were similarly structured despite their surface differences. A recent study by Faust (2006) uses a triad census to compare different social networks of, amongst other species, chimpanzees; she comes to the conclusion that "caution should be taken in interpreting higher order structural properties when they are explained by local network features pg. 12".

3 Research Questions
This paper will investigate the following research questions.

- To determine how email activity between staff within a university is separated between workflow and administration-based emails, compared with e-mail sent outside the university.
- To determine if the email activity between staff and students mainly relates to teaching and learning.
- To determine if emails between students on a university campus are mainly within year group and of a social nature by using qualitative interviews.

4 Research Methods and Data sets
This section describes the research methods and two data sets used in this paper and their sample sizes.

4.1 Data Analysis Methods
This study implements the "two-way" network comparison technique detailed in Stevens (2010). It details the output of these implementations by performing a "2 way" cross-sectional analysis on the email social network data.

The raw email contact data used in this paper was collected and anomized by Computer Service at the University of Essex. A random user identifier was

assigned to all email users[10]. The processing of this raw data into useable data was performed using PERL computer programs. This data is then imported into UCINET and Netdraw computer packages for analysis. By its nature this is a complete sample of 50177 email sent by 2801 users.

The data collection technique is recoded in anomized log files, by means of which an individual's emails that were recorded in a given one-week period. The computer service only provided me with the following information:

- The department and user type assigned to each user identifier
- The source user identifier and destination user identifier of all emails sent within the university in a given week
- The number of users with email redirects.

For obvious legal and ethical reasons computer service only provided the following information for the research reported in this paper.

4.2 Staff email network

The first email friendship network I investigate is a University based staff network. By its nature this is a complete sample. The set has information on 1910 different members of staff who sent, or received email to other members of staff in a one-week period. In comparison with the student email network that I describe next, the email volume of the staff email network is less affected by term dates. This is shown below in Figure 1.

---

[10] This research was completed in keeping with the Data Protection Act (1988) and no content of emails was provided to me at any point in this research.
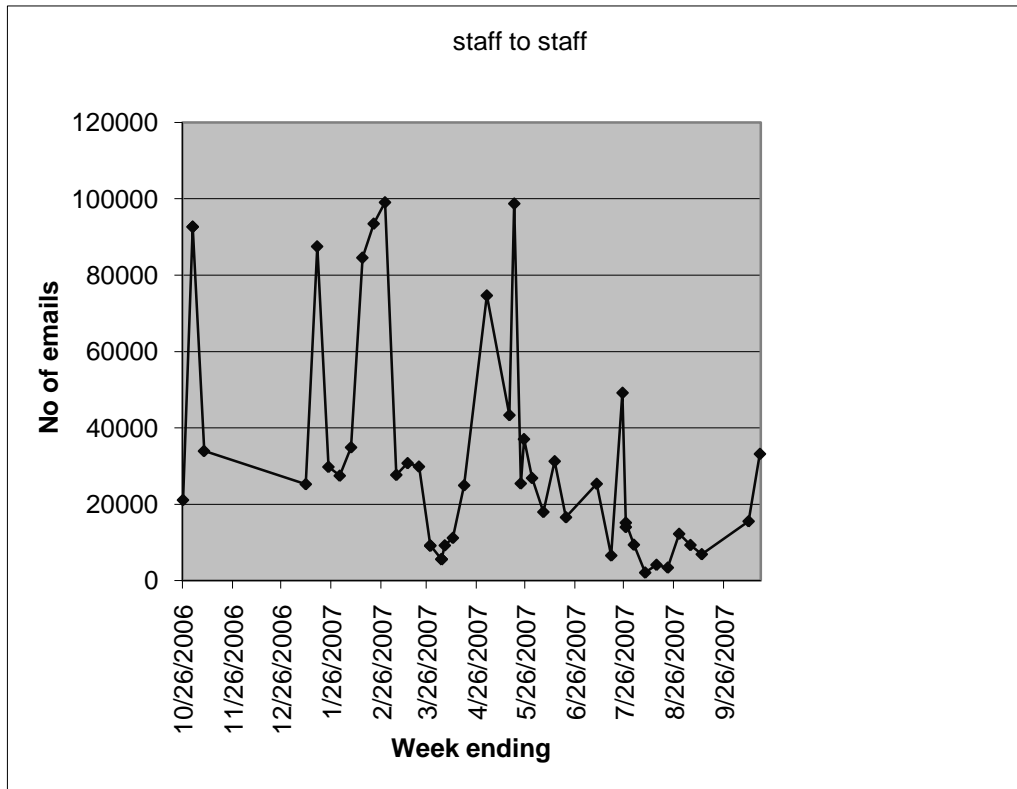
Figure 1 - Internal staff email volume by week (2582 staff with 110 redirects) (Source: Data collected by University of Essex computer service and detailed in X (19-20 February 2009))

The data points are limited as a result of SSPS graphs. The basic descriptive statistics of the staff email data set for a given week is shown below in table 1.

No. Staff email originators	1910
No. Emails	40071
Average	20.97

Table 1: Staff emails response rates

4.3 Student email network

The second email friendship network I investigate is a university based student email network. The set has information on 819 different students who sent email to other students or received email from other students, in a one-week period. Unlike the staff email network which I described previously, student's attendance and the email volume of the student email network are affected by term dates. This is shown in Figure 2.
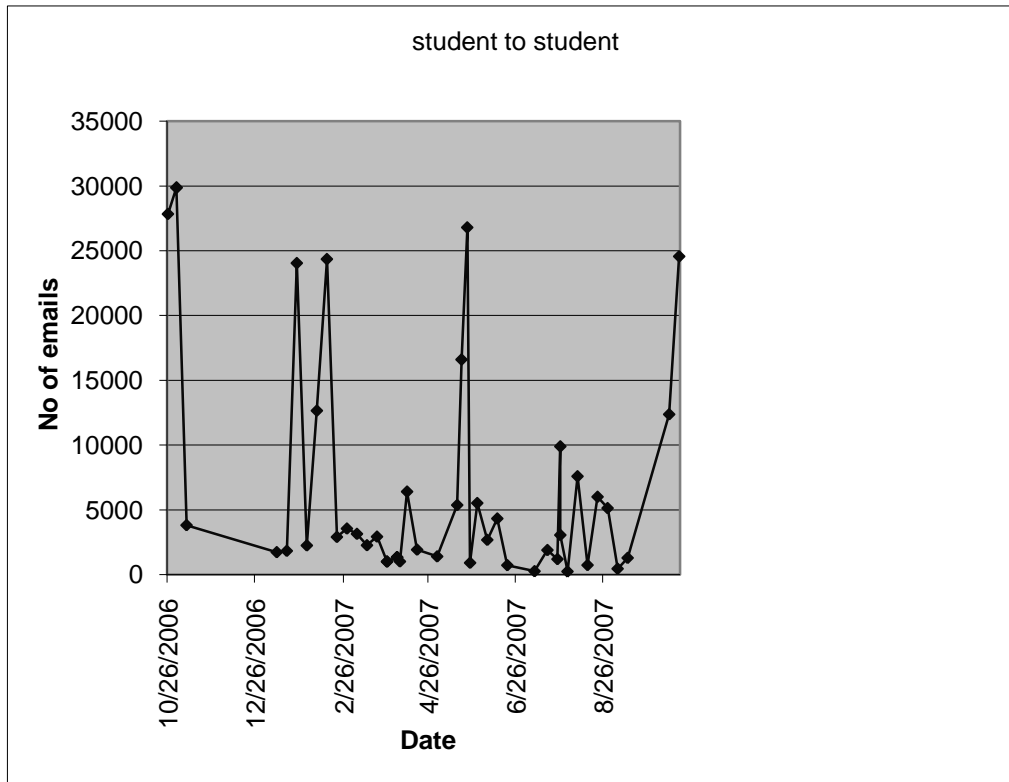
Figure 2 – Internal student email volume by week (8591 students with 254 redirects) (Source: Data collected by University of Essex computer service)

The basic descriptive statistics of the student email data set for a given week are shown below in Table 2.

No. Student email originators	891
No. Emails	10106
Average	11.34

Table 2: Student email response rates

5 A descriptive analysis of a staff to staff email network

In this section I investigate the staff to staff email network in further detail. The results detailed in the following sections were produced using the UCINET network analysis package and the graphs using Netdraw social network drawing package. The graph below depicts the staff email network within the University and illustrates that it is far denser than the student email network described in the next section. Table 4 Highlights the very considerable variation the number of email contacts by the department in which a member of staff works.
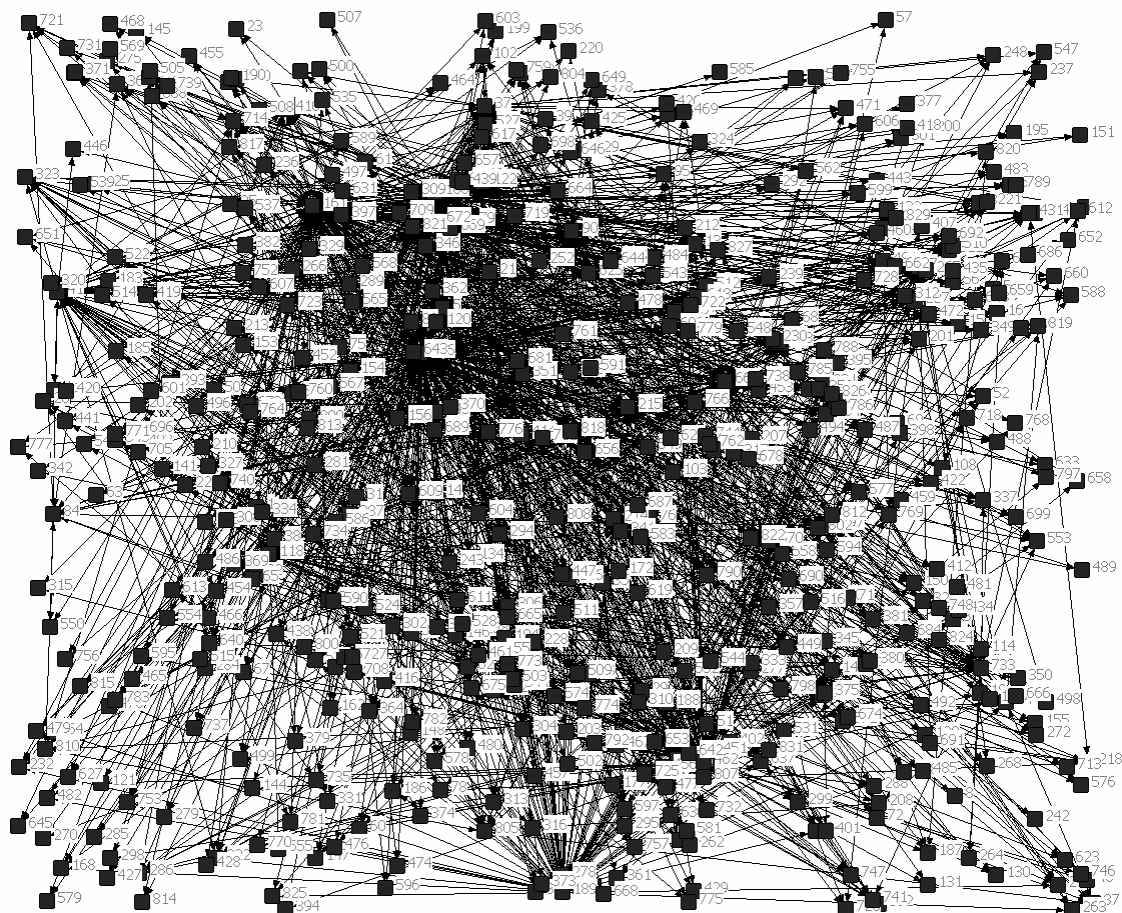
Figure 3 – Staff email network
(Source: Data collected by University of Essex computer service)

5.1 Departments

The volume of emails sent (out degree) by staff in each academic department within the University is shown in Table 4. (N = 40071)

Department	No of Emails Sent	No of Staff	Average
Art history and theory	403	25	16.12
Biological science	2068	147	14.06803
Computing and electronics	3059	147	20.80952
East 15	712	81	8.790123
Economics	2057	41	50.17073
Business school	1755	101	17.37624
Government	1525	74	20.60811

Health and human sciences	1013	111	9.126126
History	738	31	23.80645
International academy	528	92	5.73913
Language and linguistics	1485	60	24.75
Law	1606	80	20.075
Literature	1386	52	26.65385
Mathematics	514	23	22.34783
Philosophy	104	19	5.473684
Psychology	2138	52	41.11538
Sociology	1189	65	18.29231

Table 4 – No of staff emails sent per department

I found that members of staff in science and engineering departments, and the business school, sent the most emails to each other, staff in the social sciences sent a moderate number of emails, and staff in the arts and humanities sent the least.   It could be argued that the volume of emails and density of a network or subnet are one good indicator of the level of interconnection within that network, although of course they could be using other methods of communication.

5.2 Staff type
The volume of emails sent (out degree) by staff type within the University is shown in the following table. (N=40071)

Employee Type	No of Emails Sent	No of Staff	Average
Academic	22280	760	29.31579
Administration / Support	17791	892	19.94507

Table 5: No of staff emails sent per employee type

It can be seen from Table 5 that the largest number of internal emails were sent by academic staff, but administrative and support staff also sent a large number of emails within the university. Academic staff sent only slightly more emails than support staff within the department despite there being a ratio of approximately one member of support staff in a department, to 8 members of academic staff. I surmise and have anecdotal evidence that academic staff use email to contact students for teaching and external to the University to liaise with other users about research, but these points are not accessible given the confidentiality constraints in this research.

6 A descriptive analysis of student-to-student email network

In this section I propose to examine the student-to-student email network in further detail. Figure 4 shows a plot of the email network for a given week which illustrates it to be far less dense than the staff email network. The cluster of email respondents within the network that relates to the student's department is clearly shown.
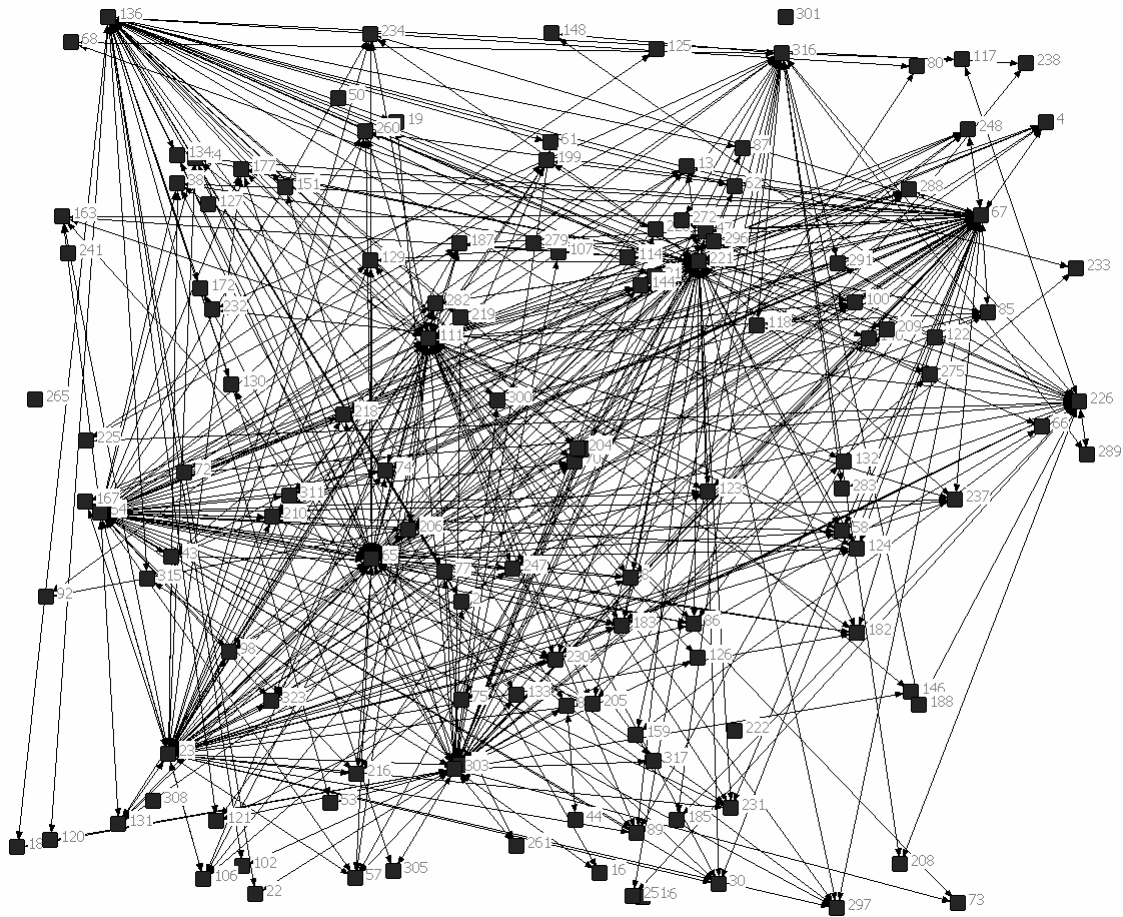
Figure 4 - Student email network
(Source: Data collected by University of Essex computer service)

6.1 Department

The volume of emails sent (out degree) by students in each academic department within the University is shown in Table 6. (N=10106)

Department	No of Emails Sent	No of Students	Average
Art History and Theory	30	133	0.225564
Biological Sciences	286	1007	0.284012

Business School	128	1638	0.078144
CCFEA	400	60	6.666667
Computing and Electronic Systems	119	616	0.193182
Economics	92	690	0.133333
Government	383	554	0.691336
Health and Human Sciences	258	1020	0.252941
History	288	442	0.651584
Humanities	115	950	0.121053
ISER	49	27	1.814815
Language and Linguistics	75	678	0.110619
Law	6408	899	7.12792
Literature	220	507	0.433925
Mathematics	24	167	0.143713
Psychoanalytical Studies	47	151	0.311258
Psychology	75	547	0.137112
Sociology	1111	361	3.077562

Table 6 – No of student emails sent (according to student's department)

It can be seen from Table 6 that by far the highest number of internal emails were sent by students within the law department. Students in the arts department sent far fewer emails. It is surprising that there is very little variation in the number of emails sent by students from different departments, and little variation in the density of the network within departments. The density of a network or subnet is a very good indicator of the level of interconnection within that network.

6.2 Student type

The volume of emails sent (out degree) by student degree level within the University is shown in Table 7.

Student Type	No of Emails Sent	No of Students	Average
1st year Undergraduate	13	2995	0.004341
2nd year Undergraduate	763	2532	0.301343
3rd year Undergraduate	1167	1824	0.639803
Post graduate (taught)	6445	1986	3.245217
Post graduate (Research)	1718	1285	1.336965

Table 7 – No of student emails sent per student type
(Source: Calculated using bespoke Pearl computer programs)

Qualitatively I have found by interviewing five students that emails between students on site are mainly within year group and mainly of a social nature. I also found that student emails off site are mainly regarding contacts back home and keeping in touch with past friendships. I have no quantitative data to support this supposition.

The student email network is a less dense and interconnected acquaintanceship network than the staff email network with markedly fewer emails sent by younger students (i.e., undergraduates) because they use email accounts outside the university, a lot of which they will have been using since there childhood. In contrast, post graduate students use email accounts within the university.

7 Comparing staff and student email networks
In this section I compare the staff and student email networks using multidimensional scaling of the network data. Firstly I briefly compare the number of staff-to- student and student-to- staff email networks for completeness.

It is a widely held view that an educational establishment such as university is a small community of its own. This study found that, in terms of email activity, this university appears to have two separate communities of staff and students. This result is not surprising because the division between staff and students was assumed at the start in the research question and in the method. The study does however, show that these two groups use emails in different ways. Investigating staff-to-student and student-to-staff e-mails, this study found that these forms of email traffic with the given sender and recipient pairs, and I assume this is virtually exclusive for teaching and learning for research and taught courses alike. The volume of emails sent differentiated by email sender type is shown in Table 2.

Direction of email traffic	Student	Staff
Student	10106	1056
Staff	66840	40071

Table 8: Number of emails sent, by direction (student-to-staff and staff-to-student)

As can be seen from the table the pattern is very biased toward staff sending emails, which is mainly for the purpose of sending teaching materials to students and only a minimal number of emails are sent in the reverse direction from student to staff. This email activity is mainly within the students own department.

7.1 Metadata Table

Table 9 compares these two email networks, which have a vastly different number of nodes. The staff network has grown in an organic fashion over 25 years of email use in the university. In contrast, the student network has a turnover of students, on average, every two years. For this reason the staff network is rather denser and more centralised than the student network, and has a smaller path length than the student network. The student social network is more scattered in layout than the staff social network. In the student network, an Individual's friends are rather more local and in a more isolated student situation rather than outside of the university, but are still within the United Kingdom.

Data set	No. of nodes	Density the of social network, Bott (1957)	Average Shortest Path, Scott (1991)	Network % centralization Freeman 1992)	Node Betweeness, Freeman (1996)
Staff email network	324	0.0118	4.442	18.06	1027.264
Student email network	833	0.0051	3.618	4.88	221.775

Table 9 – Comparing University staff and student email networks
(Source: Calculated using UCINET using staff and student email datasets)

The main thing that this network comparison highlights is that there are two different networks or communities, staff and student, co-located in the same location of a University.

7.2 Results

Elaborating the results of the Prefscal procedure shown in Figure 5 by highlighting the nodes produced a graphical output to compare the social networks when the outputs are combined together. This procedure has the notable advantage that the user can select to output rows or columns in the model space and use a rectangular input data matrix. However, this output is unsatisfactory, providing no additional information except that the networks are different. The source data of the Prefscal output (Table 9) is more revealing, showing that Network 1 is more developed than Network 2.
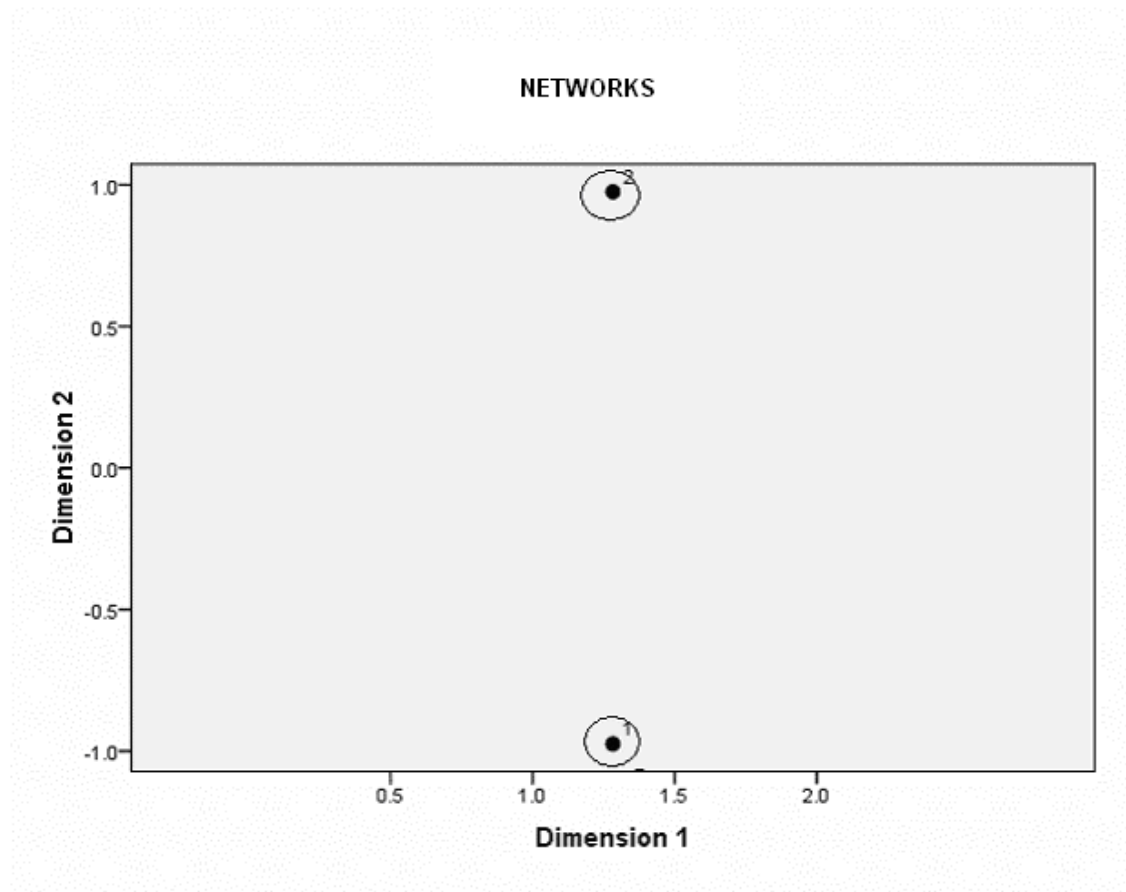
Figure 5 - Combined output (Initial Stress: 0.3610)
(Source: Scaling output of Prefscal as implemented in SPSS when computing metadata Table 9)

In this section I found that a multi data set comparison cannot be successfully used to compare cross-sectional social network data sets. This new method of analysis detailed in Stevens (2010) only shows that the two networks are different. It can be concluded from this analysis that this new method of analysis should not be used for comparing two networks.

8 Summary

I assume that the emails used by staff within a university are predominantly for work, with staff performing either teaching or administration based tasks by email. Email is more of a social network and learning orientated tool for undergraduate students and the same is true to a lesser extent for postgraduate students. The email activity between staff within the university is mainly workflow and administration based and also to a lesser extent research emails, as research contacts tend to be outside the University. The email activity between staff and student is mainly regarding teaching and learning. Emails between students on site are mainly within year group and largely social in nature. Student emails off site are mainly regarding contacts back home and keeping in touch past friendships.

Bibliography

Bearman, PS., Jones, J., and Udry, J. R. (1997) *Connections Count: Adolescent Health and the Design of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health.*

Bott, E. (1957). *Family and Social Networks.* London: Tavistock.

Faust, K. (2006) Comparing social networks: Size, density and local structure. *Metodološki Zvezki, Advances in Methodology and Statistics,* 3(2):185-216.

Faust, K. & Skvoretz J. (2007) Comparing Networks Across Space and Time, Sizes and Species Pages. *Sociological Methodology,* 32: 267-299

Freeman, L.C. (1992). The Sociological Concept of `Group': An Empirical Test of Two Models. *American Journal of Sociology,* 98: 55-79.

Freeman, L.C. (1996). Some Antecedents of Social Network Analysis. *Connections,* 19: 39-42.

Hallinan, M. (1972). Comment on Holland and Leinhardt. *American Journal of Sociology,* 77: 1201- 1205.

Hallinan, M.T. & Wilson, R.A. (1989). Interracial Friendship Choices in Secondary Schools. *American Sociological Review,* 54: 67-78.

Holland, P.W. & Leinhardt, S. (1976) Local structure in social networks. *Sociological methodology,* 7: 1-45

Scott, J. (1991). *Social Network Analysis.* London: Sage.

Stevens, J., (forthcoming) (2010), Comparing Social networks: Comparing Multiple Social Networks using Multiple Dimensional Scaling. *Methodological Innovation Online,* 4.

Stevens, J., (19-20 February 2009), *One weeks staff email traffic: A data collection report.* Annual (residential) Graduate Conference, Sociology Department, University of Essex.

Wasserman, S. & Pattison, P. (1996). Logit models and logistic regression for social networks: I. An introduction to Markov graphs and p*. *Psychometrika, 61*: 401-425.

Peter the Great and the Westernisation of Russia?

Tom Blowers

ABSTRACT:
The reign of Peter the Great was exceptional as a period of transformation. It combined all the conflicting tendencies that had marked Russian development for years: the seemingly incompatible extremes of Russia balanced between Europe and Asia, between Muscovite traditional culture and Western civilisation, and between Eastern despotism and European Enlightenment. Thus, it is the intention of this work to determine the extent to which Peter the Great achieved a genuine 'westernisation' of Russia in implementing his unprecedented programme of reform *consciously* based upon western design. Utilising the diverse wealth of secondary literature concerning this subject, this work will seek to establish a balanced understanding of Petrine westernisation, one that desirably accommodates areas of both *'revolutionary'* transformation, when placed in their Russian context, but also those areas of *limited* change. Alexander Chubarov states that 'this debate touches the centrality of what Russia was and is' (1999: 35). Thus, the controversy surrounding Peter the Great's transformation of Russia continues to represent a debate about the Russian nation, its roots, identity, and place in the wider world.

The reign of Peter the Great (1682-1725) represents one of the most significant and contentious periods of pre-Soviet Russian history. Indeed, his extensive programme of reform and the resulting transformation of Muscovite Russia had an undoubtedly profound effect upon both contemporaries and later historiography concerning this matter, to the extent that an 'intellectual and political controversy over Peter's legacy has been raging for nearly two centuries and shows no signs of abating' (Chubarov, 1999: 31). Inherited by Peter in 1682, Muscovite Russia was best characterised by its relative 'backwardness', of which the Grand Embassy to Europe from 1697-1698 had made Peter himself all too aware. Whilst it is possible to argue that Muscovite Russia was 'rapidly developing' prior to the rule of Peter the Great (Anderson, 1995: 19), Russia in 1682 displayed few of the characteristics that had come to define the early modern 'westernised' state – characteristics that according to James Cracraft (2003: 75) included a 'military revolution' in technology, strategy and bureaucracy, a rationalisation of the governing system and cultural Enlightenment to name a few. As such, the scope of Petrine reform within Russia's political, economic, social, and cultural spheres requires a protracted consideration. First however, it is necessary to briefly comment upon the process of 'westernisation', potentially a problematic term. Importantly, it was the developed nations of early modern Europe, in particular, though not exclusively, France and Britain, which represented the ideal model of 'western' modernity during the period in question. It is therefore important to recognise in the context of this investigation that the processes taking

place in Russia - 'Europeanization', 'Westernisation' and also 'Modernisation' - all in essence represent interchangeable concepts and therefore the same voluntary or enforced adoption of western values, norms and designs.

Representing a fundamental aspect of Russia's relative 'backwardness' at the end of the seventeenth century, Muscovite Russia displayed few if any of the characteristics that had come to define the great military powers of the western world. Best characterised by a dependence upon foreign mercenaries, a reliance upon outdated Streltsy, feudal cavalry and artillery units, alongside a lack of a regular standing army and trained officers, Muscovite Russia at the beginning of Peter's reign in fact possessed a military capability that at best 'bore comparison with those of leading European states dating to a century and more before' (Cracraft, 2003: 33). Conversely, Matthew Anderson (1987: 262-3) argues that in a dramatic turnaround, the Russian military that, to the powers of Europe for much of the seventeenth century had been considered a negligible force, by the time of Peter's death, had been transformed and effectively westernised to the extent that 'she was feared by her neighbours and courted as a military…equal by the greatest powers of Europe'.

Substantiating Anderson's argument, the St. Petersburg College of War (1718) designed with European principles in mind, established for the first time in Russia centrally managed offices to govern and coordinate military activities. Mirroring military bureaucracy of the West, there consequently emerged the principles of a more efficient system of central control and command. This in turn led to improved recruitment, organisation and training of units, and increased coordination in deployment and supply (Cracraft, 2003: 33-4). In technology and strategy, the westernisation of Russian military capabilities is equally apparent. The reign of Peter the Great saw the introduction of separate mobile artillery, firearm and engineering units, the effectiveness of each made all the more great by the establishment of respective training schools in both St. Petersburg and Moscow. Furthermore, with the translation and study of French, German and Dutch military textbooks, invaluable sources of western military tactics and strategy, 'systematic training', characteristic of leading western military forces, was taking shape (Bushkovitch, 2002: 36). Considered alongside the dramatic increase in manpower of the standing army to some 200,000 men by 1725 – a military force numerically *equal* to the peacetime standing army of France – it is evident that Russia's conventional military force by the time of Peter's death had become 'trained, uniformed and equipped to the better or best of contemporary European standards' (Cracraft, 2003: 34). Finally, Peter's personal creation, the Russian Navy that by 1725 consisted of 48 major warships and around 28,000 men was designed and built exclusively to British standards, arguably the greatest naval power of the contemporary

western world (Riasanovsky, 1969: 254). Furthermore, Peter's navy represented a genuine force that 'few if any ships in the world [were] able to wrong' (Cracraft, 2003: 48). Whilst it should not be overlooked that Russian military innovation did take place during this period, notably for example in the form of unprecedented use of the bayonet in combat, it remains that to a greater extent, Peter's military transformation of Russia was not only 'imitative' of the West but also genuinely successful in bringing Russia into line with contemporary western capabilities and standards (Riasanovsky, 1969: 254).

The extent to which the Russian system of government was westernised by Peter the Great is, as Georgi Plekhanov (1963: 91) demonstrates, more open to historiographical debate. According to Plekhanov, in carrying out his innovations, Peter had relied upon the hitherto traditional methods of Russian government, 'oriental despotism', the features of which included state compulsion, direction and oppression. With Petrine Russia characterised by a population in its entirety deprived of state-granted rights and freedoms – the serf population in particular were treated as property of the state, whilst Peter was able to dispose of the property of *any* of his subjects at will – this argument at first glance appears valid (Plekhanov, 1963: 91). Importantly, Plekhanov (1963: 91) brings to our attention that these methods acted in stark contrast to the absolute monarchies that governed the majority of contemporary Western European states, the actions of which over their subjects were bound by limits of both law and custom. As such, the extent to which Peter westernised or initiated a departure from tradition in Russian politics appears minimal.

In my view however, the available evidence weighs more strongly in favour of a quite different historical perspective. Mikhailovich Bogoslovskii (1963: 22) contends that instead, 'Peter's concept of government was modern and dynamic…the state [acted] as leader and driving force in transforming the country and its people, [signalling] a move away from the traditional and passive approach of the Muscovite administration.' Similarly and directly challenging Plekhanov's thesis, Alexander Chubarov (1999: 23) states that the Petrine transformation actually signalled the establishment of a new socio-political system in Russia, absolutism - the western concept of the reorganisation of the political system based upon 'rational foundations'. In support of this perspective, the Table of Ranks established in 1722 combined traits such as lineage, rank, merit and years of service to define the status of a civil or military servant in Russian society. Not only did this innovation signal a degree of 'democratisation' within the ruling elite and a departure from the outdated governmental system of subordination based on privilege, it also 'signified greater systematisation and unification of the administrative service and thus its rationalisation', mirroring the traits of government common in Western Europe (Chubarov, 1999: 23).

Similarly, the rationalisation of the financial administration saw progress with the creation of the *Ratusha* in 1699, an innovative institution of local government coordination and centralisation that sought to develop trade, industry and control in Russian towns (Anderson, 1969: 21). Finally, based on the system that existed in Sweden and other parts of Europe, the replacement of Muscovite Chancelleries (*Prikazy*) by a network of administrative colleges, saw the establishment of modern government departments in which the business of government was conducted 'on a proper legal basis of norms and regulations' (Chubarov, 1999: 24). Overall therefore, it is clear that Peter's programme of governmental reform was guided by the principle of rationality in the context of hierarchy and organisation, the increased coordination and centralisation of government institutions, and the desire to increasingly base the system upon a legal basis of norms and regulations. Each of these developments was characteristic of a modern and therefore western style system of government and bureaucracy. Thus, far from 'primitive' and 'despotic' in nature, the Russian governmental system under Peter the Great demonstrated *convincing* elements of 'catch up' with the West and therefore a considerable extent of westernisation in terms of its organisational and structural characteristics.

According to James Cracraft, the most dramatic process of change in Russia under Peter the Great was the 'cultural revolution', the essence of which was 'a rapid and sweeping Europeanization of Russian ways of thinking and doing things, and of thinking and talking about them' (2003: 158). It is clear that the Russian nobility indeed underwent a process of profound cultural change whereby they 'caught up' with the West in more ways than one (Hughes, 2006: 67). Under Peter, the adoption of western dress, manner, etiquette, and social 'norm' were compulsory. Peter himself removed the beards of his leading courtiers, therefore removing their 'ancient symbol of Orthodox manhood' in favour of a more 'western' look. Following the precedent set in western societies, the traditional exclusion of noblewomen from elite social gatherings was also abandoned, leading to a rapid increase in the frequency of mixed gender parties, masquerades, parades and regattas (Acton, 1995: 60). Similarly, the elite arts were subject to an obvious process of westernisation. Increasingly, the western novelty of instrumental music entertained court function, while the Moscow Academy's staging of school dramas and shows such as 'Russia's Glory' signalled the arrival of theatre to Russia which was 'an integral part of the Western cultural scene' (Hughes, 2006: 73).

In terms of architecture, St. Petersburg, founded by Peter the Great in 1703, was constructed according to a regular plan, with straight streets, broad boulevards, brick construction, bright colours, and features such as window surrounds; it thus took on a genuinely western look and became 'the centre

of European architecture in Russia' (Cracraft, 2003: 83). Equally, the *geographically* western location of St. Petersburg is explicable only in terms of Peter's vision of making Russia an integral part of Europe. The shift of the seat of government from Moscow to the new Russian capital represented a *conscious* symbolic departure from the Asiatic conservatisms and traditions of Moscow (Cracraft, 2003: 83). Finally, the adoption of thirty-eight Cyrillic letters based on modern designs for Latin characters alongside the translation of technical handbooks, scientific discourse, etiquette manuals and history books from Latin, German, Dutch and Italian originals, demonstrates the extent of westernisation upon Russian language and non-fiction literature respectively (Hughes, 2006: 75). As the evidence demonstrates, in terms of noble culture, a conscious westernisation of cultural norms expectations and practice can be credited to the reign of Peter the Great. However, it is, in my view, necessary to question the extent to which this westernisation of exclusively *elite* culture can be seen to have represented the westernisation of Russian culture in society as a *whole.*

Indeed, there exists substantial evidence to suggest that in reality 'a mere fraction of the population shared in the cultural revolution' and westernisation of Peter the Great (Acton, 1995: 60). Matthew Anderson (1969: 28) hints at a degree of historiographical consensus on this point, concluding that cultural westernisation 'made little impression except on a thin layer at the top of Russian society…the great mass of the population remained almost completely immune to all foreign influences'. This perspective is substantiated by the emergence of the so-called "Dual Russia" or the widening of the social 'gulf' in Russian society. The nobility and the peasantry were already separated by rigid social barriers. As a result of Peter's Westernisation they rapidly came to inhabit what were to all intents and purposes, different worlds alien and incomprehensible to each other (Chubarov, 1999: 29). In contrast to the 'cultural revolution' experienced by the Russian elite, the vast majority of the Russian peasantry during Peter's rule remained loyal to traditional customs, dress, idiom, and primitive Orthodoxy. When this is considered alongside the fact that the literacy rate in Russian society was 6.9 percent at best, the majority of which would have been situated within the noble stratum, it is evident that Peter's cultural westernisation of the masses was little more than *limited* in scope (Hughes, 2006: 75).

Further undermining the extent to which Peter westernised Russian society is the continued and undisturbed presence of what was arguably the most primitive aspect of the Russian social structure, serfdom. Alexander Kizevetter (cited in Chubarov, 1999: 31) contends that, 'having considerably modified the external forces of state institutions, Peter left completely untouched the basic principles of the old system of social organisation'. Indeed, in contrast to the developed societies of Western Europe, the

Russian serf population remained legally bound to the estate of their respective overlord and were also obliged to exchange their freedom for the right to lease and cultivate sufficient land to maintain their own subsistence. It should perhaps be taken into account that reform of serfdom risked depriving the Russian nobility of what was essentially their subsistence, their dependency, the ownership of people. Alexander Cubarov (1999: 31) points out that for contemporaries it was difficult to imagine implementing such change without bringing the Russian state to the ground, bringing into question the degree of realistic choice available to Peter in regards to including reform of serfdom as part of his overall programme of westernisation. A figure originating from some time after the death of Peter, the presence in 1744 of 3,443,293 serfs in comparison to 37,326 gentry, offers an illustration of the extent to which, even during the process of Russia's 'westernisation', serfdom as an institution in Russian society continued to thrive (Kahan, 1966: 42). Importantly, serfdom thus remained a *barrier* to further Westernisation. In stark contrast to the developing, money based economies of Western Europe, within Russia, serfs were both the fiscal and economic unit of account. It wasn't until the second half of the eighteenth century that rentals and sales of land without serfs occurred to any notable extent (Kahan, 1966: 42). With serfdom largely absent from contemporary Western Europe by the fifteenth century – emancipation in Western Europe came as a result of acute labour shortages, the decline of the manorial system, and the growth of commerce, towns, and the money based economy – until emancipation in 1861, the continued presence of this primitive institution in Russia, is, in my view, of great significance in distancing Peter's process of reform from that of a genuine westernisation of Russian society (Merriman, 2004: 12-13).

In comparison to the aspects of Peter's reform already considered, his efforts to reorganise the economy of Russia seem to have received little detailed attention in historiography. Nevertheless, there are some aspects of economic change during Peter's reign that in my view require attention. For example, the already considered *Ratusha* sought to develop, via centralised coordination, trade and industry in the towns of Russia (Anderson, 1969: 21). The introduction of the "Soul Tax", coordinated and enforced by an innovative web of fiscal inspectors, according to James Cracraft (2003: 63), signalled an 'unprecedented degree of central government control over the economic…life of [Peter's] country'. More importantly, these examples of economic reform again demonstrate the emergence within Russia of the key features of the contemporary, developed West – economic centralisation, bureaucratic control, and rationalisation. Thus, Peter's economic reforms illustrate further the arrival of the bureaucratic revolution of early modern Europe to Russia. However, it must not be overlooked that at the time of Peter's death, agricultural labour remained the principle source of the nation's wealth, whilst trade and industry remained only weakly developed

(Platonov, 1963: 89). For Sergey Platonov (1963: 89), this evidence is sufficient to conclude that it is 'impossible to see any revolutionary significance in Peter's economic policy, its objectives or results'. Indeed, it is my contention that the Russian economy underwent westernisation to only a *limited* extent. In comparison to contemporary European standards, the Russian economy remained relatively primitive in substance and product, despite the emergence of increasingly westernised features of organisation and management during the reign of Peter the Great.

Finally, it is necessary to address the extent to which Peter's reforms represented little more than the continuation of westernisation already underway long before he gained power. Matthew Anderson (1995: 19) contends that 'long before [Peter's] birth, forces of change and possibilities of new growth had been evident…he did not create them'. Evident here is the opinion amongst some in historiography that little of what was implemented during the reign of Peter was original, and that therefore, Russian westernisation in the eighteenth century was an *inevitable* process, one that would have taken place with or without the input of Peter the Great. In some respects, these ideas are based upon initially convincing evidence. For example, the Russian military had for years before the reign of Peter been subject to the influence of western personnel, technology and methods, notably for example in the form of Western craftsmen employed from the seventeenth century in the Kremlin Armoury workshops (Hughes, 2006: 69). In terms of Russia's cultural westernisation, even James Cracraft (2003: 89), the advocate of the so-called 'cultural revolution' of Peter the Great, accepts that 'European influences in Muscovite imagery, paralleling those in Muscovite architecture, had been preparing the ground for decades'. In my view however, it is important to note that historians have been equally willing to defend Peter's credentials as westerniser of Russia on the basis that in hitherto unprecedented fashion, Peter *consciously* implemented a *programme* of reform based on western design, identifiable as being part of a clear cut plan, or as Chubarov states, Peter's 'lifelong ambition' to westernise Russia (Chubarov, 1999: 20). Nevertheless, consideration of this particular debate in historiography fosters doubt regarding the extent to which Peter the Great can be legitimately regarded as having westernised Russia during his rule.

Reflecting upon the foregoing analysis, it seems most accurate to conclude that Peter the Great westernised Russia to only a *limited* extent during his reign. The most convincing example of Petrine westernisation has been identified in Peter's reform of the Russian military. Here, it is clear how the adoption of western technology, bureaucracy, training and strategy, ensured that Russia became a notable and to an extent equal military power by contemporary western standards. As a result, Russia became established as a respected member of the early modern European state system (Cracraft,

2003: 164). Beyond the military sphere however, there exists more doubt regarding the extent to which Peter's innovations can be considered as genuine westernisation. In terms of his 'cultural revolution', whilst it can be concluded with some certainty that Russian elite culture was westernised on a rapid and unprecedented scale, the same cannot be said for the masses of the Russian population. Beyond the elite, little if any significant cultural westernisation took place. Socially, the distinctly 'non-western' and primitive system of Russian social organisation remained untouched. Similarly, despite the presence of the beginnings of limited westernisation in the Russian economy and the workings of government and politics, the arguments of Sergey Platonov and Georgi Plekhanov cast significant doubt over the extent to which Peter the Great genuinely westernised these aspects of the Russian state respectively. Whilst going beyond the scope of this single investigation, it is worth noting that it would also be advantageous to investigate the extent to which Peter's motives for reform undermine his credentials as the 'westerniser' of Russia. Indeed, according to Michael Fonvisin (cited in Chubarov, 1999: 30), 'the spirit of [European] civilisation, the spirit of legal freedom and civil rights – was alien and even repulsive to [Peter]'. Furthermore, historian Daniel Schafly (1988: 2-13) brings to our attention that the vast majority of Peter's attempts at westernisation were met with widespread protest and discontent within Russian society. This level of opposition raises interesting questions regarding the extent to which Russia, regardless of the ambitions of Peter the Great, was either willing or ready to adopt an extensive system of western practices. Nevertheless, Peter's state sponsored westernisation by autocratic means almost certainly established in Russia limited elements of western custom, practice, technology and bureaucratisation. However, in my view it would represent a considerable oversimplification of this complex historical issue to assume that Peter the Great westernised Russia to anything more than a limited extent during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

Bibliography

Acton, Edward, *Russia: The Tsarist and Soviet Legacy* (London, 1995)

Anderson, Matthew, *Europe in the Eighteenth Century, 1713-1783* (Harlow, 1987)

Anderson, Matthew, *Peter the Great* (Harlow, 1995)

Anderson, Matthew, *Peter the Great* (London, 1969)

Bogoslovskii, Mikhailovich, 'Peter's Programme of Political Reform', in Marc Raeff (ed.), *Peter the Great: Reformer or Revolutionary* (Boston, 1963), pp. 22-31

Bushkovitch, Paul, *The Romanov Transformation, 1613-1725*, in Frederick Kagan and Robin Higham (eds), *The Military History of Tsarist Russia* (New York, 2002), pp. 31-43

Chubarov, Alexander, *The Fragile Empire* (New York, p. 1999)

Cracraft, James, *The Revolution of Peter the Great* (Cambridge, 2003)

Hughes, Lindsey, 'Russian Culture in the Eighteenth Century', in Dominic Lieven (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Russia: Imperial Russia, 1689-1917* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 67-91

Kahan, Arcadius, 'The Costs of "Westernisation" in Russia: The Gentry and the Economy in the Eighteenth Century', in *Slavic Review*, 25 (1966), pp. 40-66

Merriman, John, *A History of Modern Europe: From the Renaissance to the Age of Napoleon* (New York, 2004), pp. 12-13

Platonov, Sergey, 'Peter the Great not a Revolutionary Innovator', in Marc Raeff (ed.), *Peter the Great: Reformer or Revolutionary* (Boston, 1963), pp. 85-90

Plekhanov, Georgi, 'Peter the Great – An Oriental Despot', in Marc Raeff (ed.) *Peter the Great: Reformer or Revolutionary* (Boston, 1963), pp. 91-94

Riasanovsky, Nicholas, *A History of Russia* (Oxford, 1969)

Schafly, Daniel, 'The Popular Image of the West in Russia at the Time of Peter the Great', in Bartlett, Cross and Rasmussen (eds), *Russia and the World of the Eighteenth Century* (Columbus, Ohio, 1988), pp. 2-13

A Post-Great Recession Mandate for the Bank of England

Richard Wade

ABSTRACT

This paper argues that, in light of the 2007-10 economic difficulties, a regime of inflation targeting alone no longer constitutes a sufficiently robust macroeconomic policy framework to make successful economic outcomes in Britain likely. Inflated asset prices that were not indicated by standard inflation indices were a feature of the lead up to the crisis, and also one of its major causes. Excessive growth in the financial system and a consequent increase in the quantity of money, broadly defined, is usually the first indication of an upcoming boom in asset prices. This was also the case in previous asset price booms in 1972-73 and 1986-89. In light of this and the returning of banking supervision powers to the Bank of England, this article advocates a corollary to the existing inflation target mandate from Parliament calling on the Bank to 'ensure sustainable growth in the banking system'. It is hoped that this would lead to the monetary authorities putting more emphasis on money broadly defined without slavishly relying on a monetary aggregate for interest rate and funding policy decisions. The article also tackles some potential criticisms of this proposal and anticipates the constitutional questions it is likely to throw up.

Introduction

As 2010 progressed, it became widely acknowledged that the British economy was over the worst of the Great Recession of 2008-09 and that a 'double dip' sequel was increasingly unlikely (*The Economist*, 2010b). Despite negative growth figures for Quarter 4 of 2010, most continue to hold this view. Use of fiscal stimulus is now being scaled back to the point at which the United Kingdom is beginning to confront its large budget deficit, whilst leaving to the monetary authorities the job of supporting the recovery through loose monetary policy (*The Economist*, 2010a). In light of these developments, it is now time to look to the medium term and how macroeconomic policy should be conducted in light of the seismic events experienced since 2007.

This paper does just that, and in doing so advocates a new mandate for the Bank of England in which responsibility for sustainable growth in the banking system is added to their existing target for inflation. The author shall first outline his assumptions before considering the performance of inflation targeting since its introduction in 1992. The paper shall then note the merits of the M4 indicator of money supply and make a recommendation for the new dual mandate mentioned above. A number of objections to such a mandate are then considered.

Key Assumptions

The author should make clear early on the key assumptions that underpin his analysis. Firstly, the analysis is conducted within what may be called a 'broad money monetarist' framework, most prominently represented in the United Kingdom by Tim Congdon. That is to say that the growth in broad money, with broad money made up of notes and coins in circulation and the banking sector's deposit liabilities, is assumed to have a strong causal impact on the growth of nominal income in the medium to long term. Within the context of the British economy the principal measure of money supply that captures this has been, since a change in the behaviour of building society deposits during the 1980s, the M4 measure.[11]

This broad money outlook is underpinned by two significant assumptions, whilst a third assumption moderates it somewhat. Firstly, given that that there is a causal link running from broad money growth to national income growth and that growth in real output cannot be stimulated through monetary expansion in the medium and long term, it can therefore assumed that excessive growth in broad money will inevitably lead to higher inflation. Secondly, and consequently, the Phillips Curve is vertical in the long run, as first proposed by Friedman (1968) and Phelps (1968). Given that present monetary arrangements throughout most of the world indicate that policymakers tacitly accept these two assumptions (Goodhart, 1995: 60-63), it is hoped that those reading this paper will do likewise.

The third assumption should also be relatively uncontroversial, though some monetarists may object to it. Whilst the growth of money, broadly measured, is taken to be the cause of inflation, the author believes the velocity of circulation to be too unstable in the short term for a money supply target, whether M4 or otherwise, to be effective (Goodhart, 1995: 62). If velocity of circulation were invariably stable then there would be a strong case for a return to monetary targeting. But monetary targets were given ample time to bed down in a large number of developed economies during the first half of the 1980s. With the partial exception of Germany they proved unsustainable in the long term, despite their key role in ending the Great Inflation of the 1970s (Goodhart, 1989: 300-308). The author has no wish to advocate winding back the clock twenty five years or more.

The Testing of Inflation Targeting
1992-2007 saw a remarkable improvement in the economic performance of the United Kingdom, with low and stable inflation allied to consistent expansion in the economy. Whilst the role of the microeconomic reforms of the 1980s in making product markets freer and labour markets more flexible

---

[11] M4 is technically defined as: Cash outside banks (i.e. in circulation with the public and non-bank firms) + private-sector retail bank and building society deposits + Private-sector wholesale bank and building society deposits and Certificates of Deposit.

should not be overlooked, the macroeconomic framework used throughout the period has also been an object of praise (Budd, 2005: 29). Following the limited successes of money supply targets and Britain's calamitous exit from the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) system of fixed exchange rates, policy was reconstructed in September and October of 1992. An inflation target range was introduced, and policymaking was opened up considerably for the purposes of establishing market credibility (Lamont, 2006: 163-164). Progressive reform from 1992 to 1997, culminating in independence for the Bank of England, strengthened the framework further (Lamont, 2006: 163-164).

In fairness a number of people, including the politician most responsible for their introduction in the United Kingdom, warned long before 2007 that inflation targets did not mean 'the end of history' in macroeconomic management (Lamont, 2006: 164). But a certain amount of hubris nevertheless built up around inflation targeting, and its nemesis came in the credit crunch of 2007 and the subsequent recession of 2008-09 which proved to be the deepest since the horrors of the 1930s. In the search for scapegoats inflation targeting can be charged with failing to give an appropriate warning with regards to the massive pre-2007 asset boom. The asset boom was an early symptom of the problems to come, and its collapse would later play an important role in undermining the balance sheets of the financial sector.

The essential problem with inflation targeting is not a complicated or a new one. Inflation is a variable that lags greatly, and the link between it and monetary policy is an uncertain and complex one (Friedman, 1968: 16). It has proved a highly effective nominal anchor when acceptable levels of inflation and inflation expectations have already been established, but in more unstable times inflation has provided nothing better than a rear view mirror by which to steer. The activist policy responses of the Bank of England from 2008 onwards, which included deep cuts in interest rates and the buying up of bonds with newly created money (quantitative easing – QE), were certainly not being driven by reference to an inflation rate that remained stubbornly above target for most of the period. Had the policy response been dictated by reference to the inflation target alone, as it seemed to be for much of 2008, an even more disastrous collapse in output would likely have resulted.

If the inflation rate failed to see the crisis coming and provided a poor anchor for policy after 2007 this should not surprise us. The introduction of inflation targeting in developed economies, which began in New Zealand in 1988 (Bernanke et al., 1999, 86-114), came at a time when the Great Inflation of the 1970s had already been tamed by most of the developed economies. It should be noted in accordance with this that inflation in

Britain had already been reduced to negligible levels by the time inflation targeting was introduced in 1992. In the specific case of the United Kingdom, inflation had been broken by the blunt but successful (in disinflationary terms, at least) tool of ERM membership (Budd, 2005: 26-27). A polemical critique of inflation targeting would consider it little more than a 'flat track bully' which had the good fortune to be introduced at a time when conditions for successful counter inflation policy had never been better. In this context, almost any sane framework for macroeconomic policy could have achieved similar results.

The author should not like to go so far as that. Inflation targeting has its problems, like all macroeconomic policy frameworks. But as a framework for 'constrained discretion' in the post-monetary target world it has genuine merits (Bernanke et al., 1999: 10-25) and, despite 2007-10, a strong record. To abandon it completely would be folly. But on its own, and particularly if a less than auspicious macroeconomic climate remains the norm for some time to come, it does not provide the effective lodestar that it once appeared to. The remainder of the paper is therefore devoted to developing a more robust framework for macroeconomic policy in light of this.

M4 and Broad Money

As highlighted in the previous section, a potential criticism of inflation targeting relates to its failure to force a reaction by policymakers to the asset boom that developed in the run up to the Credit Crunch. Asset booms have almost always spelt trouble for the United Kingdom economy in recent times, with the 2005-07 episode now added to the 1972-73 and 1986-89 experiences (Congdon, 2005b: 56-70) in leading to economic grief. But asset booms are generally a symptom of the underlying problem as opposed to its direct cause.

The most likely culprit, in terms of the direct cause, has usually been a rapid growth in money broadly measured (Congdon, 2007: 281). This has been a feature of all three of the asset booms mentioned above. Congdon (2006) was among those who gave advance warning of such problems in the period leading up to the 2007 crisis, in his case with reference to the rapid growth of financial sector money holdings. Low and stable growth of M4 was a feature for all but the later stages of the 1992-2007 'Great Moderation' (Greenwood: 2009, 37-43), and it is difficult to believe that economic outcomes would have been significantly different during this period had an M4 target rather than an inflation target been made the centrepiece of macroeconomic policy in 1992.

Broad money also has the advantage, from the perspective of the theorist, of having a credible 'transmission mechanism' by which monetary growth leads to growth in nominal income. If demand for money is relatively stable

among economic agents, people will seek to hold a fixed proportion of their income in money. It was long ago laid out how, if people's holdings of money rose above this desired ratio, they would seek to return to this desired ratio by spending their excess money balances (Fisher, 1912: 242-247). Since money is only transferred within a closed circuit as people spend it, the only thing that can adjust and allow for a return to monetary equilibrium is a rise in national income. It has since been highlighted how only a broad measure of money is relevant within this transmission mechanism (Congdon, 1992: 182-183). In today's British economy, the relevant broad money indicator is M4.

Despite its obvious qualities both theoretically and empirically, M4 should nevertheless not be held up as a magic bullet for conducting future macroeconomic policy. In the early 1980s £M3 (then the relevant broad money indicator) was the nominal anchor for policy at a time when the authorities were seeking to conduct a gradual disinflation (Goodhart, 1989: 302-305). Despite an explosion in £M3, the government largely ignored the implied message that monetary policy was too loose. Yet a rapid rather than gradual disinflation was nevertheless carried out successively (Goodhart, 1989: 302-305). In this case, a rapid increase in the demand for bank deposits had occurred that was related to the abolition of exchange controls and the ending of quantitative credit restrictions on banks (Congdon, 1992: 83-94). This episode warns against putting too much faith in M4 or any other monetary aggregate within the context of deregulated financial markets.

Congdon (1989) has argued that the early 1980s episode constituted a 'one-off' step-change in people's demand for deposits as a proportion of their income due to unusually rapid financial deregulation, and that a return to a broad money target after 1985 would have resulted in superior macroeconomic management throughout 1986-92. This is a proposition that cannot be tested, but Congdon does emphasise that any broad money target needs to be seen in a 'medium term' perspective with overshoots and undershoots of such targets being placed in context and not acted on mechanically if policy errors are to be avoided (Congdon, 2005a: 52).

The author by and large agrees with Congdon, but is far less optimistic that policy can be run in such a manner when money supply targets can be overshot and undershot by vast amounts in the short term due to the instability of the velocity of circulation within a short timeframe. Inflation targeting in the United Kingdom could become problematic in the near future with consistently above target inflation eventually to higher inflation expectations, whatever the Bank of England may say about inflation returning to target in the medium term. The problems of an M4 target with regards to inflation expectations should M4 grow above its prospective target

rate, with the Bank pleading that this is merely down to more rapid-than-usual financial innovation, can only be imagined. In light of this, this article rejects the idea of returning to a broad money target in spite of M4's obvious qualities.

A New Dual Mandate
A development that should be noted is the return to the Bank of England of the powers to supervise banking. This follows the widely acknowledged failure of the tripartite structure in which authority was split between the Financial Services Authority, the Treasury and the Bank of England. In light of this development, what is required is a new mandate for the Bank of England that ties together supervision of the banking sector, an inflation target and a more privileged role for M4. This could help to avoid the sort of asset booms and the resulting problems that have bedevilled macroeconomic management in the United Kingdom in recent times.

The author will firstly state upfront that an inflation target should remain as part of the mandate from Parliament. The inflation index used and the specific rate targeted are technical matters which need not concern us in this paper. The reasons for the maintenance of the inflation target were highlighted in an earlier section. But the caveat given earlier was that an inflation target alone would no longer suffice in light of the weaknesses displayed by the inflation targeting regime in the run up to, and since the beginning of, the crisis of 2007-10.

The corollary to the existing mandate should be an obligation on the Bank of England to 'ensure sustainable growth in the banking system'. This can be done through the use of interest rates to restrict the speed at which banks can expand their balance sheets. There are two reasons for expanding the Bank's mandate. Firstly, this will provide a suitable obligation on the Bank in relation to its reacquired role as supervisor of the banking sector and it can answer to parliamentary committees accordingly. But the second reason is perhaps more important. A banking sector that grows too slowly relative to the output of the economy is analogous to a contraction in the money supply, and is likely to result in deflation as was feared in 2008-09. In contrast, a banking sector growing at a much more rapid rate than the economy will inevitably become associated with asset booms and inflation, with the sort of disaster that occurred in 2007-10 a possibility. As such, sustainable growth in the banking sector would undoubtedly lead to better economic outcomes (Greenwood, 2009: 41).

M4, consisting mostly of the banking system's deposit liabilities (notes and coins in circulation form only a tiny proportion of M4), provides a good proxy for growth in the banking system. A mandate for ensuring sustainable growth in the banking system therefore constitutes an informal target for

M4, with all the benefits of such a target but without the drawbacks highlighted in the previous section. The unique qualities of M4 in warning of asset booms and inflations as well as asset price collapses and deflations (Congdon, 2005b: 87-107) could then take a more central role in policymaking. But short term instabilities resulting from the likelihood of variations in the velocity of circulation in the short run can be safely ignored, with policy decisions instead taken within the medium term framework called for by Congdon (2005a). Additionally, the maintenance of the inflation target will continue to provide a numerical target by which to hold the Bank to account.

There are two immediate objections to such a mandate which I will now confront. Firstly, that additional M4 (and, indeed, M0) monitoring ranges to buttress inflation targeting were tried in the United Kingdom during the early part of 1992-2007 but failed. M0 and M4 were widely disregarded and were soon dropped as a result. This objection ignores the fact that a mandate for 'sustainable growth in the banking sector' should acquire much more attention from politicians, the media and the public in light of the fact that the recent crisis was caused by too rapid an expansion of the banking sector prior to 2007 (Greenwood, 2009: 41) followed by an uncalled-for contraction during 2007-09. These sorts of violent swings can be avoided in future if the proposed framework is adopted.

A second objection is based on the idea that dual mandates are likely to lead to a conflict between the two aims, with one inevitably falling by the wayside. The author does not disagree that a mandate that involved numerical targets for both growth and inflation would lead to one being privileged over the other. But in the case of a dual mandate consisting of a quantitative inflation target and a mandated demand for sustainable growth in the banking system such a conflict does not exist, as the two aims are mutually reinforcing. Sustainable growth in the banking system is a precondition of, not an impediment to, low and stable inflation in the medium to long term.

A Brief Detour: Overfunding and the Constitutional Implications
Although the section above rejects two objections to the proposed framework, two more pressing ones are acknowledged briefly here. Central banks around the world have become more constitutionally privileged in recent times with the Bank of England, among others, only becoming independent in the last fifteen years (Bernanke et al., 1999: 169-171). Part of the reason for this shift has been the increasing acceptance that there is no long term trade-off between inflation and unemployment, and hence the best that can be done through macroeconomic policy is to secure a low and stable rate of inflation (Goodhart, 1995: 60-63). In light of this, monetary policy should therefore be handed to technocrats (Goodhart, 1995: 60-63).

This paper does not challenge that thinking, but it should be noted that independence in setting interest rates has recently had QE added to it so as to counteract the recent recession. QE has so far been pursued only with the express permission of the government. But in an era of very high deficits and macroeconomic instability, funding policy is likely to prove more important than in recent times. This could also include overfunding (issuing more gilt-edged securities than required to fund the deficit) should high inflation re-emerge, as was practiced in the United Kingdom during the first half of the 1980s. If funding policy is to play a more active role than hitherto, then the present *ad hoc* arrangements between Parliament and the Bank could prove awkward.

A transfer of responsibility for funding policy to the Bank in addition to its existing roles in financial supervision and the setting of interest rates under the mandate proposed in this paper could, in the opinion of the author, prove the most appropriate framework for future macroeconomic policy. But he does not deny the constitutional implications of such a move, as the Bank would become remarkably powerful by the standards of unelected institutions. Whether this is good for democracy is an open question that the author will not go into now, as it would risk going wildly off topic. It is nevertheless an issue that should be openly acknowledged.

Alongside this is a potential for a conflict of interest between the mandate to ensure stable growth in the banking sector and the role of the Bank of England in prudential supervision. Provided the Bank is able to demonstrate to Parliament that its performance in neither area is being undermined by its responsibility for the other then this could prove to be an advantage, as the Bank will have first-hand knowledge of conditions in the banking sector and can consider its interest rate responses in light of these to ensure sustainable growth in the banking sector. Nevertheless this is a significant issue that merits further study.

Conclusions

For those who reject the assumptions laid out in the introduction in this paper the proposals that follow are clearly of no value. For those who do accept them the author hopes that the proposals that follow do at least provide an alternative to the present and, in the author's view, inadequate framework for macroeconomic policy. Inflation targeting was and remains a system of 'constrained discretion' (Bernanke et al., 1999: 22), as is the macroeconomic framework proposed in this paper. In the uncertain world of economic management in which a 'magic' policy rule remains chimerical, a consistently successful system of constrained discretion remains the best we are likely to do and evolution remains our best hope for finding it.

Bibliography

'Ouch!', *The Economist* (2010a), 23rd October 2010, 13.

'The growth surprise: So far, so good', *The Economist* (2010b), 30th October 2010, 34.

Bernanke, Ben S., Laubach, Thomas., Mishkin, Frederic S. and Posen, Adam S. (1999) *Inflation Targeting: Lessons from the International Experience.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Budd, Alan. (2005) *Black Wednesday: A re-examination of Britain's experience in the Exchange Rate Mechanism.* London: Institute of Economic Affairs.

Congdon, Tim. (1989) *Monetarism Lost, and why it must be regained.* London: Centre for Policy Studies.

Congdon, Tim. (1992) *Reflections on Monetarism: Britain's Vain Search for a Successful Economic Strategy.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Congdon, Tim (2005a) 'Commentary', in Alan Budd, *Black Wednesday: A re-examination of Britain's experience in the Exchange Rate Mechanism.* London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 43-55.

Congdon, Tim (2005b) *Money and Asset Prices in Boom and Bust.* London: Institute of Economic Affairs.

Congdon, Tim. (2006) 'The blunders of boom and bust', *Sunday Telegraph*, 3rd September 2006.

Congdon, Tim. (2007) *Keynes, the Keynesians and Monetarism.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Fisher, Irving. (1912) *Elementary Principles of Economics* (New York: Macmillan).

Friedman, Milton. (1968) 'The Role of Monetary Policy', *American Economic Review*, **58**, 1-17.

Goodhart, C.A.E. (1989) 'The Conduct of Monetary Policy', *Economic Journal*, **99**, 293-346.

Goodhart, C.A.E. (1995) *The Central Bank and the Financial System.* Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Greenwood, John. (2009) 'The Successes and Failures of UK Monetary Policy, 2000-08', in Philip Booth (Eds.), *Verdict on the Crash: Causes and Policy Implications*. London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 37-43.

Lamont, Norman. (2006) 'Out of the Ashes', in Howard Davies (Eds.), *The Chancellors' Tales: Managing the British Economy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 147-178.

Phelps, Edmund. (1968) 'Money-Wage Dynamics and Labour-Market Equilibrium', *Journal of Political Economy*, **76**, 678-711.

Were-jaguars and jaguar babies in Olmec religion

Frederick Slater

ABSTRACT
The problem of Olmec iconography has troubled scholars for years. The "Jaguar Baby" motif is inseparable in its motivation from all other known Olmec objects but has never been subject to scholarly consensus. The wide use of motif demands that we investigate the significance of the jaguar to the Olmec. This piece attempts to draw together the various writings on the significance of the motif, in order to extract some meaningful conclusions about the religion of the Olmec and its relationship with the fauna of the Yucatan Peninsula. Three major discussions arise; 1) that the jaguar was a representative tool, functioning as a symbol of the dominance of the ruling class 2) that the jaguar was a "power animal" of a shaman caste and stood for a "spirit journey," recalling a shared religious experience 3) that the Olmec believed themselves to be descended from the jaguar. In all these instances, were-jaguars or jaguar babies show a transitional phase or a synthesis of the man and jaguar. By closely reading all the sources, this project draws the conclusion that the jaguar was a natural choice as a symbol of the "royal house" but had a religious importance that predated this connection and was concurrent with it.

The Olmec were a pre-Columbian civilisation that was far in advance of most of their neighbours. The Olmec stylistic tag is often applied arbitrarily to art from across Meso-America and not just from the Olmec 'heartland', (the area around the gulf coast), leading many scholars to question the veracity of these identifications. Olmec culture would likely have spread and it seems that if actual conquest did not take place, a degree of cultural hegemony certainly did. Olmec artistic ideas seem to have been widely disseminated across what is now Mexico. Whilst the vast majority of sites are on the gulf coast, such as Tres Zapotes, San Lorenzo and La Venta, many scholars now believe that the culture originated in the Guerroro region, with recent finds near Xochipala supporting this conviction (Gay, 1973). Many Scholars of Meso-American art, such as Coe and Sterling support the view that the Olmec were a 'mother culture' to the other great civilisations of Central America, although the debate about this rages on (Pool, 2007: 2). Digs at sites such as La Venta have yielded an abundance of finds, testament to the sophistication and artistic sensitivity of this ancient culture. Of these finds, one particular type has spurred the most debate and speculation. The delicately carved and gracefully composed anthropomorphic hybrid figures, known as Were-Jaguars and Jaguar-Babies respectively, have puzzled scholars for decades.

The Jaguar Motif appears in a variety of different guises. The essential elements of the Were-Jaguar or Jaguar-Baby are, the 'V' shaped cleft, clawed or paw like feet or hands and a feline head with, in some cases, a tail. With Jaguar-Babies the iconography is of a greater symbolic content and is based on facial features. These include; The 'V' shaped cleft, large almond shaped eyes, a snarling mouth with bifurcated fangs and full down-turned lips and a broad flat nose. Different levels of 'jaguarness' are visible in these images, with some being unmistakeably jaguar like. Others have a much more subtle *pars pro toto* style, which is typical of Olmec iconography (Kerr and White, 1996: 22). These representations come in a variety of forms; delicate greenstone figurines, votive axes (with the forms realised in 3 dimensions) and incised celts as well as large basalt sculptures such as those at Petrero Nuevo, Tres Zapotes, which form the Olmec "metropolitan zone." (Barbier, 1997: 32) The iconography associated with these figures, most prominently the forehead cleft, is also visible in other Olmec art, noticeably the self-conscious imitated cleft on the head gear of many of the colossal basalt heads such as colossal head number 1, from La Venta. These motifs were the driving features in the definition of the Olmec style, with artefacts such as the "Kunz axe" providing the source for archaeologists to determine what "Olmec" was, in terms of stylistic traits. It is also important to remember the enormous amount of value that must have been ascribed to these objects. The difficulty in obtaining and working jade - for the Olmec were a culture without metal tools - must have been immense. None-the-less Olmec artists must have shut themselves away for months to produce even the smallest of these objects. This incredible trouble must signify something of colossal importance to the Olmec.

Michael D. Coe, asserts that jaguars are the symbol of the royal household (Coe, 1972: 1-12). He argues that the possibility of jaguar/shaman transformation scenes is not a viability given what he believes to have been the social structure of the Olmec, a '[society] composed of ranked hereditary classes dominated by royal lineages.' If true than the traditional role of the shaman, as mediator between the spirit world and an egalitarian community would not be visible, or would certainly be periphery in an oligarchic "state." In David Joralemon's study of Olmec iconographic motifs, Joralemon identified 10 "gods" of the Olmec, whilst one was inarguably Quetzalcoatl, (Joralemon, 1976) the feathered serpent common to many later pre-conquest Central-American complexes, the others were all "Were-Jaguars" (Joralemon, 1976). The jaguar therefore, is highly important to Olmec concepts of divinity and, in later Meso-American religious traditions, some conflation of the jaguar and the god is always apparent. It is extremely difficult to draw any conclusions about the nature of Olmec culture given the total dearth of any written records. Many scholars believe that the best resource that we have for understanding the culture of the Olmec are the civilisations that postdate them. For Coe the similarities between the religion

of the Aztecs and the Maya - and his subscription to the idea of the Olmec as mother culture to the great Mexican civilisations - means that we can use our knowledge of the Aztec and Maya to understand the Olmec. For this reason we can read the representation of the Jaguar in a similar way for the Olmec as we do the Aztec or the Maya. For the Aztec, the god Tezcatlopica was the son of the hermaphroditic fire god Xiuhtecuhtli, who in turn was father to the world and many of the other gods. Tezcatlopica was often conflated with the jaguar, indeed in his aspect, Tepeyóllotl (heart of the mountain) he *was* a jaguar. The royal lineage, passed as it was from Xiuhtecuhtli to Tezcatlipoca, was transferred from father to son and so Tezcatlipoca and his father became symbolic representations of the royal house on earth (and vice versa). In the Maya tradition, Itzamna who is, like Xiuhtecuhtli, of both sexes and the principal creator god, is the father of Bacab, who with his four aspects cognates to Tezcatlipoca. As with the Aztec, Itzamna and Bacab are the patrons of the royal house. Their rule in the celestial realm is seen as a legitimisation of the King's rule on the earth.

To the Aztec the jaguar was a powerful symbol that equates well with the projected power of the royal leader of a warlike, conquering empire. The jaguar is "brave…fierce…wise…[and]…proud", the undisputed "ruler of the animal world" (Anderson and Dibble, 1963: 1). As such Aztec rulers were clothed in Jaguar pelts and sat upon jaguar skin thrones (Saunders 1994: 109). Thompson (1970) argued that the Mayan word "Balam", meant not only jaguar, but also ruler and it seems too that Maya rulers were privileged to wear jaguar raiment and carry jaguar items, such as the figure from Temple 3, Tikal, Guatemala (Saunders, 1994: 112). At Juxtlahuaca caverns there is a particularly impressive piece, showing an Olmec ruler. He wears a quetzal feather headdress, such as the one that an Aztec or Mayan ruler might wear (Coe, 1972: 10) and sports a jaguar pelt, draped over his arm with a tail protruding between his legs, suggesting that, as with later cultures, Olmec rulers used jaguar hide as part of their regalia. Another painting, this time from Oxtotitlan shows a warrior, painted black, with what appears to be a jaguar emanating from his testicles (Coe, 1972: 10). For Coe this points to a statement of power, heredity and priapic creative force. The Jaguar springs forth from the ithyphallic figure, a symbol of the lineage of kings, Coe likens this to the myth of creation, something that is (according to him) a pan-Meso-American complex, where the commoners, or to use the *Nuahatl* as Coe does, the *Macehualli*, were created separately from the rulers by Tezcatlopica (Coe, 1972: 8). In Coe's point of view, all of this points to an Olmec religious world-view where if the king was not entirely divine then he certainly officiated in the religious rites of the larger community. It suggests that Olmec religion was largely a tool of legitimising the rule of the upper social echelons, suggesting also that the "top god" was the patron of the royal house.

57

Similar to Coe in some respects Murdy (1981) argues that the jaguar baby motif was a legitimising symbol, but for different reasons. Whilst Murdy is attempting to advance a hypothesis not in line with Coe's, the evidence he provides to support it is useful in understanding Coe. The cleft, (which he believes to be a result of a neural tube defect, which would lead to a furrow in the forehead) is shown in the representations of Olmec leaders, such as colossal head 1, the "thrones" (monument 20 from San Lorenzo, Altars 2 and 5 from La Venta) and what he argues to be representations of rulers, such as the Las Limas figure. Murdy argues that some unspecified point a child was born with a facial deformity of the kind that he suggests and was "[offered] to the populace as evidence that jaguar blood ran in the family, producing were-jaguar offspring." Murdy suggests that as a more stratified social structure was supplanting the traditional egalitarian tribal community, so too did the, new officially sanctioned religious complex. This would have led to a kind of apotheosis for the Jaguar-Baby figure, resulting in its being considered as the "rain god." Deformity or illness has already been suggested as an inspiration behind the strange iconography of the jaguar baby, with acromelagy, Dwarfism and Leprosy being advanced by scholars such as Hurtado and Zárate, (1953).

This is however not an entirely conclusive argument. Coe draws his analogies in a way not recognised as correct by modern scholarship, using the "outmoded but enduring view of the Olmec as 'Mother culture'" (Saunders, 1994: 105). By conflating the Olmec and Maya/Aztec Coe is guilty of a reductive method. It does not seem entirely reasonable to suggest, with the great gulf of time between the fluorescence of the cultures, that too great a deal of cognition can be read between their deities. Whilst it may be true and, in light of the evidence from the Juxtlahuaca caverns, entirely reasonable to believe that the Jaguar was an important part of the symbolism of the Olmec royal house, it is unreasonable to apply the baggage of later religious complexes to the Olmec wholesale. Coe's assertion that a shaman transformation aesthetic is not applicable to the art of the Olmec, as it was too advanced to foster officially endorsed shamanism, is to transplant the cultural values of one tradition onto another and to infantilise shaman-based belief systems. Reilly (Kerr and White, 1996) shows that the traditional social structure of the tribe - with the shaman as the focal point for spiritual activity - could easily become rulership of, or by a divinely inspired king or chief. Citing Houston and Stuart (1989) she shows that for the ancient Maya, shaman-power and political authority were essentially one in the same, with rulers "[validating] their right to royal power by publicly proclaiming their ability to perform the shaman trance journey and transform into power animals." Reilly goes on to argue that mural 1 in the Oxtotitlan caves is a representation of the ruler undertaking the shaman "spirit" or trance journey, in the guise of an owl power-animal. The Ruler is shown literally "flying" between planes of existence, trasvering the *axis*

mundi (in the form of the world tree), a motif that she shows to be commonly conflated with the ruler.

The idea of the jaguar as shaman power-animal is a convincing one. Certainly the great cost, both in terms of material and labour, suggests some deep spiritual motivation. Jadeite and the other greenstones used by Olmec lapidaries do not occur in the "Olmec heartland", Rather the source seems to be many miles away in the Sierra Madre of Puebla and Oaxaca, or Chiapas and Guatemala (Pool, 2007: 150). Furst (Kerr and Reilly, 1996) demonstrates convincingly that throughout Latin America a tradition of Jaguar Shamanism exists with roots seemingly as far back as the Olmec. In Book 11 of Sahagun's Florentine codex, we are told that Tepeyóllotl was a nocturnal god, associated with the "sorcerers" of the Aztec, who used jaguar body parts in their various rites and concoctions (Anderson and Dibble, 1963: 3). The association of the jaguar and the shaman is still a tangible one in Latin American folk religion. Reichel-Dolmatoff (1975: 46) illustrates this by showing that the Guahibo people's shamans:

> 'Still wear headdresses of jaguar claws turned upwards, necklaces of jaguar teeth, and carry bags of jaguar fur that contain herbs stones and their snuffing equipment. The narcotic powder is kept in a tubular jaguar bone… An officiating Guahibo shaman paints his face with black spots in imitation of jaguar pelt marks, a form of facial paint that is only used by shamans.'

Many of the objects carrying Were-Jaguar Motifs seem to fit into the perceived accoutrements of the shaman. The incised and modelled Spoons such as that from Chiapas, Guatemala and Veracruz that bear Jaguar-Baby faces may have been used for insufflation. The taking of hallucinogenic compounds, such as *nicotina rustica*, would fit with the current ethnographic realities of Central American shamanic practices (Kennedy, 1982). The inclusion of these jaguar motifs in so integral a component of the Spirit journey paraphernalia shows that the jaguar obviously functions as an important part of the shaman pantheon, certainly Mesoamerican religions abound with important jaguar deities and spirits (Kerr and White, 1996: 63-89). The "transformation scenes" Show the shaman between his forms, either as man or jaguar (or toad (Kennedy, 1982)), the "acrobatic scenes," detail the physical distortions and exertions necessary in achieving this metamorphosis, as in the Tacana or Huichol practices (Kerr and White, 1996: 71). The Jaguar functions therefore as a totemic power-animal, a spirit guide or psychopomp to the shaman, it is a powerful forest spirit. The prevalence of shaman paraphernalia, such as insufflation spoons, vessels, votive figurines, masks (the Dumbarton Oaks "Anthropomorphic mask" is a particularly good example) and perforators all seem to suggest that the belief in an officially and centrally administrated shamanism is highly likely,

contrary to Coe's suggestions. If so, the jaguar figurines show us that the Olmec religious experience was centred not around transcendental mythos and highly ritualised events but rather was centred on individuals imbued with some power, either hereditarily or bestowed in some way by higher forces, engaging in direct dialogue and perhaps even confrontation with spirits and entities. This reading of the Olmec religious complex is atypical in light of its position as what could be seen as the first "state" in Mesoamerica.

A further possibility as to the inspiration behind the were-jaguar is that the Olmec "[believed] they sprang from a union between man and jaguar" (Grove 1973: 128-135). This suggestion of a familial relationship between man and jaguar is compelling and is a theme that has already been touched upon in my discussion of Coe and Murdy's hypotheses on the origin of the jaguar motif. Coe (1973: 3) discusses a number of Latin American mythic traditions such as the "jaguar with the human wife from whom fire must be stolen by the hero" as well as exploring the similarities between the jaguar and the man in terms of their shared appetites and habitats. All of which points to a willingness to except a kinship with the jaguar by the peoples of pre-Columbian Mesoamerica. Monument 1, Rio Chiquito, Monument 3, Petrero Nuevo, Monument 20, Laguna de los Cerros and Painting 1-D, Oxtotitlan (used by Coe as an example of the jaguar/king lineage) are the artefacts suggested as support for this hypothesis and it seems, at least superficially, to be a valid possibility. Were this an accurate reading of these monuments another facet of Olmec religious beliefs would be more readily understood, the creation of man and animals would be tied closely together, perhaps even suggesting a common lineage between man and animal. Certainly if the Olmec did believe that they were descendants of jaguars they had no qualms about showing it. The plethora of different were-jaguar motifs and depictions would be explicable as showing the congenital traits passed to mankind by their animal ancestors. This would surely have impacted on the Olmec relationship with the natural world and more specifically the jaguar itself, perhaps leading to a reverence. On the other hand, if the concept of descendancy from the jaguar applied only to the ruling class than this would legitimise there presence and social status. Descendence from the Jaguar would naturally confer upon the elite all the attributes of the jaguar, its might, wisdom, power and so on.

All of these monuments have been subjected to the ravages of time and to the ritual mutilation that is seen in other Olmec monuments which makes it difficult to ascertain what is being depicted, a condition which has led to much scholarship debunking the idea of a depicted sexual encounter between a human and a jaguar and, in some cases, whether a jaguar is being depicted at all. Davis argues that the scenes depict a supplicant captive dominated by either warrior or jaguar (or possibly a shaman in the form of a

jaguar (Davis, 1978: 453-457)). Pool on the other hand argues that the Potrero Nuevo monument shows a jaguar having caught a monkey (Pool, 2007: 115).

Whilst we can never know for certain the significance of the jaguar to Olmec religious view we can be certain of their importance. Whilst it is always difficult to assert with any confidence about the mystical practices of cultures long dead, the frequency of this motif is an excellent starting point for investigation, leading no doubt to the wealth of literature dealing with the subject. In my opinion, the Jaguar was an important symbol of the power of the natural world, as the apex predator of the surrounding area it would be natural for the jaguar to be subsumed into the iconography of any burgeoning chiefdom, which might later become the "royal house" (if such a term can be used accurately). However, the jaguar would always first and foremost be the creature that most played on the popular imagination and, before any conflation with the trappings of state, would indubitably have become a major part of the religious complex. As for the possibility of human/jaguar copulation, it is extremely difficult to draw any meaningful conclusions as to the significance of the jaguar motif, especially when it comes to the possibility of sexual intercourse. Those Monuments where copulation can be inferred - transmit just that - an inference.

Bibliography

Anderson, A. J. O. and Dibble C. E. (Eds) (1963) 'Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain', Sahagun, trans. Anderson and Dibble, Santa Fe, *School of American Research and the University of Utah*, Vol. 11: 1

Kennedy, A. B. (1982) 'Ecce Bufo: The Toad in Nature and Olmec Iconography', *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 23:3, Pp. 273-290

Gay, C. T. E. (1972) *Xochipala: The Beginnings of Olmec Art*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press

Murdy, C. N. (1981) 'Congenital Deformities and the Were-Jaguar Motif', *American Antiquity*, Vol. 46:1, Pp. 861-71

Pool, C. A. (2007) *Olmec Archaeology and Early Meso-America*, New York: Cambridge University Press

Grove, D. (1973) 'Olmec Alters and Myth', *Archaeology*, Vol. 26

Joralemon, D. (1976) 'A Study of Olmec Iconography', *Studies in Pre-columbian Art and Archaeology*, No.7, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington

Dávalos Hurtado, E. and Ortiz de Zárate, J. M. (1953) 'La Plastica Indigena y la Patalogica', in (eds.) Bernal, I. and Dávalos Hurtado, E., *Huastacos: Totonacos y sus Vecinos*, Mexico: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropologica

Reichel-Dolmatoff, G. (1975) *The Shaman and the Jaguar: A Study of Narcotic Drugs Among the Shamans of Columbia*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press

Barbier, J. (1997) *A Guide to Pre-Columbian Art*, Barcelona: Musée Barbier-Mueller

Kerr, J. and White, B. (Eds), (1996) *The Olmec World: Ritual and Rulership*, Princeton University

Coe, M. D. (1972) *Olmec Jaguars and Olmec Kings: The Cult of the Feline*, ed. Benson, E. P, Washington D.C: Dumbarton oaks

Saunders, N. J. (1994) 'Predators of Culture: Jaguar Symbolism and Meso American Elites', *World Archaeology*, Vol. 26(1)

Thompson, J. E. S. (1970) *Maya History and Religion*, Norman: University of Oklahoma

Houston, S. and Stuart, D. (1989) 'The Way Glyph: Evidence for Co-Existences Among the Classic Maya', *Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing*, No. 30, Washington DC

Davis, W. (1978) 'So-Called Jaguar-Human Copulation Scenes in Olmec Art', *American Antiquity*, Vol. 43(3): 453-57