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Letter from the Editor-in-Chief

Dear Readers,

When founder and Editor-in-Chief Savannah Pine first asked if I wanted to join the editorial committee for a new research journal she was starting for undergraduates, I never expected to be honored with opportunity to follow in her footsteps as Editor-in-Chief. After a wonderful and satisfying year, I am extremely excited to be passing this tradition on to the accomplished and talented Rachel Atakpa for the 2018-19 edition.

This journal is the culmination of countless hours of work by many amazing people. The editorial committee's time and effort spent reviewing multiple theses and class projects (often more than once) provided the backbone of the operation. It is a special kind of undergraduate who not only completes a majority of their class readings, but volunteers to read and edit even more articles. It was a special joy to have the opportunity to work with each of them, and there is no doubt that they will all go on to accomplish great things. They should also receive commendation for their ability to interpret my scatterbrained emails.

For the KU faculty members who tolerated my frantic emails asking them to take on even more work reviewing papers, I am tremendously grateful. And, of course, to the published authors who provided us with fascinating research and new perspectives, we thank you for being part of this process.

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Sincerely,



Matthew Dunn, Editor-in-Chief

Articles

Engaging through Seeing: A Reading of Bewick and Brontë's Imaginative Illustrations

Jaelyn Glennemeier is a senior majoring in English and History. She is from Rose Hill, Kansas. This article was supervised by Dr. Ann Rowland.

Abstract:

The opening scene of Charlotte Brontë's best-known novel, *Jane Eyre*, reveals a young Jane pouring over the pages of Thomas Bewick's *History of British Birds*. Her eyes are drawn to the mysterious vignettes of the forlorn arctic and the lone ship on the rough sea. The images take over and inspire her imagination, but her deep connection to these images suggests something far more complex than a moment of childhood daydreaming. More than a simple literary allusion, the scene calls for a closer look into the relationship between imagination and illustration. This paper examines how both Bewick and Brontë understood the useful application of imagination in their roles as artists and as writers. It recognizes the nineteenth-century visual reading experience and argues that these authors intentionally used illustrations as integral parts of their texts. It also argues that young Jane's ability to imaginatively partake in reading, and in life, make her both Bewick and Brontë's ideal reader.

Introduction

"Each picture told a story; mysterious often to my undeveloped understanding and imperfect feelings, yet ever profoundly interesting..."
(Brontë, 10)

These lines appear in the opening scene of Charlotte Brontë's best-known fiction, *Jane Eyre*. Here, the reader encounters a young Jane hiding from her malicious cousins while finding refuge in the pages of a book, or more specifically, its images. The captivating book, Thomas Bewick's real-life work *The History of British Birds*, is a 1798 natural history famous for its extensive ornithological contribution and, more importantly, the vividness of Bewick's engravings. Jane's young mind lingers on the images and their dark, adventurous effect on her imagination.

Though Bewick was primarily known for his incredibly detailed specimen engravings, Jane does not compliment him on his ability to accurately illustrate the characteristics of the birds he describes. Her attention falls not on the technical skills required to create the images, but rather on the imaginative work of illustrations and how they transform reading into a visual experience. Jane's ability to engage and recognize the visual experience draws attention to Brontë's and Bewick's abilities as authors to metaphorically and literally illustrate the imagination.

Many Brontë scholars have written on Brontë's fascination with Bewick. Her love for his work is shown in both Brontë's reference to *British Birds* and in various biographies about her. Some scholars described Bewick's appearance in *Jane Eyre* as nothing more than a compliment to the "father of wood engraving" and one of Britain's best-

known naturalists. Others argue that the allusion's significance comes from the revelations it makes about Jane herself. They assess Jane's attraction to the drearier vignettes as an early indication of her dark and haunted character. However, the most common argument made in the analysis of this brief scene, an argument this paper disputes, is that Jane's attention to the images in Bewick's work suggests an indifference to the text. According to this claim, Jane's self-formed imaginings of the "broken boat stranded on a desolate coast," and the "sea of billow and spray" turn *The History of British Birds* into nothing more than a blank canvas for her excessive daydreaming. Therefore, according to recent scholarship by Leah Price in her work *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain*, the scene becomes one not of textual engagement, but one of *non-reading*.

Price defines non-reading in several ways. Her book examines scenes in various novels, including *Jane Eyre*, to explore a cultural era in which books "[m]ade to be seen through...find themselves seen," implying that she sees a difference between looking at a book and reading it. She draws a strict distinction between the text and the materiality of the book and examines the ways characters in Victorian novels use books other than simply for "the mental act of reading" (Price, 2). Her definition of reading is limited to "doing something with the words" of a book, and she establishes the act of "reducing books to a front for daydreaming" as one of non-reading (Price, 3). Though her analysis does not provide commentary on Jane's interaction with Bewick, she establishes a framework for understanding acts of reading and ways in which they have been defined. Those definitions are often absent of discussion of visual

aids, in spite of the huge growth in illustrated works during the nineteenth-century.

This materiality versus content analysis proves very useful in the study of book history, yet Price leaves out this very important element of books, complicating her clear distinction. She does not determine whether book illustrations can be categorized as either purely visual or as part of books' reading content. This begs the question: is the act of looking at an illustration an act of reading or non-reading? According to scholars such as Debra Gettelman, the images Jane examines are strictly material, and serve no purpose other than to cater to her imaginative whimsy. Jane therefore "reduces" the book to a front for daydreaming, aligning with Price's definition of non-reading. Gettelman claims, "The heroine is rarely seen actually reading in the sense of paying attention to the book's content" (565). In this analysis, to use Price's model, it appears as though Jane merely sees the book rather than sees through it. However, what Brontë scholars have yet to consider is that Jane's daydreaming is actually a crucial part to her reading experience, specifically her connection to Bewick's words. Scholars have also paid little attention to Bewick's role as an author and his intentional placement of images that are not specimen drawings. Each edition of *History of Birds* contains the images that Jane describes in *Jane Eyre*'s opening scene, making those images integral to the text and its contents.

In the pages of *History of British Birds*, Bewick's reputation as a naturalist and an artist come together in a rather unconventional way. His engraving of a ship on a stormy sea is designed to appear directly before a page containing the classifications of the elusive little stint, one of his various British birds.

Though these two images may seem unrelated, Bewick's mysterious vignettes cannot be separated from his ornithological study. In her book, *Nature's Engraver*, Jenifer Uglow claims Bewick's woodcuts "were never meant to hang on walls. They were designed to appear in books and belonged with the letterpress that ran alongside them" (312). This type of analysis—one that insists images are to be read—complicates Price's strict division between the visual, material elements of books and their content.

This paper argues that not only does Jane read Bewick's *History of British Birds* by paying attention to its images, but also that her imaginative response is one that was crafted by Bewick and fully understood by Brontë. Both authors recognized the artist's craft as a tool for translating and expressing imagination. They firmly believed that accessing and applying that imagination, particularly through illustrative means, is essential in creating and embellishing literature and in enriching real life. These ideas intersect in *Jane Eyre's* opening scene. Through her fascination with the images, Jane demonstrates full engagement as a reader and as an imaginative child.

Rather than study Jane's visual reading experience, scholars who interpret Jane's daydreaming as an act of non-reading often analyze one of the more evident elements of the scene: Jane's imagination. In her article "Making Out Jane Eyre," Gettelman uses the phrase "to make out," to describe Jane's fantasies as "straining to decipher something not fully...comprehensible" (558). This matches Jane's confession of her own childlike "underdeveloped understanding" and identifies the images in the text as sources for her daydreams. Scholar Jennifer Gribble argues that Charlotte Brontë uses *Jane Eyre* to "examine

the workings of the creative imagination" as well as its possible dangers (Gribble, 280).

Gettelman claims that Victorian novelists "were keenly aware that both author and reader contribute imaginatively to a book" (559). These scholars also bring attention to the Victorian social anxieties concerning "overactive" imaginations, particularly in women, and in turn Charlotte Brontë's awareness of such anxieties. However, in reducing Jane's interaction with Bewick to one of non-reading, many scholars risk validating the same nineteenth-century anxieties they try to work against by assuming that a Victorian girl's interaction with an image can only illicit whimsical daydreams rather than incite a meaningful connection to the text.

The relationship Jane forges between images and imagination throughout the novel gives evidence to Brontë's narrative construction of imagination as something applicable, deliberate, and inextricably linked to illustration. Though they both make strong cases for the contribution of author and reader to the discussion of imagination, neither Gettelman nor Gribble notices Brontë's deliberate use of illustrations as Jane's source for imaginative engagement. Nor do they recognize Bewick's role as an author: actively engaging with his readers' imaginations by deliberately crafting illustrations that embellish his text. To fully grasp Bewick and Brontë's understandings of imagination, it is important to evaluate the contexts in which they argued on behalf of imagination and its benefits.

In order to successfully analyze these intersecting ideas of illustration and imagination, this paper divides into two chapters. The first chapter will provide evidence for Bewick's stance on the discourse of imagination through his philosophy on the education

of children. It examines Bewick's memoirs, in which he expresses very strong beliefs in the significance of allowing children to engage in imaginative ideas and experiences. The chapter then demonstrates how his illustrations in *The History of British Birds* intentionally bridge the gap between the material and textual, or in this case, the literal and the metaphorical. More importantly, it will lay the foundations for understanding illustration as Bewick and Brontë did: as a catalyst for inspiring, expressing, and translating the imagination. The second chapter re-assesses Brontë's familiarity with Bewick as not only an aspiring artist's admiration for a master, but as a future writer molding her narrative style and developing ideas about illustration and visual reading. It also looks at this developing style through Brontë's correspondence with various critics, asserting her strongly held convictions about the necessity for imaginative and poetic writing and the ability of women to engage with that writing. Finally, this paper will argue that *Jane Eyre*, Brontë's most influential and poetic fiction, creates a visual reading experience similar to Bewick's. Brontë does this through Jane's character, whose artistic abilities demonstrate the imaginative and applicable power of illustration. It is through her imaginative prose that Brontë asks her readers not only to read her novel, but to *see* it.

Chapter One

"Having all my life, at home, at school & during my apprenticeship lived under perpetual restraints—when I thus felt myself at liberty, I became as I suppose, like a bird which had escaped from its Cage." (Bewick, *A Memoir*, 60)

In the late 1790s, Thomas Bewick used his artistic skill to solidify his place on the bookcase of nearly every household in Britain. His famous natural histories, *History of Quadrupeds* and *History of British Birds*, established his reputation as an "observant and accurate naturalist" as well as "an artist of skill, originality and humour" (Uglow, 313). Praised for its accuracy to nature, his work also went on to inspire wood engravers and artists through the entire British "age of illustration" in the latter half of the nineteenth-century. However, more telling of Bewick's success are the numerous references to his work as integral parts of his readers' childhoods.

Many who read Bewick in their youth described dedicating hours to studying his various woodcuts and learning the names of his animals. Because of this, scholars acknowledge Bewick's ability to "entirely take over a child's imaginative vision" (Uglow, 307). Some of these children included those who would go on to become the nineteenth-century's most prominent writers such as Alfred Tennyson, Beatrix Potter, and of course, Charlotte Brontë. Bewick's very presence in *Jane Eyre* suggests that his influence went far beyond the art of drawing and engraving. It also reflects a significant impact in the world of literature and on the eighteenth-century understandings of imagination and its functions.

In explaining his ideas on education, Bewick taps into a discussion of fantasy versus reason, making a strong case for the importance of encouraging children's imagination in laying foundations for educational development. This chapter references *A Memoir of Thomas Bewick*, a collection of letters he wrote to his daughter, to explore not only his own experiences as a child engaging in

art and imagination, but also to uncover his thoughts on using imagination and illustration to engage with reality. These ideas come to life in Bewick's *History of British Birds*, in which his engravings reveal a model that allows readers' imaginations to be accessed through illustration. In arguing how the *History of British Birds* expresses Bewick's ideas on imagination and its useful applications, this paper can then analyze Jane's reading of Bewick beyond the context of whimsical daydreaming.

To understand Bewick's own ideas on children's education, it is important to understand the eighteenth-century discourse of his contemporaries. Debates over the upbringing of children became crucial as intellectual philosophers such as Locke and Rousseau convinced middle-class society of the significant role children's education played in creating capable and moral participants in the world (Summerfield, 135-136). In a culture previously informed by the Enlightenment, the urge to uphold the pillars of realism and rationalism notably slowed the acceptance of imagination in education.

By the end of the century, literature for children featured strong foundations in science while also expressing moral and social sentiments through metaphor and poetry (Richardson, xvi). Such drastic shifts in ideas concerning children and education elicited responses from prominent Romantic poets and authors who sought to portray their own down-to-earth observations of the common man by inciting imaginative responses from readers (Richardson, 3). Yet even in this burgeoning age of fashioning reason and fantasy as complementary ideas in the construction of literature and education, there remained

voices that spoke out against the dangers of imagination in the minds of children.

Maria Edgeworth, one of the leading voices in the discussion of children's education at the time Bewick was writing, openly favored the precedence of passing down *useful* information to youth. To her, imagination and reason do not mix and certainly do not belong in the education of a child. For example, her work *Practical Education* claims telling children that the sun "goes to bed" at night as an explanation for sunsets could have potentially harmful repercussions on their education (Summerfield, 136). She identifies the imagination as something active and dangerous in young boys, particularly when incited by fictitious, Crusoe-like tales of voyages and travel. In her own words, "No child can ever read an account of a shipwreck, or even a storm, without pleasure" (Summerfield, 136). She believed that stories such as *Gulliver's Travels* and *Robinson Crusoe* would distract young minds and amuse their imaginations in ways that hinder their education and growth. However, there is a gendered divide regarding how those attempting to regulate education perceived imagination and its effects. Edgeworth assures her readers that adventurous stories do not pose a threat to young girls who "must very soon perceive the impossibility of their rambling about the world in a quest of adventures" (Summerfield, 136).

Such perceptions of young women's ability to use imagination—and the consequences if they did—were riddled throughout Victorian discourses. Gettelman poignantly notes that writers of conduct books tended to describe women's minds as "empty of content" (561). The separation of sex creates a distinc-

tion between discussions over the education of boys and of girls. Edgeworth recognizes the limited opportunity to young girls, but insists they are not *able* to engage their imaginations as a result. This type of distinction is one with which Bewick did not primarily concern himself. However, it was an obstacle that Charlotte Brontë navigated as a writer and even as young woman attempting to use her imagination in her creative pursuits. In a way, Edgeworth's claim foreshadows the reviews of some of Brontë's harshest critics that will be further investigated in the next chapter. Nevertheless, Edgeworth's philosophy on education provides an example of how Bewick's contemporaries often deemed imagination and daydreaming as dangerous. It also creates a sense of how imaginative discourse was distinctly gendered, an idea Brontë would encounter in her career as an author. Nevertheless, the Romantic writers who chose to complement reason with poetry metaphor subvert Edgeworth's argument. It is with them that Bewick aligns his understanding of reason and fantasy as integral and complementary parts of children's lives.

The purpose of analyzing Bewick's educational philosophy is not to directly compare him to Maria Edgeworth. Properly understanding his perspective and testimonies on imaginative work allows for a more comprehensive examination of his illustrations. In his collection of memoirs, Bewick critiques British society's most pressing problems such as poverty and prostitution, and even touches on subjects such as war and tyranny in the midst of the American Revolution. Yet perhaps his most passionate argument is that of providing a "rational & virtuous education" to all children (*A Memoir*, 148).

Restless in his childhood, Bewick describes his early life as one of "warfare" (*A Memoir*, 19). His own imagination manifested itself into childhood play, often inspired by the dangerous stories of Crusoe, and into a keen interest in nature and drawing. His behavior led to consistent beatings both at school and home, where his father berated Bewick's determination for such "idle pursuits" (*A Memoir*, 4-5). Bewick's interest in nature played a major role in inspiring his natural histories, as did his disappointment in reading his classroom copy of *A Description of over Three Hundred Animals* in which the poorly rendered illustrations did little to ignite his imagination or interest in the natural world (*A Memoir*, 105). In his professional career, Bewick spent his early years illustrating children's books such as *Aesop's Fables* and some of the works of Oliver Goldsmith; this provided him with experience in creating images to actively engage young readers (Uglow, 317). While these biographical details provide evidence for Bewick's interest in "administering to the pleasures & amusement of youth," it is his memoirs that clearly illustrate his philosophy of imagination.

Bewick's memoirs state his belief that the best way to eradicate the evils of society and secure a better future was to ensure that "rational and virtuous education" shape the reasoning powers of children (*A Memoir*, 148). Yet his ideas on what this rational education looks like differ greatly from the practical teachings of Edgeworth. He writes that in teaching children, instructors should indulge their amusements and "enliven their spirits" (Bewick, 165). For boys, he argues that guardians send them to school too early where they are "harassed with education

before their minds are fit for it" (*A Memoir*, 169). He also recommends they be allowed to indulge in their own amusements (*A Memoir*, 165). Where Edgeworth emphasizes a danger in allowing children's pleasure to factor into their education, Bewick insists on its necessity in developing reasoning minds. Though his memoirs emphasize enlightenment and knowledge, scholars recognize that "his language belonged to the Romantic age" (Uglow, 310). Bewick's ideas of utilizing imagination to engage children resonate with the Romantic responses to the changes in British society in the late eighteenth-century, as both focused on reconciliation between fantasy and reason.

According to Bewick, children's pleasure should come from the exploration of nature, specifically in the countryside. This philosophy resembles that of Romantic writers, to whom nature was an ever-present muse. In his preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, William Wordsworth explains that his own work describes incidents from common life, told with a language accessible to all men over whom he wishes to throw, "a certain colouring of imagination, whereby ordinary things should be presented to the mind in an unusual aspect" (Uglow, 310). Wordsworth was also a great admirer of Bewick, praising his work in a poem titled "The Two Thieves"; he writes, "Oh now that the genius of Bewick were mine" (Uglow, 311). Bewick mentions admiring poets such Thomson and Burns in his youth for their abilities to use art or poetry to ornament everyday life. His memoirs encourage communities to discover the talents of their youth and promote their interest in art, poetry, and music. Bewick believes that it is the "Naturalists & Artists [who] are be-

fitted to enlighten, to charm & to embellish civilized society" and that everything they produce is created intentionally rather than by chance (*A Memoir*, 204). Therefore, the results of their labors are not manifestations of their whimsy or overactive imaginations, but are intentionally crafted. Bewick's memoirs clearly articulate his thoughts on the roles of artists in literature and life. However, his contemporaries would have only been exposed to his ideas through his work where he fully applied his imaginative talents as an author and an artist. Bewick intentionally crafted a novel designed to take over the imaginations of children and enlighten society. To prove this intent, and more importantly how it actively engages with reason and fantasy, it is necessary to look at Bewick's images in the manner in which they are best examined: through reading.

A History of British Birds became one of Bewick's signature works in part for its usefulness in identifying various species of birds, and also for its vivid images. The specific volume Jane reads in *Jane Eyre* is the second installment of Bewick's *Birds*, which includes his ornithological survey of water specimens. Bewick uses the introduction of this volume to explain his artistic intent while also discussing his ideas on the role of imagination in developing knowledge and supplementing reading. He expresses the need for society to direct its attention to "sowing of the seeds of knowledge in the minds of youth" (Bewick, iv). Using rhetoric similar to his memoirs, he claims that those who undertake the task of educating the young "are often assisted by the fertile genius of the artist, who supplies their works with such embellishments as serve to relieve the lengthened

sameness of the way” (Bewick, iv). Through art, Bewick insists that a child’s imagination can be accessed to encourage rational learning. However, these embellishments often come in the form of illustration, threatening to create a reading such as the one Gettelman sees in Jane, “[rotating] between the print, the illustration, and the narratives she invents” (Gettelman, 567). Though Leah Price does not categorize illustrations in her discussion of reading, Gettelman suggests that the “embellishments” Bewick describes are disruptive to the text, eliciting daydreams and therefore turning a child’s engagement with them into an exercise of non-reading.

Bewick saw illustrations not as disruptions, but as relief to a text’s “sameness” that could enhance reader comprehension. He believes—along with other Romantics of his time—that through the embellishments of the artist “a flow is given to the imagination, which banishes early prejudices and expands the ideas; and an endless fund of the most rational entertainment is spread out, which captivates to attention and exults the mind” (Bewick, iv). He goes on to say, “For the attainment of this science, in any of its various departments, the foundation may be laid, insensibly, in youth, whereon this goodly superstructure of knowledge can easily be raised at a more advanced period” (Bewick, V). Bewick engages his readers’ imaginations, not for the sole purpose of entertainment, but as a “scientific” tool for expanding their minds. In his understanding of the imaginative power pictures possess, Bewick uses illustrations that are designed to both capture readers’ attention and also to encourage them to use their imaginations to read beyond the page in front of them.

Bewick’s naturalist engravings in *History of Birds* can be divided into two categories: the images of the species he describes and the vignettes that have very little to do with the survey of animals. The first type of engraving would most likely pass Edgeworth’s test of practicality. They supplement the volumes’ function as field guides, which readers can then use to identify specimens out in the wild. These particular engravings are crafted with incredible detail and realism, helping establish Bewick’s reputation as the father of modern wood engraving. In *Water Birds*, the vivid renderings of the Little Stint and the Turnstone match their descriptions down to the last feather, allowing readers to see how these birds might look in nature. These have a clear educational purpose and engage children’s minds by encouraging readers to picture the specimens as they actually exist. This is a very limited example of how Bewick believed education could unlock childlike fancy. The real imaginative work, which sets Bewick apart from other naturalists, appears in his vignettes.

Bewick’s miniature scenes may seem out of place to a reader expecting to use *Water Birds* for ornithological study. The distant ships on the billowing sea and the lonely country fisherman, while engaging, have very little to do with educating the British public about birds. And yet they too remain integral to Bewick’s design. Uglow observes, “Bewick left his vignettes open, as if leaving us free to make our own reading and go our own way” (xv). The lack of borders or limits to his illustrations allows readers, especially children, to fill in the blanks with their own fantasies.

The images in *Water Birds* also capture the essence of the Romantic poets in various ways. The whimsical, rustic images of country folk and rural life, while partially created to amuse Bewick's fondness of the country, parallel the work of Wordsworth in detailing the "every day" and common life of man. Meanwhile, the mysterious and somewhat dreary images of storms and ships lost at sea resonate with works such as Coleridge's "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner." These vignettes, the ones that capture young Jane's imagination, encapsulate the power of the natural world alluded to by Romantic poets. These are the images with which Bewick admits readers must exert their most vivid and creative imaginings. In defending the role of these vignettes, Bewick uses his introduction to acknowledge that nature has a barrier "beyond which the prying eye of man must not look, and there his imagination only must take the view, to supply the place of reality" (Bewick, xiv-xv). His illustrations mimic the very shipwrecks and storms that Edgeworth warns never fail to inspire the imaginations of young boys. They are dangerous, foreboding, and adventurous. They are the unassuming yet commanding tools by which Bewick hopes to access the imaginations of his readers and expand the boundaries of reason in children. As Uglow remarks, "[t]hey ask us to look deep, as children stare at illustrations when they first start to read, drawn into the pictured world" (xv). Bewick, aware of the importance of engaging imagination, intentionally designed these vignettes to be a part of the reading experience.

The illustrations in *Water Birds*, though not always directly relevant to the text, are integral to the book's creation and content.

While they seem to be embellishments to the words on the page, they are no less important to creating an educational and imaginative text. Every rendering is intentionally placed with its own purpose in aiding the act of reading. Bewick's artistic renderings prove how the literal and metaphorical can be complementary forces. They also act as physical manifestations of his philosophical idea of imagination being wielded for scientific knowledge. By inspiring imaginative responses, the vignettes strengthen readers' connection to the illustrated and scientific materials. Studying Bewick's own philosophy on the role of imagination in children's education and the way it is reflected in his work demands an understanding of engagement with his images as acts of reading. It also begins to fill a gap in the scholarship surrounding nineteenth-century literary allusions to Bewick's work. Children did not stumble upon Bewick's illustrations in his natural histories. Rather, Jane Eyre looked at his vignettes and allowed her imagination to wonder, instilling the small illustrations with as much reasoning and imaginative power as Bewick intended. Jane's engagement with Bewick according to his own artistic design is clear, but the question remains: even when the images prompt her imagination to look beyond the pages in front of her is she still, in fact, reading?

Chapter Two

"I am no bird; and no net ensnares me; I am a free human being with an independent will, which I now exert to leave you." (Brontë, 293)

As ten-year-old Jane balances Bewick's *History of British Birds* on her knee in her secret hideaway, her eyes linger on the "two ships becalmed on a torpid sea" and the scene of "the broken boat stranded on a desolate coast" (Brontë, 10). Her attraction to these images does not escape scholars who have written on Jane and her active imagination. However, their analysis focuses on the manifestations of her imagination, stripping power away from the images or incidents that inspire it. They also insinuate that Jane allows her imagination to interfere with her comprehension of the text rather than enhance it. The lack of attention paid to Bewick's intent as an artist and educator permits Brontë scholars to claim that Jane's interaction with *Water Birds* is one of *non-reading*. If adhering strictly to Price's division of materiality and text, then Jane's claim, "the letterpress thereof I cared little for," implies that she does not engage with the text. However, Bewick's model of understanding images as aids to the process of reading insists that Jane is reading by not only seeing Bewick's images, but also by allowing those images to incite her imagination. Her reading in this opening scene requires closer analysis previously neglected by scholars who describe Jane's attraction to the images as imaginative whimsy.

The vignettes Jane describes are integral to the book's content as are the imaginative visions they inspire. However, it is an injustice to Jane as a reader to see her only as an over-imaginative child skimming over the words on the page. She does in fact pay attention to the letterpress, even quoting particular lines that grab her attention. The pages she reads are in the introduction to Bewick's *Water Birds* that reveal the educational and imag-

inative intentions of his work. Jane quotes Bewick when describing her attention to "the vast sweep of the Arctic zone, and those forlorn regions of dreary space" (Brontë, 10). Her eyes also rest on a four-line poem included by Bewick and written by James Thomson. The lines, "Where the Northern Ocean, in vast whirls/ Boils round the naked, melancholy isles/ Of farthest Thule" effectively create a poetic image of the wintry, Northern landscapes as a substitute for Bewick's own descriptions (Brontë, 10). She is drawn to the language and the engravings, as they both illustrate the realm Bewick claims is beyond man's reach and comprehension. Jane recognizes the connection between Bewick's text and his illustrations by stating, "The words in these introductory pages connected themselves with the succeeding vignettes, and gave significance to the rock standing up alone in a sea of billow and spray" (Brontë, 10). She does not alternate between looking at the images and reading Bewick's words. Rather, she partakes in a continuous process of reading, one in which the illustrations and the text feed into one another to create a more effective and imaginative visual reading experience. She also instills Bewick's images with the same imaginative power as the stories of adventure and love that the housemaid Bessie reads to the children of Gateshead. Jane's ability to recognize the effective power of illustration to incite imagination emulates Bewick's intentions for his readers.

It is important to acknowledge that this opening scene reveals Brontë's awareness of Bewick's illustrative philosophy. Jane lets her imagination take her beyond Bewick's pages. She recalls, "Of these death-white realms I formed an idea of my own: shadowy, like all

the half-comprehended notions that float dim through children's brains, but strangely impressive" (Brontë, 10). Though this suggests a detachment from the text, it closely follows Bewick's intention for his work. Jane does connect to the text through imagination and even articulates that connection as a means of better understanding Bewick's work. Scholars who do not recognize Jane's imagination as an integral part of her visual reading experience risk falling into a trap in which framing the analysis within Victorian ideology limits the possibility of studying Jane's imagination outside the realm of whimsical daydreaming. The question as to whether or not Jane reads Bewick has important implications for how scholars will continue to analyze nineteenth-century literature. It affects how scholars understand the imagination as a connection to the real and the rational, and how imagination, even in twentieth and twenty-first century discourse, is gendered when analyzing female characters or authors. It also alters how we understand the process of reading.

After centuries of studying non-illustrated texts, scholars have effectively become blind to the crucial role illustration played in the nineteenth-century reading experience. Illustrated books became essential to British society both educationally and culturally. *Jane Eyre* reads one of those books, and it informs her own understanding of the connection between imagination and illustration. In acknowledging the significant place of illustration in the study of nineteenth-century texts, it is necessary to analyze how Brontë understood her project as a novelist and unpack the visual reading experience she hoped to provoke in her readers.

Bewick's model of illustration is not merely a lens through which to read the opening scene in *Jane Eyre*, but also a model utilized by Charlotte Brontë as an artist and a writer. Brontë, in developing her narrative style and artistic abilities, faced obstacles that Bewick had no need to consider. She had to understand her imagination and illustrative nature within the context of her sex. Having effectively demonstrated Bewick's use of fanciful images as complementary to the written word, this chapter unpacks Brontë's own ideas on the connection between fantasy and reason, paying particular attention to Jane's use of imagination as proof that the two can coexist in a young woman's life. More importantly, it examines how those ideas and convictions manifest in *Jane Eyre*. The objective of this chapter is to demonstrate how a text, one that Brontë did not illustrate, can actively be about the power of illustration.

Most households in Victorian Britain would have included Bewick in their collection, but Charlotte Brontë had a special interest in his work that makes her reference to *Water Birds* all the more significant. At age twelve, Brontë read the *History of British Birds* for the first time and like many children before her, she found herself drawn to Bewick's engravings (Uglow, 317). Embodied with aspirations to become an artist, she studied every detail of the images. All of the Brontë children took pleasure in examining and copying Bewick's pictures, but Charlotte formed a special connection to them, often copying the more eerie vignettes such as the rocky shores and tumultuous storms. Elizabeth Gaskell describes Brontë's interest in drawing as "an instinctive desire to express [her] powerful imaginations in visible forms"

(Gaskell, 78). Much like the young and restless Bewick, young Brontë's attentions turned toward nature and sketching, often using the latter to capture the essence of the former. The images she copied down in her youth made a lasting impact, as evidenced by a poem Charlotte wrote in Bewick's honor after his death:

There rises some lone rock all wet
with surge
And dashing billows glimmering in
the light

Of a wan moon, whose silent rays emerge

From clouds that veil their lustre,
cold and bright (Uglow, 318)

This short poem describes the same images that Jane admires in her reading of *Water Birds*. However, Brontë's words do not simply describe one of Bewick's images. Even in her earliest stages as a writer, she recognized the illustrative power of words. In these lines, she uses poetic language to illustrate the imaginative visions Bewick's vignettes evoked in her as a child. Such an illustrative style of writing calls for readers to envision what she describes. It is this style that would develop and reach its critical peak in *Jane Eyre*. However, Brontë's ability to use her imagination developed at a much younger age with an education at the Brontë parsonage in Haworth.

Charlotte's upbringing grounded her in modesty and common sense through a practice of education that echoed the ideas of Bewick and the Romantic poets. While being deterred from frivolousness, the Brontë children

were also encouraged to indulge in their pleasures and exercise their wildly imaginative minds. Gaskell argues their secluded childhood in Haworth made them "thoughtful and dreamy" in a way that turned ordinary occurrences into fantastical and almost supernatural incidents (Gaskell, 58). The children often walked hand-in-hand through the moors, inventing their own adventures. Patrick Brontë made a point of discovering each of his children's talents and giving them an extensive literary education. Charlotte was therefore exposed to a wide range of artists and writers. In a letter to a friend, she wrote a reading list in which she recommends poetry, biography, history, and fiction. She praises writers such as Wordsworth, Shakespeare, Southey, and, though she focuses most of her energies on poets, she also encourages her friend to read Bewick's natural histories (Gaskell, 85). The upbringing at Haworth had a significant impact on the imaginative and artistic abilities Charlotte and her siblings. Her sisters Anne and Emily wrote famous novels and poetry alongside her and their only brother, Patrick, became an avid painter. In this way, Bewick's methods on the impact of imagination in children's education are proven quite effective in not only Charlotte's success as an author, but in the artistic successes of the entire Brontë family.

There is little biographical evidence to suggest that Brontë marked Bewick as a philosopher of education. She knew him as most Victorian readers knew him: an artist and a naturalist. Furthermore, a direct correlation between her childhood and Bewick's theories of education cannot be confirmed. And yet, in her later years as a writer, she expressed similar Romantic ideas about the imagination

in literature. She did not write a memoir or a treatise on the imagination, but expressed her ideas through both her narrative style and in her letters to critics. In these letters, she found herself defending not only her work, but also her ability to craft imaginative narratives such as *Jane Eyre*. It is important to understand the imaginative quality of her work because it is at the center of tension between her critics and her position as a woman in literature.

Early in her career, Brontë gravitated toward poetry, pulling inspirations from the Romantic poets she favored in her childhood. She understood perceptions of women in the literary world at a young age. Critics of her writing, who often urged her to curb the wild imagination she had possessed since childhood, did so in response to her sex. As a result, her belief in the power of imagination and illustration in literature often had to include a defense of women's imaginative abilities. One of her first encounters came from a correspondence with none other than Robert Southey. Brontë, aged twenty-two at the time, wrote to the poet in hopes of receiving his artistic opinion. Southey responded to Brontë with a letter resembling more of a warning than a constructive critique. Though he does not find her writing displeasing, his words echo Victorian anxieties over women's imaginations and divulge a prejudice over women's limited positions in society:

The day dreams in which you habitually indulge are likely to induce a distempered state of mind; and in proportion as all the ordinary uses of the world seem to you flat and unprofitable, you will be unfitted for them

without becoming fitted for anything else. Literature cannot be the business of a woman's life, and it ought not to be. The more she is engaged in her proper duties, the less leisure will she have for it, even as an accomplishment and a recreation (Gaskell, 102-103).

Southey does not tell Brontë to subdue her creative thoughts or stop writing altogether, but instead warns that her poetry and pursuit of literary success cannot coexist with a woman's proper duties in life. He also does not deny her ability to be imaginative, as Edgeworth does, but claims that Brontë cannot be happy if she chooses to indulge her imagination. He assumes she has not yet taken on the proper duties of a woman that will inevitably deter her from "seek[ing] in imagination for excitement" (Gaskell, 102-103). Brontë graciously responded; her letter claimed she would heed his warning and not fall to "the folly of neglecting real duties, for the sake of imaginative pleasures" (Gaskell, 104). She also defends herself against his assumption of her duties, "I am not altogether the idle dreaming being it would seem to denote" (Gaskell, 104). In her position of governess, Brontë insists she has no time for daydreaming while admitting, "In the evening, I confess, I do think, but I never trouble any one else with my thoughts" (Gaskell, 104). Even in the earliest stages of her writing career, Brontë's understanding of imagination had to be within the context of her gender. Though more timid and humble at the time she wrote to Southey, Brontë's thoughts on the role of imagination and artistry in aiding literature became more bold and assertive, as

did her responses to those who urged her to reign in her vivid and illustrative imagination.

For some critics, Brontë's poetic prose made them question the proper role of women in fiction, stemming from a fear of women's deviation from reality. After her initial launch into the publishing world, Brontë was anxious about her potential reviews. Even under the pseudonym of Currer Bell, she feared critics would judge her writings not by their merit as literary works, but by her role as a woman in literature. One review, written by one of Brontë's long-time correspondents G.H. Lewes, appeared in the *Edinburgh* after the publication of *Shirley* with sub-headings of "Mental Equality of the Sexes?" and "Female Literature," making the author's femininity the article's primary concern (Gaskell, 292). Brontë responded hotly to the review, writing, "After I had said earnestly that I wished critics would judge me as an *author*, not as a woman, you so roughly—I even thought so cruelly—handled the question of sex" (Gaskell, 293). For advisors like Southey and Lewes, Brontë's sex remained an integral part to any discussion about her authorial merits. Hidden in their critiques and warnings was a preconceived and ignorant notion that a woman lacked the capabilities to indulge her imaginations while upholding her societal duties. Brontë defied this notion through her work as a novelist and her role as a devoted sister and governess. Not only did she indulge her imagination, she actively and deliberately channeled it through her writing.

Brontë's correspondence with Lewes offers her most impassioned defense of the importance of imaginative work in literature. In one letter, Lewes warns her to "beware of

melodrama" and "not to stray far from the ground of experience" (Gaskell, 233). Lewes writes his warning to Brontë as an outsider wary of the female imagination. He attempts to deter her from the Romantic literary heroes of her childhood and suggests another author after whom Charlotte should model herself: Jane Austen. Brontë responds to Lewes' letter by mocking his words in which he describes Austen as "one of the greatest artists, one of the greatest painters of human character" (Gaskell, 241). Charlotte contradicts him, explaining her dismay at reading Austen and finding, "a carefully-fenced, highly-cultivated garden, with neat borders and delicate flowers; but no glance of a bright, vivid physiognomy, no open country, no fresh air, no blue hill, no bonny beck" (Gaskell, 240). Where Lewes praises Austen's lack of sentiment and poetry, Brontë asks, "Can there be a great artist without poetry?" (Gaskell, 241). In another letter to Lewes, Charlotte addresses his lack of confidence in her fiction by explaining her experiences early in her career. She had heeded the warning of Southey and "restrained imagination, eschewed romance, repressed excitement...and sought to produce something which should be soft, grave, and true" (Gaskell, 233). Yet publishers did not accept her early work, claiming it "was deficient in 'startling incident' and 'thrilling excitement.'" (Gaskell, 233). After refuting Lewes' idea on the inferiority of fiction, she then delivers these lines on the commanding power of imagination that is filled with the sentiments of Bewick and the Romantic poets:

Then, too, imagination is a strong, restless faculty, which claims to be heard and exercised: are we to be quite deaf to her cry, and insensate

to her struggles? When she shows us bright pictures, are we never to look at them, and try to reproduce them? And when she is eloquent, and speaks rapidly and urgently in our ear, are we not to write her dictation? (Gaskell, 233-234)

Here, Brontë acknowledges reality's limitations and understands imagination as a powerful force that great artists must not suppress, even in their descriptions of real experiences. To her, imagination is visual, something that manifests in "bright pictures" to be copied. It is also auditory, something that commands to be written. The pictorial and literary necessity of imagination makes it a sensory entity that demands use beyond acts of whimsical daydreaming; it demands application. These applications are designed to alleviate "the lengthened sameness of the way" as Bewick so eloquently explained. It is this understanding that emboldens her to write, "Miss Austen being...without 'sentiment,' without *poetry*, maybe *is* sensible, real (more *real* than *true*), but she cannot be great" (quoted in Gaskell, 241).

Just as scholars cannot fully ascertain Bewick's thoughts on imagination and illustration without studying his philosophy on children's education, they cannot examine Brontë's understanding of the power of imagination as an artist without factoring in her awareness of her position as a woman in literature. She not only had to argue that the use of poetry and imaginative prose was necessary in her writing, but she also had to demonstrate that her sex was capable of using imagination in a productive manner. *Jane Eyre* illustrates the power of visual reading

and imagination as both Bewick and Brontë understood it. The novel expresses the impact of imagination on children's education, demonstrates the use of illustration to understand reality, and describes and promotes the act of reading as a visual experience. Scholars have defined the novel as a social problem novel for its depiction of child abuse, feminist literature due to its strong female heroine, and even gothic romance for its eerie passages and ghost stories. But it has yet to be examined as a novel about the power of imaginative illustration and a young woman's ability to wield it.

The themes of illustration and imagination that come forth in *Jane Eyre's* opening scene are woven throughout the rest of the novel through Jane's imagination and artistic abilities. Those same themes also come forward in Brontë's deliberate use of illustrative language, language that commands the imaginations of readers in a fashion rival to Bewick's vignettes. In addition, through Jane's character, Brontë demonstrates a young girl's ability to be imaginative and to use illustration or illustrative means to prompt and dictate the sensory demands of the imagination.

Scholars agree that Jane possesses an active and strong imagination, but the function of that imagination in the novel remains a subject of debate. Countless books and articles have been dedicated to unpacking the mind of the heroine in Brontë's most "imaginative and poetical" work (Glen, 50). Throughout the novel, Jane's imagination inspires her to envision beyond the cultivated walls of Austen's universe, to dream about the forlorn North and stormy seas, and to entertain thoughts of adventure and travel. In a way, she is Brontë's direct answer to Ma-

ria Edgeworth's claim that young girls cannot be excited by stories of adventure. Jane had this to say about *Gulliver's Travels*: "I doubted not that I might one day, by taking a long voyage, see with my own eyes the little fields, houses, and trees, the diminutive people, the tiny cows, sheep, and birds of the one realm" (Brontë, 25). Jane, a young girl with little choice but to be a governess, allows the stories and pictures she reads to inspire dreams of her own adventure to distant lands. Here, the images have an immediate effect on her imagination and are essential to her visual reading of the book. However, her imagination is ever connected to her reality.

After Jane suffers her aunt's punishment of being locked away in the haunted red room, she begins to read illustrations differently. She describes the same images that had once given her pleasure and excitement as ghoulish and full of dread, making her unable to look at the book she once treasured (Brontë, 26). Her imagination also becomes useful when she calls her cousin a "slave-driver" and compares him to "the Roman emperors" (Brontë, 13). Jane remembers her reading of Goldsmith's *History of Rome* and claims to have "drawn parallels in silence," therefore using the way she imagines the cruelty of Nero and Caligula to understand her own mistreatment at Gateshead (Brontë, 13). Jane's reading of *Water Birds* creates a moment in which Jane is making the connection between the Bewick's letterpress and his images to prompt a productive use of the imagination in readers. This connection is one that Jane carries forward in her other acts of visual reading during childhood and one that feeds the application of her artistic abilities in adulthood.

Illustration as a useful tool for expressing and managing imagination is most astutely represented through Jane's own talents as an artist. Similar to the youthful Brontë and Bewick, Jane knew that to paint, draw, and illustrate "was to enjoy one of the keenest pleasures" (Brontë, 148). She understands drawing as an application for her wild and vivid imagination even as a child. In the early months of her residency at the restrictive Lowood school Jane dreams of hot meals and a full stomach. However, on the same day she begins drawing again at Lowood, she claims her dreams shifted so that her mind "feasted instead on the spectacle of ideal drawings" (Brontë, 88). She imagines penciling picturesque landscapes, butterflies, roses and even expresses desire to "translate currently a certain little French story-book which Madame Pierrot had that day shown [her]" (Brontë, 88). She sees drawing as a type of "translation" from words or ideas into images of one's own imagination. As an adult, Jane uses her artistic abilities to create drawings of two different kinds, similar to the illustrative style of Bewick. First, she finds useful applications for her illustration, either sketching the portraits of others or using them in her instruction of Adele, Jane's ward as a governess at Thornfield Hall. Her most defining act as a portraitist comes when she uses drawing to discipline her feelings for her employer, Mr. Rochester. "Reason...in her own quiet way" instructs Jane to draw herself, plain and imperfect in chalk and then draw on ivory the delicate, lovely Ms. Ingram (Brontë, 187). Jane does this and creates a contrast "as great as self-control could desire" (Brontë, 188). The exercise keeps her mind and hands busy from the impossible feelings that, without the

aid of drawing, she might have been “unequal to maintain, even externally” (Brontë, 188). This is an instance in which Jane, possessing talent and understanding of the application of illustration, uses her drawings not to “translate” her feelings, but to discipline them. She exaggerates both her and Ms. Ingram’s features to embody her idea of their differences, hoping to return her to rational thoughts concerning Mr. Rochester.

Perhaps the most intriguing details of these portraits are their labels. Jane titles her own image, “Portrait of a Governess, discontented, poor, and plain,” and Ms. Ingram’s, “Blanche, an accomplished lady of rank” (Brontë, 187). Both labels include the profession or status of the women drawn along with what Jane views as their defining characteristics. This presents the images, and the other portraits Jane draws throughout the novel, almost as if they were depicting specimens in one of Bewick’s natural histories. If a connection to Bewick can be detected through the minor parallels between his birds and Jane’s portraits, then Jane’s imaginative paintings of northern landscapes and sinking ships are nothing short of a direct reference to his mysterious images.

Jane describes her watercolors as having “risen vividly” to her mind with each subject serving as “a pale portrait of the thing [she] had conceived” (Brontë, 147). They are portraits of the horizons she tries to look beyond as she stands at the windows of Lowood and Thornfield. They are filled with rolling clouds, stormy seas, shipwrecks, and piercing icebergs of the far north — objects of awe and terror that should never flit into a young woman’s head. In examining each of the three paintings that Jane “touched with as brilliant

tints as [her] palette could yield,” Rochester insists that Jane lived in a kind of artist’s dreamland. Rochester says to her, “You had not enough of the artist’s skill and science to give it full being: yet the drawings are, for a school-girl, peculiar. As to the thoughts, they are elfish” (Brontë, 147). Not only do “school girls” not possess the scientific skills or talents of the artist to fully translate their imaginations, they also do not have thoughts similar to the ones Jane illustrates (Brontë, 147-148).

Jane creates these vivid and colorful images during her free time, attempting to capture the imagined landscapes that she “was quite powerless to realise” (Brontë, 147). However, as Jane describes her paintings to the reader, it is almost as if she tries to paint or translate the images through words. Her first painting, uncanny and vibrant, shows “light lifted into relief a half-submerged mast, on which sat a cormorant, dark and large, with wings flecked with foam” (Brontë, 148). Another portrays a ring of white flame, “above the temples, amidst wreathed turban folds of black drapery, vague in its character and consistency as cloud” (Brontë, 148).

Brontë’s vivid prose attempts to accomplish what Jane’s paintings could not: to capture the eerie landscapes of her imagination. Rather than provide actual images to represent Jane’s artistic abilities, Brontë prompts the reader to envision what Jane is describing, asking *them* to make the connection between imagination and illustration.

Brontë’s illustrative narrative style demands that her work be *seen* as well as *seen through*, creating images not through drawing, but through the poetic and metaphorical language G.H. Lewes warned would lead to

her unhappiness. In spite of his early issues with the poetic nature of Brontë's writing, Lewes later praised the vividness of her prose in *Jane Eyre*: "The pictures stand out distinctly before you: they are pictures, and not mere bits of 'fine writing.' The writer is evidently painting by words a picture that she has in her mind" (125). Absent any physical images, the novel effectively demonstrates the power and necessity of illustrations both in the practical world and in literature. Not only is this accomplished through the character of Jane, an artist in her own right, but also through the very prose that brings her imagination to the forefront. As Jane stands at various windows in the novel, looking out over the horizon, she stands at a threshold where reality meets fancy and imagination. These instances result in vividly descriptive vignettes as Jane describes the action of looking out:

I discovered, too, that a great pleasure, an enjoyment which the horizon only bounded, lay all outside the high and spike-guarded walls of our garden: this pleasure consisted in prospect of noble summits girdling a great hill-hollow, rich in verdure and shadow; in a bright beck, full of dark stones and sparkling eddies (91-92).

Like Bewick's vignettes, these descriptions of the horizon are boundless, prompting the reader to envision the landscape Jane details. Such descriptions draw attention to Jane's vibrant imagination, but they also use words in an attempt to illustrate it. Furthermore, these moments of vivid, illustrative prose create a type of pause in which Brontë intentionally tries to inspire the imaginations

of readers. Though necessary to the novel, these moments do not propel the plot forward, nor do they provide any critical context for characters' actions. However, they actively create a visual experience for the reader, an experience Brontë understood as a child copying Bewick and one she fully exploits in *Jane Eyre*. Brontë consistently reminds her readers that they should be envisioning her novel, telling them to envision the scenes Jane describes. Jane explains, "A new chapter in a novel is something like a new scene in a play; and when I draw up the curtain this time, reader, you must fancy you see a room in the George Inn at Millcote" (Brontë, 111). She asks the reader to look upon a page with no pictures and still see images. Jane herself understands the act of visual reading as demonstrated in her engagement with Bewick. She also makes the connection between translating images and words into imaginative and illustrative visions.

As she describes her life with Rochester during his years of temporary blindness, she recalls, "he saw books through me; and never did I weary of gazing for his behalf, and of putting into words, the effect of the...landscape before us...and impressing by sound on his ear what light could no longer stamp on his eye" (Brontë, 519). Rochester's ability to envision nature and books is not hindered by his inability to physically see, for Jane illustrates his surroundings through her words, inspiring his imagination to see what his eyes cannot. These lines mark Brontë's final statement about the connection between illustration and imagination and its power. Rochester reads without looking at the letterpress of books and he moves through nature without having to look at its wonder. All of this is ac-

complished through Jane, a young woman capable of using her imaginative spirit and artistic abilities to help the man she loves imagine and understand the world around him. It is these qualities that make Jane not only Bewick's ideal reader, but also Brontë's.

Conclusion

Being a young child, Jane could have easily skimmed through Bewick's pages and only looked at his vignettes of the two Arctic explorers or the marooned ship as a sign of her whimsical nature. Significantly, Jane reads the words in Bewick's introduction, connecting them to the images with which she is all too familiar. In those introductory pages, she engages in a continual process of reading; she uses the illustrations, the words, and her own vivid imagination to inform one another rather than alternate between the three. She sees through illustrations, both real and imaginative. In doing so, she is not disengaging from reality or creating obstacles to keep her from achieving her goals. She uses her understanding of illustration in her work and self-discipline while also indulging in the pleasure it offers her. By insisting that Jane reads Bewick through a model he intentionally crafted, *Jane Eyre* becomes a novel centered upon the power and necessity of imaginative illustration.

Because Brontë created pictures through her imaginative prose, understanding her intent as an author prompts the unpacking of Bewick's intentions as an artist. Furthermore, Brontë's intimacy with Bewick's work insists upon more critical analysis of her reference to his introduction. Bewick's model of illustration as an ideal form of relieving the repetitive or dull aspects of reality and litera-

ture comes through in Jane's character and in Brontë's vivid prose. By understanding Bewick's intent as an artist, scholars may gain a better understanding of illustration's role in nineteenth-century literature and how it intersects with discourses on imagination and reading. However, for the purposes of this paper, Bewick's intent and Jane's reading reveal Brontë's goal as a novelist to provoke readers into envisioning her work through their own imaginations. *Jane Eyre* has been classified under many genres such as gothic romance and feminist literature, yet its effectiveness within those genres relies heavily on its role as a novel of illustration.

Through her illustrative prose, Brontë is best able to call upon readers to imagine the social problems that plague young Jane and her peers. She can more effectively narrate the eerie and mysterious scenes that earn the novel's classification as a gothic romance. Lastly, it is through her ability to craft a novel that uses imagination as an aid in its comprehension and effectiveness that Brontë arguably asserts her most radically feminist notion: women can indulge in their imaginations and use them for their own practical purposes.

Through her work in *Jane Eyre*, Brontë had proven herself a master at effectively engaging imaginations through illustrative language. If such a strong case can be made for Charlotte Brontë's model of using illustration to inspire and discipline imagination, then it is the duty of scholars to question why she chose not to follow in Bewick's footsteps more closely by illustrating physical pictures in her novel. Why would an avid artist writing during Britain's great age of illustration adamantly refuse to illustrate her own edition

when asked by her publisher (Danger, 262-263)? If she understood the power of illustration, and experienced it through her own encounters with Bewick, then why not attempt to translate some of her imaginative scenes into physical vignettes? In what ways could physical illustrations limit the effectiveness of texts, particularly for a writer insistent upon crafting images in readers' minds through prose? To begin answering these complex questions, further investigation is required regarding the role of illustration in nineteenth-century literature. Illustration's ability to bridge the gap between the material and textual world of Price's scholarship demands that future studies should endeavor to explore the relationship between images and the texts they embellish. These relationships would inevitably vary based on genre, gender, and individual authors. To best understand Bewick's own intent for his illustrations, this analysis has had to consider the genre of natural history, Bewick's position

as a man, and his philosophy concerning the benefits of provoking imagination in youth. This type of analysis should be applied to more illustrated texts in order to better understand the processes of nineteenth-century reading. Illustrated books had such a cultural impact in Britain during the Victorian age that scholarship cannot afford to ignore or turn a blind eye to the reading of illustrations when analyzing the century's rich literature. Such research requires study beyond the limits of this paper. However, by revealing the specific visual reading that Brontë sought to craft in her novel, this paper seeks to encourage future research that dismisses twentieth and twenty-first century limitations on studying illustrated books. Looking beyond those limitations will create a more rounded way of examining nineteenth-century literature and allow for more focused research on the study of Victorian processes of reading through seeing.

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Defensive Humanitarianism: Swiss Internment Camps During World War I

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Abstract:

During World War I, the Swiss state interned nearly 30,000 foreign soldiers who had previously been held in POW camps in Germany, France, Britain, Belgium, Austria, and Russia. The internment camp system that Switzerland implemented arose from the Swiss diplomatic platform of defensive humanitarianism. By offering good offices to the belligerent states of WWI, the Swiss state utilized humanitarian law both to secure Swiss neutrality and to alleviate, to a degree, the immense human suffering of the war. The Swiss government mixed domestic security concerns with international diplomacy and humanitarianism. They elevated a domestic policy platform to the international diplomatic level and succeeded in building enough trust between the party states to create an internment system that reconceptualized the treatment of foreign soldiers from the holding of prisoners to the healing of men.

Introduction

On July 27, 1916, William McGilvray, a sergeant in the London Scottish Regiment, found himself riding in a passenger train travelling south through Germany, surveying the landscape of the Rhine River valley. It was quiet, the sounds of the sloshing mud and whizzing bullets of trench warfare far off to the west. He had started that day in Friedrichsfeld, one of the many prisoner of war camps in Germany that detained Allied soldiers. He would arrive that evening in Darmstadt to connect with another train brimming with other British prisoners of war. His journey would bring him to Konstanz, Germany, for examination before internment in Switzerland, as Konstanz was the last stop before entry into Switzerland.¹ McGil-

vray, along with 305 of his compatriots, were among the first British POWs imprisoned in Germany to be evaluated for internment in Switzerland, where the physical conditions far outshined those in Friedrichsfeld. Crowds of Swiss citizens at the train stations of Zurich, Lausanne, Montreux, and finally Chateaux D'Oex would soon greet him. Speeches by Swiss and British military, government, and Red Cross officials would welcome him and the other soldiers throughout their journey, as well as music, gifts, and warm meals. His experiences and perceptions were echoed by many soldiers in Switzerland interned during World War I, including those from France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, and Russia.

In the centuries before these soldiers arrived in Switzerland, distinct legal factors that shaped and allowed for the creation of the internment camp system had already emerged.

¹ The city's English name is Constance. It is located on the Bodensee, or Lake Constance, in southern Germany along its border with Switzerland.

First, a body of international law existed in Europe, particularly in the form of the Geneva Convention of 1864 and The Hague conventions of 1899 and 1907. Both specifically dealt with the rules of war and the treatment of soldiers, POWs, internees, and civilians during war. The internationally agreed upon instructions of these assemblies dictated, to an extent, the treatment of soldiers and civilians, captive or not, in times of war. Second, Switzerland's nearly 300 years of neutrality in the European arena continued to shape its diplomatic platform in the early 1900s. These factors did not exist as independent developments, but they grew in the same intellectual spaces in Europe. In response to the crisis of World War I, Swiss diplomats and statesmen utilized the tools at hand to merge international law, Switzerland's aggressive neutrality politics, and the ideology of humanitarianism into a cohesive diplomatic platform to protect Swiss sovereignty.

The ICRC and Swiss state implemented its first internment camp system in 1871 with the experimental internment of the Bourbaki Army. The internment of the French Bourbaki Army during the Franco-Prussian War acted as a practical trial for the later Swiss internment camp system during WWI. The French and Prussian governments signed an armistice agreement to end the conflict on January 27, 1871, however, the agreement did not extend to the Army of the East. To avoid further losses, the Bourbaki Army sought refuge in Switzerland, initiating deliberations between the French and Swiss Armies. On February 1, the Swiss General Hans Herzog and French General Justin Clinchant signed an internment agreement which promised medical attention, lodging, and protection within Switzerland for all 87,847 troops of

the French Army of the East, as long as the French troops handed over their weapons to the Swiss military.² The Prussians did not attend these talks. The Swiss Army managed the internment of the French soldiers in coordination with the Swiss Red Cross, subsequently dispersing the soldiers throughout the country. The successful internment of the Bourbaki Army set the stage for the internment camp system during WWI.

The internment camp system in Switzerland during World War I acted as the intersection between international law, Swiss neutrality politics, and humanitarianism. This intersection formed a new policy referred to in this paper as defensive humanitarianism.³ Due to its successes in WWI, this policy platform would later come to define Swiss international relations and the Swiss image internationally in the decades that followed. These conclusions may be drawn from the body of secondary and primary source literature on the Swiss internment camps, humanitarianism, international relations, WWI, and Swiss and European history.

The topic of internment camps in Switzerland during World War I and their impact on humanitarianism, Swiss politics, and European history is woefully understudied, particularly in the English language. These areas rarely overlap with each other in the literature, as historians generally examine them separately. It is important to analyze this situation from the perspective of international diplomacy and the role of Swiss "good of-

² Schweizerisches Rotes Kreuz, "Die Internierung der französischen Bourbaki-Armee in der Schweiz," *Schweizerisches Rotes Kreuz*, accessed April 15th, 2016.

³ This is a term created for this paper in order to succinctly explain Swiss diplomacy since WWI. I have found no records of this term elsewhere.

fices,” or the offering by a third party state to facilitate peaceful mediation between two opposing states.⁴ The idea of Swiss good offices greatly informed the idea of defensive humanitarianism in this paper and will be discussed in section one.

There is no dispute among historians that the international laws, treaties, and agreements surrounding POWs, internees, and civilians affected by WWI further expanded in scope during the conflict. However, many scholars have greatly limited the role of the Swiss state and the Swiss internment camp system in their conclusions.⁵ These historians minimize the importance of small-player states in their explanatory framework, which views this evolution as an effort on the part of major-player states, specifically Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and France to lessen the suffering of soldiers and civilians in a war of attrition. Others briefly mention the Swiss internment camp system in their discussion of WWI diplomacy, but only as a small-scale humanitarian project that did not significantly impact the war. Rather, they argue that it merely created enough proof of good intentions to allow for the larger belligerent states to collaborate on later bilateral agreements.⁶ In an atmosphere that focused on the actions and diplomatic platforms of belligerent and major-player states, the histo-

riography of this period failed to look at the other smaller, but still influential, actors. This paper seeks to amend the shortcomings of this era’s historiography by acknowledging the strong role of international diplomacy in WWI as facilitated through the good offices of smaller actors, specifically highlighting the Swiss case and its unique contributions to the legacy of international law.

Those historians, Swiss or otherwise, who focus on Swiss internment camps in particular have traditionally approached it from the position of a history of neutrality and international relations. In the historiography of Switzerland during WWI, some historians maintain that the Swiss government acted as the main actor on the international scene, and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) worked as a secondary collaborator.⁷ This ignores the collaboration of the ICRC with the Swiss government and military on the internment camp system, as well as their larger international roll as the progenitor of national Red Cross societies. Others have approached the history of the internment camp system as only part of the history of humanitarianism and the ICRC, removing the diplomatic history included in this paper. This strain of the historiography looks at the Swiss state only as a practical facilitator, possessing the bureaucratic framework and institutional resources to physically construct and manage the camps, not on its role as sovereign power and negotiator.⁸ This paper argues that domestic Swiss neutrality politics and the inter-

⁷ Georges André Chevallaz, *The Challenge of Neutrality: Diplomacy and the Defense of Switzerland*, (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books), 2001.

⁸ David P Forsythe and Barbara Ann J Rieffer-Flanagan, *The International Committee of the Red Cross: A Neutral Humanitarian Actor*, (Abingdon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group), 2016.

⁴ When a state offers good offices, they act as a third party facilitator of negotiations. See Raymond R. Probst, *‘Good Offices’ in the Light of Swiss International Practice and Experience*, (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers), 1989.

⁵ John Yarnall, *Barbed Wire Disease: British & German Prisoners of War, 1914-19*, (Stroud, UK: History Press), 2011.

⁶ Richard B. Speed III, *Prisoners, Diplomats, and the Great War: A Study in the Diplomacy of Captivity*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 33-38.

national humanitarian ideology of the ICRC intersected in the diplomatic platform of the Swiss state, leading to the formation of the internment camp system, which necessitated both the Swiss state and the ICRC as similarly important actors.

There are exceptions to the disinterest in Swiss internment camps and their unique characteristics. Some recent scholarship within the historiography of Swiss history gives a general overview of life in the Swiss internment camps. This focuses on its economic benefits in the area of Swiss tourism, as well as on the role of women in Switzerland during WWI.⁹ The focus on the benefits of the internment camp system for the Swiss economy and the roles of women in the internment system represents a new area of exploration. However, historians of this subject have failed to recognize the unique blend of the domestic needs for neutrality and the international movement of goods and people for the Swiss economy with the ideas and institutions of international humanitarianism. This paper builds on this economic focus on the internment camp system by contextualizing its place in the debate in tandem with the international diplomacy and humanitarianism pieces.

Since the turn of the 21st century historians of Switzerland have increasingly studied Swiss history by assessing the situation through a combination of political, diplomatic, economic, or social lenses. According to recent works of history on Switzerland, neutrality concerns continue to rule as the dominant Swiss interest in Swiss internation-

al relations during WWI. However, scholars have also increasingly portrayed the influence of neutrality politics on areas such as the Swiss economy and the Swiss identity inside and outside of Switzerland.¹⁰ Some of the newest scholarship focuses on the situation of specific internee groups within Switzerland; though these works are beyond the purview of this paper.¹¹ Most notable among the scholars of the Swiss WWI internment camps is Dr. Cédric Cotter, whose work focuses on the connection between neutrality and humanitarianism in Switzerland, and its meaning for Swiss diplomacy and the Swiss identity.¹² Cotter offers many important insights into the political situation of the Swiss state during WWI, arguing that the issue of neutrality functioned as the central concern for the Swiss Bundesrat in its decision to pursue the internment camp system.¹³ This paper constructs the idea of defensive humanitarianism by combining the insights of Cotter on the neutrality and international humanitarian aspects of the internment camp system with the economic impetuses of other recent historians in order to form a more holistic picture of the Swiss situation. By looking at the internment camp system as a microcosm of the political, humanitarian, and economic devel-

⁹ Susan Barton, "Dropped from 'ell into 'eaven: Interned POWS in Switzerland 1916-1918," Accessed February 16, 2018, http://www.ruralhistory2015.org/doc/papers/Panel_12_Barton.pdf.

¹⁰ Max Mittler, *Der Weg Zum Ersten Weltkrieg - Wie Neutral War Die Schweiz?: Kleinstaat und Europäischer Imperialismus*, (Zürich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung), 2003.

¹¹ For information on Russian internees in Switzerland during WWI, see Thomas Bürgisser, "*Unerwünschte Gäste*": *russische Soldaten in der Schweiz 1915-1920*, (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2010).

¹² Cédric Cotter, *(s')Aider pour survivre: action humanitaire et neutralité suisse pendant la Première Guerre mondiale*, (Geneva: University of Geneva), 2016.

¹³ The Swiss Bundesrat is the Swiss Parliament. Switzerland is the only direct democracy in the world.

opments and crises of WWI, this paper offers new insights into the domestic and international impacts of the camps on Switzerland and Europe during and after WWI. These insights are possible due to the large body of primary source literature from the ICRC, Swiss government, and Swiss military that draw out the interconnected nature of international law, neutrality politics, and international humanitarianism.

The primary sources available on this topic exist due to the archival practices of the Swiss state, military, and the ICRC. The Swiss army in particular took meticulous care in preserving its correspondence with outside governments, as well as their internal briefs, notices, and telegrams, all of which can be found in the Swiss Federal Archives in Bern. These sources form the primary basis of this paper. In addition, Major Édouard Favre, Surgeon General and head of the internment system within the Swiss army, published three reports on the workings of the camps and his reflections on them.¹⁴ These reports synthesize many of the documents found in the Federal Archives. This paper employs them more frequently than the original papers, as they offer the factual information of the originals, but include his commentary as the highest-ranking administrator in the internment camp system. His insights begin with the formation of the internment camps and continue through to the repatriation of the internees, and offer both his subjective and objective notes on the functioning of the camps. These notes are

¹⁴ Édouard Favre, Harvey W. Hewett-Thayer, and Karl Hauser, *Swiss Internment of Prisoners of War: An Experiment in International Humane Legislation and Administration: A Report from the Swiss Commission in the United States*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1917).

useful as their intended audience members of the Swiss military, who managed the operation of the internment camps.

In addition, British Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Philip Picot published his memoirs of his time as a British diplomatic administrator involved with the camps, including the reception of British internees in 1916.¹⁵ His memoir, *The British Interned in Switzerland*, relays many anecdotes on the reception of interned soldiers in Switzerland, it presents the limitation of the British populace acting as its primary audience. It must be examined with extra scrutiny due to Picot's tendency towards embellishment and the propagandistic role of his writings.

While Favre, as a ranking official in the Swiss military, had a bias towards the importance of Swiss neutrality politics, Picot stressed the importance of international law and diplomacy as a British diplomat in his papers. The reports by Favre and Picot allow this paper to draw conclusions on how actors within each an individual area of influence conceived of the roles of international, domestic, and humanitarian issues in relation to each other in the context of the internment camp system. The methodology used here differs from the methodologies of other historians of Swiss diplomacy and Swiss history by examining these documents as part of the larger idea of defensive humanitarianism.¹⁶

¹⁵ Henry Philip Picot, *The British interned in Switzerland*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1919).

¹⁶ Many of Cotter's academic works look at the relationship between the Swiss state and humanitarianism; however, this paper broadens the scope of this debate by observing the evolution of international humanitarianism through bi- or multilateral treaties not necessarily facilitated by the Swiss state. In addition, this paper brings in the issues of the stagnating Swiss economy and tensions of cultural nationalism within

The structure of this paper is both thematic and chronological and utilizes a telescoped structure. Each section examines defensive humanitarianism and the internment camp system from increasingly focused perspectives. Section one examines the context of Swiss neutrality politics in treaty negotiations during WWI before the full implementation of the internment camp system, narrowing the focus thematically to defensive humanitarianism in practice and chronologically to 1914-1916. Next, section two further restricts the scope to the structure of the internment camp system in practice, and the experiences of individual internees. This allows for an evaluation of defensive humanitarianism at the level of individual experiences. The narrowing in sequential sections from the broad, international developments to the individuals impacted by the internment camp system allows this paper to connect the areas of international law, neutrality politics, and humanitarianism at increasingly focused levels in order to explain how they merge to form the policy platform of defensive humanitarianism.

Finally, the conclusion of this paper focuses on the international response to the Swiss internment camps and their effects on later Swiss diplomacy, as well as their impact on the evolution of humanitarianism. The conclusion seeks to offer explanations for the role of neutrality and humanitarianism in Switzerland, as well as to offer insights into the unique Swiss position in global politics and diplomacy. With the current centennial

Switzerland when evaluating the drivers behind Swiss governmental policy. Finally, the major difference between Cotter's work and the conclusions of this paper arise from the use of defensive humanitarianism as a unifying concept that explains the merging of these different factors into a coherent policy platform implemented by the Swiss state during WWI.

commemoration of WWI, the parallels between international law, neutrality, and humanitarian issues in WWI versus the present make the subject of defensive humanitarianism relevant today in 2018. In an increasingly globalized world that is currently seeing the largest states isolating themselves from international trade, politics, and humanitarianism, smaller players may well again rise to meet the current crises as Switzerland did during WWI. Historiographically, this paper pioneers a new methodology for understanding not only the Swiss internment camp system during WWI, but also the larger debates around humanitarianism, diplomacy, and WWI in Switzerland and Europe currently absent in the historical literature through the idea of defensive humanitarianism.

Creation of the Internment Camp System

Despite the long history of Swiss neutrality, the Swiss military nonetheless feared that Swiss neutrality would be violated when World War I erupted in August of 1914. Germany had breached the eastern Belgian border on August 4, 1914, just seven days after the beginning of the war, despite more than 80 years of Belgian neutrality. In addition to the external threat to Swiss neutrality, an internal rift also existed between the western and eastern regions of the country. Since the creation of the German Reich in 1871, the western region of Switzerland, Roman-die, inhabited primarily by French speakers supported France, while the eastern region with a German-speaking majority supported Germany.¹⁷ This schism, created by linguistic and cultural loyalties in an era of intense cul-

¹⁷ Carlo Moos, "Domestic Politics and Neutrality (Switzerland)," *International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, published January 24th, 2017.

tural nationalism, threatened Swiss neutrality from within by destabilizing popular support for Swiss neutrality and giving the appearance of popular support for either the Central Powers or the Allied Forces. The Swiss government and military, therefore, searched for a solution that could solve both the external and internal issues simultaneously. By maintaining absolute international neutrality with a policy platform of defensive humanitarianism, the Swiss hoped to defuse competing cultural nationalisms at home and preserve their territorial sovereignty through neutral international diplomacy and politics abroad.

Already in 1914, the initial rumblings of a future internment plan started at the ground level in two places: Geneva and Rome. The Vatican began advocating for prisoner exchanges for incapacitated POWs starting in late 1914, on humanitarian grounds.¹⁸ The International Committee of the Red Cross first proposed the plan for the internment of mildly injured prisoners of war in Switzerland in 1914. With the permission of the Swiss government, the ICRC began treaty talks with France and Germany. In addition to the urgings of the ICRC, the Holy See, through their representative Charles Santucci, also campaigned for the broadening of ailments and ranks meriting internment, as they saw the prospect of internment too important an opportunity for POWs to restrict to only tuberculosis patients.¹⁹ On March 6, 1915, after securing a loose agreement of the terms of internment, the president of the ICRC, Gustav Ador, wrote to the president of Switzerland, Giuseppe Motta, asking for the Swiss government to take over treaty negotiations:

Our Committee is continuing with the realization of the project, which I have spoken to you of interning in Switzerland the wounded officers whom they would not wish to return to their country of origin. I take the liberty of asking you again to support this proposal with your high influence. There are so many families of officers in Germany, France, and England, who wait with anguish for the realization of this project, that if it were not to succeed, it would be a cruel disappointment. Do you not think that it would be a very good thing for the Federal Council to officially submit this proposal to the governments concerned? I know that you agree with this idea and I am quite sure that no government would oppose a refusal to a firm proposal made by the Federal Council.²⁰

While the ICRC initiated the talks between France and Germany on the subject of prisoners of war, they, even with the support of the Holy See, could not exert enough pressure upon either government to come to an agreement. Diplomacy at this stage of the war was tense; without being able to offer good offices, the Vatican and ICRC failed to instill the same sense of trust that the Swiss state had during the internment of the French Army of the East.

On May 1, 1915, the Swiss government, with backing by both the ICRC and the Holy See, reinitiated and finalized the negotiations between France and Germany. The Swiss delegation's offering of good offices played

¹⁸ Yarnall, 155.

¹⁹ Picot, 36.

²⁰ Édouard Favre, *L'Internment en Suisse*, (Geneva: Georg, 1917), 188.

no small part in bringing the two powers to the table.²¹ In addition, assurances that Swiss military order would prevent soldiers from escaping, as well as the belligerent states agreeing to return caught escapees, led to the signing of an agreement on January 26, 1916.²² The Swiss government and military readily seized the opportunity presented by the ICRC and Holy See to press the agreement talks between France and Germany to a conclusion, in order to both transform internal pressures into interest for the soon-to-arrive soldiers and to secure external respect for Swiss neutrality. The Swiss defensive humanitarianism platform combined the internal and external threats to the Swiss state into one coherent solution. The signing of the treaty on January 26, however, did not itself initiate the transferring of prisoners of war into Switzerland.

For the following three weeks, negotiation on the terms of internment continued. The issues most intensely discussed included the definition of internment, methods for surveillance of prisoner of war camps in belligerent states, selection criteria, and the conditions on returning soldiers after the conflict ceased. Many of the issues of contention focused on which diseases and injuries warranted internment in Switzerland, and which did not. To settle this issue, the Surgeon-General of Switzerland created the Bureau of Internment within the medical branch of the Swiss military, which conducted a temporary internment period with 100 French and 100 German prisoners of war suffering from tuberculosis in the towns of Davos, Montana, and Ley-

²¹ Probst, 20.

²² François Olier, "Suisse (1914-1918): L'Internement des Prisonniers de Guerre Allies, Malades et Blesses," accessed March 5, 2017.

sin.²³ This temporary internment functioned as a barometer for the trust of the belligerent signatories. As the test showed early success, France and Germany warmed to the idea of accepting the Swiss internment camp system on a full scale. On February 14, France, Germany, and Switzerland came to an agreement on the final terms of internment.

The previous understanding of internment, as suggested in the Geneva Convention, had entailed the safe movement of prisoners of war. This included soldiers incapable of fighting in the future, with their departure leading them through a neutral state back to their homeland. It also allowed for internment within neutral states. The agreement between France and Germany defined internment as the removal of prisoners of war from these states to Switzerland for medical care in Swiss facilities. The treaty also included clauses promising the return of interned soldiers to Switzerland if they escaped to their home country.²⁴ The codification of Swiss defensive humanitarianism into this international treaty benefited not only the Swiss state, but the belligerent states and the internees as well. Defensive humanitarianism represented a unique form of diplomatic policy, as it benefited all states involved.

The arrival of these initial internees in Switzerland created a spark of celebration for the Swiss populace. Those healthy enough to walk went first with canes and flowers, the latter given to them by members of the crowd. Soldiers too sick to walk continued

²³ Édouard Favre, "*Swiss Internment of Prisoners of War: An Experiment in International Humane Legislation and Administration: a Report by the Swiss Commission in the United States*," (New York: Columbia University Press, 1917), 10.

²⁴ Picot, 37.

behind in cars.²⁵ The Swiss populace came out in droves in celebration of their national project. Promoted as not only the saving plan for the Swiss economic and political situation, many in the government promoted the plan as the duty of the Swiss. This rhetoric set out to dispel the linguistic tensions of the country and promote Swiss nationalism and identity.²⁶ The Swiss government did not miss the chance to promote the evolution of international law and Switzerland's role through the internment camp system internally or externally.

This new definition of internment created by these treaties allowed for the opportunity of extended healing in Switzerland for prisoners of war who had been excluded by the previous understanding of internment due to states not wanting injured soldiers returning to enemy front lines. Deliberation on what ailments would now qualify under the new definition, however, took another three weeks after the original tentative agreement. The debate focused on short-term or easily treatable ailments that could not be manageably treated in prisoner of war camps. By July 1916, the French, German, and Swiss governments identified the 18 diseases in total that merited internment in Switzerland. These included: chronic diseases of the blood, respiratory, circulatory, central and peripheral nervous systems, digestive organs, urinary and sexual organs, organs of the senses, the skin, rheumatism, as well as blindness and deafness. The majority of the internees fell under the criteria of suffering from Tuberculosis, tumors, severe debility, severe syphilis, loss

of limb, long-term paralysis, maladies that would preclude military service for one year, and cases deemed severe enough on a case-by-case basis.²⁷ Tuberculosis represented an especially critical point to the concerned parties, as it had been previously disqualified during talks in 1914 before internment became an option due to the chance for soldiers to recover and reenter the war.²⁸

Not all major conditions from which POWs suffered made the cut. Mental health afflictions, alcoholism, and sexually transmitted diseases that could still be transmitted at the time of inspection were also excluded.²⁹ The agreement excluded soldiers with mental health issues, as they referred these cases to special institutions and not general hospitals in Switzerland. It also proscribed soldiers with sexually transmitted diseases or infections, for fear of infecting citizens of the Swiss populace or family members of the soldiers.³⁰ This list of ailments illustrated the level of strictness the countries involved desired for the agreement, as the belligerent governments, not the Swiss government, paid for the costs of interning their soldiers in Switzerland. This agreement greatly expanded the number of soldiers removed from prisoner of war camps in belligerent states and greatly increased the chances of survival for wounded prisoners of war. Montana was one of the first towns open to internees and housed

²⁷ Swiss Government, "Vorbereitung für die kriegsrechtliche Internierung, u.a. Konventionsentwurf, 1914-1915," Dossier, E27#1000/721#13951*, (Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, Bern, Switzerland), Accessed June 7, 2017, note 3.

²⁸ Yarnall, 156.

²⁹ "Vorbereitung für die kriegsrechtliche Internierung, u.a. Konventionsentwurf, 1914-1915," note 3.

³⁰ Great Britain, "Correspondence with the United States Ambassador Respecting the Transfer to Switzerland of British and German Wounded and Sick

²⁵ Whitmarsh, "Prisoners of War Interned in Switzerland."

²⁶ Roman Rossfeld, *14/18 Die Schweiz und der Grosse Krieg*, (Zürich: Hier und Jetzt, 2014), 242.

primarily French and Belgian citizens, as its populace predominately spoke French. Prior to the war, tourists to the area had been predominately French. However, this consideration on the familiarity of the locals with French nationals failed to take into account the mountainous terrain of the area, which was hard for wounded internees to traverse.³¹ This failure in the practical planning of the internment camp system arose from how it came about: the hierarchical aspects of the camp, as well as the general rules, came out of the higher level treaty negotiations, while practical issues such as mobility on mountainous terrain or division of internees from different states devolved to local officials.³² While the issue of which ailments merited internment had come to a conclusion, there still existed the topic of how to select prisoners of war for internment.

After France, Germany, and Switzerland reached an agreement on the terms, definition, and requirements of internment, they also debated the evaluation of soldiers for internment. This represented a critical point in the discussions, as it would ultimately decide the number of prisoners of war able to be interned in Switzerland. At the beginning of deliberations, Germany called for an equal quota system in which only an equal number of soldiers from each state could be interned, as they worried about the possibility of French

soldiers benefiting more from the system than the German soldiers. The Holy See, who sought to have the largest number of POWs ameliorated of their conditions and ailments as possible, frequently called on the German Kaiser Wilhelm II to agree to a case-by-case system. Germany eventually acquiesced, as long as neutral teams of medical personnel conducted the examinations.³³ This system entailed “ten Sanitary Commissions for each country, composed of two Swiss doctors reinforced by a third, an officer of the captor States, who should have the place of President, with power to examine and designate prisoners for dispatch to Lyon or Constance, as the case might be, for a final inspection by a Board of Control.”³⁴ In 1916 alone, the itinerant commission undertook twenty trips into Germany, reviewed 82,439 French soldiers and designated 20,677 for internment, while eighteen visits into France allowed for the examination of 46,339 German POWs, with 6,411 selected.³⁵ By having members of the selection committees from different states, this system allowed the belligerent states to trust that the other group would not receive preferential treatment. As defensive humanitarianism requires collective trust to ensure its goals, clauses similar to the Sanitary Commission were key to the policy’s success.

The Sanitary Commission then sent their selections of POWs for further evaluation in Konstanz if held in Germany or Austria, and Lyon if held in France, Britain, or Belgium before their final trip into Switzerland. These

Combatant Prisoners of War,” (London: Harrison & Sons, 1916).

³¹ Yarnall, 158.

³² The internment camps were divided by type of care needed and ability, not necessarily only by linguistic familiarity. This is part of the reason different nationalities of internees existed in the same regions, or even towns. Favre, “*Swiss Internment of Prisoners of War: An Experiment in International Humane Legislation and Administration: a Report by the Swiss Commission in the United States.*”

³³ Picot, 37.

³⁴ Favre, “*Swiss Internment of Prisoners of War: An Experiment in International Humane Legislation and Administration: a Report by the Swiss Commission in the United States,*” 9.

³⁵ Speed, 35-36.

major cities, closest to the Swiss border for each country and equipped with the railway infrastructure necessary for the transportation of the internees, represented logical choices for the main examination centers. Through the legal protections created by the Geneva and The Hague Conventions, the inspection teams could travel through war zones with reduced fear of assault, capture, or deterrence. The small group sizes also allowed for greater efficiency and mobility. The ICRC, Swiss Red Cross, and military medical units of France and Germany, with their Red Cross armbands in place, quickly situated the sanitary commissions. New soldiers began entering Switzerland on February 21, 1916, with an estimated maximum of 30,000 interned by January 1917.³⁶ While the deliberations between France and Germany lasted over a year to reach this agreement, similar arrangements between Germany and Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, and Belgium followed almost immediately thereafter.

The relative speed with which Great Britain and Germany reached an agreement on internment of British and German prisoners of war in Switzerland occurred due to the fact that the United States, still a neutral power in 1916, handled the majority of the communication for Great Britain. As the United States would not enter the conflict until one year later in 1917, they maintained their diplomatic channels with Germany. Great Britain requested that the United States' ambassador in London communicate with his counterpart in Berlin to appeal on Great Britain's behalf for an agreement on internment in Switzerland,

³⁶ Favre, "Swiss Internment of Prisoners of War: An Experiment in International Humane Legislation and Administration: a Report by the Swiss Commission in the United States," 46.

similar to the one created between Germany and France. The communications lasted from March 25 to May 13, 1916, with nine messages in total exchanged between Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Britain, and W.H. Page, United States ambassador to Great Britain. That six of the nine messages came from Sir Grey illustrates the urgency felt by the British government to secure an agreement for the internment of British soldiers held as prisoners of war in Germany.³⁷ On April 9, the urgency of Sir Grey's telegrams reached their climax, with him writing, "it is not possible to make an official request to the Swiss Government to inaugurate the necessary arrangements pending the receipt of the reply of the German Government, and much unnecessary hardship is being caused by the failure of the German Government to send a reply."³⁸ The response on May 1 to this message contained the German acceptance of the internment agreement with the same terms as the French agreement. Almost immediately, on May 14, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Philip Picot arrived from London in Switzerland as commanding officer of the British prisoners of war interned in Switzerland and began formalizing their accommodations; the first 304 British soldiers arrived on May 28, 1916.³⁹

The urgency of the British government originated in part from international reports of the arrival of the German and French soldiers in Switzerland and the exemplary level of care that they received. As the international agreements fell into place, the Swiss mil-

³⁷ Great Britain, *Correspondence with the United States Ambassador Respecting the Transfer to Switzerland of British and German Wounded and Sick Combatant Prisoners of War*, 15.

³⁸ Schweizerisches Rotes Kreuz.

³⁹ Mittler, 17.

itary planned out the locations, regulations, and accommodations of the incoming prisoners of war. These initial stages in the formation of Swiss internment camps and Swiss defensive humanitarian policy rested on both the history of internment during the Boubaki event and on the foreign policy initiatives of the Swiss government, ICRC, and Holy See in the first few years of World War I.

Changes to the original treaties that created the internment camps eventually came in 1917, when an Anglo-German conference was held in The Hague to further discuss POWs, extend internment and exchange agreements, and resolve issues with the previous treaty. Many of these changes directly affected the Swiss internment camps, as the diplomats in attendance added new categories to the list of internment conditions. First, those who had been in captivity for at least 18 months and were suffering from “barbed wire disease” could now be interned in Switzerland, as well as any officer, commissioned or not, in captivity for 18 months.⁴⁰ This treaty also created the opportunity for the internment of 16,000 POWs in the Netherlands, though this treaty was never extended to non-German or British soldiers.

Defensive humanitarianism as a foreign policy platform derived its strength not only from the actions of the Swiss state, but also relied on the assistance of non-governmental international agencies for its legitimacy. It required the investment of trust from other belligerent and neutral states, such as the United States and the Holy See. With ICRC and Holy See support of internment in Switzerland on the grounds of humanitarian aid,

⁴⁰ This illness is believed to have been PTSD. Speed, 36-37.

violating Swiss neutrality changed from an issue of national sovereignty to an issue of international image and respect for the lofty ideals of humanitarianism. This denotes an especially significant point considering the case of Belgium’s neutrality in World War I.⁴¹ Switzerland’s ability to offer good offices and house POWs in internment camps under the promises of neutrality and humanitarianism allowed it a better chance at protecting its sovereignty. This allowed for enough trust between the belligerents to create a treaty that both sides could support and fulfill. Had Swiss neutrality been violated, or the ICRC and Vatican backing not existed, the Swiss defensive humanitarianism platform could not have succeeded. Defensive humanitarianism functioned on an explicitly international level despite being a form of national foreign policy, as it required international acceptance for its legitimacy, while its practical undertaking happened at the ground level.

The evolution of defensive humanitarianism during the years of 1914-1916 included the realization of the last century of international law in mitigating human suffering during armed conflict. The formation of the Swiss internment camps took more than just the urgings of the ICRC or pope; the unique position of Switzerland as a neutral state capable of enacting the Geneva and The Hague Conventions created the conditions suitable to craft the internment camp system. Solidifying the practicality of defensive humanitarianism to the Swiss populace and the international

⁴¹ As far as neutral states acting as hosts for internment treaties, the Netherlands held British and German soldiers after a treaty between those states was formed in 1917. For more information, see John Yarnall’s *Barbed Wire Disease: British & German Prisoners of War, 1914-19*.

community at large, the treaty negotiations of 1915-1916 marked a significant turning point in the prestige of Swiss good offices. With the initial internees beginning their journeys into Switzerland, the next phase of defensive humanitarianism began. In this stage, the Swiss government would have to make good on the humanitarian half of its policy platform.

Life in the Internment Camp System

When William McGilvray arrived in Chateaux D'Oex late in 1916, he could have scarcely believed the change in treatment that he would receive. The Swiss military and the ICRC operated all of the internment camps in Switzerland for the duration of World War I, yet their daily maintenance and administration rested in the hands of non-commissioned Swiss soldiers and a few of the internees themselves. This section explores the humanitarian aspect of defensive humanitarianism by illuminating the unique opportunities and freedoms afforded to interned soldiers. From work and job training to education, leisure, and sport, the Swiss internment camps overhauled the traditional POW system. Not all of these changes happened smoothly, and some failed, but the humanitarian experiment in the internment camp system would prove that bringing lofty principles into international law could bring about practical change. The changes in the experiences of these soldiers from their time in POW camps in France, Germany, Britain, and elsewhere, to their lives in the internment camp system represent more than just a difference in scenery. The goal of this section is to lay out the structure of the internment camp system, elaborate on the changes between POW camps and internment camps, and analyze how the unique humanitarian aspects of the Swiss internment

camp system constitutes the second half of defensive humanitarianism.

The Swiss military housed the interned soldiers primarily in hostels and hotels and sent severe cases to hospitals and sanatoria. The Swiss army required military-level discipline in the camps, as the interned soldiers only had the legal rights of prisoners of war, due in part to the small amount of international law written specifically on the rights of internees as opposed to POWs. However, in their accommodations, internees experienced abundant comfort in rooms normally meant for paying customers, with between one and four men inhabiting each fully furnished room.⁴² The day-to-day undertakings of the internment system relied on daily reports sent to the two regional superintendents, with information on attendance, fees accrued by soldiers for their rent and board, work assignments, changes in soldiers' health, and disciplinary incidents recorded by the staff at each hostel, hotel, hospital, and sanitarium, not necessarily by military personnel.⁴³ Indeed, many non-commissioned Swiss soldiers served in this position, but they also delegated duties to the internees healthy enough to work.

On the surface, the personnel structure of the Swiss internment camps appears at first glance as extremely hierarchical. The Surgeon-General of the Swiss military, located centrally in Bern, sat at the top of the administrative system, followed by a quartermaster-general who oversaw two section-

⁴² "Internierten-Zeitungen (1916-1918)," Dossier, E27#1000/721#14038*, (Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv: Bern, Switzerland), accessed June 5, 2017.

⁴³ Favre, "*Swiss Internment of Prisoners of War: An Experiment in International Humane Legislation and Administration: a Report by the Swiss Commission in the United States*," 20.

al superintendents. One was for the Central Powers' soldiers in Lucerne, and the other for the Entente Powers in Montreux, with non-commissioned Swiss officers acting as individual area supervisors. In addition, a Bureau of Information, centered in Bern, maintained all written records of the camp, including the number of soldiers interned in Switzerland. To maintain discipline among the internees, trusted officers from each individual location were given the authority to oversee their fellow soldiers' behavior.⁴⁴ Despite the hierarchical appearance of the system, non-commissioned Swiss soldiers and internees completed much of the day-to-day work of the camp by compiling attendance sheets, distributing mail, and assuring work, recreational activities, and leisure time proceeded smoothly.⁴⁵ In fact, in areas with internees from multiple nations, groups of mixed internees could complete tasks together. This relaxed system paralleled the relaxed military character of the internment camp system; the humanitarian and neutral aspects of the system removed the need for a rigid power hierarchy. While the treaties focused on the higher-level problems of selection, transportation, and payment, the Swiss military and ICRC primarily handled the ground level issues of running the day-to-day aspects of the system. This dichotomy between state level and individual level authority mirrors a similar dichotomy between the defensive and humanitarian aspects of defensive humanitarianism. While the defensive aspect functions mainly at the international treaty level,

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ "Verschiedene Listen betr. den Internierten-Bestand (1916-1919)," Dossier, E27#1000/721#14032*, (Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv: Bern, Switzerland), accessed June 5, 2017.

with state leaders and diplomats as actors, the individuals who ensured the daily survival of the camps account for the humanitarian half.

The unique humanitarian goal of the internment camps, reducing the unnecessary suffering of prisoners of war due to injury, created an entirely new method for handling prisoners of war. The new structuring of the internment camps resulted in Swiss military avoiding gross loss of active Swiss soldiers to the cause of guarding interned international soldiers.⁴⁶ Medical staff, hotel staff, and non-commissioned soldiers, in addition to the internees themselves, took over these roles. As the health of soldiers represented the primary goal of internment, the daily activities and lifestyles of interned soldiers also differed dramatically from the traditional experiences of prisoners of war.

Forced labor has always existed in the prisoner of war system; however, the internment camp system utilized work as a tool to improve internee health. One major difference between traditional prisoner or internee labor and the work completed in the Swiss camps was the rationale behind the labor. This sentiment is evident in Favre's work, as he felt that:

Work is a necessity for interned war prisoners. It is the only way to restore them after the ravages that sickness, wounds, and a long captivity have made on their minds and bodies. Switzerland must furnish the interned prisoner with diversion so that he does not become lazy and fall prey

⁴⁶ Favre, "*Swiss Internment of Prisoners of War: An Experiment in International Humane Legislation and Administration: a Report by the Swiss Commission in the United States*," 40.

to the numerous temptations that he finds in our country.⁴⁷

The physicians of the camps categorized the internees into the six categories of work, removing the chance for misunderstanding as to why the soldiers originally interned for illness participated in laborious activities. The six categories varied in the amount of labor and the duration per day of labor. The categorization lent itself to the Swiss model that labor helped to heal, in moderation. The Swiss government employed internees only in industries that did not compete with Swiss labor.⁴⁸ This dramatically lessened the exploitative characteristic of traditional prisoner or interned labor and reduced any internal fears of labor competition within Switzerland. Labor, therefore, took on a humanitarian characteristic: internees labored to the benefit of their health and the future welfare of their families and states. While the Swiss army required all those chosen as capable to work, non-commissioned officers of the rank of sergeant or above could not be forced to work, nor were civilian internees required to work.⁴⁹

The Swiss government, due to its intense scrutiny of idleness, required all interned soldiers to report their previous occupations before the war and undergo routine health assessments by the military medical staff to check for work status. Prisoners could not refuse the work or studies assigned to them, as the Swiss government and army held that

idleness would lead to the deterioration of the mental, moral, and physical health of the soldiers. From these reports, the Swiss government fashioned six groups of soldiers: those incapable of work, those capable of light work within the camp, those capable of light work outside the camp, those capable of regular work outside the camp, those needing to learn a new profession through apprenticeship due to injury, and those interested in studying.⁵⁰ These positions ranged from administrative positions such as postal carriers, or laborers assisting Swiss citizens around their places of internment.

The structuring of interned soldiers' time while captive in Switzerland differs dramatically from how time functions in traditional prisoner of war camps. Both The Hague and Geneva Conventions allowed for governments to require prisoners of war to perform labor if healthy enough to do so, in accordance with their skills.⁵¹ The unique Swiss system of internment brought a new aspect to the occupation of captive's time: the opportunity to work in their prewar professions as well as the opportunity to receive further vocational or academic education. The Swiss government held that:

Switzerland must furnish the interned prisoner with diversion so that he does not become lazy and fall a [sic] prey to the numerous temptations that he finds in our country. She must make, or remake, men of them, so that once the war is over they will be capable of

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ "Mitteilungen des Armeefeldarztes an die Presse (1916-1918)," Dossier, E27#1000/721#14034*, (Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv: Bern, Switzerland), accessed June 6, 2017.

⁴⁹ Civilian internees are not covered in this paper, but would make a very interesting future area of research.

⁵⁰ "Vorbereitung für die kriegsrechtliche Internierung, u.a. Konventionentwurf, 1914-1915."

⁵¹ "Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in the Field. Geneva, 22 August 1864."

establishing a family; or if they have a family, of resuming their life with it on a proper basis and so to lift up their country.⁵²

The utilization of the word diversion, as opposed to labor, points to the focus on health and not on utility that came with the internment system. It also points to the administration's focus on idle time, seen as a detriment to the soldier's character. Why was the Swiss military so concerned with the idleness of internees? One of the biggest worries of the Swiss came from the fear that interned men with too much money and free time would fall into deleterious social behaviors such as alcoholism or gambling.⁵³ This accounts in part for the Swiss government's insistence upon internees working.

Another factor came from Favre's personal insistence that idle men had a greater risk in falling into poor health or breaking rules than men with less free time. This paradox of diversion, suggesting relaxation and leisure, versus the concern with idleness, which implies productivity and usefulness, illustrates the tension of running the internment camp system with humanitarianism as the ideology. New and old concepts of internment camps clashed in Favre's reports of how men should spend their time, but the result produced a middle ground. Soldiers labored to their benefit and to the benefit of their state, but also participated in recreational sports and pastimes and studied at university and relaxed in local establishments.

⁵² Favre, "Swiss Internment of Prisoners of War: An Experiment in International Humane Legislation and Administration: a Report by the Swiss Commission in the United States," 37.

⁵³ Ibid, 38.

In traditional prisoner of war camps, prisoners of war did not receive any money for their labor.⁵⁴ The Swiss internment camp system approach even to the monetary aspect of labor is, therefore, exceptional, as the Swiss government only withheld 40% of an internee's earnings. The transformation of labor from a compulsory measure to a health initiative radically improved the experiences of the interned soldiers, while simultaneously boosting sectors of the Swiss economy lagging due to the loss of manpower and tourism. The transformative nature of the internment camp system pleased not only the interned soldiers and their home governments, but also the citizens of Switzerland. It saved many internees from their deaths in the POW camps and also painted Switzerland as the humanitarian bastion of Europe. The possibility for and success of defensive humanitarianism arose from its unique quality of suiting the needs and desires of all sides.

Sergeant William McGilvray could have hardly imagined how he would spend his idling hours in internment in Switzerland, and he would certainly have never dreamed his tenure would include duties such as officiating curling tournaments. As a non-commissioned officer at the level of sergeant upon his arrival, McGilvray oversaw the British soldiers interned at the Chateaux d'Oex internment camp as the highest-ranking officer in 1916. In addition to maintaining military-style behavior and conduct, McGilvray oversaw the implementation of labor, education, and recreation programs that saw to the mental welfare of the internees. In June of 1917, this meant overseeing a curling tour-

⁵⁴ Heather Jones, "Prisoners of War," last modified October 8, 2014. https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/prisoners_of_war.

nament between the British interned men of Chateaux d'Oex and the local female curling team. As one of the internees, British Lance Corporal Gruchy, wrote home, "I am extremely comfortable and can hardly realize my good fortune. The days as a 'gefangener' [prisoner] seem like a particularly horrible nightmare; thank God they are over..."⁵⁵ The internment system in Switzerland revolutionized how prisoners of war could be handled by shifting the emphasis from captivity to health. Internees were allowed to participate in a myriad of recreations, ranging from soccer clubs to symphony orchestras that collaborated with the local populace.

The reeducation of internees also played a central role in the health initiatives of the internment camps, as the healthcare goals of the ICRC and Swiss army extended past the point of internment and continued into the soldiers' return to civilian life. The treaty focused particularly on interned soldiers that had been active in their studies before the war or on those who would have to learn a new skill or trade due to complications from injury or illness. As Favre noted in his report:

The *Swiss University Work* divided the regions and sections among the different university committees of Geneva, Fribourg, Neuchâtel, Berne, Zurich, Bâle; procured books for study, created or developed regional libraries, facilitated access to the libraries already in existence, and organized conferences and lectures ... the normal, secondary, and professional schools, the schools of commerce, etc., opened their courses to

interned pupils and students ... Only the interned men fulfilling the regular conditions were to have the status of regular students. The others who gave evidence of satisfactory educational training were admitted as auditors.⁵⁶

The Swiss army, while allowing the interned soldiers almost complete access to the Swiss education system, was very concerned that the opportunity of education would be abused by internees who were distracted by the "agreeable pursuits of a stay in the city, and who do not see anything better, the lazy, the incapable, the non-serious."⁵⁷ The Swiss army held the reeducation of the interned soldiers as similarly important to the health of the internee and something deserving of serious attention. While Favre's report shows that he held a level of cynicism towards the intent of student internees, he went on to include that any infractions that transpired happened only in a fraction of the student internee population, as trusted internees acted as observers of the less trustworthy students for the camp administration, just as other officer-level internees oversaw the men in their area. Here we see the give-and-take aspect of defensive humanitarianism: while the humanitarian aspect of the internment camp system pursued as many opportunities for interned soldiers as possible during their time in Switzerland, the defensive aspect attempted to hold them to traditional military standards of behavior and structure. The humanitarian half cared for the internee, while the defensive half utilized the

⁵⁵ "The London Scottish Regimental Gazette," 136.

⁵⁶ Favre, "Swiss Internment of Prisoners of War: An Experiment in International Humane Legislation and Administration: a Report by the Swiss Commission in the United States," 25.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

internee to protect Swiss national security. Though the doubts of the Swiss army in regards to the humanitarian ideals of the internment camp system may be seen in Favre's report, at no point did he denounce or criticize them explicitly.

Additionally, the social halls in each camp acted as a creative refuge, as opposed to a café or bar where alcohol would have been used as the relaxant. Social halls were venues designated as group activity spaces for internees. Favre's report illustrates the morale of internees also played a role in the humanitarian goal of long-term physical health. As Favre notes,

It is obviously good for the interned men that alcohol is not an indispensable element of sociability. The help to each is beneficial and the morale is elevated by lectures, dramatic performances, and concerts given from time to time. Interned men who take part in these things find an interest which keeps them from idleness. At St. Legier, Blonay, the social hall is opened only twice a week and yet is a source of constant interest. These meetings are attended, on average, by two-thirds of the interned men in the section. Certain social halls are used for other purposes. That at Mürren, the English social hall shelters the Temperance Rambling Club, with seventy members, and the orchestra of interned men, and courses are given, with instruction in wood-carving.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Favre, "Swiss Internment of Prisoners of War: An Experiment in International Humane Legislation and Administration: a Report by the Swiss Commission in the United States," 43.

Various commissions of Swiss nationals worked to broaden the opportunities of the interned, including the Commission from the Christian Associations, Commission of German Switzerland, The Swiss Catholic Mission, and the Swiss Society of Chaplains. The role of these commissions focused primarily on religion and the spirituality of the internee.

The uniquely humanitarian aspect of the Swiss internment camp system differentiates them from traditional prisoner of war or internment camp systems by focusing on long-term health and lifestyle goals, instead of punitive or reprisal measures. The internment camp system, run to a large extent by the internees themselves, focused on improving more than just the immediate health of the interned. While work was a traditional aspect of both POW and internment camps, the utilization of work for the express purpose of healthcare goals differentiates internment camps dramatically from other models.

The reeducation of internees through both vocational training and university schooling presents perhaps the most apparent transformation and showcases the future-oriented outlook of the internment camp system. Keeping the future of internees after internment in mind, the structuring of the internment camp system sought to facilitate soldiers' transition back to civilian life. As a non-belligerent in the conflict, the Swiss had no acrimony towards the internees, removing any structural opportunities for pernicious intent. This enabled the humanitarian aspect of the camps to flourish, resulting in the change from conceptualizing the soldiers' stay from short-term confinement to long-lasting health and professional goals. The humanitarian aspect of defensive humanitarianism cannot be

understated. The defensive property, enabled by the internment camp system, benefitted the neutral Swiss state in political and economic terms, keeping the Swiss safer from external invasion and internal conflict. The humanitarian half, on the other hand, had a greater impact at the individual level. The defensive and humanitarian aspects intertwined and mutually depended on each other, and their disentanglement would have crippled the system.

Conclusion

The initial reports on the arrival of interned soldiers in Switzerland came from the governments involved and the vast majority contained very positive sentiments. Many accounts, especially from British officials, contain descriptions of the levels of enthusiasm of the Swiss populace at the arrival of newly interned soldiers. Reports conflict as to whether soldiers arrived on third-class cars that had been transformed into medical cars, or if officers rode first class and enlisted men in second, but this is truly minor in the grand scheme of the internment camp system.⁵⁹ Almost all reports contain accounts of the types of gifts received by soldiers at stations and restaurants as they travelled through Switzerland to their assigned internment location, where they also received attention and gifts from individual Swiss citizens.

Defensive humanitarianism was successful due to its international character and governments with or without interned soldiers took an interest in the project. A plethora of reports exist in English from both the Brit-

ish government officials and the internees in Switzerland. One report, from Heron Charles Goodhart, a member of the British legation in Switzerland, states that, “fruit, cigarettes, chocolate and postcards, besides flowers in profusion, were the principal gifts brought by private individuals, many of whom were Swiss. The British Colony were [sic] in full force.”⁶⁰ While the level of enthusiasm of the Swiss populace recorded by many British officials illustrated the international use of internment in Switzerland as a form of morale building for their local populations, the vast majority of accounts captured the truly positive feelings of the Swiss welcoming of interned soldiers.

In addition to the protection of Swiss neutrality and international prominence for the humanitarian goals of internment, the financial benefits to the tourism sector of the Swiss economy due to the housing of interned soldiers in hotels and hostels likely explains the overwhelmingly positive Swiss reception of interned soldiers. The Swiss government, with the input of NGOs and other states, created defensive humanitarianism and the internment camp system both to protect Swiss sovereignty and to allow for humanitarian ideals to survive in a new and destructive era. Both sides of the coin, defense and humanitarianism, equally showed through in the internment camp system.

The transformation from POW camp to internment camp could not have transpired without the existing international legal basis of the Geneva and Hague Conventions, as well as the ICRC, Swiss Red Cross, and other international humanitarian organizations. The internment systems evolved in response

⁵⁹ Grant Mountstuart, Evelyn Duff and Heron Charles Goodhart, *The Reception of Wounded Prisoner Soldiers of Great Britain in Switzerland*, (London: Jas. Truscott & Son, 1916), 6.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

to the new challenges presented by WWI by reevaluating the costs of total war and revolutionizing the care of its casualties. The Swiss government chose to move forward with internment not exclusively out of humanitarian ideals but also out of financial and political considerations. The reconfiguring of norms around POW treatment remains an important example of how states may pursue humanitarian policy when considering their treatment of foreign soldiers.

The term defensive humanitarianism is useful for describing the policy platform implemented by the Swiss state to assuage the

crises of WWI. The application of domestic policy through international agreements and humanitarian law presents a unique approach that small states may use to maintain their sovereignty. This episode in history touched not only the domestic Swiss level, but influenced the histories of WWI, international diplomacy, and humanitarianism as well. Switzerland, often overlooked in the historiographies of these three larger areas due to the state's small player status during the 20th century, still may offer valuable policy alternatives today.

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Global and International Studies

“Why Can’t I Find It?” Mining Transparency in Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo

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Abstract:

This research focuses on foreign intervention in the mining sectors of Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), concentrating on the transparency of agreements and regulation, or lack thereof, contributing to the longevity of mining practices and the livelihoods of local citizens. The current state of public information regarding natural resource extraction in both countries creates questions about state motives and investors’ economic incentive, with consequences of inequality, human rights offenses, and underdevelopment. Applying Immanuel Wallerstein’s world-systems theory, I describe the economic rationale behind global involvement in the region’s mining operations and identify potential power imbalances. I use commodity statistics, state documentation, and nongovernmental reports to analyze reporting trends on mining operations. Intergovernmental databases with development statistics also contribute to the research. In this study, I argue foreign intervention in underdeveloped, mineral rich countries does not have to be a purely exploitative relationship as emphasized by Wallerstein’s theory, demonstrated through the implementation of international transparency initiatives. These programs, implemented for the benefit of the resource abundant countries like Zambia and the DRC, can increase the accountability of governments and investing companies related to mining activities. Complete reporting on natural resource extraction increases investment values and the development and productivity of the mining industry.

Introduction

Walking into an American mall on a Saturday afternoon, the typical scene greeting the eye involves busy shoppers interspersed with rows of electronic gadgets, sparkling jewelry, and newfangled appliances. With little thought to sourcing, construction, or ethical concerns, consumers buy into the latest fads and go about business as usual, assuming companies and governments deal with the go-between details honorably. However, the process is more complex. Exposed by the media, depicted in films, and protest-

ed by nonprofit organizations, the mining of natural resources used to make cherished products has become somewhat controversial recently, yet little is known about it to the average consumer.

The manufacturing of high-demand commodities uses raw materials extracted from specific resource abundant areas of the globe. The geographic region in Central Africa encompassing Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is home to many of the world’s most valuable natural resources. As of 2015, the DRC owned an estimated

\$24 trillion worth of mineral assets, primarily made up of gold, copper, diamond, coltan, and cobalt deposits (“DR Congo: UN Advises,” 2011). Similarly, Zambia, while possessing other resources as well, specializes in copper extraction, holding some of the most productive reserves in the world (“Zambia: Exports,” n.d.). Historically and into today, the extreme wealth of natural resources between the two countries entices investors on a global scale, leading to the potential for successful business partnerships, but also dangers of corrupt and manipulative systems of extraction. Prioritizing capitalist self-interests, multinational corporations (MNCs) risk exploiting these resources.

Demand for raw materials to engineer high-value products motivates international interest in resource-rich countries like Zambia and the DRC. Globalization and technological advances in mining and manufacturing during the early twentieth-century coincided with colonial rule in Africa. Colonial powers extracted raw materials from the continent to fulfill European capitalist motives, while also reconstructing the political spheres of African nations. Both countries won independence in the 1960s from European colonizers—Zambia from Britain and the DRC from Belgium—entering a tumultuous (and in the case of the DRC, bloody) period of economic and political adjustment (Sikamo, Mwanza, & Mweemba, 2016; “DR Congo: Chronology,” 2009). During this time, in an attempt to regain economic stability and increase international recognition, Zambian and Congolese governments encouraged multinational corporations to engage in mining activities within national borders (Sikamo, Mwanza, & Mweemba, 2016; “DR Congo: Chronology,”

2009). Thus began a new boom of foreign investment and involvement in the mining industry, leading to more indirect international infiltration into the economic and political structures of each country. In recent years, as these trends continue, so does resource extraction.

Despite obvious mineral extraction and the development of relationships between foreign companies and the states, a pattern has appeared across the industry: data and statistics about mining activity is incomplete, unbalanced, or completely absent. Gaps in data disclosure allow conflicts and inequalities in the mining sector to fester, enabling powerful companies and governments to exploit both resources and miners. In the DRC, resource smuggling and fraudulent reporting benefit political elites financially, while 71% of Congolese citizens live in extreme poverty (“Executive Summary, DRC,” n.d.). Zambia, while not as politically turbulent, also maintains years’ worth of gaps in mining statistics (“Commodity Trade Statistics Database,” 2017). Speculation about foreign interests affecting the transparency of mining operations—meaning business contracts, revenues, or changes in ownership—raises ethical concerns and questions of legitimacy for investors and consumers. While Zambian and Congolese governments and mining companies see value in transparent reporting, strategic interests take precedence, subsequently dictating the type and amount of data available to the general public.

In this paper, I explore foreign intervention regarding mining operations in Zambia and the DRC, analyzing whether the actions of international transparency initiatives correspond with Immanuel Wallerstein’s the-

oretical idea of relationships between the developed world and its less developed counterparts. The study examines public information involving natural resource extraction and relationships of state governments, international investors, and non-governmental organizations. Wallerstein's world-systems theory conceptualizes the economic rationale behind global involvement in regional mining operations and analyzes foreign intervention in evolving markets. In accordance with the theoretical framework, problems within the mining sector can be attributed to developmental power imbalances. I apply the theory to mines in Zambia and the DRC, two mineral-rich countries with different economic and political environments. The study analyzes mining regulation and public records to identify data gaps and incentivize participation in accountability initiatives. Involvement in transparency programs could improve the value of investments and accountability of the whole mining industry.

I argue foreign intervention in underdeveloped, mineral rich countries does not have to be a purely exploitative relationship, as shown by the implementation of international transparency initiatives. At the onset, I present the economic, social, and political effects of multinational investment in mining natural resources. Next, I introduce world-systems theory and the concept of development in core-periphery relationships, with application to foreign intervention in extracting mineral wealth from Zambia and the DRC. The methods section underlines data collection of mining activities between the two countries and provides analysis of transparency initiatives. Next, I relate world-systems theory to resource extraction in Zambia and the DRC

and postulate further to prove a non-exploitative core-periphery relationship is possible. Lastly, I highlight the significance of international accountability programs within the mining industry and show the importance of state and public support to the success of such initiatives.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Economic Effects of Extractive Investments

Within the scope of economics, governments push investor-friendly policies designed to entice foreign involvement through tax incentives and reductions in regulation. Since the structural adjustment period of the 1980s, foreign investments have become economically appealing to many African economies. The privatization of natural resources places more control in the hands of large international firms, therefore limiting the state's ability to monitor resource ownership and management trends. For example, with the emergence of neoliberal economic policies, foreign influence over the Zambian national economy has weakened national stability and bargaining power (Larmer, 2005, pp. 43-44). Global institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank encourage privatization as leverage for debt assistance and financial support (Lungu, 2008, p. 408). To take advantage of foreign capital and maintain economic stability, African states often rely upon natural resource wealth to boost international investment. The privatization of previously state-owned entities plays into the strategy, choosing to privilege outside investors over domestic interests. A public record of investments and contracts adds legitimacy to the industry and

could justify continued negotiations between states and external actors.

Based on economic principles, multinational corporations build investments from strategic agreements with intentions of profitability and market expansion. Multinational corporations (MNCs) implement plans to extract resources at the expense of weak national governments, thanks to free market expansion. Within strategic investment agreements, operating countries grant deductions and exemptions to companies who then routinely avoid paying corporate taxes, on the grounds of maintaining these investments for contracted periods of time (Lungu, 2008, p. 407). As profitability comes first, MNCs do not hesitate to interfere in domestic issues or political conflicts to protect shareholder interests, even under the risk of damaging the operating country (Saleem, 2002, pp. 112-113). Large MNCs control power structures and mining securities, creating exploitative systems of resource extraction. Consequentially, by not prioritizing long-term African resource security, multinational investments could jeopardize the stability of African economies. The companies' conflicts of interest could threaten national authority and sustainable economic growth. States can take significant steps towards mitigating companies' conflicts of interest by releasing clear public records of all mining transactions.

The role of the state as the primary driver of political and economic forces becomes increasingly muddled due to the upswing of commercial relationships with foreign companies, according to social scientists. Weakened political institutions coupled with a strong multinational presence do not create a stable view of people-centered sustainable

development. The crippling economic effects of the resource curse can be linked to structural shortcomings in bureaucratic institutions (Idemudia, 2009, p. 19). For example, overwhelmingly dependent on oil, Nigeria's economic history demonstrates the state is not equipped with the management capabilities necessary for efficient industry regulation and reform (Idemudia, 2009, pp. 17 and 3). African economies have become substantially dictated by outside interests rather than domestic needs, potentially contributing to an increased lack of stability within national power structures. The complexity of resource relations requires a strong state presence in the face of manipulative interference in order to maintain a sense of national sovereignty and legitimacy.

Additional Effects of Multinational Mining

As previously mentioned, the lack of transparent regulatory frameworks in the mining sector provokes cycles of resource exploitation and social inequalities, according to social scientists. The state and multinational corporations engage in negotiations containing tax breaks and business concessions to incentivize foreign investment, despite the threat of long-term economic degradation. Both parties can undertake responsibility to create and release clear, structured agreements, laying out the details of continued mining projects, particularly in the cases of conflict minerals. Proposals such as the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) encourage national governments and international corporations to voluntarily commit information about extractive involvement to boost business repute and political legitimacy (Le Billon, 2006, p. 98). With

international platforms, civil society groups can push law reform towards initiatives such as EITI to better gauge government expenditures and accountability related to foreign intervention (Lungu, 2008, p. 412) Corrupt mining agreements between state entities and multinational corporations run the risk of inciting ethnic conflict and militant activity, further incentivizing governments to provide complete reporting (Kemp, Owen, Gotzmann, & Bond, 2011, p. 105). With the high concentration of mining activities in the Central African Copperbelt, a lack of transparent regulation can potentially hurt the credibility of international companies and the state. Based on research into social responsibility standards, engagement in policy reforms could increase the accountability of the industry and boost local standards of living. Such research could illuminate problematic patterns within the mining sector and subsequent solutions to improve sustainability.

Company-community relations create the potential for advocacy and social change in the mining industry. With opposing cultural dynamics at play, multinational corporations and affected communities work through various social conflicts and ethnic differences. Facing financial and legal issues, local communities become more assertive with natural resource management. Advocates protest for labor rights and environmental conservation, but often run into strong corporate bureaucracy seeking to silence opposition (Talla, 2010, p. 113). Company-community conflict heightens with management negligence and institutional repression of local protests, especially regarding indigenous lands (Kemp et al., 2011, p. 95). Advocacy is a social tool with the potential to activate transparent reg-

ulatory structures within the mining sector. Research into such structural benefits could also support communities affected by foreign mining investments.

Corporate citizenship initiatives have become a trend within the sphere of economics, stemming from grassroots advocacy movements and collective action protests. Participating in constructive development work or engagement projects benefits MNCs, improving community relations and adding legitimacy to investments. For example, the Canadian government has prompted national mining companies to engage in efforts to broaden corporate accountability initiatives and improve human rights records in conflict zones (Le Billon, 2006, p. 106). Other international mining companies have also laid out frameworks for community feedback structures to air mining grievances, with goals to increase local dialogue and resolve disputes (Kemp et al., 2011, p. 94). Current trends in corporate action show a potential for change within the extractive sector, but also emphasize structural imbalances of the capitalist system. The desire for profit runs the risk of dominating social responsibility and consequently continuing a cycle of exploitation at the expense of local livelihoods.

World-Systems: A Critique of Inequality

Within the realm of social science, world-systems theory seeks to clarify social and economic power differentials between countries in varying stages of development. Immanuel Wallerstein (2004) analyzes history and economic markets to highlight inequalities between strong and weak states. Based on the theory, the relationship of the “core” to the “periphery” can appear patronizing, as

core states attempt to control the social and economic success of less developed nations. The core, having been developed longer and more substantially, provides a model for the periphery to encourage growth, but also takes advantage of the periphery's lack of development by exhausting peripheral resources. (Wallerstein, 2004, p. 10). World-systems theory critiques the exploitative power relations of the world, predominantly seen in core states (Babones, 2014, p. 5). Such power imbalances can be common in post-colonial African governments and markets. Peripheral states depend upon core states for support, linking peripheral economic and political success to more developed nations. World-systems theory explains exploitative trends in economic relationships between African nations and the West.

More developed states assert expertise, gleaned from years of political and economic shifts in the world-system, upon the less-developed peripheral nations and can subsequently dictate the outcomes of essential domestic elements, such as land, labor, and capital. Foreign economic involvement intensifies the inequalities of core-periphery relationships. Systemic inequalities can be deeply rooted in a colonial past of exploitation and oppression. Western Europe colonized much of what is known as the "Third World," leaving behind a state of underdevelopment explaining current social turmoil (Chirot & Hall, 1982, p. 83). Furthermore, international influence can obstruct development, as the addition of foreign capital into a developing economy could cause potential market manipulation and a corrupt redistribution of wealth and power (Wellhofer, 1995, p. 504). Multinational corporations play a

leading role in the exploitative relationships between the core and periphery, extracting benefits from peripheral resources and withdrawing to the core with the profits. As world-systems theory maintains, the global market often supports the economic goals of multinational companies, gaining strength from powerful capitalist-centered nations. Holding MNCs accountable through transparent reporting could create a more equal economic system of exchange, thus lessening chances of social and political tensions in underdeveloped states.

According to world-systems theorists, the core strips the periphery of resources and establishes standards to protect self-interests. Stronger countries are thus able to dictate advantageous trade terms. On the other hand, weak states are unable to fight dominant powers and could lose important aspects of domestic production like labor and capital to the core. The core can assert exploitative power through labor and property regulation, subsequently damaging peripheral economic goals (Wallerstein, 2004, p. 46). Poor economic growth in peripheral nations shows the disproportionate correlation between production and compensation in developing countries. (Wellhofer, 1995, p. 504). International mining companies invested in the Central African Copperbelt epitomize powerful core interests in peripheral environments. World-systems theory illustrates resource and labor exploitation in developing countries.

Within the scope of economics, world-systems theory critiques capitalism. Achieving profitability is the primary objective of capitalist initiatives. In placing profit as the first priority, the concept of unequal exchange characterizes core-periphery relations, de-

scribed in a theoretical context as the movement of capital from weak regions to strong regions, regardless of the risks of inequality. In the capitalist economy, core nations move means of production to locations of the lowest cost, usually the less developed sectors of the periphery (Wallerstein, 2004, pp. 26-27). International institutions like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund establish development programs to encourage economic investments supporting the capitalist interests of the core (Gowan, 2004, p. 492). An internationally-instigated push towards the privatization of natural resources complements capitalist goals for maximizing profit. Thus, world-systems theory criticizes the economic strategies the core employs for extraction purposes and the consequent exploitation of the periphery. Transparency initiatives could provide a solution to economic discrepancies between the two poles.

DATA AND METHODS

While researching, I utilized official reports from governmental agencies in Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Within the data, I searched for investment patterns and efforts towards transparency through formal documentation of mining projects and agreements between companies and the state. I accessed several governmental databases for each country to find mining news and statistics, such as the Zambia Chamber of Mines and the Ministère des Mines of the DRC. While I primarily used African-sourced documents, I also accessed Section 1504 of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act from the United States National Archives. I used the part of the doc-

ument focusing on the transparency of multinational mineral extraction in African regions including the countries of Zambia and the DRC. By using official government reports, I can monitor state response to mining projects and assess the level of public disclosure of mining activities.

To round out the data, I accessed reports and primary data from non-governmental and inter-governmental organizations as well. I utilized the African Power Mining Projects archive, an initiative seeking to provide objective public disclosure of mining projects across the African continent. The files include critical extractive information about forty-seven mines in various regions of Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The data shows significant trends in relation to factors such as private or state ownership, commodity, and amount produced for export. I also utilized studies on mining performance and production from the World Bank to gauge the success of development programs. Non-state affiliated, development-centered organizations like the United Nations and the World Bank collect reliable data through reputable studies, and I found multiple reports on mining activities from these organizations.

To analyze qualitative research, I utilized thematic coding as a principle means of analysis. I read the literature, highlighted potential points of importance, and created data files to store for later application. As many of the Congolese archival sources were only available in French, I created corresponding files in English to prevent potential linguistic confusion. I laid the Zambian and Congolese mining contracts side-by-side to compare the strategic clauses employed by both parties. Thanks to the thematic codes, I discovered

the vernacular of the mining industry. I also identified common trends of proactivity regarding company acknowledgment and response to the challenge of sustainability. The patterns I found within the data illustrate the logic of using thematic coding as the primary form of analysis.

Faced with quantitative data, I used a method of summary statistics to narrow down the findings. For example, to analyze the statistics from the African Power Mining Projects database, I organized the information into a specific spreadsheet more relevant to the DRC and Zambia. While the previous report was vast, containing data for over four hundred mines, I restricted the spreadsheet to forty-seven mines, a number more conducive for analysis. I then utilized maps of both countries to create a visual basis of mine concentration. With a smaller number of mines to analyze, I can spot production patterns and differences between the mines in respect to geographic locations. Furthermore, using a strategy of summary statistics for all of the quantitative data, I can more specifically identify comparative trends between Zambia and the DRC.

ANALYSIS

External interests threaten national sovereignty over mineral reserves and the potential for economic wealth, simply by the sheer number of foreign investors. Foreign ownership dwarfs domestically owned companies in the mining sectors of Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Of the forty-seven prominent mines analyzed across the geographic area of both countries, multinational companies own and operate forty, with a majority, if not all of the shares

in each mine (“African Mines Project Database,” 2010). Mine privatization contributes to this trend, as foreign bidders take precedence during mining negotiations, effectively limiting ownership opportunities by more localized Zambian or Congolese companies (Serlemitsos & Fusco, p. 25). Thus, smaller, nationally-based companies are largely unable to compete for influence and ownership. Privatization, through limiting power to the state and redistributing it to multinational players with capitalist motivations, could increase the risks of domestic problems, such as unemployment and labor inequalities. In a Wallerstein world, MNCs represent influential international actors playing a controlling role in a potentially exploitative relationship between the powerful corporate world and the less powerful mines.

Mining companies investing in Zambia and the DRC, in conjunction with state governments, engage in established initiatives to increase transparent regulation and to address economic discrepancies. However, these initiatives have not been headed by national governments, but by outside institutions seeking to hold the industries accountable. For example, the United Nations General Assembly backed the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme (KPCS), which attempts, through state regulatory requirements, to hold the diamond industry accountable regarding the influx of conflict diamonds into the legitimate trade (*The Role of Diamonds*, 2002). Mining contracts between the Congolese diamond mining company, La Société Minière de Bakwanga (MIBA), and de Beers Centenary reference a commitment to the certification system in business negotiations, showing adherence to the principles of an es-

established regulatory framework such as the KCPS (*Protocole d'Accord*, 2005). Similarly, the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, established in 2003 as the flagship global transparency standard, has incentivized the governments of both Zambia and the DRC to release information about expenditures and any relationships with mining companies to the public ("The EITI Standard 2016," 2016). Efforts toward established regulatory frameworks for transparency, such as the EITI, mostly originate outside the state. Thus, international transparency initiatives attempt to hold both Zambia and the DRC, along with multinational investors, accountable.

Critics could suggest states may actively choose to disregard intervening pressure to implement government transparency programs, citing such decisions could threaten national interests. In the same way multinational companies do not want to release data with potentially negative consequences, states might desire to take a protectionist stance against external inference in national regulatory standards, particularly regarding mining. For example, in conflict-ridden countries such as the DRC, to release information detrimental to particular ethnic factions carries the potential to instigate tensions seemingly much greater than publishing revenue numbers (Kemp et al, 2011, p. 105). Furthermore, foreign direct investment inflows account for \$1.7 billion worth of both the Congolese and Zambian GDP ("General Profile: DRC," 2015; "General Profile: Zambia," 2015). Consequently, foreign economic power invested in the mining sector of Zambia and the DRC could overshadow the states' commitment to ethical business practices and transparent industries. This tendency increas-

es the importance of international pressure for transparency. To accommodate states' refusal to provide details on mining revenue and activity would reiterate the exploitative core-periphery relationship world-systems theory proposes.

International transparency legislation challenges world-systems' description of manipulative core-periphery interactions. A Wallerstein view would expect transparency initiatives to pursue self-interests while taking advantage of Zambian and Congolese mining actors seeking to comply with the implemented criteria for reporting. Yet, programs act only to increase data accessibility to the public. In 2015, the Ministère des Mines of the DRC, in adherence with EITI standards, released 126 mining contracts and official documents to the public through the ResourceContracts.org database (Okenda, Pedersen, Toledano, & Young, 2017). The Columbia Center on Sustainable Investment and Natural Resource Governance Institute began this initiative in 2015, supported by the World Bank and United Kingdom's Department for International Development. The program promotes a platform of "general data accessibility for all" and aims to accommodate corporate, media, and governmental goals for due diligence in reporting ("OpenLandContracts.org," n.d.). While focusing on transparency issues within the DRC, this international initiative and other likeminded programs do not seek to exploit the host countries Wallerstein would label "peripheral." As the database's mantra states, the objectives of such programs are purely to educate and raise awareness of statistical discrepancies.

Skeptics of this interpretation might question the motives of inter-governmental

organizations (IGOs) and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) seeking to promote transparency of mining operations. The risk of an institution playing the role of savior and claiming technological or infrastructural superiority to teach less developed countries would fit with Wallerstein's key theoretical components of core-based exploitation. Also, as MNCs act with self-interests in mind, both in regard to reporting and tangible mineral extraction, a similar skepticism of NGOs' objectives for releasing information is valid. For example, as of 2017, over ninety global financial institutions actively support EITI's mining revenue disclosure platform, leading to potential postulations of the organization's monetary conflicts of interest ("Investors' Statement on Transparency," 2015). Similarly, non-governmental organizations often carry the burden of taking a top-down understanding of development situations into projects, consequentially becoming more of a hindrance than a help to underdeveloped countries ("The Status of Human Rights," n.d.). While recognizing the possibility of an occasional outlier, non-governmental organizations involved in mining transparency prioritize ethical interests and logic to advocate for public disclosure. Tangible statistics and evidence of governmental and investor cooperation in these programs prove the validity of such a cause.

International non-governmental organizations challenge multinationals' selective release of data about mining activities. NGO and IGO-initiated programs seek to hold multinational corporations accountable through regulation of mineral extraction. As both actors are parts of the developed core, the battle between the two takes pressure off

the relationship between core and periphery, shifting the tension to the core. Since the implementation of EITI standards in 2008 and subsequent reports on tax policy in Zambia, the Zambian Mining Code has reintroduced corporate income tax and decreased royalty rates, creating a more equitable mining sector (Baxter et al. 2016). The EITI, a product of the Norway-based EITI Association, has goals to strengthen and keep governments accountable in the extractive sector ("Governance of the EITI," n.d.). By challenging potentially exploitative foreign interests in Central African mining, international efforts for transparency illustrate a commitment to addressing problematic power imbalances in the industry. Wallerstein's theory maintains capitalist interests will insure core dominance at the expense of developing economies, but these "core versus core" interactions between MNCs and NGOs introduce another non-exploitative relationship, beneficial to developing countries.

Even if transparency programs originate outside the realms of the state, the consequential outcomes of such initiatives can be beneficial and encouraging to localized efforts for mining transparency. With multinational economic interests dictating state policy and publicity, small-scale initiatives can collaborate with externally based transparency programs for a mutually beneficial relationship. For example, the Carter Center, based in the United States, partners with an independent research association, Moabi DRC, to work with various civil society groups, governments, and private organizations to document mining activities in rural regions of the DRC. The project has accumulated over 800 reports in the Congo Mines database ("Virtual Infor-

mation Portal,” n.d.). In Zambia, the Publish What You Pay coalition, or PWYP (also active in the DRC), unites fourteen Zambian civil society organizations to supplement EITI records and initiate collective action against discrepancies in reporting (“Publish What You Pay,” n.d.). The relationships between internationally based organizations such as the Carter Center and PWYP show cooperative methods of dealing with shortfalls in transparency. Working in accordance with small-scale projects to address accountability problems within the mining sector, NGOs and IGOs can use advanced platforms to highlight industry issues and local grievances.

Advocates for maintaining state credibility could argue against the state’s responsibility for initiating national transparency proposals if other reputable legislation was adequate. Post-privatization, individual investors own many of the mines between Zambia and the DRC, reducing state ownership. Thus, advocates raise a viable question of the nation’s need to regulate the industry with state resources, financial or otherwise. Since legislative changes in 1995, Zambia’s Mining Code has limited governmental intervention to a regulatory role rather than participatory to coincide with the changes in state to private ownership (Ndulo, 2013). The Democratic Republic of Congo took a similar position in 2008, citing financial feasibility in relation to liberalization in the mining sector as reasoning for moving to a more regulatory position in the industry (Journal Officiel de la République Démocratique du Congo, 2008). Yet, while both countries have chosen indirect roles in the extractive sector, mining activities and revenue directly impact nation-

al governments and citizens. Thus, the states have a responsibility to produce transparent data about national and corporate agreements. With this argument in mind, state-initiated transparency efforts are just as necessary as externally initiated regulatory frameworks.

MNCs and the governments of investing nations have undergone pressure for public disclosure of mining activities, enough to create requirements for mineral importation and mining agreements. The push for transparency shows a value of public disclosure is not limited to local citizens. Section 1504 of the American legislation commonly referred to as the Dodd-Frank Act lays out explicit clauses of “public availability of information” for American companies to comply with when negotiating mining contracts, requiring complete disclosure of financials, time, and logistics of the project per annum (*Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform*, p. 847). Without these records, discrepancies in reporting can allow for potential economic damage. For example, the current Mining Code in the Democratic Republic of Congo allowed for a loss of 1.36 billion U.S. dollars between 2010 and 2012, due to a lack of reporting between Canadian Banro Corporation and the Congolese president. (Müller-Koné, 2015, p. 156). Global pressure to release mining documents creates an accountability structure with the potential to uncover and rectify financial losses. These disclosures paired with formal state regulation of mineral extraction would improve the nature and efficiency of mining investments.

As legislation such as the Dodd-Frank Act suggests, regulatory efforts to publicize mining activity is in the best interests of the investing multinational companies. Legally obligated to provide risk assessment for in-

vestors, MNCs must provide public records of business transactions. To balance responsibility, Zambian and Congolese governments could argue the necessity for more corporate involvement in reporting, subsequently shifting some obligation to mining companies. For example, of the five companies invested in the nine largest mines in Zambia, three have published reports available to the public, and all three companies are based outside of Zambia, showing a lack of domestic reporting (“African Mining Project Database,” 2010). Also, based on a 2015 statement of support to EITI, ninety-three international investing companies recognize the value of transparent reporting in the extractives sector (“Investors’ Statement on Transparency,” 2015). With the legal and corporate requirements at hand, companies should push for transparency within the sector. Declarations such as the aforementioned set a corporate standard for other companies to strive towards. Collaborative efforts between MNCs and national governments to increase transparency could increase the scope and productivity of such programs.

Taking part in transparency initiatives such as EITI increases the international credibility of states, inviting continued investments. Mining companies hope for a favorable, risk-averse financial environment for investors. Operating in fifty-two countries around the world, EITI compliance offers a globally recognized standard for transparency, incentivizing countries and companies to become affiliated with the program. The program has increased reporting on mining activities, seeing marked progress in participation. In the seven years since the DRC committed to EITI membership, the num-

ber of reporting companies in the extractive sector (oil, gas, and mining) has increased 450%, from 26 companies to 118, leading to higher reported revenues as well (“Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative,” n.d.). EITI holds multinational corporations accountable by essentially peer pressuring competitors into releasing mining statistics and matching the data with numbers released by state governments to uncover financial discrepancies (“Frequently Asked Questions,” n.d.). Well-established transparency initiatives, often originating in core states, possess the leverage to keep multinational corporations accountable to investors and the host countries. As emphasized by EITI’s success, non-governmental organizations can prove beneficial to peripheral nations through the implementation of effective mining disclosures.

DISCUSSION

Accountability in the Mining Sector

Multinational investment in the extractive industries in Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo instigates a cycle of resource exploitation used mainly for the benefit of investment companies in already developed nations. MNCs originate from developed capitalist countries and are better equipped to infiltrate and manipulate markets rich in natural resources. With the privatization of mines in both countries, the regulatory role of the state becomes convoluted and less defined, thus giving more control to mining corporations. As foreign companies statistically dominate mine ownership in both countries, mineral exploitation can be threatening to domestic livelihoods. The movement of capital and

resources from the periphery to the core is a characteristic of Wallerstein's world-systems theory. Consistent with world-systems theory, movement of mineral wealth from the peripheral economies to core-dominated, international markets leaves the economies of countries like Zambia and the DRC dependent upon investing companies. Without significant state involvement in the regulation and surveillance of the industry, mining companies can continue the cycle of resource exploitation.

The protocol for disclosing information about mining activities in both countries also follows a trend of core-periphery relationships within world-systems theory: the mimicry of the core's economic strategies by periphery states. Actors outside the physical borders and regulatory trajectory of the state instigate the majority of legislation geared towards producing transparency of mining operations through inter-governmental platforms like the United Nations and World Bank or through independent research think-tanks. Mining companies, typically located in developed countries, are legally compelled to release statistical reports, and therefore must instigate programs reporting on mining activities as well. As world-systems theory also critiques capitalism, the reports of mining companies also reflect capitalist objectives of profit and market expansion first, before focusing on the needs and development of local communities. Representing the core, these developed organizations are supposed to provide models of transparency initiatives for mineral-rich states like Zambia and the DRC to replicate. MNCs and other reporting organizations instigate the already established protocol for public disclosure in these states and expect compliance.

The mining sector's privatized structure grants companies direct control of mining activities but leaves regulatory responsibilities to the state. Amid highly concentrated foreign involvement in the industry, an orchestrated effort for operational transparency by Zambian and Congolese governments would build state accountability. Several significant programs focused on promoting the availability and accessibility of public mining data have engineered the support of both states but originate outside national borders and jurisdiction. While cooperating with initiatives like EITI, neither state shows a clear intention of creating a nationally established push towards regulatory programs designed for transparency. The lack of economic statistics, historical records, and reports available to interested consumers on archival and government websites introduces postulations of state passivity on the topic of mining reporting. With current international critiques of the political policies and competencies of both countries, but particularly the DRC, initiatives to fully disclose mining activities and address problems in the industry would increase credibility in international eyes and improve the sustainability of the mining sector. Subsequently, more complete reporting could improve the success rates of research and development initiatives in the regions.

Advocacy for Proactive Regulatory Reforms

The national governments of Zambia and the DRC should proactively monitor reporting on mining activities. While the state's role in the industry has shifted to more of a regulatory nature, neither nation has instigated governmental policies to keep multinational

corporations in check through transparent legislation about mining operations. Independent researchers and NGOs recognize the potential for corporate, capitalist influences of multinational companies upon mining legislation and resource extraction. The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative incentivizes many countries worldwide, including Zambia and the DRC, to annually release data regarding foreign investment in the mining sector (“Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative Institute,” 2016). The reports highlight tax code and legal agreements between state governments and mining companies in order to analyze mine ownership but have historically run into obstacles to full disclosure (“Rapport annuel d’avancement,” 2015). By researching mine ownership, an internationally prominent program such as EITI requires the state to scrutinize the practices of mining companies. Non-governmental publication of industry research and statistics should motivate state governments to investigate potential regulatory loopholes and shady business agreements in the mining industry.

Investors and consumers should hold multinational corporations accountable for operations in Zambia and the DRC, demanding the release of mining contracts and company decisions for public scrutiny. With social pressure from shareholders, companies may see value in releasing clear mining data. Thus, motivating civil society to pressure MNCs to release potentially incriminating data about mining operations would advance consistent standards for transparency. External interests drive corporate action and social policy in these countries more than domestic concerns (Amuwo, 2009). Similarly, while

this research shows trends of production from internationally originated transparency initiatives like EITI, the programs tend to prioritize and praise Western goals for accountability, even if inapplicable to many African societies (Idemundia, 2009). A demand for MNC accountability ought to come from the shareholders the companies seek to impress. Transparent data accompanies a smart investment and MNCs should recognize the value of releasing all data to the public. Consequently, the companies may instigate development or change the trajectory of mining projects to further satisfy consumers.

Regardless of economic benefits stemming from MNC investments, Zambia and the DRC should recognize the value of transparent reporting and choose to prioritize the publishing of complete mining data. If this study’s argument is valid and the release of information about mining activities constitutes a battleground between corporate interests and non-governmental agendas, the states develop mining policies to balance both arguments. As foreign companies own forty of the forty-seven major mines between the two countries, Zambia and the DRC could appear shackled to multinational interests rather than domestic needs, based on state revenue and export statistics (“African Power Mines Project Database,” 2010). The nations also depend upon the aid and research of non-governmental organizations but are able to maintain sovereign control due to a wealth of natural resources and expectant investors seeking profit, as evident by the trends leading to foreign mine ownership within the borders of Zambia and the DRC (Le Billon, 2006, pp. 95-96). Transparent reporting should become a normative practice

within the mining sectors of both countries to showcase national control despite the involvement of foreign actors, like multinational mining companies. The credibility of the state, in respect to local populations and the world, would increase, as would mining sustainability and development.

CONCLUSION

Foreign interests influence Zambian and Congolese economies, dictating mineral extraction through mine ownership and attempting to control the publication of mining data. However, international interests do not necessarily have to take an exploitative stance as Immanuel Wallerstein's theory suggests. The transferal of power and mine ownership from the state to multinational companies has permitted resource exploitation, and NGOs and IGOs informally regulate the industry by creating standards for publishing otherwise missing data. By way of establishing transparency initiatives to make mining revenue and data accessible to the public eye, these external actors seek to benefit the mining sector, the workers, and the host countries through clear reporting. Investors and consumers in the developed world also benefit from comprehensive data and can push to hold multinational corporations and governments accountable through advocating for transparent mining reports. The mining industry in Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo, while struggling to maintain economic, social, and political credibility, can take steps to address issues in the industry through efforts to in-

crease transparent reporting across the sector.

Furthermore, a subsequent study could investigate the effects of transparency programs upon local development and the frequency of mining reforms. With an increase in transparent data available to investors, consumers, and miners, an accompanying change in the environment can be expected. The research could take a case study approach, analyzing the communities surrounding specific mines or within particularly mineral-dense regions. On-the-ground interviews and news reports from local miners and families would illustrate whether specific developmental changes within communities occurred over time due to the implementation of a specific transparency standard such as EITI. Regarding the current study, research into the tangible effects of transparency programs could further incentivize countries and companies to engage in such initiatives. Similarly, if the Zambian and Congolese governments recognized a correlation between community development and mining transparency, state support for clear reporting could increase and subsequently benefit the industry. With collaborations for research and development between NGOs, state governments, and MNCs, mining in the Central African Copperbelt could improve, from the bottom-up. Then, as shoppers worldwide peruse aisles lined with glittering gadgets, they could have confidence in the integrity of the products, stemming from transparent, accessible information about sourcing and production. With this result, even Wallerstein could add an exception to his rules.

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Patented in China: Examining the Influence of Government Intervention on Innovation

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Abstract:

The body of research providing empirical support for the importance of innovation for rapid economic growth has left countries scrambling to cultivate innovative capabilities amongst their citizens. China's emergence as the top filer of domestic patent applications in 2011 has been attributed to policies enacted by the Chinese leadership aimed at increasing innovative activity within the country. This paper finds support for the argument that government intervention has a stronger influence on innovation than free markets, for patterns in domestic patent activity in China and Malaysia seem to coincide with each government's policies and incentives that explicitly target innovative activity. However, the debate on the quality of Chinese patents suggests the importance of implementing a more sustainable innovation development strategy over enforcing short-term quantitative targets. This paper discusses the role of education in serving as a more sustainable method in the development of a nation's innovation trajectory.

1. Introduction

In recent years, there has been no shortage of literature providing empirical support for the positive effects of innovation on economic growth (Braunerhjelm, et al.; Galindo and Méndez-Picazo). Given findings such as Galindo and Méndez-Picazo's that demonstrate a positive correlation between innovation and economic growth (507), both developed and developing countries are currently striving to emerge as innovative nations. China is a prime example of such a developing country, and its enhanced efforts to promote innovation among its population has allowed it to surpass developed economies, such as the United States and Japan, to emerge as the top filer of domestic patent applications in 2011 (Prud'homme, "China's shifting patent landscape" 619).

The recent rise of China as a top innovator and the equally fervent pursuit of innovative outcomes by other countries has led policymakers, managers, and researchers alike to debate the best methods of fostering innovation amongst citizens of a country. While some may favor the role of free markets, others champion direct government interventions as a more rapid and efficient way to stimulate innovative activity within the country.

The question this paper addresses is whether government interventions have a stronger influence on innovation than free markets. This paper approaches the question through a comparative case study of China and Malaysia, two state capitalist countries in Asia. These countries are also characterized by exam-oriented education systems that

center around the use of memorization and rote learning techniques to prepare students to sit for high-stakes national exams known as the *gaokao* and the Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia examinations, respectively (Tan and Arshad 174; Zhao 133).

Given that similar economic and education systems of systems of both countries, the governments of China and Malaysia are able to exert equally extensive amounts of control over these tools of government, which allows for greater intervention in these areas. However, these two countries differ notably in their levels of direct government involvement within the development of their respective innovation trajectories. Specifically, the Chinese leadership introduces and enforces numerous policies and ambitious goals in relation to innovation targets, while the development of the innovation trajectory in Malaysia has received little attention or direct assistance from the Malaysian government. Therefore, by examining the extent to which both governments promulgate direct policies and initiatives targeting innovation within their countries, researchers can observe whether direct government interventions have an influence on a country's degree of innovation.

After analyzing each country's policies and incentives aimed at promoting innovation alongside patterns in their domestic invention patent grants, this paper finds that government interventions have the greatest influence on innovation. However, although stringent policies and monetary incentives may help a country achieve quantitative measures of innovation, such as patent application quotas, these efforts can sometimes be detrimental to the quality of these inventions.

Thus, this paper discusses the potential of a country's education system in providing a more sustainable method of fostering innovation within a population. The existing exam-oriented education systems of both China and Malaysia, which encourage passive classroom learning and conformity, are criticized for hampering the development of students' creative thinking skills and discouraging an inquisitive attitude amongst students (Zhao 133). Researchers have voiced their doubts regarding the ability of developing countries to sustain the level of innovation needed to generate long-run economic growth without committing to a comprehensive reform of their education systems (Hanushek 204). This paper concludes with a discussion on the implications of an educational framework that champions creative and independent thinking over rigid rote learning on developing a more sustainable method of fostering innovation within a country (Abrami et al.).

2. Literature Review

2.1. Innovation

Prior to examining the role of government interventions on innovation, it is helpful to first understand what innovation is and how it can be measured. Although the bulk of literature on the topic only emerged in the 1990s, Joseph Schumpeter has been a proponent of innovation as the driving force behind economic development since the publication of his work, "The theory of economic development," in 1912 (Fagerberg and Verspagen 220). His theoretical claim that innovative individuals and their capability to overcome their "inert or resisting environment[s]" plays a pivotal role in economic led to a proliferation of scholarly works seeking to under-

stand the subject of innovation (Fagerberg and Verspagen 220; Patanakul and Pinto 98). Generally, researchers seem to agree that innovation involves the formulation of new ideas, which may constitute combinations of “existing knowledge and resources,” or a process that “challenges the present order” (Patanakul and Pinto 98). However, innovation does not merely constitute the generation of new ideas; it also encompasses the channeling of these ideas into the invention of a product that is valuable to society (Mumford 110; Van de Ven 590). Numerous researchers reinforce this notion by reiterating the importance of a “champion,” not unlike Schumpeter’s innovative individual, in ensuring the successful implementation of an innovation (Fagerberg and Verspagen 220; Van de Ven 592).

Given the existing literature on innovation, the working definition of innovation used for this paper is the development of novel and creative ideas into useful products. The operational definition of innovation within this paper is the number of domestic invention patents granted per 1000 persons in a country. Since patent laws in both China and Malaysia stipulate that inventions must be “industrially applicable” or “of practical use” to be considered for a patent grant, the use of data on invention patents granted to domestic residents provides a relatively accurate gauge of the level of innovation within each country (“*Malaysia Patents Act*”; “*Patent Law of the People’s Republic of China*”).

Another rationale for narrowing the paper’s scope of focus to invention patents is the proliferation of “junk patents” which are largely found amongst the categories of utility model patents and design patents (Zhao 107).

Patent applications under the aforementioned categories are subject to fewer requirements and lower expectations, thus leading to patent grants for products that are unoriginal or that lack significant economic value (Zhao 107). Indeed, invention patent applications in both countries are subject to a rigorous review process known as substantive examination, thus increasing the likelihood that granted invention patents are of relatively higher quality (Dang and Motohashi 141; “*Malaysia Patents Act*”). In China, however, applications for utility model and design patents are not subject to the same stringent review process. This makes it difficult to determine whether these patents are truly novel or useful to society (Dang and Motohashi 141). In short, the decision to focus solely on granted invention patents ensures the use of a more accurate quantitative measure of innovation.

2.2. *Government Intervention and Innovation*

While various studies have found support for the pivotal role of government intervention in inducing and sustaining innovation, the extent of its influence remains complex and could depend on the strategic goals the government hopes to achieve. In their study, Lall and Teubal conducted an examination of firms within the newly industrializing nations of East Asia that benefited from targeted government intervention within their specific industries (1369). Their findings demonstrate that government interventions will “always promote faster development than free markets” in the presence of strategic needs (1382). In another study, Abernathy and Chakravarthy suggest that governments looking to assist “highly fragmented and technologically stagnant” industries within

their countries can do so by implementing policies aimed at fueling innovation (15).

Moreover, some studies advocate for direct government interventions in the form of stringent policies and regulations as a potential way to stimulate increased radical innovation (Abernathy and Chakravarthy 14, 16; Patanakul and Pinto 103). By establishing strict policy goals and regulatory standards, governments can propel breakthrough technological innovation and sustainable development by forcing industries to develop brand new technologies that comply with the new requirements (Ashford 2).

Based on the above findings, this paper defines government intervention as the direct, strategic efforts utilized by governments in setting their radical innovation trajectories. Additionally, the operational definition of government intervention refers to the policies, regulations, and incentives implemented by governments aimed at increasing patent activity amongst domestic residents within their countries.

2.3. *Free Markets and Innovation*

While there is extensive research supporting the direct involvement of governments in encouraging innovation within a country, there is also empirical evidence to suggest that innovative activity is highly responsive to demand. As a result, some scholars reason that governments should leave markets untampered to allow innovation to develop unhindered. As one of the earlier advocates of free markets as a means of stimulating innovation, Jacob Schmookler's analysis of railroad patent statistics shows a positive correlation between demand and innovation. This finding supports his argument that ex-

pected profits from inventions is the key influencer of innovative activity (Schmookler 18).

Schmookler's idea that demand influences innovation by providing economic incentives is also supported by more recent studies. Fontana and Guerzoni's 2008 study on a sample of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) in European countries finds that the presence of economic incentives as a result of demand inspires innovation within these enterprises (943). Moreover, their empirical analysis suggests that the SMEs who view customers as their most important contributors of knowledge on market demands also consider innovation to be more economically important for their firms (942). This finding seems to indicate that demand can stimulate radical innovation not only by providing economic incentives, but also by imparting valuable knowledge on market needs that allow firms to reduce uncertainty about expected profits from novel products (Fontana and Guerzoni 927).

In light of the above discussion, free markets refer to access to markets that are characterized by competition and consumer demand. However, it is important to also consider the element of risk in defining free markets. Caggase's study on the effect of uncertainty on innovation reveals that Italian entrepreneur firms who perceive innovative ventures to be risky or volatile are less likely to invest in these projects (288). Thus, the operational definition of free markets within the scope of this discussion is the absence of direct government interventions to stimulate innovation. A lack of direct efforts from governments would imply that innovative individuals and industries have to rely instead on

a free market approach to fuel innovation, focusing on consumer demand but also having to shoulder greater risk in their innovative undertakings.

The comparison of Malaysia and China address the premise that government intervention has a strong influence on innovation. This is done by comparing the countries of Malaysia and China. As state capitalist countries, both governments are indirectly involved in stimulating innovation in efforts to promote economic growth. By analyzing the influence of direct government interventions on the number of invention patents granted to domestic residents of each country, economists are able to examine if government involvement plays a larger role in inducing and sustaining innovation within a country.

3. Analysis

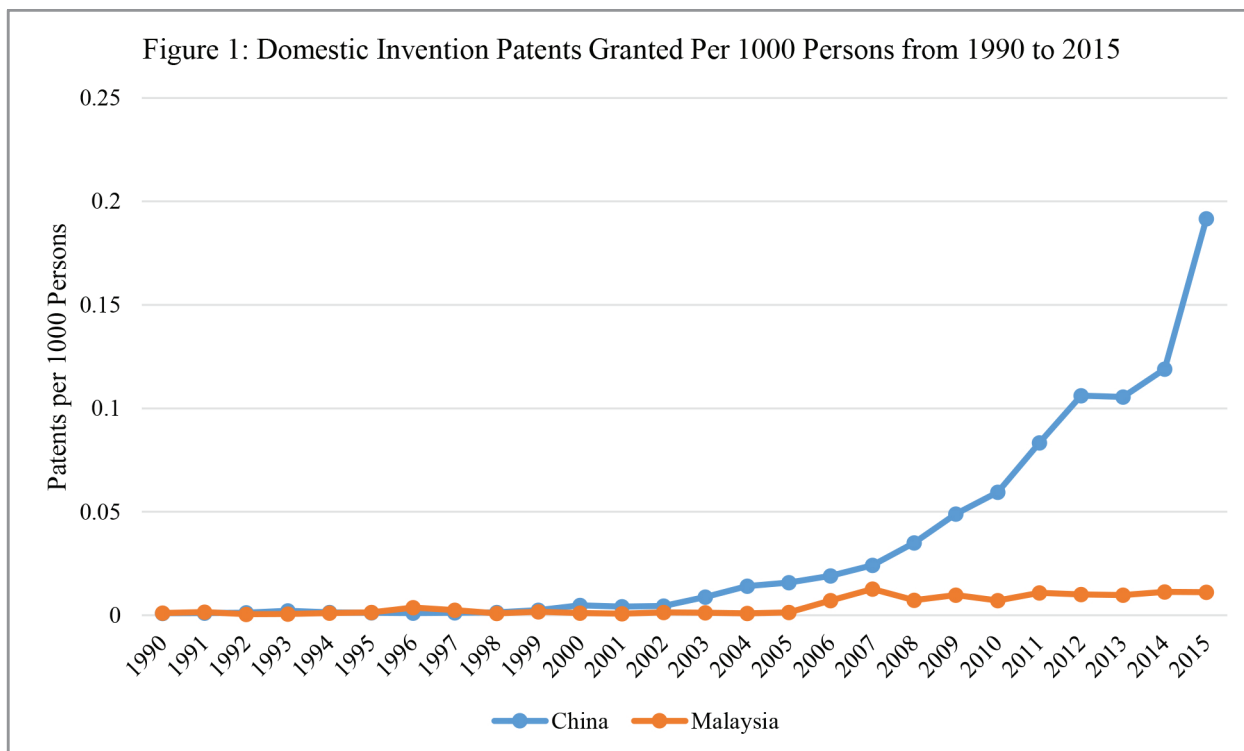
3.1. *Government Intervention in China*

Although China is making headlines today as the top filer of patent applications in the world, this rise in patenting activity is a relatively new phenomenon in the country. In fact, the growth of granted domestic invention patents was relatively stagnant between 1990 and 1998, with only a meager increase from 0.001 to 0.0013 patents per 1000 persons in the span of almost a decade (see figure 1). However, the implementation of numerous policies and regulations aimed at innovation, beginning with a regional patent subsidy scheme in Shanghai in 1999, has coincided with the rapid increase of these numbers. In the span of fifteen years, China experienced an almost 190-fold increase in the number of domestic invention patents granted from 1990, culminating in just over 0.19 patents per 1000 persons in 2015 (see figure 1).

In 1999, Shanghai was the first province in China to launch a patent subsidy policy, which established a fund to subsidize the costs and fees incurred by patentees throughout the patent application and review process (Li 240). In the years that followed the launching of Shanghai's patent subsidy policy, other Chinese provinces gradually implemented similar patent subsidy programs as well. By 2007, 29 out of 30 provinces in Mainland China had such subsidy programs in place (Li 240). This gradual increase in provincial patent subsidy initiatives from 1999 to 2007 coincided with a steady increase in the number of domestic invention patents granted within that same timespan (see figure 1).

In 2005, the State Council of the People's Republic of China unveiled the National Medium- and Long-Term Program for Science and Technology Development in response to China's accession to the World Trade Organization and the provincial implementation of patent promoting policies (2006–2020), also known as S&T MLP. The program set the innovation trajectory for China and established the main framework for the concept of "indigenous innovation," which refers to domestic inventions (Prud'homme, "Dulling the Cutting Edge" 76). The development goals of the program included becoming an "innovation-oriented society," and emerging as one of the top five countries in the world in domestic invention patents granted by 2020 (State Council of the People's Republic of China). The objectives laid out by the State Council within this program provide a clear illustration of China's desire to become a world power in innovation.

Under its guiding principles, the program underscored the strengthening of indigenous



Source: *China Statistical Yearbook 2011*; *WIPO IP Statistics Data Center*; *World Bank Open Data*; calculations

innovation as the “core of its undertakings” (State Council of the People’s Republic of China). Although not specifically defined in the program’s outline, Prud’homme believes that there is solid evidence within other policy documents that define indigenous intellectual property rights as “intellectual property legally owned by Chinese citizens, legal persons, or other organizations through their leading research or creative design” (“Dulling the Cutting Edge” 81). Moreover, numerous policy decisions within the S&T MLP outline favor domestic patentees over their foreign counterparts. For instance, the “Government Procurement Favoring Indigenous Innovation” section within the outline details the government’s first-buy policy for “domestically made... products that possess proprietary intellectual property rights,” thus favoring domestic inventions over foreign in-

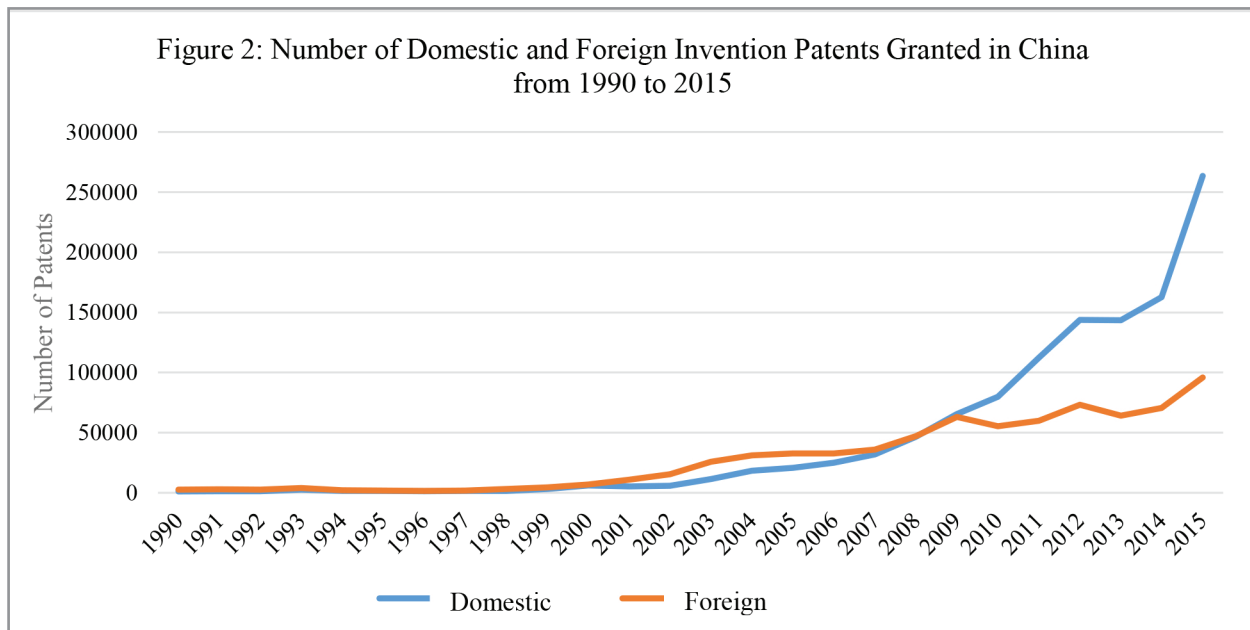
ventions in their purchasing decisions (State Council of the People’s Republic of China). The government also pledged to support enterprises seeking to acquire domestic high-tech equipment (State Council of the People’s Republic of China).

Given the implementation of a highly ambitious national development plan that favored domestic patentees, it is reasonable to believe that the S&T MLP contributed at least partly to the steeper increase in domestic invention patents granted per 1000 persons from 2007 onwards (see figure 1). In addition, we also see the impact of this direct, biased government intervention on the number of foreign invention patents granted. The preferential policies favoring domestic patentees over their foreign counterparts is at least partially responsible for the fact that the number of domestic invention patents grant-

ed surpassed that of foreign invention patents granted in 2008—a trend that has prevailed until 2015 (see figure 2).

Perhaps the strongest evidence that demonstrates the influence of direct government interventions on innovation is the sharp increase in the number of domestic invention patents granted per 1000 persons in 2015. This abrupt spike in patents can be attributed to the numerous patent targets, set by different government agencies, that were scheduled to be realized by 2015. In 2011, the Chinese government channeled their strategic efforts to stimulate domestic innovation into generating increased patenting activity among domestic residents. This renewed focus on patents is enshrined in the nationwide Twelfth Five-Year Plan, which sets the target goal that invention patents granted should be increased to 3.3 patents per 10,000 people by 2015 (Prud’homme, “Dulling the Cutting Edge” 62). In 2012, the State Council of the People’s Republic of China issued a notice calling for the number of invention patents

granted within the country to be tripled compared to the 2010 figures by 2015 (Prud’homme, “Dulling the Cutting Edge” 62). In addition to the aforementioned national efforts to influence innovative activity, China’s State Intellectual Property Office’s (SIPO) also launched the National Patent Development Strategy (2011-2020). To achieve the strategy’s central goal of enhancing China’s capacity to create patents, SIPO has stipulated several goals—all to be met by 2015—to improve the capacity of domestic patentees significantly. For instance, the strategy aims for China to have 2 million domestic patent applications filed annually by 2015 (State Intellectual Property Office). Apart from its specific focus on patents, the National Patent Development Strategy is also one of the first government initiatives to provide greater emphasis on its invention patents, deemed to be of higher quality than its utility model and design patents (Prud’homme, “China’s shifting patent landscape” 260). SIPO stipulated that by 2015, China will rank “among the top



Source: *China Statistical Yearbook 2011*; *WIPO IP Statistics Data Center*

two in the world” in terms of the number of domestic invention patents granted annually. This signals a gradual shift away from China’s initial innovation trajectory, which prioritized quantity over quality.

Furthermore, when factoring the near 150 other provincial and municipal quantitative patent targets slated to be met by 2015, the collective targets of policies and strategies set by various levels of government could be one reason for the sharp increase in the number of domestic invention patents granted per 1000 people in 2015 (see figure 1). With 0.1917 patents per 1000 people that year, 2015 saw a 61.2% increase in domestic invention patents compared to figures in 2014, and the aforementioned quantitative patent-related targets appear to be responsible for this staggering growth rate.

Another case that exhibits the magnitude of the influence of government interventions on innovation can be seen through the aftermath of a notice issued by the State Council in late 2011 banning measures linking indigenous innovation policies and government procurement incentive measures within documents from all levels of local governments beginning December 1st 2011 (Prud’homme, “Dulling the Cutting Edge” 77). This notice outlawing the provision of preferential financial support to domestic patentees is perhaps an explanation as to why the growth in domestic invention patents granted, which had been increasing steadily since 1999, plateaued in 2012 and 2013 (see figure 1). This trend suggests that direct government intervention could work both ways; not only is it capable of influencing the forward development of innovation, but certain policies may also contribute to a drop in innovative activity.

The relationship between the Chinese government’s policies and incentives aimed at promoting innovation and the patterns in its domestic invention patent grants over the years provides empirical support for the argument that government interventions have a strong influence on innovation. The next section of this paper examines the development of the innovation trajectory in Malaysia, which has received little direct help from its government, and can thus be said to rely heavily on a free market approach to fuel innovation.

3.2. Government Intervention and Free Markets in Malaysia

Perhaps the only significant instance of government intervention in stimulating innovation that can be found in Malaysia was the implementation of the National Intellectual Property Policy (NIPP) in 2007. With a 5 billion ringgit (approximately \$1.47 billion) fund dedicated to the successful enactment of the NIPP, the Malaysian government was able to reserve a specific allocation of that money for the creation of an intellectual property (IP) fund to assist individuals and companies finance their IP application (World Intellectual Property Organization Secretariat, 47). A significant portion of the RM5 billion endowments also went to the setting up of an Intellectual Property court, which would facilitate more efficient hearings on cases of infringement (Habib 1).

It is important to note that the NIPP was not formulated solely to stimulate patenting activity, but to generate a wide range of IP-related activities. These activities include applying for copyrights, trademarks, and other forms of intellectual property (World In-

lectual Property Organization Secretariat, 47). Although then Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi announced his hopes that the policy would spur innovative ideas among Malaysians (Habib 1), the NIPP does not explicitly champion indigenous innovation over foreign innovation.

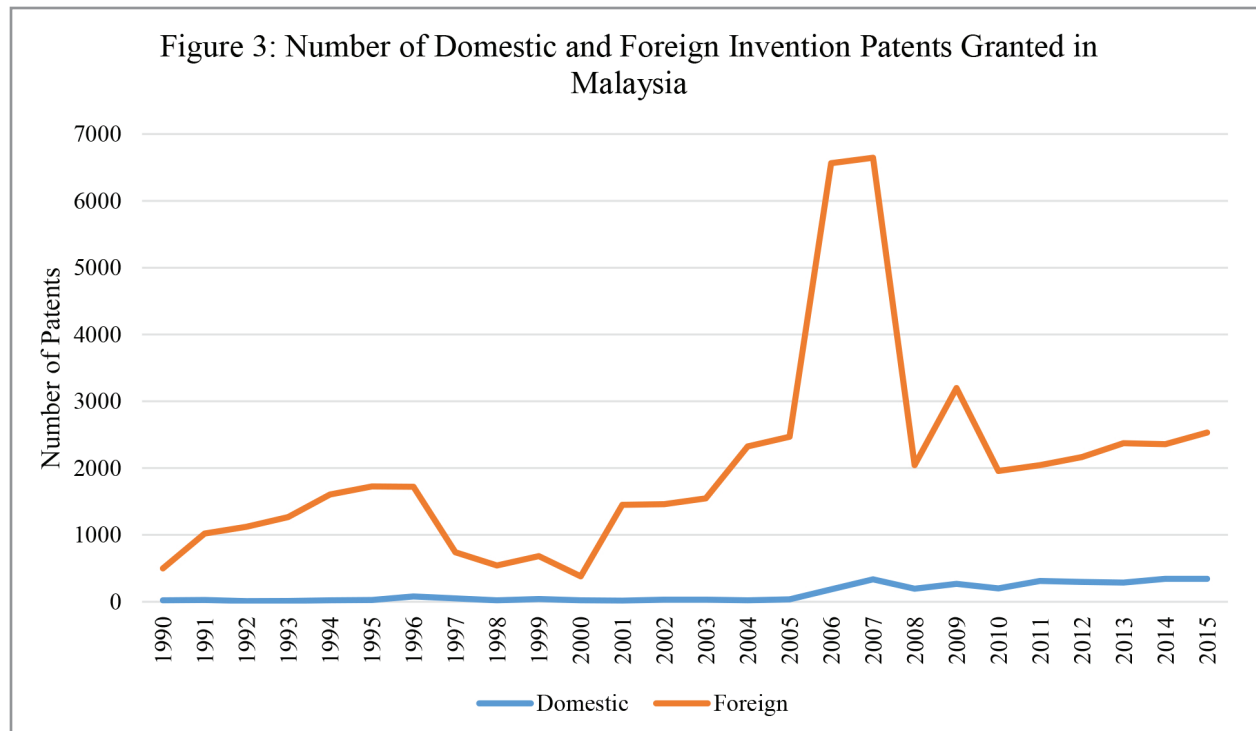
Given the information above, the NIPP could have been the primary cause of the number of domestic invention patents granted in Malaysia peaking at 0.0127 patents per 1000 persons in 2007 (see figure 2 source). Additionally, given that foreign individuals and enterprises in Malaysia were also able to benefit from the NIPP, the number of foreign invention patents granted in Malaysia also peaked in 2007 (see figure 3 source).

Apart from the NIPP, there has not been other similarly direct and significant efforts on the part of the Malaysian government in promoting innovative activity within the country. In fact, in 2008, the number of do-

mestic invention patents granted dropped by 41.4% to 0.0073 patents per 1000 persons, which is almost identical to the figure in 2006. The finding that patenting activity peaked around the time of the launching of the NIPP in Malaysia draws greater support for the hypothesis that government intervention plays a pivotal role in stimulating creative and innovative capabilities amongst citizens of a country.

3.3. Other explanations

Although direct government interventions in China seem to have succeeded in spurring innovation, as evidenced by its steady surge in invention patents granted to local patentees, Long and Wang have argued that the ability to surpass quantitative targets of innovation does not speak to the quality of these domestic invention patents (1). While it is true that China has long prioritized the quantity of its innovative outputs



Source: WIPO IP Statistics Data Center

over their quality in its frenzy to emerge as one of the most innovative countries in the world, some researchers contend that this fixation on numbers is merely the first step in China's evolving innovation development strategy (Prud'homme, "China's shifting patent landscape" 622). This claim seems to be supported by recent efforts by the Chinese government to shift toward a greater emphasis on patent quality. An example of this is the country's National Patent Development Strategy (2011-2020), which one of the first government initiatives with a stronger emphasis on relatively high-quality invention patents.

Despite more recent policies and strategies recognizing the importance of ensuring quality when setting patent-related targets, scholars argue that this form of top-down spending and regulation to stimulate innovation is unsustainable (Abrami, et al.). Indeed, true innovation must be nurtured, and existing literature indicates that this can be accomplished through an education system aimed at fostering innovation amongst its students (Hanushek 204). The Chinese education system, which centers on high-stakes testing, has long been criticized for producing the world's highest test scores at the expense of "diverse, creative, and innovative talents" (Zhao 9). By rewarding students' ability to provide the correct answers in examinations, the education system encourages conformity and homogenized thinking, while discouraging the act of questioning authority (Zhao 130, 133, 177). Such reliance on memorization and rote learning is antithetical to innovation, which requires the ability to synthesize new solutions and pose questions that have not been asked before (Zhao 133).

Furthermore, when it comes to government interventions in education, policies and reforms aimed at improving the Chinese education system have not proven to be as successful as similar efforts in innovation. As early as 1997, the Chinese Ministry of Education has denounced its "exam-oriented education," and has issued a series of drastic reforms over the past 30 years in efforts to promote "quality education" (*suzhi jiaoyu*) that fosters motivation and creativity amongst students (Zhao 139). Examples of such reforms include outlawing the use of exams for middle school admission and banning intensive Math Olympiad classes (Zhao 148, 149). However, most of these reforms have fallen short of expectations, largely due to the lack of compliance and uneven implementation by local governments (Zhao 149). Today, many scholars argue that the Chinese education system and its participants remain fixated with test scores, providing little room for freedom to pursue ideas—a necessary precondition for innovation (Abrami et al.).

Conversely, the Malaysian government's commitment to reforming its education system, which has also been criticized in the past for its heavy emphasis on test scores, has been met with notable success (Tan and Arshad 174). Instead of issuing policies and regulations outlawing certain age-old practices and expecting instant compliance, the Ministry of Education in Malaysia has opted for a more incremental approach in transforming its exam-oriented education system. This provides students, teachers, and government officials with more time to better adapt to these new improvements, which in turn results in greater compliance and better outcomes.

A prime example of the Malaysian government's slow, but steady, approach to education reform is the incorporation of higher-order thinking skills (HOTS) into the education system. HOTS nurture the ability of students to find innovative solutions to problems, thus fostering their ability to pursue creative and innovative ventures in their future careers. Since 1990, efforts have been made to introduce teachers to HOTS through a series of training programs and workshops (*Rakyat Post*). Although HOTS have been taught in classrooms long before 2013, it was not until 2013 that the Ministry of Education began requiring that the Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia (SPM) examinations, a national examination taken by final-year secondary school students in Malaysia, include HOTS questions ("*Malaysia Education Blueprint 2013-2025*" E-28). In 2013, 20% of all questions on the exam were comprised of HOTS questions, and this proportion was gradually increased to 50% in 2016 ("*Malaysia Education Blueprint 2013-2025*" E-11). This more gradual approach to reforming the education system has resulted in greater compliance amongst government agencies and teachers ("*Malaysia Education Blueprint 2013-2025*" E-28).

Although these efforts to improve the education system are relatively new in Malaysia, the existing research on the importance of quality education in fostering innovation suggests that there is reason to remain optimistic about the country's innovative future (Hanushek 2004). These slow, but comparably more effective, changes could eventually result in an education system that is capable of instilling an innovation-oriented mindset amongst the new generation of Malaysian

citizens, which may lead to a steady rise in high-quality patents as well as other innovative outcomes.

4. Conclusion

It is clear that innovation remains an essential condition for economic growth. Due to its importance, multiple countries are scrambling to improve the innovative capabilities of their citizens. This paper set out to examine whether government interventions has the biggest influence on innovation within a country. After analyzing patterns in patent activity in both China and Malaysia, which seem to coincide with government efforts targeting innovative activity, this paper determines that government intervention has a strong influence on innovation. The relatively stagnant growth of invention patents in the absence of greater government intervention in Malaysia provides further support that governments play an important role in stimulating innovative activity within a country. Moreover, government influence could work both ways, as evidenced by the decline in domestic invention patents in China after the 2011 State Council notice banned the linkage of government procurement initiatives and indigenous innovation policies.

However, it is important to note that top-down government policies and regulations are not sustainable methods of promoting innovation. Given the debate over patent quality in China, it can be said that government interventions that are too stringent and too focused on ambitious quantitative targets may compromise the quality of innovative output. When patents are filed for the sake of filling quotas or becoming eligible for certain financial rewards, it is difficult to guarantee

the innovative quality of these patents, or even their ability to meet consumer demand. Consequently, education could nurture true innovation amongst citizens of a country.

Future research would benefit from a closer examination of the influence of education systems on fostering innovative capabilities amongst citizens. For instance, an in-depth analysis of classroom learning techniques and teaching methods that are most effective

at instilling critical thinking, creativity, and other skills conducive to innovative thinking would offer practical suggestions to improving a country's education system. Additional comparative case studies between nations with differing education structures might also provide valuable insight into the feasibility of relying on education to ensure sustainable development of a nation's innovation trajectory.

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