



EXTENDED INVESTIGATION 2022

‘Do the eroticised worlds of post-17th-century European fairy tales depict the sexualisation of female adolescents?’

VCAA Student Number: 20103044F

Word Count: 4375

VCE Extended Investigation Final Written Thesis

Abstract

This thesis investigates the notorious fairy tales of *Sleeping Beauty*, *Rapunzel*, and *Little Red Cap*, and whether these tales exhibit themes of sexuality associated with their female adolescent protagonists. This investigation is presented through a feminist frame because of the critical approach feminist theory applies to female identities/roles/structures within literature (Srebnicki, 2016). The undertaken research is intended to provide sufficient evidence to support the claim that there are extensive examples of the sexualisation of female adolescents in fairy tales. Findings from this research will contribute to the knowledge base of female adolescent sexualisation in *Sleeping Beauty*, *Rapunzel*, and *Little Red Cap*, alongside further insight into their precursors, *Sun, Moon and Talia*, *Persinette*, and *Little Red Riding Hood (LRRH)*. Conclusions drawn from this research will also assist in understanding how the sexualisation of female adolescents in fairy tales impacts female identity, and potentially contribute to current feminist theory regarding the consumption of fairytales that remain untouched by modern-day alterations (Feguson, 2017).

Throughout the investigation, the researcher identified patriarchal society as a constant component, rendering thematic concerns regarding patriarchy irrelevant. However, instances of female sexual maturation within fairytales became apparent. A gap exists in prior research concerning the prominent examples of sexual maturation, sexual assault, and female adolescent sexuality in fairy tales. Therefore the investigation has determined that there is a lack of thematic academic exploration between examples of sexuality found in the selected tales. This researcher's objective to identify consistent motifs in *Sleeping Beauty*, *Rapunzel*, *Little Red Cap* and their precursors to support the claim that there are extensive examples of female adolescent sexualisation in fairy tales and to answer the research question; '*Do the eroticised worlds of post-17th-century European fairy tales depict the sexualisation of female adolescents?*'.

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Acknowledgements

Once upon a time...

A young girl decided to walk through the woodlands, to thank those who dedicated their time to support her in writing a thesis. Firstly, she knocked on the door of her teachers home, thanking her the invaluable insight, kindness, and patience she provided. Secondly, she found her parents out collecting wood for the fire, and she thanking them for their love and care. Finally, she thanked the centurial storytellers who have weaved magic through the hearts, minds and souls of eager children, listening to tales by the fire upon a loved one's lap, waiting patiently for the next page to turn.

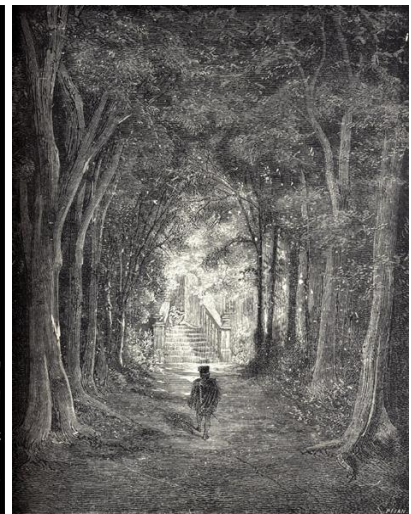
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{Fig. 1}



{Fig. 2}



{Fig. 3}

Introduction

Fairy tales and their increased publication began as a literary trend in 17th century France. Emerging from an oral storytelling tradition, written, literary fairy tales first appeared just over three centuries ago. Originally intended for adults, the genre gradually evolved into a leading element of children's literature (Grenby, 2014). Hearing the tales for the first time—sitting, most likely, at a woman's knee—the impressionable little girl, like centuries of readers before her, comes under the enduring spell of these tales (Fisher & Silber, 2000).

Rooted in sociocultural critique and in the controversy “about what is biologically determined is what is learned”, early feminist criticism of fairy tales, as seen in the Lurie-Lieberman (1970) debate, was principally concerned with the genre's representation of females and the effects of these representations on gender identity and behaviour of children in particular (Hasse, 2004). Therefore this research aims to identify the depiction of sexualised female adolescents in an effort to better understand their intended and perceived representation in specific fairy tales.

One of the primary ‘luminosities’ (Deleuze & McRobbie, 2008) surrounding girls in fairy tales as both bearers of power and objects of risk centres on girls' relationship to sexuality and entry into sexual womanhood (Renold and Ringrose, 2013). Female sexuality is a topic that has been discussed for centuries, and exposure to depictions of female sexuality has become more prevalent for audiences today (Bernhardt, 2019). Examples of sexual maturation can be found in each of the selected tales, such as the assault of Little Red or the cutting of Rapunzel's hair (Stallman, 1969), but is particularly prominent in *Sleeping Beauty*, for the story has been thought to map female sexual maturation, with the touching of the spindle representing the onset of puberty, a kind of sexual awakening that leads to a passive, introspective period of latency (Tatar, 2012). Andrew Jones argues that female development is, as Bettelheim asserts, portrayed in and through fairy tales (Jones, 2011).

Literature Review

What is a fairy tale?

Despite its prolific use, the term ‘fairy tale’ is not easily defined, nor is it compatible with just one definition (Haase, 2008). The term fairy tale is no older than the late seventeenth century, when the nobility of the French Court and the ladies of the Parisian literary salons told the first contes de fées¹, and when Charles Perrault published his famous collection of tales (Orenstein, 2002). In folklorists’ terms, the fairy tale is simply a genre of stories — distinct from myth, legend, or nursery rhyme — that share certain common elements (Orenstein, 2002).

Kate Forsyth (2012) believes fairy tales encourage and supply deep psychological resonance because of the ancient mythic structures and symbols that work at an unconscious level. Similarly, Maurice Sendak believed that fairy tales always work on two levels: ‘first as stories; secondly, as the unravelling of deep psychological dramas’ (in Wintle & Fisher 1974, et al Forsyth 2016). Thus, exploration into the psychological effects of fairy tales often leads to revealing sexual and erotic themes — themes that may impact a reader without their knowledge. (Bettelheim, 1976).

A brief history of the fairy tale

The term ‘fairy tale’ is believed to have been coined by the French literary elite in the late 17th century in reference to the emergence of a new literary genre that developed in the literary salons held predominantly by women (Stein, 2015; Zipes 1975). The canonical literary fairy tale, which includes classics such as *Sleeping Beauty*, *Rapunzel* and *Little Red*, were popularised in Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries by authors such as the Grimm Brothers and Charles Perrault (Goldberg, Joosen, 2008). For centuries, specifically from the 17th century onwards, dysfunctional dynamics within fairy tales, such as the presence of the “evil stepmother” or the “prince charming” archetype, encouraged misogynistic objectives to

¹ Contes de fées: the French translation for ‘fairy tales’

female readers. This enacts a drastic chain reaction in terms of promoting predatory and patriarchal ideals across generations (Rowe, 1979).

Sleeping Beauty & Sun, Moon and Talia

The tale that we know as 'Sleeping Beauty' (see Fig. 5-6) made its earliest well-known literary debut in the Western world as 'Sun, Moon and Talia' in 1634-6 when Giambattista Basile's *The Tale of Tales* or *The Pentamarone*, was published after his death. (Chamberlain, 2009). In Basile's story "Sun, Moon, and Talia", Talia gets a piece of flax under her fingernail and falls down dead. The Grimm's story of Sleeping Beauty (1812) is considered a truncated version of Giambattista Basile's "Sun, Moon, and Talia" (1636) and Charles Perrault's "Sleeping Beauty in the Wood" (1697) (Tatar 2012), and is reminiscent of the past tales of rape, adultery and cannibalism (Humiski, 2021).



{Fig. 5}



{Fig. 6}

Rapunzel & Persinette

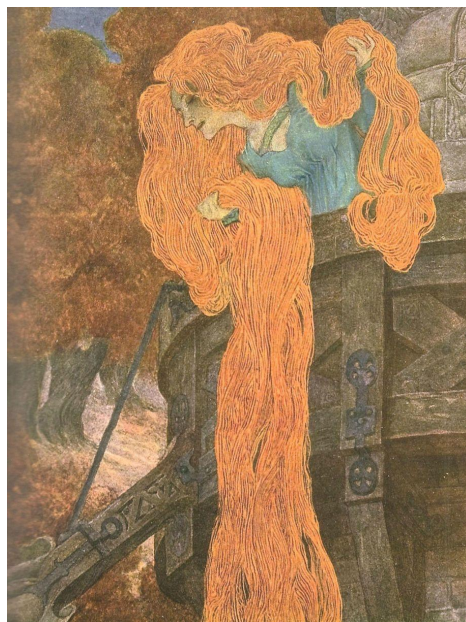
Almost a hundred years after La Force wrote 'Persinette', her tale made its way over the Alps and was transformed at last into the tale known as 'Rapunzel' (Forsyth 2016). There is no distinct pilgrimage between La Force's 17th century 'Persinette' and Grimm's 18th-century

‘Rapunzel’, although, the tale can be traced far and wide, even to medieval Christian accounts of imprisoned virgins (Forsyth 2016). Most readers of the Western canon of fairy tales are familiar with ‘Rapunzel’ (see Fig. 7), thanks to its inclusion by the Grimm brothers in their famous collections of tales, *Kinder-und-Hausmärchen*, first published in 1812 (Forsyth 2016).

According to Kate Forsyth, ‘Rapunzel/Persinette’ (see Fig. 8) it tells the transformative journey from the stasis and shadows to liberation and light. *“It is largely a story about feminine power. The key narrative arc is about a girl-child being dominated by her mother-figure, growing up and breaking free, but then finding herself a mother too, in time. It’s the women who count in ‘Rapunzel’: the mother who gives up her daughter for a handful of bitter greens, the witch who locks her up in the tower, the girl who gives birth to her twins in the wilderness by herself. Three women, three stories.”* (Forsyth 2016).



{Fig. 7}



{Fig. 8}

Little Red Cap & Little Red Riding Hood

A girl, a wolf, a meeting in the woods. Who doesn't know the story of Little Red Riding Hood? (Orenstein, 2002) She is the symbol of childhood innocence — or so we think. Little Red Cap and Little Red Riding Hood host a variety of interpretations (see Fig. 9-10). Tellers have consciously and subconsciously manipulated the plot to portray a seduction by a

temptress, the rape of a virgin, or the passage of a young girl into womanhood (Orenstein, 2002). In the earliest written version of the tale, the girl strips off her clothes, joins the beast under the covers — and dies (Orenstein, 2002). Some critics read the tale as a parable of rape, others as a parable of man-hating, and others as a blueprint for female development (Tatar 2012).



{Fig. 9}



{Fig. 10}

Representations of Female adolescents in fairy tales

Feminist theory in fairy tales is commonly discussed in correlation to archetypal relationships involving the female adolescent, the reader, a burdensome mother or a fantasised prince; these relationships determine the functionality of a fairy tale and are embedded within matriarchal myth. Fairy tales enact a cycle of female disconnection (Fisher & Silber, 2000). The [adolescent] girl in the Brothers Grimm tales needing female models to empower her, is abandoned by women through early death or fiendish harassment (Fisher & Silber, 2000). Through studying adolescents in *Meeting at the Crossroads* (1992), Lyn Mikel Brown and Carol Gilligan noticed that for many girls on the cusp of womanhood, self-silencing becomes the “right” way to behave: it is socially acceptable for girls to withhold negative feelings, “covering dislike with lies” (179) (Fisher & Silber, 2000). Classical fairy tales recount true

female adolescent experience under patriarchy, a world in which innocent young women are set against their sisters and mothers in rivalry for the prince's favour (Fisher & Silber, 2000).

As the earliest feminist critics of fairy tales all agreed, women in the best-known tales were either beautiful, slumbering young girls or powerful, usually wicked and grotesque older women (Zheng, 2013). Alongside this, there is a common association across classic fairy tales between women's speech, seduction, and death, which has resulted in a long-standing tradition of warning women not to talk to strangers lest they unwittingly seduce them (Widdows, 2018). Furthermore, according to Baiqing Zheng (2013), the tendency to reduce a woman to an inert and passive object reveals the unrealistic simplification of human relationships. The objectification of women is fundamentally related to male fear of female power. Whether a female character is passive or assertive, fairy tales consistently fortify the notion that her choices will eventually kill her, revealing only dead-end possibilities for female destiny (Fisher & Silber, 2000).



{Fig. 4}

Sexualisation & eroticisation in fairy tales

It is sexual desire, often intertwined with the desire for power over another human being, that comes to the forefront of eroticized fairy tales (Jorgensen, 2008). Public and private anxieties over the eroticised child have long circulated throughout history (Egan and Hawkes, 2010). Since fairy tales have been incorporated into children's literature over the past two centuries, there is also an element of gleeful perversion in eroticised fairy tales (Jorgensen, 2008). The

use of desire and female sexuality as a propelling force, both positive and negative, is found in the 20th-century feminist revisionist stories of Angela Carter (Bernhardt, 2019), but is harder to identify in historical fairy tales. Despite the considerable investigation into the nature of female sexuality and the manner in which it has been portrayed over the years, debate remains regarding what is acceptable and what is not (Bernhardt, 2019).

Relationships in fairy tales

Trained to regard other women as adversaries, female protagonists in the tales never find contentment in the company of compassionate mothers, other female relations, or friends (Fisher & Silber, 2000). This aggrieved relationship with feminine influence between fairy tale characters consequently guides the relationship between adolescent readers and desire for their own happily-ever-after; a fantasy world emptied of all women and only home to a desirable male figure.

Maiden, Mother, Crone

German feminist scholar Heide Göttner-Abendroth [believes] that fairy tales are ‘veiled myth’ ... shrouded in matriarchal mythology, being the *Maiden-Mother-Crone* figures (Göttner-Abendroth, 1995). The Maiden-Mother-Crone narratives were transformed under the patriarchal forces of Christianity, for *‘Eroticism... was condemned in favour of the principles of universal chastity, and the female figures were accordingly reinterpreted’* (Göttner-Abendroth, 1995, p. 237). Göttner-Abendroth’s theories of suppressed matriarchal myths concealed within the structure of fairy tales have a wide impact on contemporary feminist re-readings of many tales (Haase, 2004).

The Maiden is also known as the Mistress of the Woodlands (Conway, 1994), and in folklore, the woodlands are associated with transformation; often sexual maturation. The Maiden is aware of her sexuality; she is synonymous with the physical stages of puberty, often the beginning of menstruation (Conway, 1994) – a common reference in fairy tales, for example, Little Red’s “red cap”.

Maiden & Male Figure:

Another key figure in the ancient matriarchal myth of *Maiden-Mother-Crone*, according to Göttner-Abendroth (1995), is the *Heros*. The *hero* must suffer through some kind of initiation

of rite to be worthy of becoming the lover of the maiden (Forsyth, 2016). The rejection of the mother leads to the patriarchal relationship of maiden and prince. In fairy tales, the innocent, virtuous female protagonist *must* reject identification with or empathy for her depraved maternal nemesis, illustrating Freud's theory that "good" girls' rejection of the women who mother them is only "normal" (Fisher & Silber, 2000). This justified rejection then creates the space (and *need*) for our princesses to seek the ideal romantic relationship with the patriarchal designee: a rich and handsome prince (Fisher & Silber, 2000).

Methodology

This investigation chose a case study method in which content analysis was utilised to answer the question ‘*Do the eroticised worlds of post-17th-century European fairy tales depict the sexualisation of female adolescents?*’ through a qualitative data analysis of secondary data. Qualitative methodologies are recommended for answering “questions about experience, meaning and perspective, most often from the standpoint of the participant” (Hammarberg et al., 2016: 499), and will aid in reviewing existing literature to support and explore thematic concerns embedded within the 6 selected versions of *Sleeping Beauty*, *Rapunzel*, and *Little Red* (Long-Sutehall, 2011). Secondary data analysis refers to the analysis of previously collected data that will be re-analysed to explore new research questions (Szabo & Strang, 1997).

The fairy tale annotations of scholar Maria Tatar (2012) formed the basis of the annotations, however, an original framework was developed to accommodate consistent motifs. The number of motifs studied was determined by thematic saturation, a methodological approach in qualitative research used to determine when no new themes are identified (Saunders et al., 2018). The study consists of the codification of existing published data through thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2012), with cross-referencing used to identify consistent motifs (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). Data sources for this study include publicly available literature such as the selected tales, literary analysis, essays, and articles.

Case selection

An original selection criteria was devised to select an appropriate cross-section of familiar tales that include an adolescent female protagonist:

1. Each tale must have been produced between 1630 and 1820 to accommodate prominent fairy tale writers of the 17th Century onwards.
2. Each tale must have a female adolescent protagonist.
3. Each version must be written in English or translation.

The criteria was designed to ensure that the selected tales were recognisable yet varied, so

that the repetition of consistent motifs could be identified. Three overarching Grimm's tales due to their prevalence were selected, and each of those tales are accompanied by a precursor version. For the purpose of the research, the selected tale and its precursor were predominantly viewed as *one* due to the consistency in tale type².

The versions selected were:

1. *Sun, Moon and Talia* by **Giambattista Basile**. 17th Century, 1634
2. *The Sleeping Beauty* by **The Brothers Grimm**. 19th Century, 1812
3. *Persinette* by **Charlotte-Rose de Caumont de La Force**. 17th Century, 1698
4. *Rapunzel* by **The Brothers Grimm**. 19th Century, 1812
5. *Little Red Riding Hood* by **Charles Perrault**. 17th Century, 1697
6. *Little Red Cap* by **The Brothers Grimm**. 19th Century, 1812

Analysis

Analysis of each tale was conducted using close reading methodology (Tunnell, Jacobs, Young, Bryan, 2000). The researcher employed qualitative scholarly methodology of compiling the close readings of literary scholars and combined with their own close reading to generate annotations (see appendices).

Ethics

The ethical implications of the research are minimal, as all analysis is based on previously-published literature, and therefore no concerns exist around consent, confidentiality, or anonymity (Ruggiano & Perry, 2019). Nevertheless, due to the study's focus on depictions of sexualised female adolescents, the researcher must remain mindful of the sensitivity surrounding cases of sexual violence, alongside other traumatising events experienced by female characters and how said events affect impressionable readers. Sexual violence has become the taboo subject of feminist theory today (Mardorossian, 2002) and

² Tale types refer recurring plot patterns in folk-tales. Motifs form the plot-patterns, repeated story-elements, and aid interpretation and analysis

does not meet NHMRC ethical research guidelines, rendering semi-structured interviews and the coding of expected transcripts irrelevant and inappropriate.

Limitations

The researcher has chosen *Rapunzel*, *Little Red Cap*, *Sleeping Beauty* and their precursors due to the sexual themes present in each tale. The researcher is limited to their own findings, which allows them to formulate data through analysis. As qualitative secondary data analysis is being undertaken, selection bias (Ellenberg, 1994) may occur. Selection bias can arise when sources are chosen to, for example, fit the research question being asked or expected findings (i.e. predatory examples in fairy tales) (Collier & Mahoney, 1996).

Due to the exploration into current literature the researcher is not at risk of their assumptions regarding the prominent examples of sexualisation being proved incorrect. Moreover, the researcher is limited to the examples of sexualisation found within their 3 tales of choice, prohibiting them from sourcing vast amounts of data (Lyons, 2015) and encouraging the study to cease once a satisfactory inspection of the tales is completed.

Discussion and Findings

Consistent Motifs

Through annotation of ‘*Sun, Moon and Talia*’, ‘*The Sleeping Beauty*’, ‘*Persinette*’, ‘*Rapunzel*’, ‘*Little Red Riding Hood*’, and ‘*Little Red Cap*’, the researcher found 12 consistent motifs (*Table 1*) integral to each tale and each serve as an independent finding. Their connection to the underlying sexuality and eroticism of each tale is substantial. Within the annotations (*see appendices*), each motif is supported by textual evidence and briefly explained. Motifs 1-8 present the underlying sexuality and eroticism of each tale with greater intensity and will be the focus of discussion. Motifs 9-12 are exempt from discussion on account of exhibiting sexual and erotic examples to a lesser degree, but form the foundation for sexual and erotic themes to occur.

| <i>The Consistent Motifs:</i> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Sexual maturation, sexual awakening, & virginity |
| 2. Passive beauty |
| 3. Maiden, Mother, Crone |
| 4. Non-consensual sexual acts |
| 5. Birth |
| 6. Innocence, curiosity, & desire |
| 7. Male figure - predator / hero |
| 8. Eroticism |
| 9. Beauty as the principal descriptor of a female adolescent |
| 10. Naming |
| 11. The woods <i>or similiar</i> |

| |
|-------------------------------------|
| 12. Isolation from parental figures |
|-------------------------------------|

{Table 1: Consistent Motifs}

Analysis of Motifs in Tales

Sleeping Beauty & Sun, Moon and Talia - Sexual Maturation, Sexual Awakening, & Virginity

Adolescence is a period of great and rapid change, characterized by periods of utter passivity and lethargy alternating with frantic activity, even dangerous behavior to ‘prove oneself’ or discharge inner tension (Berk, 1994; Hurlock, 1999, et al Sanyal & Dasgupta, 2017). Sleeping Beauty falls into deep sleep at a crucial point in her psychosexual development which may be explained in the light of “Each reawakening or re-birth symbolizes the reaching of a higher stage of maturity and understanding” (Bettelheim, 1978). In his treatment of ‘Sleeping Beauty’, Bettelheim interprets the “curse” of the thirteenth wise woman fated to befall the young maiden in the fifteenth year of her age as symbolic of the arrival of puberty (Sanyal & Dasgupta, 2017). Sexual awakening, and the isolation which accompanies it in the natural transition from childhood to adulthood, cannot be avoided (Sanyal & Dasgupta, 2017).

Sleeping Beauty & Sun, Moon, and Talia - Passive Beauty

The story of Sleeping Beauty has been thought to map female sexual maturation, with the touching of the spindle representing the onset of puberty, a kind of sexual awakening that leads to a passive, introspective period of latency (Tatar, 2012). As well as sexualising the voices of women, “Sun, Moon, and Talia” and various Sleeping Beauty tales have also sexualised female silence and passivity (Widdows, 2018). The quintessential female heroine of the fairy tale, Sleeping Beauty, is the fabled passive princess who awaits liberation from a prince (Tatar 2012) and is entirely devoid of agency (Chamberlain, 2009). Ancient as "The Sleeping Beauty" is,' Bettelheim writes, 'in many ways it has a more important message for today's youth than many other tales (Chamberlain, 2009). Bettelheim's use of this fairy tale

to analyse and rationalise the condition of the pubescent female is problematic as it is founded on the patriarchal assumption of the superior desirability of the natural sleeping princess, but it does raise a particularly pertinent observation: it is the most popular fairy tales that need to be questioned. (Chamberlain, 2009)



{Fig. 11}

Rapunzel & Persinette - Maiden, Mother, Crone

In La Force's 1697 '*Persinette*', now recognised as the memplex of '*Rapunzel*', the heroine of the tale begins as a maiden, kept virginal in a high place by the crone. She needs the hero, who undergoes an initiatory rite in his quest to woo her. Eventually, the two consummate their Sacred Marriage and the maiden becomes a woman, impregnated with twins. The heroine and hero are both wounded by the crone, symbolically and physically, and are separated from one another, eventually to be reunited and healed because of the healing tears of the maiden-become-mother (Forsyth, 2016).

The mother figure is depicted in each female figure present within the tale. It begins with Rapunzel's birth mother exchanging her unborn daughter for the bitter greens, stolen from the crone's walled garden. Eventually, the witchy crone serves as an evil mother figure to the

maiden, Rapunzel. Once impregnated, Rapunzel abandons her maidenhood, becoming a mother herself.

Little Red Cap & Little Red Riding Hood - Non-Consensual Sexual Acts

Perrault's version of *LLRH* (see Fig. 12) exhibits multiple scenes in which the Wolf's intentions to rape the adolescent female protagonist is evident (Tatar, 2012). Hidden behind the coded words "gobbled up", the sexually suggestive irony of Perrault's narrations indicates that he sought to appeal to the erotic and playful side of [upper class] adult readers who took pleasure in naughty stories of seduction (Zipes, 1983).

Rapunzel & Persinette - Birth

In 1815, the Grimm's decided to revise their collection of tales to make it suitable for children. Wilhelm [did so] by deleting "every phrase unsuitable for children" — This meant removing virtually every reference to premarital pregnancy. In the first edition of the *Nursery and Household Tales*, Rapunzel's daily romps up in the tower with the prince have weighty consequences: "Tell me, God-mother, why my clothes are so tight and why they don't fit me any longer," contrasting the second edition in which Rapunzel simply asks why she is so much harder to pull up to the window than the prince, betraying herself to the witch in a less controversial manner.' (Tatar 2012)

Rapunzel & Persinette - Innocence, Curiosity, & Desire

Innocence, curiosity, and desire are embedded within the infamous tale from beginning to end. Sexual desire, which manifests through curiosity and leads to the 'innocent' conception of twins may appear to be the most notable form of desire in Rapunzel, but it is insatiable feminine desire that characterises the tale (Vellenga, 1992). A young mother-to-be becomes affected with a desire for parsley so great that her husband sacrifices the child to save his wife (Vellenga, 1992). That the mother's craving lies at the heart of the tale is confirmed by the title, the daughter's name: "Persinette," meaning Little Parsley (Vellenga, 1992). Rapunzel/Persinette is the enchanted object of desire in the fairy-tale (Sanyal & Dasgupta, 2017). Additionally, she is an exemplar of innocence, and becomes pregnant with no

understanding of how it came to be. Consistently, the desired objects of these fairy-tale women are concrete in nature (Fisher & Silber, 2000). However, whenever a female character in the tales articulates physical craving, satisfaction of that appetite leads to her near-death or another's suffering (Fisher & Silber, 2000).



{Fig. 20}

Sleeping Beauty & Sun, Moon and Talia - Male Figure

The male figures in the various tales of 'Sleeping Beauty' cannot contain their 'being on fire with love' with the *object* in front of them - consequently, Basile's King 'gathered the fruits of love', Perrault's Prince 'fell on his knees before her', whilst Grimm's Prince 'leaned over her and gave her a kiss' (Chamberlain, 2009).

Little Red Cap & Little Red Riding Hood - Male Figure

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France, sexual assault became a greater discussion, "rapt and rape was described as violent, criminal offenses" (Johnson, 2003). Families in these time periods feared that their children, like Little Red, would be fooled by people like the wolf and be taken and assaulted (Johnson, 2003). In the 16th and 17th centuries, the cultural fear of wolves was strengthened by the virtual epidemic of trials

against men accused of being werewolf's, similar to the trials against women as witches (Zipes, 1983). These men were accused of taking little children and other harmful offences (Orenstein, 2002). The complex and fundamental human concerns of these time periods, concerns of '*male figures*', are embodied by the little girl in red (Orenstein, 2002).



{Fig. 12}

Little Red Cap & Little Red Riding Hood - Eroticism

Prior to Grimm and Perrault moulding Little Red into a symbol of innocence and naivety, the female adolescent used the fact she was sexualised to survive. In “The Story of Grandmother,” an oral version of the tale recorded in France at the end of the nineteenth century, Little Red performs a striptease before the wolf, then ends the litany of questions about the wolf's body parts by asking if she can go outside to relieve herself (Tatar, 2012). The wolf is outwitted by Little Red, who is more resourceful trickster than naïve young girl (Tatar, 2012). But as the story morphed from sexual parable to family fable, and as it spread across Europe (Orenstein, 2002), its positive references to sexuality, female power, and eroticism were erased. Perrault and Grimm turned the classic tale into one that “reflects men's fear of women's sexuality — and of their own as well” (Orenstein, 2002).

Conclusion

This investigation aimed to examine the question: *Do the eroticised worlds of post-17th-century European fairy tales depict the sexualisation of female adolescents?* Detailed annotations explored 12 significant consistent motifs. The identification of consistent motifs and the study of coded symbols (such as spindles, hair, and wolves), revealed the potent presence of sexual themes in each of the three selected tales and their precursors. Due to the female adolescent subject of each tale, the existing sexual themes rely on sexual maturation and female development – the assault of Sleeping Beauty requires her spindle-induced sleep, the birth of Rapunzel’s twins require her incarceration at the age of twelve due to her onset of puberty, and the rape of Little Red (Tatar, 2012) requires the red of her hood. The eroticised worlds of post-17th-century European fairy tales not only *depict* the sexualisation of female adolescents, they too are sustained by its fundamental presence.



{Fig. 13}



{Fig. 14}



{Fig. 15}

Suggestions for further research

Further research would benefit from extending the scope of focus beyond the sexual themes within selected tales to focusing on the impact those themes have upon female adolescent readers. A comparative examination of female adolescents who have and have not been exposed to fairy tales and their relationship with sexuality would contribute to understanding the role of literature in female development.

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Appendices

CONSISTENT MOTIFS

Sexual Maturation, Sexual Awakening, & Virginity

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| <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Sun, Moon and Talia</i> by Giambattista Basile. 17th Century, 1634</p> | <p style="text-align: center;"><i>The Sleeping Beauty</i> by The Brothers Grimm. 19th Century, 1812</p> |
| <p><i>“Talia was so curious... and... begged to be allowed to stretch the flax, but as soon as she did so, a splinter of flax went under her nail, and she dropped down dead.”</i></p> | <p><i>“She had pricked her finger on the spindle”</i></p> |

Bettelheim suggests that Beauty's maturation process is such an enormous mental struggle that it engages all of her power and effort. That is why she appears to be physically sleeping - her mind is occupying all of her resources, leaving none for her body to employ. Jones suggests, in much the same vein, that by remaining in her crystal cocoon, the heroine is protected and insulated from the disturbing changes and emotions that characterize maturation (Chamberlain, 2009).

The story of Sleeping Beauty has been thought to map female sexual maturation, with the touching of the spindle representing the onset of puberty, a kind of sexual awakening that leads to a passive, introspective period of latency (Tatar, 2012).

In his treatment of ‘Sleeping Beauty’, Bettelheim interprets the “curse” of the thirteenth wise woman fated to befall the young maiden in the fifteenth year of her age as symbolic of the arrival of puberty. Sexual awakening, and the isolation which accompanies it in the natural transition from childhood to adulthood, cannot be avoided (Sanyal & Dasgupta, 2017).

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| <p><i>Persinette</i> by Charlotte-Rose de Caumont de La Force. 17th Century, 1698</p> | <p><i>Rapunzel</i> by The Brothers Grimm. 19th Century, 1812</p> |
| <p><i>“The fairy raises the child tenderly until Persinette (as she’s come to be called) reaches the age of puberty.”</i></p> <p><i>“Furious, the fairy takes up a knife and cuts off Persinette’s long braids”</i></p> | <p><i>“In her anger she seized Rapunzel by her beautiful hair, struck her several times with her left hand, and then grasping a pair of shears in her right- snip, snapthe beautiful locks lay on the ground.”</i></p> |
| <p>In myth, the maiden is often associated with youth and puberty (Conway, 1994). Once Persinette is pubescent, the fairy, her ‘bad’ mother figure, immediately treats her with hostility (Fisher & Silber, 2000). The cutting of Persinette’s hair is said to be an act of violence towards Persinette’s sexual maturity (Stallman, 1969).</p> <p>Rapunzel’s hair is symbolic of her sexual maturity. The hair represents the romantic conception of love, and the mystery of woman (Stallman, 1969). Since the Witch’s abuse centres on Rapunzel’s hair, we presume it refers to some sexual perversion, possibly the simple fact of enforced virginity (Stallman, 1969).</p> | |
| <p><i>Little Red Riding Hood</i> by Charles Perrault. 17th Century, 1697</p> | |
| <p><i>“ she was going through the woods”</i></p> | |
| <p>The entering of the woods symbolizes danger and transformation. The potential transformation that may occur in the woods is, in the case of LRRH, sexual maturation and awakening - alongside losing her virginity.</p> | |
| <p><i>Little Red Cap</i> by The Brothers Grimm. 19th Century, 1812</p> | |
| <p><i>“Come, Little Red-Cap, here is a piece of cake and a bottle of wine; take them to your grandmother”</i></p> | |

“do not run off the path, or you may fall and break the bottle”

Folklorists and psychoanalysts’ views on Little Red differ, but sexual theories surrounding the tale circulate both academic realms. According to Erich Fromm, the red cap worn by Little Red symbolised the **onset of menstruation**, the heroine’s bottle of wine symbolised her **virginity**, and the stones sewn into the wolf symbolised sterility (Orenstein, 2002). Similarly, Bettelheim thought the enduring red cloak stood for **precocious sexuality**.

Due to Fromm’s belief that the heroine’s bottle of wine symbolised her **virginity** (Orenstein, 2002), it can be inferred that Little Red’s mother warns her to stay on the path for fear of Little Red “break[ing] the bottle” — in other words, *losing her virginity*.

Passive Beauty

| <i>Sun, Moon and Talia</i> by Giambattista Basile. 17th Century, 1634 | <i>The Sleeping Beauty</i> by The Brothers Grimm. 19th Century, 1812 | <i>Little Red Cap</i> by The Brothers Grimm. 19th Century, 1812 |
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| <i>“an enchanting girl who seemed to be sleeping... she seemed so incredibly lovely to him that he could not help desiring her, and he began to grow hot with lust.”</i> | <i>“And when he saw her looking so lovely in her sleep, he could not turn away his eyes”</i> | <i>“When he had made two snips, he saw the little Red-Cap shining, and then he made two snips more, and the little girl sprang out, crying, “Ah, how frightened I have been! How dark it was inside the wolf;””</i> |

In popular literary fairy tales, heroines tend to follow a passive version of the rite of passage. Sleeping Beauty and the Grimms’ Little Red Cap all wait, asleep or in a deathlike state, for rescue (and resurrection) by a prince (or hunter-woodsman) who frees the heroine from her slumber in a castle or the belly of the wolf (Orenstein, 2002).

Heroines in myth, tale, or religion are often perceived as passive vessels waiting to be filled. In *Woman Hating* (1974), one of the most aggressive fairy-tale critiques, the American radical feminist Andrea Dworkin focuses on Snow White and Sleeping Beauty as the embodiments of passive beauty: “For a woman to be good, she must be dead, or as close to it as possible” (Zheng, 2013).

Sleeping Beauty is undoubtedly the ultimate 'passive princess'; she does not talk, does not act and does nothing other than simply lie down and look beautiful. Once sleeping, she has no active function. As Patricia Duncker argues, 'All the women have to do is wait. She must not initiate sexual activity, a potential she now possesses that is fraught with danger. She must wait and sleep out the years until she is possessed (Chamberlain, 2009).

Maiden, Mother, Crone

| <i>Sun, Moon and Talia</i> by Giambattista Basile . 17th Century, 1634 | <i>The Sleeping Beauty</i> by The Brothers Grimm . 19th Century, 1812 |
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| <p><i>“[Talia] was looking out the window when she saw an old woman pass by, spinning on a spindle.”</i></p> <p><i>“But Talia, who was not dead, but merely unconscious, had become pregnant, and after nine months a beautiful boy and girl were born. Kindly fairies attended the birth, and put the babies to suck at their mother’s breast.”</i></p> | <p><i>“I’m spinning flax”</i></p> <p><i>“The maiden grew up, adorned with all the gifts of the wise women;”</i></p> |

Actual flesh-and-blood mothers are seldom active in the actual fairytale narrative, if they exist at all, and usually occupy a type of limbo, a dead space that serves only a narrative

function to propel the story forward. Talia is an exception as she is an actual mother who survives the birthing process, although her children and her state of motherhood are removed in later versions of the Sleeping Beauty narrative and the moment of her awakening is instead replaced with a chaste gaze or a simple kiss, thus retaining her virginal status (Chamberlain, 2009).

The spindle or disraff is associated with the Fates, who “spin” or measure out the span of life. Spinning is also an activity that fostered female storytelling, and the spinning of flax often crossed over from the storytelling context into the story itself. The ‘Grimm’s German Mythology’ points out the powerful connection between spindles and domesticity (Tatar 2012). Domesticity is associated with women across all stages of life; Maiden, Mother, or Crone (Conway, 1994).

Persinette by **Charlotte-Rose de Caumont de La Force**. 17th Century, 1698

“He hears the maiden singing and falls in love with her, sight unseen.”

In La Force’s 1697 ‘*Persinette*’, now recognised as the memeplex of ‘*Rapunzel*’, the heroine of the tale begins as a maiden, kept virginal in a high place by the crone. She needs the hero, who undergoes an initiatory rite in his quest to woo her. Eventually, the two consummate their Sacred Marriage and the maiden becomes a woman, impregnated with twins. The heroine and hero are both wounded by the crone, symbolically and physically, and are separated from one another, eventually to be reunited and healed because of the healing tears of the maiden-become-mother (Forsyth, 2016).

Rapunzel by **The Brothers Grimm**. 19th Century, 1812

“You must hand over the child after your wife gives birth”

“Mother Gothel”

“Then the witch said... the child that will come into the world must be given to me... and I will care for it like a mother.”

Many cultures have legends about child-stealing witches or demons, who hover around pregnant women, waiting for the opportunity to snatch an infant (Tatar 2012).

The term is a generic one in Germany; designating a woman who serves as godmother (Tatar 2012).

In Rapunzel, the mother figure is depicted in each female figure present within the tale. It begins with Rapunzel’s birth-mother exchanging her unborn daughter for the bitter greens, stolen from the crone’s walled-garden. Eventually, the witchy crone serves as an evil mother-figure to the maiden, Rapunzel. Once impregnated, Rapunzel abandons her maidenhood, becoming a mother herself (Forsyth, 2016).

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| <i>Little Red Riding Hood</i> by Charles Perrault . 17th Century, 1697 | <i>Little Red Cap</i> by The Brothers Grimm . 19th Century, 1812 |
| <i>“Her mother was excessively fond of her; and her grandmother doted on her still more.”</i> | <i>“tender young creature... mother... [‘ill, weak, old’] grandmother”</i> |

Maiden, Mother, Crone is easily identified in LR; the three female characters perfectly embody these roles — LR as Maiden, mother as Mother, and Grandmother as Crone.

Non-consensual Sexual Acts

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| <i>Sun, Moon and Talia</i> by Giambattista Basile . 17th Century, 1634 | <i>The Sleeping Beauty</i> by The Brothers Grimm . 19th Century, 1812 |
| <i>“He gathered her in his arms and carried her to a bed, where he gathered the first fruits of love.”</i> | <i>“he stooped and kissed her”</i> |

Fairy tales encourage necrophilic desires, and romanticise necrophilia through Sleeping Beauty’s kiss or Talia’s rape (Chamberlain, 2009). Andrea Dworkin describes the prince’s interactions with the sleeping princess as 'every necrophiliac's lust' because the sleeping princess is as close to being dead as a live person can possibly be (Chamberlain, 2009)

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| <p><i>Persinette</i> by Charlotte-Rose de Caumont de La Force. 17th Century, 1698</p> | <p><i>Rapunzel</i> by The Brothers Grimm. 19th Century, 1812</p> |
| <p><i>“Furious, the fairy takes up a knife and cuts off Persinette’s long braids”</i></p> <p><i>“Her long gold hair comes tumbling down, he climbs, and steps into the tower.”</i></p> | <p><i>“Oh Rapunzel, Rapunzel! Let down your hair.” Then he saw how Rapunzel let down her long tresses, and how the witch climbed up by them and went in to her, and he said to himself, “Since that is the ladder, I will climb it, and seek my fortune.”</i></p> <p><i>“In her anger, she seized Rapunzel by her beautiful hair, struck her several times with her left hand, and then, grasping a pair of shears in her right hand - snip, snap - the beautiful locks lay on the ground.”</i></p> |

Both ‘Persinette’ and ‘Rapunzel’ exhibit the cutting and climbing of the maidens hair. Since Rapunzel’s hair is symbolic of her sexual maturity (Stallman, 1969), the prince climbing up her hair can be seen as him ‘seeking’ sex with Rapunzel.

Additionally, in both tales the maiden and prince engage in sexual relations, resulting in the birth of twins. In Persinette, the lack of consent is made especially clear; *“He proposes to marry her there and then, and she consented without hardly knowing what she was doing. Even so, she was able to complete the ceremony.”*. The maiden’s innocence, a result of her isolation, leads to what would be considered rape influenced by sexual coercion (Alexis A. Adams-Clark, Joan C. Chrisler, 2018). Dominant conceptions of what constitutes rape and how rapes are caused are highly individualistic and unsympathetic to raped women

(Brownmiller 1976; New York Radical Feminists 1974; Medea & Thompson 1975; Toner 1977; Rape Counselling and Research Project 1977).

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| <i>Little Red Riding Hood</i> by Charles Perrault . 17th Century, 1697 | <i>Little Red Cap</i> by The Brothers Grimm . 19th Century, 1812 |
| <i>“this wicked wolf fell upon Little Red Riding Hood, and ate her all up.”</i> | <i>“He leaped out of bed and gobbled up poor Little Red Riding Hood”</i> |

According to Zipes, “Perrault versions tend to make little girls responsible for their own rape and/or demise”. Therefore, it would seem that within Perrault’s version of Little Red Riding Hood, being eaten by the wolf might also be punishment for female maturity and perhaps even female society.

Many critics have viewed this scene within Grimm’s version as symbolic of death, followed by rebirth, once [Little Red] is released from the belly of the beast. The connection with biblical and mythical figures (most notably Jonah) is self-evident, though [Little Red] has also been interpreted as a figure that symbolises the sun, engulfed by the night, reemerging at dawn. More recently, the swallowing whole of the grandmother and the girl has been seen as a symbolic double rape (Tatar 2012).

Birth

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| <i>Sun, Moon and Talia</i> by Giambattista Basile . 17th Century, 1634 |
| <i>“But Talia, who was not dead, but merely unconscious, had become pregnant, and after nine months a beautiful boy and girl were born.”</i> |
| Any agency that Talia may have had is taken away from her as she becomes forced into and imprisoned in her function as a mother - a function outlined, constructed and controlled by man; a function that features predominantly in the fairy tale and in patriarchal society at large as a measure of feminine worth and a site of constant anxiety (Chamberlain, 2009). |

The Sleeping Beauty by **The Brothers Grimm**. 19th Century, 1812

“the Queen bore a daughter”

“live happily until their death.”

In *Sleeping Beauty*, the theme of life and death (birth and rebirth) is introduced at the very beginning. The king and the queen long for a child, and when that child is born she is cursed with death (Sanyal & Dasgupta, 2017).

The tale ends with the statement that the maiden and her prince “live happily until their death.”; the curse of death which marked the child’s birth is changed into a promise of rebirth (Sanyal & Dasgupta, 2017).

Little Red Riding Hood by **Charles Perrault**. 17th Century, 1697

“And, saying these words, this wicked wolf fell upon Little Red Riding Hood, and ate her all up.”

Unlike the Grimms’ version, Perrault’s tale simply ends with death, arguably rape; this contrasts other versions in which Little Red saves herself using her wit or sexuality, or is saved by a male figure (Gardner, 2000). The motif of birth is only connected to the mortality of the tale, due to the concerning birth rates of Perrault’s time. As Europe became more crowded in the 16th and 17th centuries there was a higher rate of childbirth mortality (Cellania, 2013). Wringley and Schofield, in their magisterial reconstruction of the English population, found that after the 17th-century population growth rates were “swamped by sweeping changes in fertility,” mortality improved without interruption (Post, 1990).

Little Red Cap by **The Brothers Grimm**. 19th Century, 1812

“Began cutting open the belly of the sleeping wolf”

Freud and others read this scene as an allusion to the birth process. The wolf, as the poet Anne Sexton wryly notes, undergoes “a kind of caesarian section.” One psychoanalytic critic views the wolf as suffering from pregnancy envy (Tatar, 2012).

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| <i>Persinette</i> by Charlotte-Rose de Caumont de La Force . 17th Century, 1698 | <i>Rapunzel</i> by The Brothers Grimm . 19th Century, 1812 |
| <i>“When his wife gives birth to a beautiful baby girl, she promptly hands the child over to the fairy without a word of protest.”</i> | <i>“Rapunzel lived with her twin-children that she had borne, a boy and a girl.”</i> |
| <i>“Persinette now has twin children”</i> | |

The story of Rapunzel actually revolves around sex and pregnancy, and consequentially, birth. The tale begins with the birth of Rapunzel/Persinette, a pregnancy endured and sacrificed for bitter greens. Rapunzel/Persinette’s confinement begins when she is twelve, or “when she reaches the age of puberty” (Andersen, 1980). “A few years pass” and the prince discovers the maiden; he soon impregnates her, and she innocently reveals her pregnancy to the witchy-crone (Forsyth, 2016). She then gives birth to her twins, isolated once again in the desert. The motif of birth in Rapunzel/Persinette encapsulates all the consistent motifs within the tale, most prominently ‘sexual...’, ‘isolation...’, ‘innocence, curiosity, & desire’, and ‘male... predator/hero’.

Innocence, Curiosity, & Desire

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| <i>Sun, Moon and Talia</i> by Giambattista Basile . 17th Century, 1634 | <i>The Sleeping Beauty</i> by The Brothers Grimm . 19th Century, 1812 |
| <i>“Talia was so curious about the implement, having never seen one, that she called out to the old woman to stop and let her see it.”</i> | <i>“a little door with a rusty old key in its lock”</i> |

Sleeping Beauty’s curiosity, her desire to see what is behind the door and her fascination with the spindle, gets her into trouble. By contrast, the prince is rewarded for his curiosity,

which takes the form of the desire to find the fabled castle in which Sleeping Beauty slumbers (Tatar 2012).

Persinette by **Charlotte-Rose de Caumont de La Force**. 17th Century, 1698

Rapunzel by **The Brothers Grimm**. 19th Century, 1812

“The prince continues to visit the tower, and before long Persinette grows fat. Innocent, she doesn’t know she’s pregnant”

“‘Mother Gothel, how is it that you climb up here so slowly, and the King’s son is with me in a moment?’ ‘O wicked child,’ cried the witch, ‘what is this I hear! I thought I had hidden you from all the world, and you have betrayed me!’”

Rapunzel is the main character in the fairy tale in the form of a flower/ herb, a beautiful girl, an object of desire, and later a maiden in a tower. She is the enchanted object of the fairy-tale (Sanyal & Dasgupta, 2017). Rapunzel was originally the object of her mother’s desire (herb/flower/lettuce), she is also the fruit (child) of her parents’ sexual desire, and finally she is her mothers’ desire (she wanted a child) (Sanyal & Dasgupta, 2017). Additionally, she is an exemplar of innocence, and becomes pregnant with no understanding of how it came to be.

Little Red Riding Hood by **Charles Perrault**. 17th Century, 1697

“The poor child, who did not know that it was dangerous to stay and talk to a wolf, said to him, “I am going to see my grandmother and carry her a cake and a little pot of butter from my mother.””

Despite referring to LRRH as a *“poor [innocent] child”*, Perrault’s sexually suggestive moral *‘girls who invite strange men into their parlours deserve what they get’* detracts from the sexual trauma the young girl likely obtains (Orenstein, 2002).

Little Red Cap by **The Brothers Grimm**. 19th Century, 1812

“Red-Cap did not know what a wicked creature [the wolf] was, and was not at all afraid of him.”

According to Catherine Orenstein, author of *‘Little Red Riding Hood Uncloaked’*, over the course of their lifetime, The Brothers Grimm continued to edit their [tales] for “childish ears”. By 1825, [Little Red] developed a new identity; pure innocence.

Male Figure - Predator / Hero

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><i>Sun, Moon and Talia</i> by Giambattista Basile. 17th Century, 1634</p> | <p><i>The Sleeping Beauty</i> by The Brothers Grimm. 19th Century, 1812</p> |
| <p><i>“The King”</i></p> | <p><i>“The Prince”</i></p> |

Talia is raped by the King, and nine months later, gives birth to twin children in her sleep (Chamberlain, 2009). Despite this, he is viewed in a heroic light. Sleeping Beauty’s Prince is also seen as a hero, regardless of giving in to his predatory ‘necrophiliac lust’ (Chamberlain, 2009).

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| <p><i>Persinette</i> by Charlotte-Rose de Caumont de La Force. 17th Century, 1698</p> | <p><i>Rapunzel</i> by The Brothers Grimm. 19th Century, 1812</p> |
| <p><i>“It’s been many years since she’s seen a man, and the fairy has told her that some are monsters who can kill with a single look.”</i></p> | <p><i>“Rapunzel was greatly terrified when she saw that a man had come in to her, for she had never seen one before... Then Rapunzel forgot her terror, and when he asked her to take him for her husband, and she saw that he was young and beautiful, she thought to herself, “I certainly like him much better than old mother Gothel,””</i></p> |

Rapunzel’s prince is seen as the hero, for his curiosity relieved her from Mother Gothel’s clutches (Srebnicki, 2016). However, this hero is also a predator, for he takes advantage of the maiden’s innocence and rapes her through sexual coercion (Alexis A. Adams-Clark, Joan C. Chrisler, 2018).

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Little Red Riding Hood</i> by Charles Perrault . 17th Century, 1697 | <i>Little Red Cap</i> by The Brothers Grimm . 19th Century, 1812 |
| <i>“The wolf”</i> | <i>“The huntsman”</i> <i>“The wolf”</i> |

The male figures in this story are either predators or rescuers. The wolf, with its predatory nature, is frequently seen as a metaphor for sexually seductive men. (Tatar 2012). The huntsman has been seen as representing patriarchal protection for the two women, who are unable to fend for themselves. In oral versions, [Little Red] does not need to rely on a huntsman passing by grandmother's house (Tatar 2012).

The predator in this story is unusual for he is a real beast rather than a cannibalistic ogre or witch. Wild animals, sinister men, and the hybrid figure of the werewolf were thought to menace the safety of children with powerful immediacy. In seventeenth-century Europe, shortly after the Thirty Years’ War, fear of wolves and hysteria about werewolves reached especially high levels (Tatar, 2012).

Eroticism

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Little Red Riding Hood</i> by Charles Perrault . 17th Century, 1697 | <i>Little Red Cap</i> by The Brothers Grimm . 19th Century, 1812 |
| <i>“...come get into bed with me.”</i> | <i>“Oh, Grandmother, what big ears you have!”</i> |

In the classic dialogue between girl and wolf, [Little Red] invokes the sense of hearing, sight, feeling, and taste, leaving out the sense of smell. The inventory of body parts was no doubt expanded by folk raconteurs, who took advantage of opportunities for ribald humour. A parallel dialogue in oral versions of the tale provides an inventory of [Little Red's] clothes, which she removes and discards one by one. (Tatar 2012)

Within The Story of Grandmother, an oral tale that predates Perrault and his own tales, along with acts of cannibalism and being called a slut by a house cat, the girl undresses in front of the wolf before climbing into bed with it (Srebnicki, 2016). Perrault directly incorporates elements of the shockingly erotic oral tale in his own version, bawdily sexualising his adolescent female protagonist.

Beauty as the Principal Descriptor of a Female Adolescent

| <p><i>Sun, Moon and Talia</i> by Giambattista Basile. 17th Century, 1634</p> | <p><i>The Sleeping Beauty</i> by The Brothers Grimm. 19th Century, 1812</p> | <p><i>Persinette</i> by Charlotte-Rose de Caumont de La Force. 17th Century, 1698</p> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><i>“blessed with the birth of a beautiful infant daughter”</i></p> <p><i>“Talia had grown up into a beautiful young girl”</i></p> | <p><i>“the Queen bore a daughter so beautiful that the King could not contain himself for joy”</i></p> <p><i>“the wise women stood forward to present to the child their wonderful gifts: one bestowed virtue, one beauty, a third riches...”</i></p> | <p><i>“When his wife gives birth to a beautiful baby girl, she promptly hands the child over to the fairy without a word of protest.”</i></p> |

| | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Rapunzel</i> by The Brothers Grimm . 19th Century, 1812 | <i>Little Red Riding Hood</i> by Charles Perrault . 17th Century, 1697 | <i>Little Red Cap</i> by The Brothers Grimm . 19th Century, 1812 |
| <i>“Rapunzel was the most beautiful child in the world.”</i> | <i>“Once upon a time there lived in a certain village a little country girl, the prettiest creature who was ever seen.”</i> | <i>“Once upon a time there was a dear little girl who was loved by every one who looked at her”</i> |

Beauty is a stereotypical descriptor within fairy tales and allows readers to identify protagonists as the “ideal” maiden (Tatar, 2012, & Srebnicki, 2016). There are many stereotypical female character roles within fairy tales and along with these character roles come very specific character traits and behaviours, these traits are most easily recognized as characteristics that help to define between the “good” and “bad” societal ideals for women such as: **beauty**/ugliness, silence/active speech, and obedience/disobedience (Srebnicki, 2016).

Naming

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Sun, Moon and Talia</i> by Giambattista Basile . 17th Century, 1634 | <i>The Sleeping Beauty</i> by The Brothers Grimm . 19th Century, 1812 |
| <i>“whom he named Talia”</i> <i>“She named the infants’ Sun and Moon.”</i> | <i>“the beautiful sleeping Rosamond, for so was the Princess called”</i> |

In both Basile and Grimm’s tales, nature and Christianity comes to the forefront of the naming motif. Talia, a name meaning “the blossoming one”, compliments the nature names

of her children. Jack Zipes associates *Little Red Riding Hood* with the sun, and in turn, the Christian connotations of rebirth. This same idea can be applied to Basile's tale; naming the infants 'Sun and Moon' associates the tale with Christianity.

In the Grimm's tale, *Rosamond*, a Christian name of German origin, means "pure rose", harmonious with the gifts fairies bestowed onto the 'beautiful' and 'virtuous' Princess.

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Persinette</i> by Charlotte-Rose de Caumont de La Force . 17th Century, 1698 | <i>Rapunzel</i> by The Brothers Grimm . 19th Century, 1812 |
| <i>"Persinette"</i> | <i>"giving the child the name of Rapunzel."</i> |

In folk beliefs, 'Rapunzel' [greens/plants] possess no great significance, [contrasting] parsley, or 'Persinette', which is attributed to eroticizing and talismanic properties (McGlatheru, 1991).

The German translation of 'Persinette' would be 'Petersilchen'. According to Max Lüthi, '*Rapunzel* sounds better than *Persinette*, [Rapunzel sounds] more forceful.' (McGlathery 1991). The change of the heroine's name to Rapunzel drained much of the symbolic meaning from the herb and arguably led to the link between girl and plant being broken (Forsyth, 2016). According to Maria Tatar, The critic Joyce Thomas points out that rapunzel, or rampion, is an autogamous plant, one that can fertilise itself. Furthermore, it has a column that splits into two if not fertilised, and "the halves will curl like braids or coils on a maiden's head" (Tatar, 2012). This similarity contrasts with the belief regarding the name lacking significance.

Rapunzel/Persinette is named after the bitter greens stolen from the witches garden, but more specifically, the desire those greens represent (Vellenga, 1992).

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Little Red Riding Hood</i> by Charles Perrault . 17th Century, 1697 | <i>Little Red Cap</i> by The Brothers Grimm . 19th Century, 1812 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>“This good woman had a little red riding hood made for her. It suited the girl so extremely well that everybody called her Little Red Riding Hood.”</i> | <i>“Once she gave her a little cap of red velvet, which suited her so well that she would never wear anything else; so she was always called "Little Red-Cap."</i> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

The heroine is named after the colour of her riding hood. In *The Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood*, Jack Zipes states that red is a sexually vibrant and suggestive color and has not been worn by ‘morally upright’ women throughout history due to sinful connotations. Perrault introduced the color red to the tale, further establishing LRRH as a sexualised heroine. In 1964, writer Ralph Ellison said, "Our names, being the gift of others, must be made our own" (MacKethan, 1986). Little Red becomes known as the ‘gift’ given to her.

Isolation From Parental Figures

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Sun, Moon and Talia</i> by Giambattista Basile . 17th Century, 1634 | <i>The Sleeping Beauty</i> by The Brothers Grimm . 19th Century, 1812 | <i>Persinette</i> by Charlotte-Rose de Caumont de La Force . 17th Century, 1698 | <i>Rapunzel</i> by The Brothers Grimm . 19th Century, 1812 |
| <i>“the unhappy father... abandoned the estate forever.”</i> | <i>“the King and Queen rode abroad; and the maiden was left behind alone in the castle”</i> | <i>“When his wife gives birth to a beautiful baby girl, she promptly hands the child over to the fairy without a word of protest.”</i> | <i>“the witch shut her up in a tower in the midst of a wood, and it had neither steps nor door, only a small window above.”</i> |

In fairy tales, adolescent female protagonists often turn against their mothers in pursuit of that dreamed-for happy ending, while consequently isolating themselves from their parental figures (Fisher & Silber, 2000). Mother figures are commonly seen as either divine, heavenly “good mothers” or as ill-fated, depraved “witch-mothers” (Fisher & Silber, 2000). As Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar have written in *The Madwoman in the Attic*, there is no escape from the stifling reflection of the mirror in which fairy-tale heroines see their images (Fisher & Silber, 2000). For “good mothers” and their daughters, freedom from domestic restriction is possible only through early death, while a female character who acts as her own agent becomes the hated witch, condemned to die (Fisher & Silber, 2000). In either case, a woman is silenced (Fisher & Silber, 2000).

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><i>Little Red Riding Hood</i> by Charles Perrault. 17th Century, 1697</p> | <p><i>Little Red Cap</i> by The Brothers Grimm. 19th Century, 1812</p> |
| <p><i>“One day her mother... said to her, “Go, my dear, and see how your grandmother is doing”... Little Red Riding Hood set out immediately to go to her grandmother, who lived in another village.”</i></p> | <p><i>““walk nicely and quietly and do not run off the path...” “I will take great care,” said Little Red-Cap to her mother”</i></p> |

Most [children’s] literature focuses on a child’s behaviour in isolation from their parents, in the child’s own perspective (Austin, Prieto & Rushforth, 2013). Whilst isolated from parental figures, Little Red speaks and acts of her own accord. In disobeying her mother’s warning, Little Red has also disobeyed the fairy tale behavioural script for a silent, obedient, beautiful, inactive female (Srebnicki, 2016). The Grimms “Little Red Cap” conveys the popular lessons now most often attributed to the fairy tale: stick to the path; don’t speak to strangers; be obedient (Orenstein, 2002).

The Woods or similar

| | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><i>Sun, Moon and Talia</i> by Giambattista Basile. 17th Century, 1634</p> | <p><i>The Sleeping Beauty</i> by The Brothers Grimm. 19th Century, 1812</p> | <p><i>Persinette</i> by Charlotte-Rose de Caumont de La Force. 17th Century, 1698</p> |
| <p><i>“left the dead Talia seated on a velvet chair under an embroidered canopy in the palace, which was in the middle of a wood.”</i></p> | <p><i>“Then round about that place there grew a hedge of thorns thicker every year; until at last the whole castle was hidden from view, and nothing of it could be seen but the vane on the roof.”</i></p> | <p><i>Then, in order to keep the girl safe from harm (the eyes and attention of men), the fairy builds a magnificent silver tower deep in the forest.</i></p> |
| <p><i>Rapunzel</i> by The Brothers Grimm. 19th Century, 1812</p> | <p><i>Little Red Riding Hood</i> by Charles Perrault. 17th Century, 1697</p> | <p><i>Little Red Cap</i> by The Brothers Grimm. 19th Century, 1812</p> |
| <p><i>“the witch shut her up in a tower in the midst of a wood”</i></p> | <p><i>“As she was going through the woods, she met with a wolf”</i></p> | <p><i>“just as Little Red-Cap entered the wood, a wolf met her.”</i></p> |

The woods symbolise the “unknown” and “transformation” – potentially the unknown transformation adolescent female protagonists must face when changing from girl to woman. Folklorists have suggested that the story of [Little Red] may have originated relatively late (in the Middle Ages) as a cautionary tale warning children about the dangers of the forest (Tatar, 2012).

Who were Basile, La Force, Perrault, and Grimm?

Giambattista Basile:

Often, the term *fairy tale* is connected to the “classic” late-seventeenth-century tales of Charles Perrault or the early-nineteenth-century tales of the Brothers Grimm. However, before Grimm and Perrault, *Giambattista Basile* (1566-1632) (see Fig. 4) brought the fairy tale genre to life by participating in the radical literary innovations in Italy of the early seventeenth century (Canepa, 1957).

Charlotte-Rose de Caumont de La Force:

Charlotte-Rose de Caumont de La Force (1650-1724) (see Fig. 5) was born into an aristocratic family in 1650, the youngest of two sisters. In 1697, La Force created a new collection of fairy tales that included the story of ‘Persinette’ (Forsyth 2016). Although she was clearly influenced by Basile, La Force’s version is the first to contain the interlocking chain of causes and consequences, motifs and metaphors... [such as]... the motif of the healing tears that was to become crystallised in the memplex of the tale we know as ‘Rapunzel’ (Forsyth 2016).

Charles Perrault:

Charles Perrault, born in Paris in 1628 (see Fig. 6) was a prolific author whose mottos and devices adorned monuments and medals, and whose poetry won acclaim before the French Academy (Zarucchi, 1989). Perrault’s success as a fairy tale author is due to the fact that he constructed tales that would appeal not only to his bourgeoisie audience, but also the lower economic classes (Srebnicki, 2016). Initially, Perrault was not proud of his fairy tales – but that soon changed (Bodkin, 2012). For Perrault, the tales served a serious and legitimate purpose (Zarucchi, 1989). In the preface to the verse tales' third edition in 1695, he stated clearly that "I believe that my Fables are more worthy of being recounted than most of the ancients' Tales . . . which were created only to please, without regard for sound morals, which they greatly neglected." (Zarucchi, 1989).

Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm – The Brothers Grimm:

The works of *Jacob Grimm* (1785-1863) and *Wilhelm Grimm* (1786-1859) “rank next to the bible in importance” (Tatar 2012). Today, the Grimms’ stories have been recycled in countless literary works, disseminated across a wide variety of media, and read by children and adults in nearly every shape and form (Tatar 2012). When Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm (see Fig. 7) first developed the plan to compile German folktales, they had in mind a

scholarly project. They wanted to capture the “pure” voice of the German people and to preserve in print the oracular poetry of the common people (Tatar 2012). The Grimms relied on numerous sources, both oral and literary, to compile their collection. The vast majority of their informants were “literate women” from their own social class, but they also collected tales told by “untutored” folk raconteurs (Tatar 2012).



{Fig. 16}



{Fig. 17}



{Fig. 18}



{Fig. 19}

Images

{Fig. 1; GUSTAVE DORÉ, “Little Red Riding Hood,” 1861}

{Fig. 2; KAY NIELSEN, “Rapunzel,” 1922}

{Fig. 3; GUSTAVE DORÉ, “The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood,” 1861}

{Fig. 4, HENRY MAYNELL RHEAM, “Sleeping Beauty”, *unknown date*}

{Fig. 5, EDMUND DULAC, “Sleeping Beauty,” 1920}

{Fig. 6, EDMUND DULAC, “Sleeping Beauty,” 1912}

{Fig. 7, WALTER CRANE, “Rapunzel,” 1899}

{Fig. 8, HEINRICH LEFLER, “Rapunzel,” 1905}

{Fig. 9, JESSIE WILLCOX SMITH, “Little Red Riding Hood,” 1919}

{Fig. 10, HARRY CLARKE, “Little Red Riding Hood,” from the Fairy Tales of Charles Perrault 1922}

{Fig. 11, EDMUND DULAC, “Sleeping Beauty,” 1912}

{Fig. 12, MARGARET EVANS PRICE, “Little Red Riding Hood,” 1921}

{Fig. 13, ARTHUR RACHHAM “Sleeping Beauty / Briar Rose”, 1920}

{Fig. 14, FLORENCE HARRISON “Rapunzel”, date unknown}

{Fig. 15, MAXFIELD PARRISH “Little Red Riding Hood,” 1897}

{Fig. 16, GIAMBATTISTA BASILE, *Unknown date, Jacobus Pacini*}

{Fig. 17, CHARLOTTE-ROSE DE CAUMONT DE LA FORCE, *unknown date, Pierre Mignard*}

{Fig. 18, CHARLES PERRAULT, *Unknown date, Charles Le Brun*}

{Fig. 19, JACOB AND WILHELM GRIMM, *Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, 1855*}

{Fig. 20, ARTHUR RACKHAM, "*Rapunzel*", 1920}

To what extent did print media (newspapers) redefine the relationship between monarchs and the press in Western Europe during the Eulenburg Affair?

VCAA ID: 20298068F

Word Count: 4213

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Abstract

For many historians, the Eulenburg affair is an important event that gives rise to significant analysis of the cultural and political spheres in Europe before, during, and after, WWI. This research has primarily focussed on Wilhelm II's political formation in the period during and following the scandal (Van Der Kiste, 1999; Röhl, 2013), the significance of the affair in the cultural and sexological categorisation of male homosexuality in Europe (Domeier, 2014; Domeier, 2015; Bosch, 2015), and the development of the mass press in Europe (Bosch, 2015). Of paramount importance to the research was the concurrent rise of both courtroom reporting and scandal journalism as new journalistic forms, and the increasing self-consciousness and self-confidence identified in the press as an emerging Fourth Estate. This study sought to analyse the extent to which the relationship between the monarchy and the press was redefined during such a critical juncture in the mass press' development. Using a qualitative analysis of primary sources (Western European newspaper articles) published during the Eulenburg affair (1907-1909). Said articles were categorised according to publication type, location of publication, political bias/partisan status, and then coded by theme to develop an analysis of the mass press' depictions of monarchy. The themes of the press' dominance over the monarchy, and the press' comment on its own activity emerged the strongest. The research found that the shifts in the Western European mass press' depiction of the monarchy were contingent with existing political sentiments in society.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my classmates, family members, mentors, and most importantly my Extended Investigation teacher for their invaluable assistance both academically and in the fields of tea-making, consolation, and conversation. In addition, I extend the utmost respect and gratitude to the ineffable work of historical archivists and librarians, to whom this project is ultimately indebted.

Introduction

The Eulenburg affair (1907-1909), was a political sex scandal sparked by journalist Maximilian Harden in his influential newspaper 'Die Zukunft.'¹ He accused members of Kaiser Wilhelm II's court of forming a homosexual-spiritualist 'Camarilla'² that exerted undue influence on the Kaiser's foreign and domestic policy. This was a defining political moment for both the declining German monarchy and the rising mass press.

Much of the research and analysis of the Eulenburg Affair examines the relationship between the Kaiser and the public (Clark, 2000), but this is limited to its function as part of a broader examination of him as a political figure. Recent work has linked the significance of the Eulenburg affair to the rapidly growing influence of the mass print media, often focussed on the social impact, specifically in the formation of homosexual subculture (Beachy, 2015). Similarly, discussion of the iconography of the Eulenburg affair depicted in political cartoons (Steakely, 1983) and popular postcards (Likosky, 2017) have provided further insight into the mass media's depiction of the scandal.

The courtroom reporting that filled newspapers during the trials of the Eulenburg affair marked a significant shift in popular reporting. Already growing tensions between the German monarchy and ruling class and the press they viewed as increasingly unconstrained, uncontrolled, and hostile were further exacerbated, particularly with regards to the fear that the press was increasingly willing to infringe upon the privacy of powerful people (Vargo, 2003). More broadly, the rising influence of mass print media in Germany at the beginning of the 20th century has been well documented, as has its links to both the German public and the monarchy and other elements of Imperial German state power (Bosch, 2015; Bjork, 2007).

This research therefore asks , *'To what extent did print media (newspapers) redefine the relationship between monarchs and subjects in Western Europe during the Eulenburg Affair?'*

¹ Translates to 'The Truth'; politically Bismarckian, most prominently read by the German intelligentsia and political class.

² A derogatory political term for a group seen to be secretive and scheming, that seeks to influence a ruler. See also 'cabal' and 'clique'. The group surrounding Kaiser Wilhelm II was commonly referred to as such in the European press.

Literature Review

The Mass Press in Europe in the Modern Period

European journalism at the beginning of the 20th century was primarily made up of print journalism. Due to the easing of state restrictions, an increasing social demand, urbanisation, increased levels of literacy, and to a lesser extent, technological innovations, European print journalism at the beginning of the 20th century constituted a mass-circulation press (Bosch, 2015). Its transnational character and interaction, high circulation figures, and level of public influence define it as mass press (Bosch, 2015; Bjork, 2007). This mass press was primarily made up of three distinct formats: the daily popular press; party organs and otherwise affiliated periodicals and illustrated weeklies, often satirical in tone.

Domeier argues that the German press, at the turn of the 20th century, was striving for an increased seriousness and legitimacy in society, particularly amongst the educated liberal bourgeoisie, to create themselves in the image of a ‘Fourth Estate’³ (Domeier, 2015). In contrast, Bjork emphasises the lack of ‘professional unity’ within the ranks of German journalists (Bjork, 2007). The situation was much the same in Britain, wherein newspaper barons and editors saw themselves as an emerging Fourth Estate representing the truth in politics (Brake, 2005). Nonetheless, much of the established European press at the beginning of the 20th century was loyal to the monarchies of their nations, and played a central role in their imperial power (Owens, 2019; Bjork, 2007).

Media scholarship over the last 50 years has developed into several distinct schools of thought. One such school, based upon the traditions of cultural history, focuses particularly on the interplay between mass presses and the public that consume them. It assumes that the mass press and the public in the modern period operated in a dialectical relationship wherein the content and form of the mass press both influenced, and was influenced by, the sentiments held by the public who read and paid for them (Poe, 2010; Knoch & Morat, 2003 as cited in Bosch, 2015; Bosch 2015).

The Mass Press, Scandal, and the Public Morality

The end of the nineteenth century was rife with such scandals. The suicide of industrialist Alfred Krupp followed accusations of homosexuality in the radical press, part of an intended

³ Describes the press as a significant and influential political actor comparable to other institutions of power.

political smear (Vargo, 2003). The trials of Oscar Wilde and tribulations of the Cleveland Street Scandal foregrounded homosexuality in the British scandal journalism of the late nineteenth century (Montgomery, 1976). Cleveland Street in particular raised the prospect of homosexuality in the British Government, aristocracy, and, though relegated to the rumour mills, the monarchy (Montgomery, 1976).

In Germany in particular, sexual morality was closely linked to the ‘national character’, and as such subject to ‘fervent’ public discussion, including in the press (Hull, 1982). Similarly, in Britain, the popular press cultivated the dominant notions of morality and family values through their presentation of the royal family, with (Wilhelm’s cousin) Queen Victoria as both head of state, and ‘mother’ (Plunkett, 2002). Many years earlier, ‘libelles’, pamphlets distributed via an underground press, containing graphic descriptions of the alleged sexual escapades of the French monarchy and aristocracy featured significantly in their discrediting during the French Revolution (Darnton, 1982).

The denouncing of aberrant sexual behaviour in the press is an established phenomenon that is used by various parties both to dictate social norms, and as a potent political smear (Beachy; 2015, Miller, 1995). Habermas calls this the ‘social sphere’ created by the mass press (Habermas, 1992). Drawing from this theory, Domeier purports that scandals either ‘unite’ or ‘divide’ a population – a supposition that is in conflict with Bosch and Knoch & Morat’s interpretations of Habermas’ work, wherein the social sphere is less binary and ultimately driven by existing political sentiments of the time (Domeier, 2015; Knoch & Morat, 2003 as cited in Bosch, 2015).

The role of the mass press in shaping the relationship between monarchs and subjects

The relationship between monarchs and subjects, is herein defined as the forms of political and social activities, discourses, and attitudes that constitute the interaction and relation between subjects and monarchs.

Western European mass press had become a significant site of communication and influence in the reporting of monarchs. (Bjork, 2007). Increasingly it reflected both the public’s level of interest in and opinions of their monarchs who ‘*suffered losses of political power during the*

late nineteenth century...[with an] increase in their public presence in everyday life' (Bosch, 2015). Which was used as a political and diplomatic tool by monarchs and their political critics in order to attempt to influence the public's opinion (Bosch, 2015; McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

Nonetheless the mass press was not simply another tool that could be wielded by monarchies, as they might an army. The mass press had its own stakeholders, with their own political proclivities and aims (Bjork, 2007).

Political biographies of Kaiser Wilhelm II have stressed his reputation as a 'media monarch' (Kohut, 1991). He was, during the Eulenburg affair, 'the most caricatured man in the world' (Steakely, 1983). The Telegraph Affair exemplified the Kaiser's increasingly tempestuous relationship with the media and tendency towards tactlessness, as well as the global political influence of the transnational media (Van Der Kiste, 1999; Orgill, 2016).

J.O Baylen's *Politics and the "New Journalism": Lord Esher's Use of the "Pall Mall Gazette"* provides a valuable insight into the self-consciousness of the British mass press in terms of both its general influence, and its ties to the monarchy and aristocracy. The transcripts of Lord Esher's letters provide frank discussions of the capabilities of the mass press, with its trans-border characteristics, to consciously influence the public's opinions on Parliamentarians, Lords, and indeed the monarchy (Baylen, 1987).

Of particular note is the influence of the media baron Alfred Harmsworth, 1st Viscount Northcliffe, who, during the Eulenburg affair, owned The Times, The Observer, The Daily Mail, the Evening News, and would go on to acquire several more during the First World War. Northcliffe's influence grew, as 'the press became a tool of party management, used to communicate with the public, foreign powers and other politicians' (Thompson, 2006).

The Eulenburg Affair and the Mass Press

Vargo, while maintaining Miller's perspective on the function of homosexuality as a political smear, emphasises that this primarily occurred in smaller, politically radical papers, as opposed to the mainstream press (Vargo, 2003). The Eulenburg affair, he maintains, marks a significant destabilisation of the traditional relationship between the ruling classes and the

mass press, wherein previously, as in the aforementioned Krupp scandal, the mass press had 'opted instead to protect the reputations of those who were rich and powerful' (Vargo, 2003). This same "protection" took place in the Cleveland street scandal in Britain, although comparatively the reports on the Eulenburg affair in the British press were more frank than those surrounding Cleveland Street. So too the French press' coverage of the scandal was bound inextricably in nationalism and fervent glee at what Beachy satirically terms '*Prussia's pink peccadilloes*' (Likosky, 2017; Beachy, 2015).

In addition to its political significance, the Eulenburg affair also signalled a new form of courtroom reporting (Vargo, 2003). Scandal sheets and investigative journalism were definitive features of the European mass press (Bosch, 2015). "*Over fifty journalists from France, Sweden, Russia, England, and the Netherlands were present when Eulenburg's trial for perjury opened in the spring of 1908.*" (Beachy, 2015). Christening this international mass press, the Eulenburg affair drew a flurry of international attention.

Conclusion of Themes

Published literature of the Eulenburg affair can be placed into one of three categories: political biography (Van Der Kiste, 1999; Röhl, 2013; Clark, 2000); studies of sexuality (Beachy, 2015; Domeier, 2014; Likosky, 2017); and analyses of print media (Vargo, 2003; Steakely, 1983; Bosch, 2015). Overall, in the literature, growing self-consciousness and influence of the mass press in engaging with the monarchy and shaping public perception at home and abroad was identified. Thus, this study seeks to analyse the extent to which the relationship between monarchs and the press shifted during the Eulenburg affair.

Methodology

The researcher conducted a qualitative analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) of primary sources in order to determine if the Eulenburg Affair marked a change in the depiction of the monarchy in the popular press. Using a qualitative analysis allowed the researcher to identify themes, assumptions, ideologies, and connections in print articles (Smith, Wakefield, Siebel, Szczypka, Slater & Emery, 2002).

The use of historical newspaper articles to determine the political and social attitudes of their readership follows theories of media history that have become predominant in the last thirty

years. These assume that the mass press and the public in the modern period operated in a dialectical relationship wherein the content and form of the mass press both influenced, and were influenced by, the sentiments held by the public who read and paid for them (Bosch, 2015). Nonetheless, in order to glean well-rounded findings the researcher found it imperative to consider the role played by key stakeholders in attempting to sway or influence the public opinion, as well as the role of the mass press in influencing what is brought into the public discourse (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

Qualitative Primary Source Analysis

A qualitative analysis of primary sources (Western European newspaper articles) was conducted using a coding strategy to examine a range of newspaper articles published during the Eulenburg affair (Lester & Cho, & Lochmiller, 2020). 65 articles from the historical newspapers were coded and categorised into one of three established groups; the daily popular press, party organs/affiliated periodicals, and illustrated weeklies (Bosch, 2015). See figure 1.

| Title of publication | Editor |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>The Times</i> | George Earle Buckle |
| <i>The Manchester Guardian</i> | C.P Scott |
| <i>The Observer</i> | Austin Harrison (until 1908), James Louis Garvin (1908-onwards) |
| <i>The Aberdeen Journal</i> | David Pressley |
| <i>The Evening Herald</i> | Unknown |
| <i>The Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Adviser</i> | James Nicol Dunn |
| <i>The Illustrated London News</i> | Sir Bruce Ingham |
| <i>The Irish Independent and The Sunday Independent</i> | William Martin Murphy |
| <i>The Freeman's Journal</i> | Unknown |

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>The Belfast Newsletter</i> | Unknown |
| <i>Der Wahre Jacob</i> | Berthold Heymann |
| <i>Glühlichter</i> | Unknown |
| <i>Ulk</i> | Rudolf Mosse |
| <i>Kladderadatsch</i> | David Kalisch |
| <i>Lustige Blätter</i> | Paul von Schönthan |
| <i>Wiener Caricaturen</i> | Josef Braun |
| <i>Jugend</i> | Georg Hirth |
| <i>Allgemeen Handelsblad</i> | Charles Boissevain |
| <i>Der Nebelspalter</i> | Johann Friedrich Boscovits |

Figure 1. Historical newsprint media used for coding. 1907-1909.

The research identified themes and trends in these the different publications and articles, placing them in sequential order to determine the existence or lack thereof of any noticeable shift across the three year period.⁴

Ethical Considerations

The primary ethical consideration in this study is the presence of bias. When analysing newspapers as primary sources, it is vital to conduct thorough historical research in order to have an accurate understanding of each paper's bias (Lazaridou & Krestel, 2016). The primary considerations and indicators of bias are; partisan status, ownership, funding, prominent ideologues or columnists, location of publication, and readership demographics if available.

Limitations

The key limitation was accessibility to translated German articles. Where translated articles were used, the researcher had to employ careful consideration of the translator's potential

⁴ For a full list of coded themes, see Appendix B.

bias (VCAA, 2022). In order to combat the shortfalls of this inability, particular attention was paid to the study of political cartoons in the German press.

A specific limitation was the lack of access to *The Telegraph's* historical newspaper archives. As one of the most significant conservative English mass circulation newspapers at the time, this inaccessibility limited the accuracy and validity of the research and findings.

While the scope of the study necessitates examinations of the impact of the Eulenburg Affair on the Western European press as a whole, in order to reflect the transnational characteristics of print media at the time, the 'German scandal' being such, it was expected that the coverage would have the most effect and be the most ubiquitous in Germany and the German press.

Discussion and Findings

Analyses of newspaper articles from the following locations and publications suggest that the Eulenburg affair marked a shift in both the modes of reporting concurrent with the journalistic trends of the era and the depiction of the monarchy in the popular press (Brake, 2005). These depictions were found to be primarily influenced by the particular political milieus of each nation, and the character of the publications, partisan or otherwise.

Finding 1: The dominance of journalism over the monarchy

Perhaps the most significant theme identified in the primary sources analysed was the dominance of journalism over the monarchy. Reflecting both the political changes in German society, and the mass press' development and increasing political significance across Western Europe.

In the German press this theme was frequently represented through the use of satirical cartoons. *Der Wahre Jacob* and *Guchlichter*, both organs of the German Social Democratic Party, and as such frequently reported on the development of social democracy in Germany as a whole, emphasised the victory of the more 'liberal' press over the reactionary monarchy. In stark political contrast, the conservative and staunchly anti-socialist paper *Kladderadatsch* also included satirical cartoons to depict the victory of the rational press over the shameful, decadent, and degraded German state as defined by the Liebenberg Roundtable.

Perhaps the most salient, and certainly the most explicit representation of the press' dominance over the monarchy outside of Germany is a cartoon from the *Swiss Der Nebelspalter*, depicting the Kaiser aboard an imperial yacht, reading a copy of Harden's *Die Zukunft* (Figure 2). Seemingly suggesting the power and influence of Harden, and journalism more broadly, in determining the course of politics at its highest level, and valorising Harden as a saviour of German national dignity.



Figure 2: S.M.Y. HOHENZOLLERN, *Der Nebelspalter*, June 29, 1908

The English, Scottish, and Irish mass press continued this theme; An *Evening Herald* article dated from the 30th of October 1907, 'Character Sketch of Herr Harden' definitively framed the Eulenburg affair as a victory of the 'most intellectual and most critical classes in Germany', headed by Harden, as the 'champion of efficiency' over the woeful and nefarious 'group of courtiers'. Similarly, *The Manchester Guardian* and *The Observer* privileged the power of the press over that of the German monarchy during their reporting on the Eulenburg affair.

Whereas in the German establishment's press the dominance of journalism over the monarchy was nonetheless commented on, albeit with disdain and regret, in the English conservative press the tendency seemed to fall more towards discrediting Harden and the press. *The Times*'⁵ references to Harden as a 'political pamphleteer' and other similar epithets

⁵ Paper owned by Viscount Northcliffe from 1908-onwards.

seem intended to rob him of political legitimacy. This notable absence was also found to be present in the *Belfast Newsletter*⁶.

Of paramount importance is the simple fact that France lacked a monarchy, and had in its cultural memory a sense of having either ‘defeated’ or ‘progressed’ past such things⁷. Aside from a prurient interest in the sexual details revealed during the course of the scandal⁸, the French press’ reporting on the Eulenburg affair primarily focussed on the victory of the free press.

A notable partisan difference in the portrayal of the corruption at the heart of the Eulenburg affair along political lines is the forwards/backwards axis. The more liberal-left newspapers tended to frame the Eulenburg affair as an axiom for further change, whereas the more conservative-right newspapers framed it as a shameful degradation of German imperial power as defined by the monarchy and military.

Finding 2: Sexual frankness in reporting on the monarchy

The degree of sexual frankness evident in reporting on the monarchy during the Eulenburg affair was largely found to be defined by the location and type of publication. Salacious and mocking depictions of sex were found primarily to be in service of a broader view that the German monarchy was corrupt, hypocritical, and decadent.

The satirical papers contained far more discussion of sexual practices in their depiction of the German monarchy during the Eulenburg affair. *Der Wahre Jacob*, *Glühlichter*, and *Kladderadatsch* all frequently published cartoons that referenced or depicted the homosexual practices alleged in the German monarchy, military, and aristocracy. *Glühlichter*, representing a further left faction of the SPD, was notable for its satirical framing of the Eulenburg affair as part of a broader hypocritical crisis of morality that was being played out in the German bourgeoisie at its highest levels.

Der Nebelspalter provides what Domeier refers to as ‘a Swiss view of the North-South conflict in Germany’ (*Figure 3*), one that alludes to homosexual relationships marked by

⁶ An Irish newspaper with a ‘foreign focus’, marketed to the Irish industrialist class.

⁷ The distinction here usually a classed one.

⁸ See page 16

bribery between members of the Wilhelminian ruling elite and Bavarian working class, on the model of those alleged in Eulenburg's trial for perjury. This view of corruption and sexual immorality, intended to discredit German imperial power, is a pertinent example of the uses of sexual frankness as part of allegations of corruption in the mass press outside of Germany.



Figure 3: Nord und Süd, *Der Nebelspalter*, (May 9, 1908).

Despite not taking on a strictly satirical tone, the French press' reporting on the 'homosexual orgies' was found to be the most sexually frank (outside of Germany). Thus Beachy's contention that the French press abounded in glee following the revelation of 'Prussia's pink peccadilloes' does seem surprisingly apt (Beachy, 2015). More topically, it evokes recollections of the aforementioned 'libelles', known for their sexual salaciousness, and the birthplace of much of what had come to constitute the mass press in France (Darnton, 1982).

The English, Scottish, and Irish mass press' were found to have fewer references to sex than the press' in other locations studied. Nonetheless, the reporting on the Eulenburg affair was markedly more sexually frank than that of the Wilde trials and Cleveland Street Scandal⁹ with reference to specific allegations of 'orgies', 'Paragraph 175'¹⁰, and 'erotic friendships'. The implied correlation between homosexuality and political corruption was found to be weaker.

⁹ The Wilde trials and Cleveland Street are used here as a comparative due to their relative recentness and similarity in subject matter when analysing the depiction of homosexuality in the British press, and in the case of Cleveland Street, in the British ruling classes.

¹⁰ Germany's anti-sodomy law.

Finding 3: Loss of German national pride and prestige

Loss of German national pride and prestige was a significant theme in the mass Western European press' coverage of the Eulenburg affair. Typically presented as a result of the political corruption and alleged sexual deviancy in the German monarchy and military, this theme was found across all locations studied, both within and outside of Germany.

Reporting of the Eulenburg affair by *Lustige Blätter*, *Ulk*, and *Wiener Caricaturen* predominantly focussed around the theme of loss of national prestige. The use of allegorical national figures like the 'German Michel', 'imperial mother', 'Holy Emperor Frederick I', and *Jugend's* rather more literal 'New Prussian Coat of Arms (Liebenberg Design)' (Figure 4) are salient examples of the German press' focus on the Eulenburg affair as pertaining to the theme of national pride. Providing a vital outlook on foreign perspectives of German national pride and prestige, The allegorical figure of the 'imperial mother' returns, this time in the pages of the Belgian left-liberal newspaper *Le Cri Du Peuple* (Figure 5).



Figure 4: New Prussian Coat of Arms (Liebenberg Design), Jugend, vol. 11, no. 45 (October 29, 1907)



Figure 5: The First Clean-Up, *Le Cri Du Peuple*, (November 3, 1907).

Finding 4: Journalistic trends

A significant element of the Eulenburg Affair's political and journalistic significance is its concurrence with several key developments in journalistic form. Across all sources analysed, such developments were found. Fitting somewhat neatly into three categories, the key trends identified in the Western European mass press' coverage of the Eulenburg affair were courtroom reporting and scandal journalism.

Courtroom reporting

The practice of sending correspondents to the trials and into the courtroom, and the forms in which that information was then reported, the rise of courtroom reporting was clearly identifiable in many of the sources analysed. In Germany, almost all newspapers sent their own journalists to the trials, as did some more established Swiss, Belgian, and French newspapers. The English, Irish, and Scottish press relied upon correspondents. While *The Times* and *Observer* had their own correspondent (indicating both an increased political significance and a significant amount of wealth) most English, Scottish, and Irish papers were found to use telegrams from Reuters or The Press Association Foreign Service. In terms of content and form, near-daily, short form articles providing updates on the general state of the trial were found to be almost ubiquitous across the 'serious' Western European mass press. Mostly consisting of 2-6 sentence paragraphs, these articles detailed the court proceedings in a new journalistic form (Bosch, 2015; Bjork, 2007).

Scandal journalism

Concurrent with the rise of courtroom reporting was the rise of scandal journalism. Defined by both its form and focus, scandal journalism was typically lexically simple, focussed on salacious details – in the case of the Eulenburg affair, sexual scandal, physical illness and weakness, and emotional outbursts, and driven by discussions of status, character, and personal affectations. Contained within the coverage of the Eulenburg affair are articles by said scandal sheets; *The Manchester Courier and General Adviser*, owned by the prodigal son of British scandal journalism, Viscount Northcliffe; The Northcliffe-inspired *Irish Independent*; and *Weiner Caricatures*. In these scandal papers, discussions of the monarchy were found to be primarily focussed on personal affectations, emotional outbursts, and allegations of homosexuality rather than notions of political integrity or the image of the state.

The press discusses itself

With regards to journalistic form, a notable theme that arose across all locations studied was the press' metatextual discussion of its own importance in the Eulenburg affair. Many short and long-form articles alike were concerned with the minutiae of the press and public's responses to the case, including quotations from, and comment on the activities of individual publications (e.g the *Freeman's Journal* on the *Tageblatt*), partisan groupings (e.g the *Manchester Guardian's* on the 'Socialist Mill' on October 28th, 1907, *The Times'* on the 'Berlin Press' as a whole on June 6th, 1907), and direct quotations from other publications. In addition to this, both long and short form articles contained lengthy descriptions of the 'public sentiment' witnessed inside and outside the courts.

Finding 5: A complex and contingent relationship

The Eulenburg affair marked a significant shift in German political reporting. Exacerbating existing national tensions between the Wilhelmian ruling classes and both a rising bourgeois liberal reformist sentiment, and a mass working class movement, the depiction of the monarchy in the mass press seems to reflect these tensions.

There seems to be no evidence of a significant shift in the British press' attitude towards its own monarchy during the Eulenburg Affair. Comparing articles on Royal activity before, concurrent with, and after the reporting on the Eulenburg affair, no shift, qualitative or

quantitative, was found. In fact, if anything, it would seem the ‘German Scandal’ pushed the mainstream English press into the comparatively safe and reliable arms of their own monarchy.

Conclusion

This investigation sought to discover ‘*To what extent did print media (newspapers) redefine the relationship between monarchs and the press in Western Europe during the Eulenburg Affair?*’.

The foreign view of the German monarchy, Chancellor Bulow’s concern that the extensive transnational reporting of the Eulenburg affair would damage Germany’s reputation seems to have been proven all too correct. In view of such disdain and polarisation, it may then be concluded that the newly-international press served a curiously countervailing purpose in exacerbating existing European national tensions. There is limited evidence of a significant shift in the British press’ view of their own monarchy, with the ‘German Scandal’ seemingly drawing them closer. The impact on the Eulenburg affair in France would seem to be a deepening of both pleasure at no longer having a monarchy, and the existing isolationist preference. Other nations’ reporting suggests a competitive nationalist glee at the perceived weakening of the German Empire.

Analysis of 65 newspaper articles on the Eulenburg affair published between 1907 and 1909, supplemented by a review of relevant literature, found that qualitative shifts in the relationship between monarchs and press were contingent with existing political trends. The depictions of the German monarchy were found to reflect the biases and expectations of their readership, somewhat affirming the contention that the press and public operate in a dialectical form of influence.

Suggestions for further research

Further research could include investigation into the extent to which the press’ changing relationship with the monarchy impacted the relationship between the press and public.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Timeline of events

Abridged [with formatting slightly changed] from *The Eulenburg Affair : a cultural history of politics in the German empire*, Norman Domeier & Deborah Lucas Schneider (trans.)

1906

14 November: “Camarilla Speech.” Chancellor Bülow, addressing the Reichstag, indirectly confirms the existence of a camarilla in Germany.

17 November: Harden begins his press campaign against the Eulenburg camarilla with an article titled “Prelude.”

1907

13–27 April: Articles are published in the *Zukunft* with sharp attacks on the Eulenburg camarilla.

2 May: Crown Prince Wilhelm informs the emperor about the press campaign in the *Zukunft*.

3 May: Moltke offers his resignation as city commandant of Berlin and is placed on temporary leave as of May 24. The emperor gives him to understand that he is expected to take legal steps against Harden.

29 May: Moltke brings charges against Harden for defamation and libel.

31 May: Wilhelm II instructs Bülow to demand a letter of resignation from Eulenburg and inform him that he must either go into exile abroad or bring charges against Harden.

6 June: Because the public prosecutor’s office has rejected Kuno Moltke’s request to have criminal charges brought against Harden, citing a lack of public interest in the case, Moltke then brings a civil suit against Harden.

11 June: Eulenburg’s resignation is accepted.

28 July: Eulenburg makes a voluntary statement to the authorities, and judicial proceedings against him are closed with no charges being brought against him.

10 September: The writer and homosexual activist Adolf Brand accuses Chancellor Bülow of homosexuality.

23 October: The first Moltke-Harden trial begins. Eulenburg is excused from testifying because of ill health.

28 October: The Moltke-Harden trial ends with Harden’s acquittal, causing a sensation. Wilhelm II suffers a nervous breakdown.

31 October: The public prosecutor intervenes in the Moltke-Harden trial, now affirming a “public interest.” Because the judgement has not yet gone into effect, the trial is begun anew in a criminal court. Eulenburg swears a first “oath of purgation” in which he denies any violation of § 175 of the Criminal Code and homosexual “indecentcies” of any kind.

22 November: Eulenburg files a criminal complaint against Harden and his attorney Bernstein for defamatory testimony in Moltke vs. Harden.

1908

16 December 1907–3 January: Second Moltke-Harden trial. Incriminating testimony against Moltke by Lilly von Elbe, the principal witness for Harden, is declared unreliable by sexologists offering expert opinions. Eulenburg swears his second oath of purgation on

December 21: Harden is convicted and sentenced to four months in prison. He appeals his case to the Reichsgericht (Supreme Court of the German Empire).

25 March: An article by the journalist Anton Städele in the Neue Freie Volkszeitung alleges that Harden has taken hush money from Eulenburg to drop his claims.

21 April: The trial Harden vs. Städele takes place in Munich. Witnesses Georg Riedl und Jakob Ernst testify under oath that they engaged in homosexual practices with Eulenburg.

30 April: Eulenburg is questioned by Detective Superintendent Hans von Tresckow at Liebenberg and gives his “word of honor” as a prince of Prussia that he has not engaged in any homosexual acts.

8 May: Eulenburg is arrested on suspicion of two counts of perjury and is detained at the Charité Hospital while awaiting trial.

23 May: The supreme court of the Empire sets aside the judgement in the second Moltke-Harden trial because of procedural errors and orders a new trial.

29 June–17 July: Eulenburg’s trial for perjury is broken off on medical advice; after July 13 Eulenburg is a patient at the Charité.

25 September: The arrest warrant for Eulenburg is revoked. He is allowed to return to his estate after posting 100,000 reichsmarks in bail.

28 October: Daily Telegraph interviews Wilhelm II. The German public reacts with a storm of outrage over the emperor’s remarks.

1909

19–22: March Settlement reached between Moltke and Harden.

20 April: Third Moltke-Harden trial. Harden is found guilty and ordered to pay a fine of 600 reichsmarks and the costs of all three trials amounting to approximately 40,000 reichsmarks. Harden revokes the settlement agreement with Moltke and again lodges an appeal with the supreme court of the Empire.

22 May: Eulenburg leaves Germany.

11 June: Eulenburg is forced to return to Berlin by court order. His bail is raised to 500,000 reichsmarks.

14 June: Albert Ballin and Walther Rathenau broker a deal between Chancellor Bülow and Harden: the journalist agrees to drop his appeal. In return he receives 40,000 reichsmarks from the state treasury to cover the trial costs he has been ordered to pay and a formal affidavit from the chancellor stating that Harden acted from patriotic motives in waging a press campaign against the Eulenburg camarilla.

19 June: Harden publishes a copy of a new settlement with Moltke in the *Zukunft* to explain to the public why he has withdrawn his appeal of the verdict in the third Moltke-Harden trial.

7–9 July Bülow is dismissed as chancellor and replaced by Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg. Eulenburg's trial for perjury is resumed, but after he is taken ill in court it is postponed indefinitely.

Appendix B: Coded themes

Dominance of journalism over the monarchy

Sexual frankness in reporting on the monarchy and aristocracy

Allegations of corruption

Sympathy for the monarchy and aristocracy

Loss of German national pride and prestige

Journalistic trends: short form articles, direct courtroom reporting, 'scandal journalism', lexical complexity, quotations from other publications

The press discusses itself

Imperial Mother/'Germania'

Classical symbolism

To what extent does student participation in formal student voice contribute to youth political activism within popular social movements?

VCAA Number: 20194987R

Word Count: 4153

Abstract

This investigation analyses forms of student voice and youth political activism in social movements, as emerging social phenomena. The researcher's objective is to identify a relationship between past and current student participation in formal student voice and student involvement in youth political activism through social movements. The research undertaken intends to inform education facilities with a greater understanding of appropriate methods to encourage youth participation in politics, through student voice. Data for this study was collected through a survey of 99 Australian students, followed by focus groups, in conjunction with a literature review to support findings. Whilst the survey data was collected anonymously to limit the researcher's bias, coding of the focus group data was necessary to protect participant privacy. This data was synthesised, concluding that past/present participation in formal student voice has the strongest correlation to student participation in youth activism within popular social movements. Comparatively informal student voice, had a considerably weaker relationship with student participation in youth activism within popular social movements. Data extracted from the study and prior research suggest the structure of formal student voices, necessary skill set, and ability to influence political ideals of students are the reasons for the aforementioned correlation. In regards to youth activism in popular social movements, Climate Change, Black Lives Matter and Feminist social movements were identified by students and academics as having the most opportunities for student involvement.

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Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to acknowledge the traditional owners of the land on which I learn, and by extension the land this research was conducted - the Wurundjeri people of the Kulin nation. Sovereignty was never ceded and I extend my respect to all Aboriginal people and particularly elders, past, present and future.

Secondly, I would like to thank all the researchers and figures in the field of Student Voice. To Roger Holdsworth and Eve Mayes whose support and past research enabled this project, I admire you both and you directly inspired and supported me to do this research. I particularly thank Roger and VicSRC for your ongoing support and encouragement in my personal student voice and general development in the past 5 years. To Michael Fielding, although we were never in direct contact, your work became the focal point of my research throughout this process and I appreciate all that you offered the Student Voice research community.

Lastly, and most importantly, to my Extended Investigation teacher who greatly supported my work and me in the past nine months. Thank you for being someone who I trust with my thesis more than I trust myself. Without you, we would all be staring at a blank page.

Introduction

Student voice refers to “a form of active participation or social agency” (O’Neil, 2014, pp2) within a “students ability to influence decisions that affect their lives” (Fielding, 2001, pp137) and has been a significant focus in the education sector over the past decade (Fielding, 2004, pp198). Student voice as a “practice-changing practice” (Berson, 2019, pp26) has the potential to both “create a positive climate for learning” (State of Victoria Department of Education and Training, 2019), and contribute to civic renewal (Fielding, 2004, pp2). Conversely, youth political activism (also termed youth/student civic/political engagement/participation), referring to students “becoming involved in politics or social justice” (Duan, 2020, pp17), is an influential feature of current political discourse and integral to modern social change (Milkman, 2017). The “wave of [youth] activism has been building for decades” (Mcnulty, 2019, pp1), through “children and youth engag[ing] as social, political, and economic actors, demonstrating their capacity to help make social change”, specifically in social movements (Jessica Taft¹, 2019).

Exploration of contemporary student activism has led to insightful curriculum recommendations to facilitate political activism within the curriculum (Holdsworth & Mayes, 2020) and in depth analysis of climate change as a youth dominated social movement. However, it fails to articulate the student activists’ journeys to activism, in relation to their experiences of student voice.

The scope of the chosen question is an exploration and analysis of these two known and relatively well researched areas: student voice and youth political activism, specifically in relation to social movements. Although these two phenomena re-emerged at similar times, little research has been done into their relationship, hence the integrity of this research question. This research is critical to the fundamental understandings of the role students and student voice has, if any, in political and social change. This question, therefore, explores student voice practices within a secondary education setting and its potential application to political activism specifically in social movements.

¹ leading scholar on youth activism and author of *Rebel Girls* and *The Kids Are in Charge: Activism and Power in Peru's Movement of Working Children*

Literature Review

I. Introduction

As noted by Sukarieh and Tannock (2015), from 2005 onwards, there has been an observable rise in student political activism via a range of mediums (including media, protests and other volunteering). This increase in student activism has resulted in students becoming “increasingly central to policy, development, and public debates” (Sukarieh & Tannock, 2015, pp1). Student political involvement in social movements has increased, as demonstrated in the Students Strike for Climate marches² (2018) (Dupuis-Déri, 2021, pp5), the March for Our Lives campaign³(Holdsworth & Mayes, 2020) and Black Lives Matter⁴. Although this is not a new phenomenon, a diverse political debate surrounding this involvement has been re-ignited, with major stakeholders such as the former Prime Minister of Australia encouraging “more learning in schools and less activism” (Morrison, 2018). Conversely, the nomination of Greta Thunberg⁵, for a Nobel Peace Prize (2019) contributed to this political and social discourse (Carrington, 2019). The current public debate on student political activism validates its importance in the current climate.

This literature review examines the research domain of three key areas: student voice, youth political activism, and social movements. Whilst these three key areas are interrelated, and extensive research has been completed in each (Andersen, 2021; Blau & Shamir-Inbal, 2018; Crossley, 2003; Duan, 2020; Eide & Kunelius, 2021; Holdsworth, 2007; Jenkins et al., 2016; Lyons & Brasof, 2020; McNulty, 2019; Milkman, 2017), the convergence of all three is detrimentally under researched (Brooks et al., 2020). For the purpose of this study, they have been discussed as key themes. An examination of all three key themes is required to better understand the potential link between student voice, political activism and social movements.

²Students Strike for Climate marches (2018), is an international youth movement that mobilised students during school hours to gather in protest of governments ignoring the impending issue of climate change.

³ The March for Our Lives campaign in Parkland, Florida was organised by a student led group, focusing on gun control advocacy in America.

⁴ Black lives matter is a social movement regarding equality for people of colour and black people, specifically in relation to disproportionate police brutality.

⁵ Leader of the School Strikes For Climate social movement

II. Student Voice in Schools and Politics

Research into student voice, “termed pupil, learner or student voice” (Groves, 2013, pp125) is dominated by a focus on its relationship with school reform (Berson, 2019), teaching practices, and academic outcomes (Harrill, et al., 2015).

Student voice has been identified as a critical element of student empowerment (Andersen, 2021) and is now commonplace in education (Lyons & Brasof, 2020). Many researchers contend that student voice practices such as: “Collaborative learning, peer tutoring and peer assessment may considerably improve learning outcomes” yet these “are still largely under-exploited” (Theodoropoulos et al., 2016, pp375). Student voice invites the involvement of teachers as facilitators and partners in schools (Fielding, 2004), enabling “students to develop greater influence and control over their learning” (Quinn & Owen, 2016, pp61). Despite Fielding's reflection on an increase of student voice discourse (Fielding, 2004), “possibilities for students to have ‘voice’... [are] currently limited in Australia” (Mayes et al., 2021, pp1). Although, “some tensions...are inevitable” (Groves, 2013, pp126), Fielding and Rudduck (2006,pp220) express concerns of “schools' motivations in adopting student voice” and others of their genuineness (Quinn & Owen, 2016). Holdsworth outlines an additional concern, that “student voice initiatives are often for youth who...fit into traditional adult views of well-spoken leaders” (Holdsworth, 2000, pp353) and therefore inadequately represent all students and their needs.

The real life manifestations of student voice practices are undermined by most studies' exclusive restriction to the confines of the school environment and more specifically, the classroom (Blau & Shamir-Inbal, 2018;O'Neil, 2014). Contrastingly, some researchers strongly identify with the belief that student voice can “create new practices and proposals for a more vibrant society” (Fielding, 2004,pp198). Exploration of contemporary student activism has led to insightful curriculum recommendations to facilitate political activism within curriculum (Holdsworth & Mayes, 2020), reflecting on students' ability “to interact in curriculum, in mutually enriching ways” (Zipin, 2020, pp111). Academia acknowledges that the “system-world of schooling places obstacles in the way of connecting curriculum to life-world knowledge” (Zipin, 2020, pp112) and that “[T]eachers rarely draw on ... the ‘funds of knowledge’ ... outside the context of the classroom.” (Moll et al.,1992,

pp134). Additionally, Berson (2019) alludes that, in today's political context, students have 'voices', yet unequally, adults have opinions and therefore superiority in political discourse and the shaping of society.

III. Informal and Formal Student Voice

Informal student voice refers to "informal pathways, such as daily teacher/student interactions, consultation with students and students collaborating with teachers in learning contributed to elevating the power of student voice in the school community." (Quinn & Owen, 2016, pp60). This "supportive non-threatening climate" (Pashiardis, 2000, pp224) creates an atmosphere where "dialogue is student-led rather than teacher-led" (Fielding, 2004, pp202) where "learning will be enhanced through increasingly employing student-centred pedagogies." (Kariippanon et al., 2019, pp2). Mitra illuminates the successes of this approach, explaining that it has made "improvements in teacher–student relationships, teaching practice and pedagogical approaches, curriculum change and improvement" (Mitra, 2008). Informal student voice "make[s] it possible for more students to take part in and reap the benefits of student voice initiatives." (Lyons & Brasof, 2020, pp357), addressing Holdsworth's (2000) aforementioned concern of limited student representation.

Formal student voice refers to "models for student participation and representation in schools" (Holdsworth, 2007, pp4), through "structured practices of elections and representations, [in] which students engage in formal decision-making," (Groves, 2013, pp128). This structure "enable[s] students to participate as representatives to consult, to collaborate in or lead formal decision making on behalf of their collective peers" (Quinn & Owen, 2016, pp61). Terriquez (2015, pp224) alludes to the possibility that this involvement may lead to future political activism however these models for student voice are frequently criticised for their "performative" and "superficial" (Horgan et al., 2016, pp274) nature. Extending, these systems are often tokenistic, "based upon the selection of students least likely to be disruptive or difficult" (Horgan et al., 2016, pp279). Mitra agrees that "often [they] are purely consultative and opportunities for students to ... 'build leadership capacities'" (Mitra & Gross, 2009, pp523). Holdsworth explains that these structures are often reduced to "social event planning and are rarely able to address educational issues" (Holdsworth, 2000, pp354), reaffirming a reoccurring critique of these structures.

IV. Youth political activism

Youth political activism, also termed youth/student civic/political engagement/participation, refers to students “becoming involved in politics or social justice” (Duan, 2020, pp17). Kirshner accredits the lack of student “opportunities to vote or hold formal seats on [political] decision-making bodies” and students’ “transition toward greater social responsibility.” as a cause of youth political activism because it “give[s] voice to their hopes and concerns” hence their social justice focus (Kirshner, 2007; Fielding, 2004; Mayes et al., 2021; Terriquez, 2015; Jenkins et al., 2016). Mayes et al. (2021, pp2) contend that “young people across the world have become increasingly vocal and impassioned in recent years” in relation to political issues. Fielding recommends “the renewal of education for civic society at once” (Fielding, 2004, pp197) building on the practice of “youth activism as a context for learning and development” (Kirshner, 2007, pp367). This increase in youth political activism, although recent, has already “refreshed and renewed the public’s symbolic power” (Jenkins et al., 2016), through the means of significant political engagement (Pilkington & Pollock, 2015). Jenkins et al. (2016, pp2) briefly outlines the role of social media in youth political activism, as students are “constantly tuned in to the larger world through social media”.

Reflecting on the challenges facing youth political activism, researchers identify the education system, and ageism-based power hierarchy as significant barriers (Mayes et al., 2021; Duan, 2020; Berson, 2019; Kirshner, 2007). Elaborating, Mayes et al. (2021, pp1) identifies school policies as “dampen[ing] potentials for connecting young people’s democratic and activist impulses”. Additionally, “students have been dismissed by our contemporary political sphere” (Duan, 2020, pp17) due to the lack of recognition that “children have valid opinions” (Berson, 2019, pp26). The lack of “opportunities to...give input into political decision making” (Kirshner, 2007, pp367) has resulted in “activists who had previously experienced hope and positive aspirations... retreat from activism”(Eide & Kunelius, 2021, pp169), presenting another key barrier to youth political activism.

Social Movements

Despite societal stereotypes of Millennials (1981-1996) and Generation Z/iGen (1997-2010) as “snowflakes!” (Jewell, 2022), four of the largest social movements were led by students (Milkman, 2017, pp6). “Student movements both historically and currently play critical roles in the shaping of society” (Milkman, 2017, pp7), as demonstrated by the Greensboro sit-ins in America (Duan, 2020). The emergence of social movements in which “young adults are overrepresented” (Milkman, 2017, pp2) are the “stuff of movement legends” (Crossley, 2003, pp287), elevated through social media (Eide & Kunelius, 2021). Extrapolating on the benefits of engaging in social movements, the “public nature of campaigns provides...frames for adolescent identity development,” (Kirshner, 2007, pp373) and in reference to the climate change social movement, “re-energize[s] the message of climate science” (Eide & Kunelius, 2021, pp169). Some academics critique these youth-dominated social movements as the “generationally specific experiences...[that] have disproportionately influenced social movement agendas.” (Milkman, 2017, pp2).

V. Conclusion

While there is an abundance of academic literature on youth political activism, student voice and social movements as individual themes, there is minimal scholarship examining the intersection of all three areas. There is extensive literary criticism on the themes exclusively (Andersen, 2021; Blau & Shamir-Inbal, 2018; Crossley, 2003; Dunlop et al., 2021; Holdsworth, 2000; Harrill et al., 2015; Berson, 2019; Kariippanon et al., 2019; Lyons & Brasof, 2020; Milkman, 2017; Pashiardis, 2000; Quinn & Owen, 2016; Terriquez, 2015; Theodoropoulos et al., 2016), however, this research has tended to focus on the themes in isolation. A notable exception is Fielding’s (2004) paper, connecting ““New wave” student voice and Renewal of Civic Society”, and Mayes and Holdsworth’s (2020) study, utilising student activism to inform curriculum recommendations to encourage political activism. However, their broad focus did not examine in depth the potential of a dependency between student experiences of types of student voice and youth political activism.

Methodology

This investigation chose a mixed research methodology, “incorporat[ing] elements of both qualitative and quantitative approaches” (Creswell, 2014,pp33) through a literature review, survey and focus groups. The utilisation of both surveys and focus groups proved effective in data collection in the interest area of youth civics and student voice, as seen in other studies in similar areas (Buaml, Blevins & Smith, 2022; Pilkington & Pollock, 2015; Hood, 2017). By utilising both primary data and research synthesis, the triangulation of findings and assurance of accuracy through divergence and/or convergence was considerably improved (Clarke and Suri, 2009). Research synthesis enabled a more sophisticated and refined approach in analysis of the primary data collected from the survey and focus groups, supported by literature reviews and/or case studies, reaffirmed by numerous relevant academics (Buaml, Blevins & Smith, 2022; Finn & Momani, 2019; Russell, et al. 2009; Spellings & Olsen, 2012).

I. Survey and Focus Groups

To analyse the extent to which involvement in formal student voice influences student participation in social movements, a survey was undertaken. Participants were asked to identify and share their experiences and interpretations of student voice, political awareness, political engagement and participation in social movements. The majority of the survey questions were closed questions to minimise misinterpretation of the data collected, however there were some open questions to provide further details and depth in answers (Bertrand and Millainathan, 2001) (*See Appendix 2*). Working in a similar scope of research, the intersection of secondary education and civic action, Buaml et al. investigated “Perceived Barriers to Civic Action”, using focus groups and surveys (Buaml, Blevins & Smith, 2022). The focus groups followed a semi-structured interview methodology (Merriam, 1998), with a duration of approximately 30 minutes and yielded conclusive data, hence this study’s use of the same method. Similarly, Streb and Morgan conducted surveys with students in classrooms in 10 different schools, allowing for a wide variety of demographics to be represented and conclusive data analysis (Streb & Morgan, 2001).

This study utilised an internet-based survey which was distributed electronically, via email and on appropriate social media platforms, to develop the largest possible sampling pool (Rotzocki, 2001). This study endeavoured to gather data from a sample group consisting of an equal age distribution, wide variation of secondary schools and an equitable range of genders to curate accurate data that is representative of student experience, in order to enable deeper analysis of varying demographics. This was attempted by releasing the survey to all year levels through whole-school portals (such as Compass and other school management systems), in a variety of schools across metropolitan and metro areas and in a range of states. The anonymity of this survey allowed participants to share their experiences, freely eliminating fear of judgement, and thus resulting in the most accurate data possible. Qualitative data generally aims to “explor[e] and understand the meaning individuals...ascribe to a social or human problem” (Creswell, 2014,pp32), whilst quantitative data “examin[es] the relationship among variables” (Creswell, 2014,pp32), hence both were utilised in the survey. The open-ended qualitative-prompting questions aimed to extract data regarding student experiences; similarly the close-ended questions aimed to extract data for an analysis of demographics. (See *Appendix 2*)

Two voluntary focus groups were also conducted to deepen the analysis of qualitative data following semi-structured interview methodology (Merriam, 1998). An optional section of the survey was allocated to ask for volunteers for focus groups, soliciting a sample size of 6. The focus group questions were formulated to “explore themes from the questionnaire in greater depth and with the flexibility to explore interesting topics as they emerg[e] naturally” (Moll, et al., 1992, pp135). General questions were asked relating to the key themes of the study and then follow up questions prompted further detail in responses. These focus groups consumed approximately 30 minutes of participants’ time and were conducted virtually/online to minimise participant risk. (See *Appendix 3*)

II. Analysis of data

As per other analysis methodology in the research area, the survey and focus groups data were thematised and placed in an excel spreadsheet to extract similarities and differences, identifying patterns and anomalies in the data (Buaml, Blevins & Smith, 2022; Hood, 2017) to draw unbiased conclusions. For example, analysis of responses to Stockton University's survey investigating essential learning outcomes, developed an excel spreadsheet, comparing the results of individual responses to draw connections. Similarly, the "Perceived Barriers to Civic Action" study included a survey to collect data, thematising responses into relevant categories and effectively drawing conclusions (Buaml, Blevins & Smith, 2022), hence this study's use of the same methodology to identify the relationship between participation in formal student voice with youth political activism.

III. Ethical considerations

Several ethical issues were of concern to the researcher, relating to the privacy and security of survey and focus group participants, as per NHMRC guidelines. To mitigate these risks and ensure the survey is ethically conducted, anonymity was maintained in the survey and in the synthesis of qualitative data from focus groups, names were coded. Furthermore, all participants were required to provide informed consent before completing the survey and partaking in any focus group, and they held the right to withdraw at any time, following the removal of any of their data from the study. Additionally, there was potential risk pertaining to data privacy of participants in the focus groups and physical risks (such as accessibility, safety, etc.). To minimise these risk factors focus groups were conducted virtually, reducing physical risk factors greatly and all qualitative data collected within the focus groups was de-identified and coded.

Finally, cognitive bias (Haselton et al., 2015) will inevitably apply to this study, however awareness of this is a critical step to reducing it as much as humanly possible.

IV. Limitations

A key limitation within this methodology was the possibility of the survey yielding too few responses, however as 99 responses were received, it was regarded as sufficient data as per Smith et al. (2006). However, if this limitation had occurred, the researcher planned to republish the survey through other media methods to ensure the maximum possible number of responses. If these restorative efforts proved unsuccessful an analysis of pre-published case studies within a literature review would take prevalence and the researcher would strongly advise further research in this area. In relation to the focus groups, there were too few results and restorative efforts ultimately failed hence an extended focus on the survey data for synthesis of conclusions.

Discussion and Findings

When carrying out the survey, the investigation was successful in generating participant responses. In total, 99 students aged between 14-19 (*refer to Appendix 4, figure 4.1*) responded to the survey, creating a significant sample size in the context of the study. However, the distribution of age, state, living area, and gender identity was unequal, resulting in heightened representation of certain demographic groups within the data (*refer to Appendix 4*).

The focus groups were also successful in generating participant responses. Focus groups were conducted with a total of 6 participants and conducted in two separate focus groups. 50% of participants were from inner-city/metropolitan areas and the subsequent 50% from rural and regional areas. All participants were aged from 17-18 years and there was an equal spread of females and males.

Finding I: The Correlation

The data highlights that there is a relationship between students participating in formal student voice and partaking in activism within social movements. 45.5% of students who have participated in formal student voice within secondary school also engaged in political activism within a social movement, whilst 29.3% of students who did not partake in formal student voice, partook in social movements. The 16.1% direct increase of student engagement in political activism proportional to participation in formal student voice shows a positive correlation between engagement in youth political activism through social movements relating to their previous/current participation in formal student voice. (*Refer to Figure below*).

| n=99 (100%) | Students who have participated in formal student voice within secondary school | Students who have not participated in formal student voice within secondary school |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Students who have engaged in political activism in a social movement | 45 (45.5%) | 29 (29.3%) |
| Students who have not engaged in political activism in a social movement | 7 (7.1%) | 18 (18.2%) |

Figure 1: Student participation in formal student voice and political activism within a social movement

Comparatively, the correlation between higher ratings of informal student voice and youth political activism in social movements was considerably less profound. On average, students rating their school’s informal student voice above 5 (72.7% of respondents) engaged in political activism 73.6% of the time, and students who ranked a 5 or below (27.3% of participants) participated in political activism within a social movement at a rate of 70.4%, revealing a mere 3.2% increase on the basis of participation in informal student voice. (See Appendix D: Figure 7.9).

Researchers predominantly articulate that formal student voice structures are ineffective and tokenistic (Quinn & Owen, 2016; Fielding, 2016), thus this is an unexpected discovery. Informal student voice structures are often seen as more effective in improving student involvement (Fielding, 2004) and “elevating the power of student voice” (Mitra, 2008). Alternatively, Groves (2013) highlights the mimicry nature of formal student voice, which tends to reproduce the political systems of society and teaches integral skills of change-making, which suggests the legitimacy and reasoning of the correlation found. Furthermore, “organizational participation during adolescence” which can be extended to formal student voice, “can shape their long-term political interests” (Terriquez, 2015, pp224), supporting the finding of a link between formal student voice and youth political activism.

Finding II: Youth Political Activism in Social Movements

Although no survey participants listed their experiences of formal student voice as a factor of influence regarding their engagement in political activism, participants in the focus groups supported this conclusion. Participant D explained their political activism as a “natural progression” from student voice, aligning with Fielding’s explanation of student voice as “creat[ing] new practices and proposals for a more just and vibrant society” (Fielding, 2004, pp199). Similarly, Participants C and F, who participated in formal student voice both in primary school and high school, noted that it “aided [their] understanding of how things like councils and lower level politics worked” (Participant C). Participant F further added, “I don’t think I would be as politically interested especially in local government if I wasn’t in student leadership”, “suggest[ing] the possibility of a significant reciprocal relationship between the development of student leadership with... agency for change and community engagement” (Groves, 2013, pp138). In harmony, participant B contends that formal student voice didn’t “impac[t] [their] knowledge on a wider level”, but “helped [them] understand the importance of having a voice and influence over a community [they] are a part of”, linking their experience of formal student voice to their political activism. Focus group participants who had not participated in formal student voice and rated their informal student voice at over 5, expressed that did not “influenc[e] [them] being really politically active”(Participant A) whilst participant D added that it “impacted [their] participation in school”, but not political activism. This data solidifies the conclusion that participation in formal student voice has a greater impact on youth political activism than informal student voice.

| Participation in political activism (72 respondents) | Category of Reason | Students |
|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------|
| Reasons for participating in political activism (54.2%) | Making positive changes | 33.3% |
| | Moral obligation/responsibility | 28.3% |
| | Increasing Awareness/ Advocacy | 12.8% |
| | Other | 25.6% |

Figure 2 Reasons for participating in political activism

| Participation in political activism (72 respondents) | Category of Reason | Students |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|----------|
| Reasons for not participating in political activism (45.8%) | Lack of awareness/understanding | 21.2% |
| | Belief that it is unnecessary or ineffective | 15% |
| | Apathy | 30.3% |
| | Other | 33.3% |

Figure 3 Reasons for not participating in political activism

The non-compulsory prompt⁶ yielded 72 responses, with 54.2% giving reasons for partaking in political activism that were systematically categorised into the following themes: making positive changes (33.3%), moral obligation/responsibility (28.3%), awareness/advocacy (12.8%), and other (25.6%). Making positive changes includes to “make a better future” (Survey Response), “improve the government”(Survey Response) and “create change” (Survey Response). Outlying responses included; “in order to vote”, “curiosity” and “parents encourag[ing] change through us”(Survey Response). (See Figure 2). Similarly, 45.8% gave reasons for not participating that were systematically categorised into; a lack of awareness/understanding (21.2%), is unnecessary/ineffective (15%), apathy (30.3%) and other (33.3%). Eide and

⁶ “Why have/Why haven’t you engaged in political activism?”

Kunelius (2021) also identified ineffectivity as a barrier to youth political activism. Apathy was identified as a key demotivator for engaging in political activism encompassing the view that “Politics is a very risky subject as people may get offended”. A lack of opportunity, and the belief that they are “too young to have formally made up [their] mind” (Survey Response) were also identified, drawing on Berson’s (2019) concern that the lack of recognition of students’ political opinions infringes on their ability to participate in political activism. (See *Figure 3*). Participants A and D from the focus groups, both identified “being too busy” (Participant A), specifically with school, as a barrier to political engagement, indicating how the “system-world of schooling places obstacles in the way of connecting curriculum to life-world knowledge” (Zipin, 2020, pp112).

Finding III: Movements and Methods

Students’ engagement in youth political activism presents in a range of social movements and through a range of methods. Climate change (70.5%), Black Lives Matter (55.8%) and Feminist social movements (40%) were identified as the most popular social movements that students participated in (survey responses), mirrored in the focus group responses, aligning with the social justice focus typified in youth political activism more broadly (Kirshner, 2007). (See *Figure 4, below*). The popularity of climate change is reflected in the literature, including using climate change as an example of a youth dominated social movement due to the “unprecedented numbers of Australian school students...participating in school strikes” for climate (Mayes et al., 2021, pp2), and Black Lives Matter as one of the four largest youth-dominated social movements (Milmak, 2017). Students identified that the majority of political activism they participate in is through social media (78.2%), due to elevated support from “the current global, networked communication infrastructure” (Eide & Kunelius, 2021). (Refer to *Figure 7.4*). Jenkin et al. (2016, pp1, pp4) explains the heightened use of social media in political activism as a shift from the “informed citizen” to the “motivated citizen”, referring to a citizen who stays informed through social media but also takes further action through their “unique connections...with other like-minded youth through the internet”.

Which social movements have you participated in?

95 responses

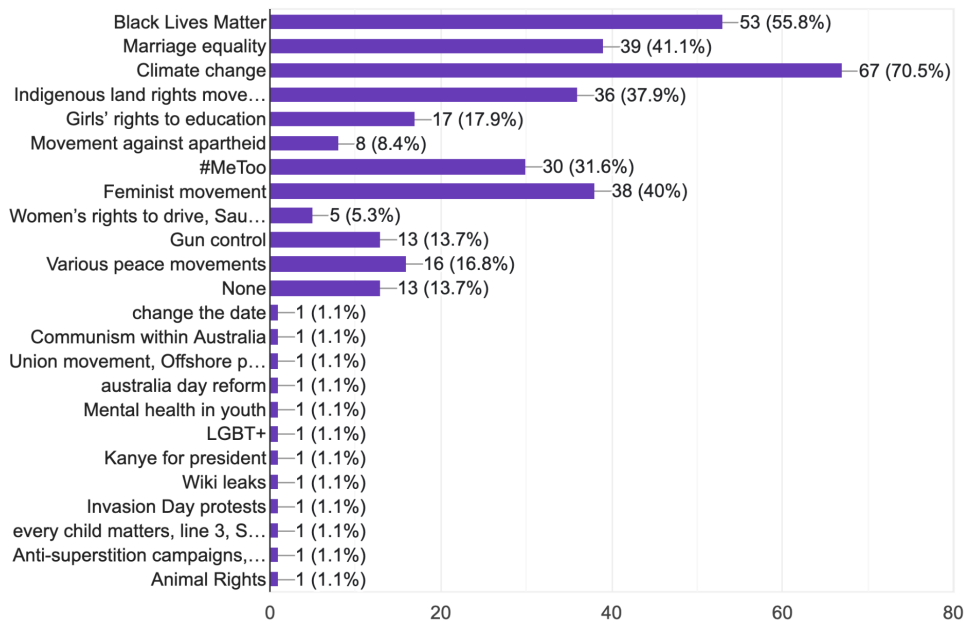


Figure 4: Participation in social movements

Conclusion

This investigation aimed to examine the question: *To what extent does participation in formal student voice contribute to student/youth political activism within popular social movements?* Through the research, participation in formal student voice was identified as increasing the likelihood of student engagement in youth political activism in popular social movements as a result of formal student voices' mimicry nature of political systems, its ability to instil change-making skills and capacity to influence political ideals of students. Moreover, the findings suggest that student engagement in formal student voice has more of an impact on youth political activism in social movements than informal student voice within schools. Climate Change, Black Lives Matter and Feminist social movements were identified as the most popular for youth political activism. Therefore, the premise of the research question has been addressed.

I. Further research

The conclusion that participation in formal student voice has an extensive impact on rates of student engagement in youth political activism in popular social movements, has important implications for further research.

The survey data disproportionately represents students aged 17 years old (51.5% of participants), students living in Victoria (92.9% of participants), inner city/metro students (73.7% of participants) and self-identified female students (64.6% of participants), thus further surveys should be conducted in order to generate a more representative sample pool and increase accuracy. Additionally, the minimal number of participants (6) in the focus groups was a point of concern for synthesising accurate and representative conclusions, thus in future research, further focus groups should be conducted in order to generate a larger sample size and increase reliability. Furthermore, research is recommended in regards to whether students engaging in formal student voice have a predisposition to political activism, identifying the potential relationship between political engagement/interest and involvement in formal student voice.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Glossary of terms used in survey

Formal student voice: Includes any official forms or bodies of decision making, advocacy, input from students within their secondary systems. This does not include hobby clubs (eg. debating) however it may include an environmental group.

Student voice: Ability for students to express values, opinions, beliefs, and perspectives within a school regarding school atmosphere, initiatives, teaching, learning and initiate change.

Political engagement: Taking interest in the state of politics either globally or domestically. This could include reading articles, following politicians on social media, engaging in political discussions, etc.

Political activism: Taking part in any form of civil action or political movements. This could include reposting political posts, protesting, signing petitions, etc.

Social movements: An organised effort by a large group of people to achieve a particular goal, typically a social or political one.

Appendix 2: Survey Questions

1. What school/university do you attend?
2. How old are you?
3. What state do you live in?
4. What area do you live in?
5. What gender do you identify as?
6. Did your primary school have any forms of formal student voice?
7. If yes, did you participate in formal student voice within primary school?
8. Does/Did your (secondary) school have any forms of formal student voice?
9. If yes, please specify what type/s of formal student voice
10. Have/Did you participate in formal student voice within secondary school?
11. How would you rate your (secondary) school's overall informal student voice?
12. Would you describe yourself as politically engaged?

13. Have you engaged in political activism generally?
14. Why have/Why haven't you engaged in political activism?
15. Please outline the time age/s of your engagement in political activism
16. Have you engaged in political activism in a social movement?
17. Which social movements have you participated in?
18. In what ways have you participated in social movements
19. If you would be open to participating in a focus group please leave your name and email below.

Appendix 3: Focus Group Questions

1. Did you participate in student voice in your schools? Can you please describe this experience? If you did not please describe the student voice initiatives that existed.
2. How did it impact you and your knowledge? (Politics, systems, processes, ect.)
3. Would you describe yourself as politically engaged? Why/why not? Please give examples?
4. How do you engage/learn about politics, if you do?
5. Have you engaged in political activism generally? Please describe this involvement. If not, please explain why not.
6. When was this? Was it in relation to a social movement?
7. Did it relate to your experiences of student voice, if so how?
8. Please elaborate on your participation in political activism.

Appendix 4: Survey Data Representations

How old are you?

99 responses

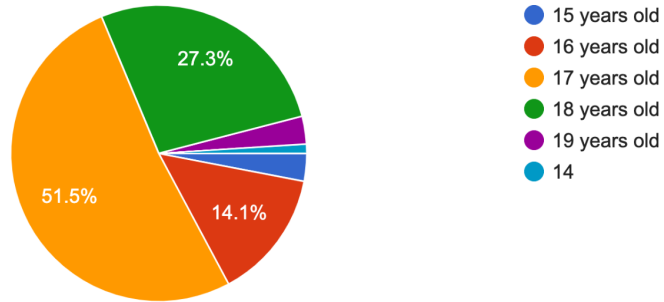


Figure 5.1: Age Demographics

What state do you live in?

99 responses

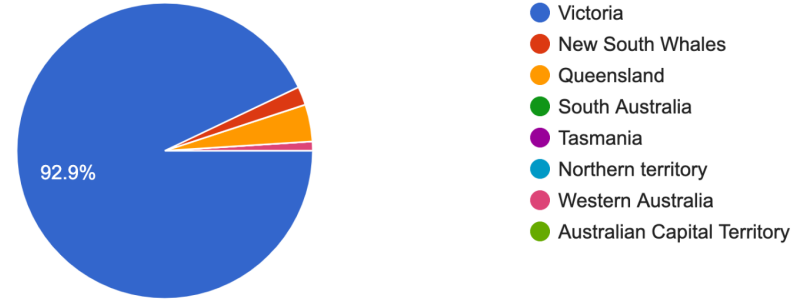


Figure 5.2: State Demographics

What gender do you identify as?

99 responses

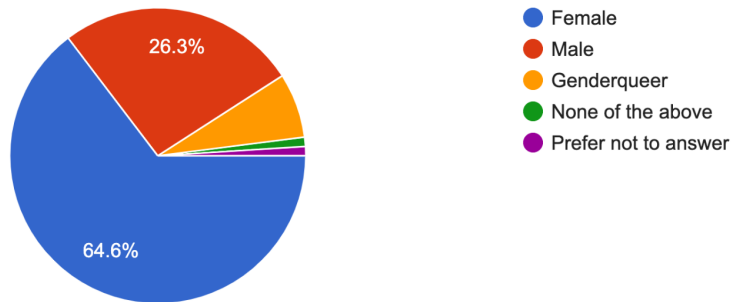


Figure 5.3: Gender Identity Demographics

If yes, did you participate in formal student voice within primary school?

92 responses

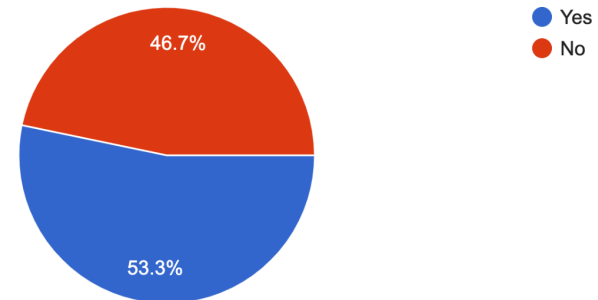


Figure 6.2: Participation in Formal Student Voice in Primary School

Does/Did your (secondary) school have any forms of formal student voice?
99 responses

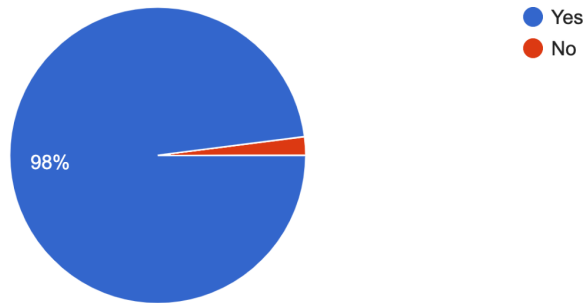


Figure 6.3: Existence of Formal Student Voice in Secondary School

If yes, please specify what type/s of formal student voice
75 responses

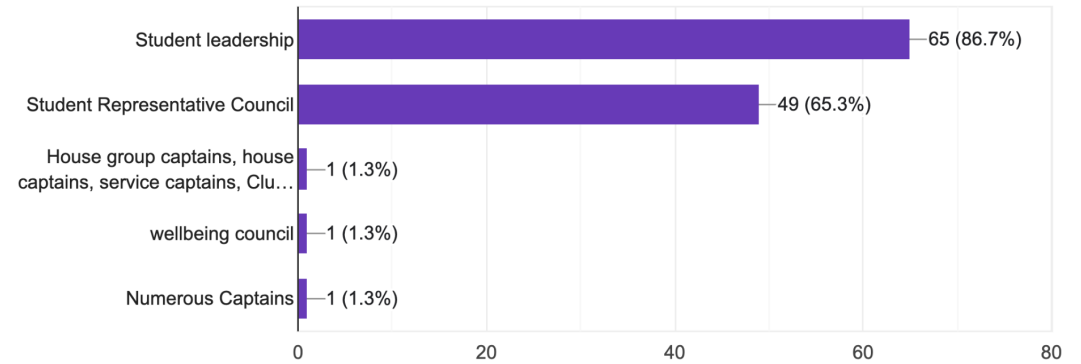


Figure 6.4: Types of Student Voice in Secondary School

How would you rate your (secondary) school's overall informal student voice?
99 responses

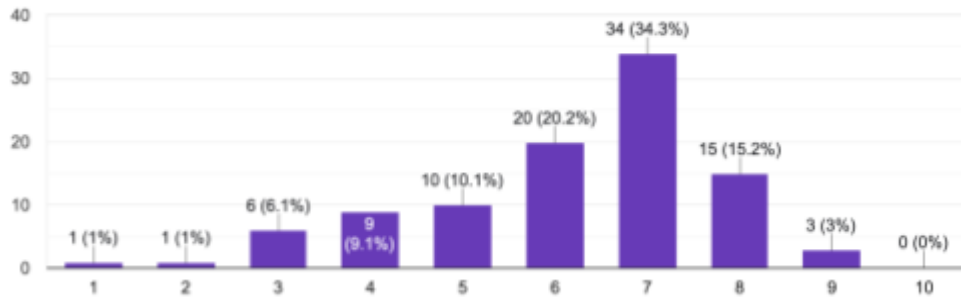


Figure 6.5: Informal Student Voice in Secondary School

Would you describe yourself as politically engaged?
99 responses

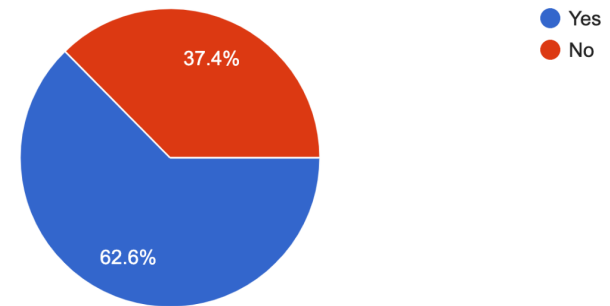


Figure 7.1: Self-ascribed Political Engagement

Have you engaged in political activism generally?

99 responses

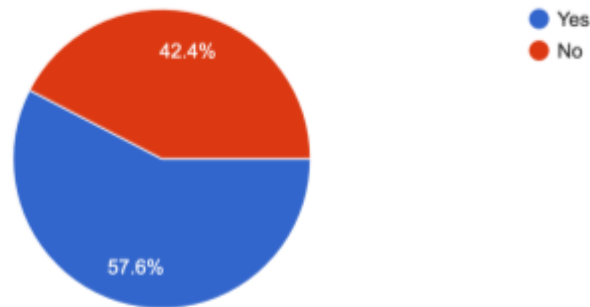


Figure 7.2: Engagement in General Political Activism

| Ratings of school informal student voice | Engagement of students in political activism in social movements | No engagement of students in political activism in social movements | Total |
|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 10 | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) |
| 9 | 3 (100%) | 0 (0%) | 3 (3%) |
| 8 | 12 (80%) | 3 (20%) | 15 (15.2%) |
| 7 | 25 (73.5%) | 9 (27.5%) | 34 (34.3%) |
| 6 | 13 (65%) | 7 (35%) | 20 (20.2%) |
| 5 | 8 (80%) | 2 (20%) | 10 (10.1%) |
| 4 | 4 (57.1%) | 3 (42.9%) | 7 (7.1%) |
| 3 | 6 (75%) | 2 (15%) | 8 (8.1%) |
| 2 | 0 (0%) | 1 (100%) | 1 (1%) |
| 1 | 1 (100%) | 0 (0%) | 1 (1%) |
| Total: 99 | | | |

Figure 7.4: Informal Student Voice and Political Activism within Social Movements

In what ways have you participated in social movements

87 responses

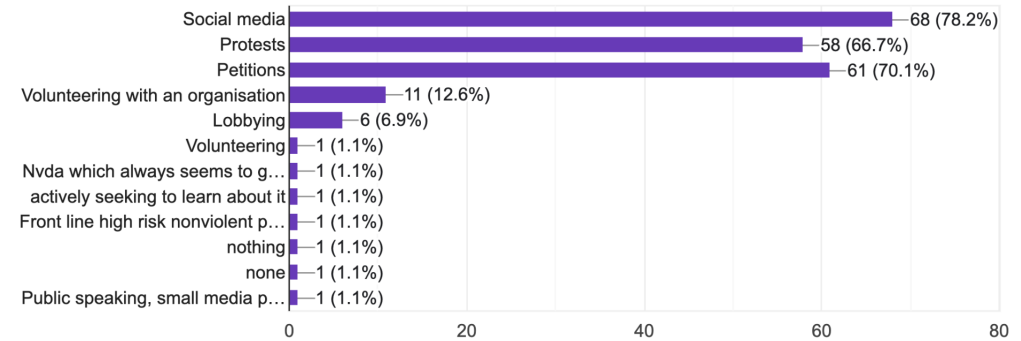


Figure 7.3: Methods of Participation in Social Movements

| Ratings of school informal student voice | Engagement of students in political activism | No engagement of students in political activism | Subtotal |
|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 10 | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) |
| 9 | 3 (100%) | 0 | 3 (3%) |
| 8 | 10 (66.7%) | 5 (33.3%) | 15 (15.2%) |
| 7 | 20 (58.8%) | 14 (41.2%) | 34 (34.3%) |
| 6 | 12 (60%) | 8 (40%) | 20 (20.2%) |
| 5 | 6 (60%) | 4 (40%) | 10 (10.1%) |
| 4 | 4 (57.1%) | 3 (42.9%) | 7 (7.1%) |
| 3 | 2 (33.3%) | 6 (66.7%) | 8 (8.1%) |
| 2 | 0 (0%) | 1 (100%) | 1 (1%) |
| 1 | 1 (1%) | 0 (0%) | 1 (1%) |
| Total: 99 | | | |

Figure 7.5: Informal Student Voice and Political Activism Generally

Have you engaged in political activism in a social movement?

99 responses

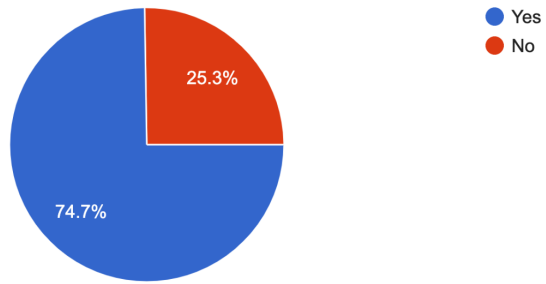


Figure 7.6: Engagement in Political Activism in a Social Movement

EXTENDED INVESTIGATION 2022

To what extent have incidents of birth trauma from prenatal and postpartum care impacted women's confidence in healthcare systems in Western societies, from 1990-2022.

Student ID: 20160154F

Word Count: 4,298

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ABSTRACT

Many women experience their childbirth as traumatic, with up to 45% of women experiencing birth trauma. This study examines the results of birth trauma and the resulting lack of confidence in the healthcare systems following a traumatic birth, as well as the importance of understanding the correlation between the support and understanding between mother and obstetricians in informing the development of care.

This quantitative study examines 10 studies: 8 hospitals and 2 home births from Western countries. Data arose from four key themes and is analysed using a thematic analysis process. Four themes are identified: “the experience of birth in the moment”, “connection and relationship with staff”, “autonomy over their own body”, and “medical interventions”.

Women feel that obstetricians and midwives prioritise the medical concept of birth over the women’s own needs. A preconceived idea of how their birth will go, a fragmented relationship with care providers, a lack of control over their own body and decision making, and the implementation of medical intervention during the natural process of birth, has led some of these mothers to experience birth trauma, PTSD and Postpartum depression. Obstetricians and midwives’ actions (prenatal and postnatal) can influence the risk of birth trauma. The service these care providers implement should always prioritise the mother’s physical and also emotional needs. Acknowledgement is needed that there is a risk of birth trauma if these are not prioritised and maintained. The resulting effect of this trauma can be the loss of confidence in care providers by these mothers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my brilliant classmates, my Extended Investigation teacher, mother and sibling, friends and cat and dog for all the lovely support and encouragement throughout the year. Your kindness is something I will always appreciate.

INTRODUCTION

The majority of women about to give birth for the first time, have an underlying fear associated with childbirth (Fisher, Hauck & Fenwick, 2005). In 2017 an estimated 810 women worldwide died everyday from preventable deaths related to birth (WHO, 2019), with approximately 2,700 out of 300,000 a year located in western countries (Ritchie, 2019). Greenfield et al. define 'traumatic birth' as; "birth [which] has involved events and/or care that have caused deep distress or disturbance to the mother, and the distress has outlived the immediate experience." As a result of the aforementioned underlying fear, it is likely that women will develop a level of distrust for their safety during birth (Saisto, Salmela-Aro, Nurmi & Halmesmäki, 2001).

The fear of complications and possible death during labour is heightened depending on the socio-economic status of the family, if they choose private or public health care, and if they give birth in a hospital setting or at their home (Goodman et al., 2004). Therefore it is important to identify the factors that cause complications and subsequent distrust of the healthcare system (Nystedt & Hildingsson, 2014). This research seeks to better understand these factors and their frequency in terms of birth trauma, its consequences and the trust in the healthcare system afterwards.

Birth Trauma, resulting from complications and women's pre-birth fears are common causes of subsequent Postpartum depression, PTSD, and general fear of giving birth in the future (Soet, Brack & Dilorio, 2003). General complications during labour and delivery include; prolonged labour, perineal tears, perinatal asphyxia, haemorrhaging, problems with the umbilical cord, abnormal heart rate of the baby, spontaneous labour, birthing positions, ectopic pregnancy (NICHD, 2017), (EPTCG, 2017), (Rohwer & Khandowe & Young, 2012). Birth stories, including women's traumatic experiences, shape public perception of the work of midwives, obstetricians and doctors and impact on the lives of their clients (Xu et al., 2010). This research is significant in its aims to better understand the impact of birth trauma and how it has shaped the trust and confidence mothers will have in their healthcare practitioners.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction to Themes

Existing literature outlines common experiences shared by women who have experienced birth trauma (Beck, 2018; Reed, Sharman & Inglis, 2017; Moyzakitis, 2004). Literature studies of birth trauma of women in western society during labour and postpartum, demonstrate suffering from physiological and physical distress (pregnancybirth&baby, 2021). Elmir and others state: “A traumatic birth experience can have a significant impact on the physical and emotional well-being of a woman, her infant and family” (Elmir et al., 2010).

Literature to date examines the themes of fears and complications of birth, which in turn leads to a traumatic experience that can result in PTSD and Postpartum depression (Simpson & Catling, 2016; Ayers et al., 2018; Hollander, 2017). Additionally, some research describes birth trauma as a result of healthcare practitioners seeing intervention as a normal part of the birthing experience even with potential side-effects of mental and physical complications (Çalik et al., 2018; Fox et al., 2019; Cole et al., 2019), suggesting that trauma in birthing experiences can sometimes be considered ‘normal’.

Women’s Fears and Prenatal Perception of Birth

The fear of childbirth, coupled with preconceived ideas around the birthing process and medical complications often dictate the majority of women's experiences of birth (Simpson & Catling, 2015). Soet and others distinguish that pain during labour, the delivery of stillborn or ill infants, hostile treatment, and feelings of powerlessness can contribute to negative birthing experiences, leaving mothers feeling traumatised and distressed (Soet et al., 2003). Thus birth trauma can occur regardless of the outcome of the birth.

A mother who experiences pain, stress, or confusion during labour might experience their birth as traumatic (Wijma et al., 1997; Beck, 1994). Feelings that it could “end in a catastrophe” and “the delivery may be associated with fear of losing or severely injuring the child” (Wijma et al., 1997) influences the experience of birth, making a woman more vulnerable to PTSD and postpartum depression. In a more recent study, Watson (2021) states that birth trauma has been “poorly recognised and insufficiently treated” in many cases, feeling left out or “poor social support” can add to the experience of birth (Watson et al., 2021).

Relationship with Medical Practitioners

Amy Delicate (2020) found “There was correlation between practitioners reporting having the skills and knowledge to support couples and feeling confident in giving support.” Thomson & Downe conclude that trauma is heavily influenced by the relationships with

caregivers, rather than the actual mode of birth (2009). Lee and others (2016) assert that professionals that respect women's views and feelings are more appealing to women. They further identify links between women planning home births, and lack of trust in obstetricians (Lee et al., 2016). Effective communication between healthcare providers and women is crucial for patient satisfaction and safety (Bürglin, 2008). Wilkins (2006) examined new mothers' experiences that might enable midwives to transcend traditional approaches to postnatal care. This is enforced by a review by Gucht and Lewis (2015) that found “women would like health professionals to maintain a continuous presence throughout childbirth and support a social model of care that promotes continuity of care and an increasing acceptance of pain as part of normal childbirth”. It can be assumed that the deeper the connection with obstetricians the greater the likelihood of a positive birthing experience.

Autonomy Over Their Body

A sense of feeling in control and having the option to choose is an explicit part of women's autonomy over their own birth (Watson et al., 2021; Sanders & Crozier, 2018; Fenwick et al., 2015). Haines and others (2012) conclude that women's right to voice their opinions about the mode of their birth predominantly have higher rates of birth satisfaction. However, Kukla (2009) contends that for mothers giving birth, autonomy depends on structural and conditional variables during their birthing process that can either “enable or impede various forms of inclusion in the decision making process”. Feelings of exclusion in birth factors into the mothers fears and attitudes postpartum (Tinkler & Quinney, 1998). Colciago and others (2022) advocate for support and sensitivity for mothers experiencing physical and emotional change.

Karlström and others observe in their 2015 article “The meaning of a very positive birth experience: focus groups discussions with women” that all women studied found that their own abilities and the trust and respect of their midwives factored into their positive experiences. This suggests that the loss of control during birth greatly affects mothers' process of birth, leading to misunderstandings, feelings of exclusion, and conflict with practitioners (Hall et al., 2018; Lyndon et al., 2018).

Implementation of Medical Intervention During a Natural Process

Medical interventions during birth may affect the mothers experience if they interfere with the natural process of labour. Sara Borelli and others (2018) advise midwives to address women's fears and to; ‘go with the flow’ in labour, as medical intervention carried out throughout the birth may contribute to women's negative birthing experiences (Çalik et al., 2018). Healy and others (2016) found similar themes when discussing how an assumption of abnormality in birth leads to unnecessary intervention. Their review suggests a closer focus on the health and wellbeing of the mother and child, a focus on the potential for adverse complications (Healy et al., 2016). Jansen (2013) advocates for the ‘normal childbirth process to minimise the need for interventions’ while also ensuring that when interventions become

necessary midwives and nurses provide valid reasons and make the mother aware of risks and so they can give informed consent (Jansen et al., 2013).

Conclusion of Themes

Four key themes have arisen from an in-depth analysis of relevant literature relating to birth trauma after a negative birthing experience:

- Women's Fears and Prenatal Perception of Birth
- Relationship with Medical Practitioners
- Autonomy over Their Body
- Implementation of Medical Intervention During a Natural Process

Delicate (2020) identifies that a deep connection with obstetricians and midwives heightens a mother's confidence in labour. A mother's lack of inclusion in decision-making can lead to feelings of exclusion and loss of control, affecting their perceptions of the birth being traumatic (Hall et al., 2018; Lyndon et al., 2018). The final theme in the existing literature indicates that medical intervention establishes the loss of the natural process of birth which can greatly impact a woman's experience (Jansen et al., 2013). These four themes have the potential to contribute to a mother's feelings of trauma as each impacts the mother's perceptions of prenatal and postnatal care. Furthermore, a lack of control and anxiety that mothers feel, may lead to the loss of confidence in their obstetricians, an effect that in turn can affect a mother's decision to give birth again if the trauma is severe (Watson et al., 2021; Sanders & Crozier, 2018; Fenwick et al., 2015; Haines et al., 2012).

METHODOLOGY

Source Material

Research in this field has been conducted through an analysis of:

- published first-hand experience interviews or studies, such as retrospective cohort studies, (Chen, 2018; Wang, Yee & Feinglass, 2022; Runkle & Sugg, 2022),
- cross-sectional studies, (Nikula, Laukkala & Pölkki, 2015; Wijma, Wijma & Soderquist, 1998; Sys & Rabijewski, 2022),
- semi-structured interviews (Einerson et al., 2021; Coates, Ayers Visser, 2014; Byrne et al., 2017),
- prospective studies (Elvander, Cnattingius & Kjerulff, 2013), retrospective studies (Asch et al., 2009),
- population-based studies (Bane, Wall-Wieler, 2021; Nilsson et al., 2012) and
- correctional descriptive studies, (Goodman, Mackey & Tavakoli, 2004; Nikula, Laukkala & Pölkki, 2015).

This material provides the researcher with access to nuanced, first-hand experiences concerning representations of trauma associated with births, and allows the researcher to identify similarities between women's experiences in their research. Each of the first-hand accounts have been sourced from already published studies.

Method

This is a qualitative study utilising secondary data such as case studies, and published interviews and reports, to identify links between negative experiences of childbirth and birth trauma. Data and investigation for this research include publicly available cohort studies, interviews, literature reviews, and data analysis. The research also includes a selection of journal articles and texts available through online sources, a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2016) and examined public studies (Crowe; Cresswell; Robertson; Huby; Avery; Sheikh, 2011).

Through codification methods, common themes between previous data and studies have been identified (Pierre & Jackson, 2014). Analysis of data collected and assessed has been justified by a review of related literature (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2012).

Due to ethics guidelines this study utilises qualitative secondary data. Qualitative methods encompass 'data collection, analysis, interpretation, and report writing (that) differ from the traditional, quantitative approaches'(Creswell, 2014). Secondary data allows the researcher to analyse previous published or available data to answer their research questions, or investigate

alternative prospects (Tripathy, 2013). By employing qualitative data analysis through public interviews and studies, confidentiality and anonymity is ensured.

Interview/ Studies Selection

A selection of specific criteria was elected when collecting materials recounting experiences of birth trauma:

1. There must be at least two studies from each decade from 1990-2022.
2. There must be at least 2 studies looking at home births, each from a different decade.
3. All studies have excerpts from interviews from the mothers studied.
4. All studies must originate from Western countries.
5. Each study must ensure anonymity of the mothers studied.
6. All studies must be accessible through PDF form.
7. Each Study must be translated or written in English.

The selection criteria is designed to ensure the research represents an unbiased collection of data and analysis, and ensures the researcher was able to adhere to the time constraints.

The Selected Coded Studies

The 10 selected pieces (*see Appendix A: Coded Studies*) are:

| Year | Name | No. of Participants | Hospital/ Home Birth |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1996 | A phenomenological study of the homebirth experience : The couples perspective | 10 couples | Home Birth |
| 2018 | When the Hospital Is No Longer an Option: A Multiple Case Study of Defining Moments for Women Choosing Home Birth in High-Risk Pregnancies in The Netherlands | 10 couples | Home Birth |

| | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------|
| 1994 | Women's temporal experiences during the delivery process: a phenomenological study | 7 women | Hospital |
| 1998 | A qualitative analysis of the process, mediating variables and impact of traumatic childbirth | 20 women | Hospital |
| 2004 | Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder Due to Childbirth | 38 women | Hospital |
| 2008 | Widening the trauma discourse: the link between childbirth and experiences of abuse | 14 women | Hospital |
| 2011 | Support during birth interacts with prior trauma and birth intervention to predict postnatal post-traumatic stress symptoms | 138 studies | Hospital |
| 2017 | Women's descriptions of childbirth trauma relating to care provider actions and interactions | 748 | Hospital |
| 2020 | Case Report: Healing a Traumatic Birth | 1 woman | Hospital |
| 2021 | A phenomenological exploration of parenting after birth trauma: Mothers | 10 women | Hospital |

| | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|--|--|
| | perceptions of the first year | | |
|--|-------------------------------|--|--|

Table 1 - The selected studies.

Application of Method - Secondary Reports and Cohort/ Study Analysis

Selected sources of approximately 10 sources (8 from births based in health facilities, and 2 from home births) has been coded to examine correlated themes, and synthesise similarities between patient experiences and outcomes of birth. Codification of the abstract, findings, discussion and conclusion of studies published between the years of 1990 and 2022 draws out four major themes that are present in almost all of the 10 sources. *(For evidence of coding, see Appendix C: Coding Analysis).*

Quotes and common statements from anonymous participants analysed have been codified and programmed using coding templates and sheets, drawing out four of the highest linked themes as to why women experience birth trauma. Formulating an analytical study has assisted in providing crucial information about the correlation between misinformation during the prenatal and labour stages of birth, and identifying evidence of birth trauma.

Limitations

Due to NHMRC’s limitations around primary interviews with people who have experienced forms of trauma, the research relies on secondary sources (ALRC, 2010). Bias occurs when researchers choose their sources, and are selected since they fit into their secrecy question and the conclusion they expect in their findings (Hernán, 2004) to prevent this occurrence, the research has chosen hospital and home births through a range of years.

Ethics

The studies and cases the researcher examines are previously published and open to the public so issues with confidentiality, consent and anonymity have already been addressed (Pearson, Albon & Hubball, 2015). Anonymity has affected the researcher’s understanding of the connection between the age, location and sociology-economic status and birth trauma of these women studied as majority of the studies don’t include the mother’s age and sociology-economic status. Proper citation of all sources and references is included to ensure no plagiarism occurs (Tran, 2022). As academic studies are the fundamental form of data collection, selection bias may occur (Tripepi & Jager & Dekker & Zoccali, 2010). The researcher has utilised different years and locations of birth to provide a diverse range of data collection.

DATA ANALYSIS

Analysis of 8 studies and interviews from postnatal mothers in healthcare facilities and 2 set in their home, published between 1990 and 2022 suggest 4 specific themes of why women experience a traumatic birth;

- experience of birth at that moment
- connection with staff
- autonomy over their body
- medical intervention.

These four themes are curated by analysing the findings, discussion and conclusions of the 10 studies. While identifying themes of the mother's dissatisfaction with their birth and trauma, the researcher has identified a correlation between previous studies overarching themes and the 10 materialised analyses in this work. Documentation of these major themes has been coded in the selection of studies and each instance where the themes arising has been recorded.

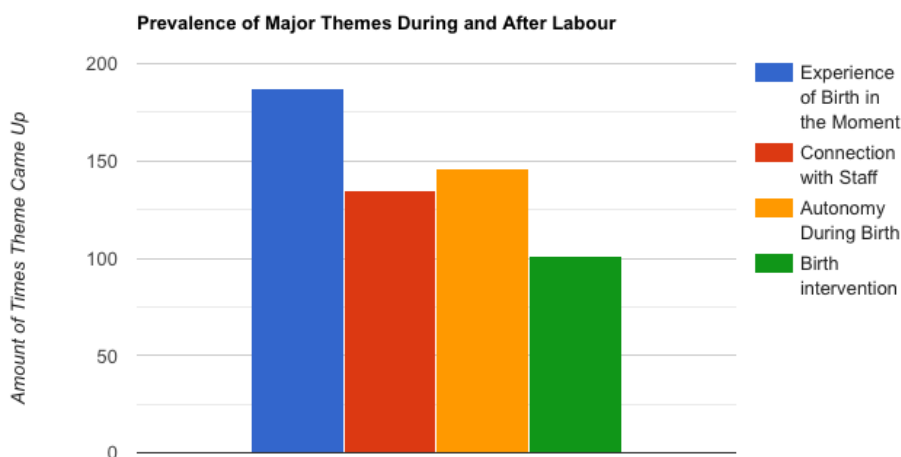


Figure 1 - number of times each theme was documented (in both hospital and home birth materials) as a contributor to birth trauma.

The graph represents the amount of times the four main themes are found in the 10 studies in both hospital and home births. (For a full list of themes see Appendix B: Coded Themes).

Theme 1 - The Experience of Birth in the Moment

The experience of birth during labour for mothers in hospitals and home births is different. The experience of birth is mentioned continuously in all 10 studies by mothers postnatal

rather than prenatal when expressing their ideas of how their birth should go. Experiences of birth in hospitals range from “distressing memories or “movies”” of their traumatic birth experiences (Beck, 2004) to “I thought I was going to die” (Allen, 1998, P1, p. 115). Home birth mothers feel “A sense of being on a high” and “feeling euphoric” and are glad to have an “undisturbed birth that I could have at home” (Holten et al., 2018).

Many of the participants state as a result of their perceptions of their birth experience that it greatly affected not only their experiences during birth but also after. Occurring 187 times in all 10 studies, 27 comments refer to past experiences of trauma either relating to childbirth or PTSD from a different event that caused either “an aversion to hospitals” (Holten et al., 2018) or “Women who had previously experienced sexual abuse or rape described how the actions of care providers triggered distressing memories” (Reed et al., 2017, p. 6). The frequency of this theme arising in each study suggests that the impact of perception of birth in the moment has a significant influence on the mother's experience of a traumatic birth.

Theme 2 - Connection (relationships) With Staff

The connection of obstetricians, and women during pregnancy and birth is similarly identified to have an impact on women if they believe their birth was traumatic. Identified 135 times throughout the coded materials this theme culminates in a clear understanding that a strained relationship between mother and staff can result in the potential for misunderstandings and a negative experience during birth. One mother reflects how “my OB’s lip service to my wishes and then his switch against them was traumatic. I found the comment “let’s get this over and done with, I have a golf game to get to” traumatic (Reed et al., 2017, P45, p. 3). Another mother states “I was so devastated at people’s lack of empathy. I told myself what a bad person I was for needing to talk” (Beck, 2004, p.221). The theme in hospital births from 1990-2022 includes messages of “care and support” (Ayers & Ford, 2011, p.1565), conflict between patient and doctor (Holten, 2018, p. 1884) and “lack of emotional support” (Allen, 1998, p. 116). Conflict and lack of support between mother and doctor or midwives occurred 86 times in all 10 analysed materials. In both home birth studies, mothers identify that conflict with previous obstetricians during birth and their lack of support led them to choose to give birth in their home (Morrison, 1996, p. 92 & Holten et al., 2018, p. 1889).

Theme 3 - Autonomy Over their Own Body

Similar to the lack of connection and support mother’s have felt, mothers' recounts of the absence of control and autonomy over their own body is presented in 8 out of 10 of analysed materials. A common form of loss of control are questions that obstetricians failed to answer (Beck, 2004, p. 221). Out of the 146 occurrences of lack of autonomy, 25 mentions in the 8 studies indicate that mothers felt out of control because their feelings went unheard or they wouldn't listen. “Hospital staff did not listen to me, didn’t trust me to know my body” (Reed,

2017, P485, p.4) and “And certainly when I wasn’t being listened to, I like, like, maybe actually I don’t know what I’m talking about” (Molloy et al., 2021, p.284).

The lack of power over their own bodies and the birth process has left women feeling frightened and traumatised (Klaus, 2020). One of the home birth mothers states that one of the reasons they had a home birth was because they believed they would have more control (Holten et al., 2018, p.1890). A mother giving birth at the hospital states “it was like being tortured because I was left on a bed screaming, . . . begging,” when not given the right to a Syntocin drip (Thompson & Downe, 2008, p. 4). These findings suggest a link between a mother's control over their own birth and how they might perceive their birth as a traumatic experience.

Theme 4 - Medical Intervention

Medical intervention during the natural process of birth is mentioned 101 times throughout 7 out of the total studies analysed. In this theme, 6 out of 10 women in home birth study 2 also expressed distress because interventions they weren’t aware of were implemented or they didn’t understand it could happen until it was too late (Holten, 2018, pg. 1887). While in the past medical interventions were imposed for the protection and safety of mother and child, research suggests that midwives and obstetricians can, through interventions, potentially create unnecessary trauma (Jansen et al., 2013). 18 out of 20 women in hospital study 2 felt pain and distress, that pain resulting “from contractions, internal examinations and medical interventions” (Allen, 1997, p. 115), one mother (P2) stating “I just thought I was going to die”. Out of the 101 mentions of medical intervention, the relationship between the intervention and a traumatic birth was only expressed when the procedure failed or went wrong, “ I would have a flashback to the instant when my body was pulled down the operating table during one of the failed forceps attempts” (Beck, 2004, p. 219). Flashbacks and physical complication of medical interventions is concluded to be the main cause of how medical intervention contributes to birth trauma.

DISCUSSION

Analysis of 10 studies, 2 from home birth settings and 8 from hospitals over a 32- year time frame has examined the four key themes identified that have contributed to birth trauma.

A painful, stressful and psychologically intrusive event such as a negative birth can affect a mother's experience of birth (Allen, 1998). Mothers who choose to give birth at home express a feeling of presentness and after a negative hospital experience, wanting to try a different route of delivery (Holten et al., 2018). Tinkler & Quinney (1998) suggest that deepening the relationship between midwives and parents-to-be will enhance the prospects of a positive birthing experience. Mothers identified in interviews that having a comfortable communication between mother and midwives, and being understood was an important factor in having a positive birthing experience (Thompson & Downe, 2008). Mother's who chose home birth felt that obstetricians failed to listen to their birth plans in the past, explaining a connection with staff and choosing the people present during the birth affected their birth experience (Morison, 1996). Karlström and others (2015) find an association between mothers' involvement in their birth and whether they have a negative experience looking back or in the moment. Autonomy (control) over their delivery has greatly influenced mothers' future choice of giving birth, and their confidence in their obstetricians (Haines et al., 2012). When medical interventions are implemented during a mother's first birth in a hospital setting, the medical interventions lead to dissatisfaction with their obstetricians (Holton et al., 2018). However mothers acknowledge the importance of medical intervention as a necessary part of the birth process if problems arise, (Beddoe & Lee, 2008).

The majority of research investigating the impacts of birth trauma on women's confidence in healthcare systems focus mainly on either prior fears or technical complications during childbirth (Melender & Lauri, 1999). Prior research limits the effects of a traumatic birth to psychological effects such as PTSD and or postpartum depression, citing birth as an experience that has the possibility to be traumatic, rather than the possible loss of trust and confidence in healthcare practitioners. This allows women's birth experience, if traumatic, to remain undiscussed or misinterpreted as simply part of the experience, and become solely their responsibility.

CONCLUSION

This study aims to investigate how the experience of birth trauma felt by mothers impacts the trust and confidence they had in health care providers. The research question has been answered through four distinct themes arising from analysis of 10 materials, 8 from hospitals and 2 from home births; experience of birth in the moment, relationship with staff, autonomy over their own body, and medical intervention collectively culminating in the feelings of birth trauma. These themes are all factors that have the probability to lead to postpartum depression and PTSD. There is also the potential for mothers who have experienced a negative birth process, to choose to give birth at home for their next baby. Results from this investigation have a correlation with similar themes in existing literature in this field, and the understanding of a mother's confidence to choose to give birth again or in the same environment after a traumatic birth. Findings from this research will provide obstetricians with a deeper understanding of the emotional toll of mother's prenatal and postnatal experience, helping to reduce some of the misunderstandings around the true nature of birth as an experience that can be significantly detrimental to mental and physical health for some mothers.

SUGGESTIONS for FURTHER RESEARCH

Further research could be taken in the form of a quantifiable study, exploring a larger sample size of interviews of mothers and their experiences with birth trauma during their first or second child and how their confidence in staff have progressed or regressed. The research could also see which four of the major themes were the most prominent reasons for mothers to lose their confidence in obstetricians. The general public would gain a greater understanding of the relationship between a negative experience of birth and the loss of trust in healthcare providers, and in turn shape the narrative for future mother's to have more confidence and control.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Coded Studies

Home Birth

1. A phenomenological study of the homebirth experience : The couples perspective (1996)
2. When the Hospital Is No Longer an Option: A Multiple Case Study of Defining Moments for Women Choosing Home Birth in High-Risk Pregnancies in The Netherlands (2018)

Hospital Birth

3. Women's temporal experiences during the delivery process: a phenomenological study (1994)
4. A qualitative analysis of the process, mediating variables and impact of traumatic childbirth (1998)
5. Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder Due to Childbirth (2004)
6. Widening the trauma discourse: the link between childbirth and experiences of abuse (2008)
7. Support during birth interacts with prior trauma and birth intervention to predict postnatal post- traumatic stress symptoms (2011)
8. Women's descriptions of childbirth trauma relating to care provider actions and interactions (2017)
9. Case Report: Healing a Traumatic Birth (2020)
10. A phenomenological exploration of parenting after birth trauma: Mothers perceptions of the first year (2021)

Appendix B: Coded Themes

Painful Birth

Fear

Connection

Trust

PTSD

Postpartum Depression

Loss of Power

Lack of Control

Autonomy

Natural Process

Medical Intervention

Other

Appendix C: Coding Analysis

Source 6- “Widening the trauma discourse: the link between childbirth and experiences of abuse”

| | |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| In this article | [27]. |
| Introduction | The pain, anxiety and fear exacerbated by disconnected care were also associated with psychological, physiological and psychic responses. For instance, a number of women highlighted ‘out of body’ experiences during their traumatic birth event. |
| Methods | |
| Results | <i>‘it felt like an absolutely, out of body unreal experience, it was like I was in a corner and watching everything’ (Kate, forceps delivery).</i> |
| Discussion | A powerful psychological strategy to cope with violence and trauma is the dissociation of mind and body [26-30]. This dissociative state has been identified in torture, sexual abuse and domestic violence literature, and considered to be a defence mechanism against fear and threat of death. It operates as an unconsciously motivated state to segregate the trauma from what is happening to the other, ‘the body’, to protect the psyche [28]. |
| Conclusions | Agudelo [31] postulates that a pre-condition for violence and abuse is an imbalance between heterogeneous entities – the greater the inequality, the greater the potential for violence. An imbalance in power between women and their caregivers was evident during a traumatic birth. The women in this study perceived that clinical professionals held expert, authoritative status over childbirth and women’s bodies. |
| Acknowledgements | <i>‘just letting them take over.[...] ... I just kept agreeing to things because I was thinking well they should know, they’re the midwives, they’re the doctors and blah blah blah’ (Holly, forceps delivery).</i> |
| References | A prevailing discourse of risk, and the consequent introduction of technical interventions created fear , dependency, and helplessness in the women, re-enforcing the position of power held by their caregivers. A number of these women finally agreed to everything suggested by their carers in a kind of submissive compliance, as in the quote above, and that of Jules below: |

Source 6- “Widening the trauma discourse: the link between childbirth and experiences of abuse”

| | |
|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| In this article | ▼ |
| Introduction | The term ‘being disconnected’ described the relationships between mothers and health professionals (both midwives and medical professionals) during a traumatic birth. A disconnected relationship was characterised by mistrust, and by fragmented and instrumental-focussed care. |
| Methods | |
| Results | Women spoke of being unable to ‘bond’ with staff because of the ‘cold’, ‘clinical’ focus of their care which offered no ‘encouragement’, ‘support’ or ‘personal regard’. |
| Discussion | |
| Conclusions | |
| Acknowledgements | Participants specifically noted that their maternity care was provided by numerous individuals throughout the ante-, intra- and post-partum period. This lack of continuity in care(r) facilitated disconnection through a lack of knowledge about, and empathy with, the totality of the woman’s birth journey. Women felt that they were barely acknowledged and that their experience did not register on any emotional level with the health professionals in attendance. |
| References | |

‘I had to grab the midwives hand, I didn’t feel like she was there for me at all. The contractions I was having at that time were horrendous and I was sat there on my own, totally coping on my own’ (Janet, caesarean birth).

Like victims of violence, the participants frequently recounted their alienation and isolation from social connections. Janet’s quote above can be read both as a simple attempt to gain the midwives attention, and, more controversially, as an effort to create a connection with the perceived perpetrator of abuse to control an otherwise uncontrollable conflict [26], [27].

The pain, anxiety and fear exacerbated by disconnected care were also associated with psychological, physiological and psychic responses. For instance, a number of women highlighted ‘out of body’ experiences during their traumatic birth event.

Source 2 - “When the Hospital Is No Longer an Option: A Multiple Case Study of Defining Moments for Women Choosing Home Birth in High-Risk Pregnancies in The Netherlands”

... in a hospital I am very nervous, tense, uncomfortable, my blood pressure goes up, all things that I thought [I could prevent] with the undisturbed birth that I could have at home, which would therefore also prevent the postpartum hemorrhage and the shoulder dystocia, those are all things that I [feel that I] would seek out if you would make me go to a hospital. I so dreaded that. (Woman, high BMI, home birth)

In six cases, the women had had a negative experience during a previous birth. These were not related to a poor obstetrical outcome (there were no cases of previous perinatal deaths or major maternal or neonatal morbidity). The women explained that they had experienced a **lack of** autonomy during medical interventions during birth (e.g., an induction of labor, instrumental delivery, or cesarean section) as traumatic:

He says: “I am not here for my own amusement; I am here to help you.” And he rams that vacuum pump in, literally. Like that! ... It has left me with vaginism. I never had that problem before. (Woman, home VBAC)

In four cases, an experience during the current pregnancy was also perceived as traumatic. These situations involved a **lack of** autonomy as well:

But before I knew it they were prodding my stomach to see if they could do an external cephalic version. That really made me close down. I felt so, ... like my sense of self-worth was compromised. That I thought: somebody is messing with my baby, without asking for permission, without any explanation. I thought: what is this? ... I would rather just go for a breech birth than have to go through this again ... It really was a traumatic experience. (Woman, home breech birth)

Some health care professionals we interviewed were aware of the fact that many women who birth outside the system have had a previous traumatic experience in the hospital. They believed that this made caring for these women difficult because of the extra time needed to ameliorate previous trauma, and that they were placed at a disadvantage by a pre-existing **lack of** trust:

... many people who have been traumatized during a delivery ... well, that’s where something went wrong in the past. And wrong enough that when I am confronted with someone like that, I don’t have the time or the space to repair the damage, to make them feel differently about the impending delivery. And that is a shame. (OB/GYN, male, home VBAC)

Community midwives and obstetricians often understand that previous trauma can influence a woman’s choices, but this does not necessarily mean that they want to attend a high-risk home birth:

Source 2 - “When the Hospital Is No Longer an Option: A Multiple Case Study of Defining Moments for Women Choosing Home Birth in High-Risk Pregnancies in The Netherlands”

Some community midwives and obstetricians believe that certain Internet fora actually create distrust and **fear** of the regular system and put women on the path of home birth in a high-risk pregnancy:

What I find difficult about that, is that there are actually certain movements, for instance the “Birth Movement” in the Netherlands, which, to my mind, create some sort of bias Who create a certain situation of distrust, which is not right either. So, I find that to be a shame where it is stated beforehand, that the doctors won’t listen. That there will be too many medical interventions and that unnecessary things will be done, and that opinion makes people afraid. So, in part it [birthing outside the system] is based on trauma and part it is based on information which I feel is not always accurate. (OB/GYN, male, twin home birth)

A holistic midwife explained that, according to her, there are two groups of women who choose to birth outside the system—those that have **fear** and those that trust:

There is a part, I think 75 percent, who come out of **fear**. They come [to me] because they are afraid of the hospital, that someone will think something of them, and will want them to do something they don’t want to do. To be taken over. There is a lot of **fear** there. Often, there is sexual abuse behind it. And then there is a smaller percentage, that is I think 25 percent, of people who come because it is just a better fit. They have no **fear** of hospitals, they don’t **fear** . . . decisions that may need to be made. And they just have confidence in things being right. So, there is a small group of trust and a larger group of **fear**. (Holistic midwife, female, high BMI, home birth)

In this negative case, there was no conflict in the negotiation of the birth plan because there was no consultation with a regular community midwife or obstetrician. Even though there was no aversion to the hospital, the Internet had an important part in the representation of the hospital as being not the best option for a breech birth.



What is the extent of the effect that
Victorian public schools have on student
health outcomes and can it be improved?

VCAA NUMBER: 20190569W

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Abstract

Health education in schools is crucial to the development of key knowledge and skills that support the ability to maintain a healthy lifestyle through proper nutrition and food choice. This investigation seeks to understand the effectiveness of the current grade 7-10 health and PE curriculum and how it affects student health both during and after school. The research question, *What is the extent of the effect that Victorian public schools have on student health outcomes and can it be improved?* aims to investigate one of the potential causes of Victoria's high obesity rate, a potential lack of education on nutrition and building of healthy habits while in school. The research was conducted through a literature review, analysis of current effective education and habit building systems and a survey of current and former Victorian students to determine if Victorian Public education supports the development of a healthy lifestyle for students. The research found that while the health and pe curriculum does adequately support students in some areas, it has significant flaws within it, mainly in nutrition education and student exercise. It was found that nutrition education lacked specificity, did not teach students enough and did not provide adequate nutrition education to students as well as not reaching enough students. The conducted survey found that only 30% of students were taught to read food labels and only 45% were taught about calories. It was found that while there was high awareness of the benefits of exercise, students were not meeting their daily exercise requirements due to limited class time and the fact that the health and pe curriculum had so much content to cover.

Introduction

Obesity is an ever increasing problem within first world countries and especially within Victoria, Australia. Over 60% of Victorian adults are overweight or obese (ABS, 2019) and “obesity has a clearly measurable impact on physical and mental health” (Dixon J, 2010) while simultaneously increasing stress on the health system through an increase in unnecessary health procedures. Rates of obesity among the adult population are steadily increasing, having risen 29% since 1990 (ABS, 2019). It is understood that unhealthy habits are largely formed in childhood, with children either not learning how to eat healthily or falling into unhealthy habits due to incompetent education within schools. Food and health education therefore relies on parents; people who often practise unhealthy habits themselves or potentially have no real qualifications to educate children on health related matters. Food

education is a common part of health curriculums around the world, but is only touched on lightly in the Victorian f-10 health and PE curriculum. Therefore the research into the extent of the effect of Victorian public schools have on healthy lifestyle choices and the impacts on student health outcomes is significant. In building an understanding of how the Victorian system could better serve it's students and aid in lowering the obesity rate of Victorians.

Literature Review

Health Education

Educating students on how to lead healthier lives and understand nutrition has proven to have mixed results in the health outcomes of students. Nestle M, 1999 describes the results as “modest” and “short-term”. However Jonas A. C. Silveira et al., 2011, found that interventions that fit a certain criteria had a stronger effect than those that did not. That criteria being “duration > 1 year, introduction into the regular activities of the school, parental involvement, introduction of nutrition education into the regular curriculum” . These interventions “have demonstrated effectiveness in the best-designed RCTs.”From the analysis of the RCTs that fit this criteria overweightness and obesity were reduced 15%-30% among schools that participated in interventions. Wagner M, Rhee Y, Honrath K et al., 2016, concluded that “nutrition education was helpful in improving the consumption frequency of fruits and vegetables”, increasing fruit and vegetable consumption is a proven method of increasing health. But a common issue found among these studies was that after the interventions, in this case education, the participants would eventually fall back to their pre intervention habits. Azdie MAB WAbd Talib R, 2007 concludes that inaction may be due to education periods not being long enough or the fact that eating habits are heavily influenced by parents, socioeconomic status and cultural norms. However, Azdie MAB WAbd Talib R, 2007 concludes that “well planned nutrition education programme could improve nutrition knowledge and promote positive change”. While the literature generally agrees that the

results of nutrition education are often mixed, studies that educated students for a long period of time and integrated parents were found to have a strong positive outcome for student health, proving the value of education as a method to combat unhealthy habits.

Teaching Students to Cook/Meal provision

Combating obesity through teaching cooking skills is an underexplored method of combating obesity, due to this there is not much data on the impact it can have. However, Jaime N. Davis Et Al., 2011 found that “gardening, nutrition, and cooking can lead to dietary improvements”. This intervention focused on Latino children over a 12 week period and showed that diet and health improvements could result from this style of intervention.

School meals are heavily focused on aspects of raising student health. Nestle M, 2013 found that “schools emerge as key locations for obesity intervention” and one of these potential interventions was school meals. School meals are meals provided to students throughout the day by the school, the meals are standardised and given to all students. This means that schools have control over a large portion of student diet and “food provided at school can have strong short-term influences on children's consumption of calories and key nutrients” (Oostindjer et al., 2016). The ability to control what at risk students eat for a significant portion means they are a prime environment for intervention. This is explained within Welker E, Lott M, Story M, (2016) which outlined that “The school food environment is particularly powerful because of its unique ability to reach children most at risk being of overweight and obese”. This study outlined that for school meal interventions to be successful they must “focus on improving the whole school food environment in order to have the greatest possible impact on children's health and well-being”, this means that improving both the meals given to children and the food available for them to buy. French S, Story M, Jeffery R et al., concludes that pricing strategies, chiefly charging more for healthier options, can be used to encourage children to purchase healthier foods and make healthier choices.

Exercise

Exercise is perhaps the most studied obesity intervention, especially within schools as it has been proven to have a very strong effect on obesity (Manoj Sharma, 2011). Dugan S, 2008

outlines the importance of exercise and ensuring it is age appropriate, stating “Moderate to vigorous physical activity is needed to convey health benefits in children and adults. To improve compliance, activity should be developmentally appropriate and enjoyable and involve a variety of activities” with a minimum of 1 hour of exercise a day. The intensity of exercise is also of importance, Votruba S, Horvitz M, Schoeller D, 2000 finds that “Evidence shows that exercise intensity, as long as it is moderate to high, does not dictate the success of a diet-and-exercise program” meaning that as long as exercise is of medium intensity or greater, it will be effective at reducing obesity. This study also came to the same conclusion that exercise must be enjoyable in order to increase participation. Headid R, Park S, 2021 concluded that “paediatric obesity is multifaceted, it is a condition that can be improved with effective and maintainable lifestyle changes”, this aligns with the literature that surrounds obesity which supports the fact that exercise shows strong merit as a method of combating obesity. Exercise is a key tool to fight obesity and is a tool that shows merit as a way to reduce childhood obesity. It is a tool that schools could use to better the health of their students.

Methodology

The investigation utilised four different pieces of information to create conclusions from, those being a short quantitative survey given to those either in grades 7-10 or people who have graduated years 7-10 in the last 7 years, a literature review of relevant papers on nutrition education, exercise, and the role of schools, an analysis of the Victorian curriculum and comparisons to relevant countries.

The survey was used to gather an understanding of how those who went through the Victorian education system view their education and recall what they have learned. A survey was chosen as the primary method of data collection as it has been proven to be an efficient, low cost and easily interpreted method of data collection. It has been used effectively in similar studies such as National School Health Survey 2015, a survey conducted on Brazilian students aged 11-19 years old in which surveys were used to gather information from over 10,000 students and turn their responses into easily interpreted quantitative data. The survey questioned students on what they were educated on, their attitude towards health education and how effectively they feel they were educated.

The survey was conducted with links shared by school faculty to relevant current and past students. The survey was sent to teachers at inner north schools and sent in a student forum channel. The survey was built using the free survey service google forms, a free survey builder that let the researcher easily manage their questions, respondent data collection and results. The survey took less than 2 minutes to complete to ensure that it held the respondents attention. Upon completion of the data collection the data was cleaned and used to identify feelings, trends and other information on how Victorians feel they were educated on health, food and obesity.

Due to the sensitive nature of topics such as food and health for many people, careful consideration was used when choosing specific words and phrases, what questions the survey contained and how the survey was structured. Diet and health are a sensitive topic for many people, due to this the researcher had to ensure they acknowledged and acted on this when writing the questions. For example word choice is extremely important not just because it affects the answers given but also because of how it may make the participant feel, words like “fat”, “obese” and “bad food” carry negative connotations that are likely to negatively affect participant mental health. These words therefore were not used and less negative language such as “unhealthy” or “non-nutritious” was substituted instead. Many of the questions were framed in a neutral way.

Participant mental health is of utmost importance when conducting the research and takes priority over everything else, therefore participants were informed that they can cease doing the survey at any time.

The population that was surveyed consisted of participants who went through the Victorian education public school system. The participants had to have been through grades 7/10 within the last 7 years as this is when the VCAA last updated the curriculum. Public school students had been chosen as the majority of private schools involve their students in extracurricular sports, which usually involve education on food and health. Therefore the only group of people that are comparable to overseas education systems and receive an education strictly under the VCAA are people who went to public, non-selective schools. The primary focus area was on schools within Melbourne's Northern suburbs, however the researcher attempted to reach students from other schools.

The literature review, understanding of foreign systems and the survey results were used to analyse the Victorian health and pe curriculum and analyse what it aims to teach students. The comparison was broken up into 3 sections, exercise, nutrition and school meals/canteen food. This was done to ensure a thorough analysis of the Victorian curriculum and its key educational goals. After analysis of each section, if issues are found within the curriculum, suggestions based on the findings of the literature review will be used to recommend improvements that the VCAA can make to the curriculum to increase healthy outcomes.

Findings-Analysis of Victorian System

The Curriculum

The Victorian curriculum is created and managed by the Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority. The Victorian education system mandates Health & PE classes for grades prep to 10 and teachers of these classes at public school must follow the curriculum provided by the VCAA. The provided curriculum sets out goals for and achievements that students should have reached through their Health & PE classes. Included within this are personal, social and community health goals, movement goals and understanding of the function of their bodies. Alongside this there are resources for teachers to use to help create their lessons. Health and PE classes in Victoria usually run one to two times per week. In conjunction with this, some public schools offer cooking as an elective subject, though this will not be covered as its presence varies due to the required facilities. The VCAA states the purpose of the class as this “Health and Physical Education focuses on students enhancing their own and others’ health, safety, wellbeing and physical activity participation in varied and changing contexts” (VCAA, 2017).

Exercise within the curriculum

Exercise, referred to as movement within the curriculum, is one of the primary focuses of the health and physical education curriculum. Movement is used as a tool for health, learning, the development of social skills and the growth of community, but the latter three take priority over the former. This is represented in the overview of the HPE curriculum given by VCAA in which the VCAA (2017) states “Movement is a powerful medium for learning, students can acquire, practise and refine personal, behavioural, social and cognitive skills”.

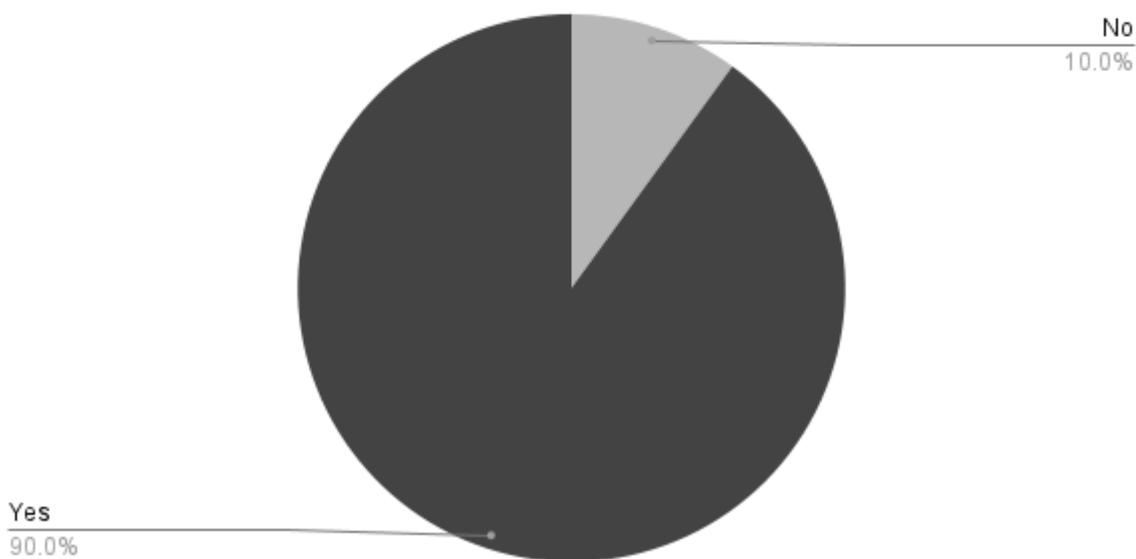
Movement is an effective skill and social skill building tool, but it is known from Manoj Sharma, 2011 that movement, or exercise, is extremely important for health. The VCAA also discusses how students will learn about the importance of movement, however it does not lay out any requirements for students to meet, such as a minimum amount of time spent exercising or a fitness goal that should be met.

The curriculum for formative learning to 10, referred to as F-10, has 12 focus areas, of these 4 are related to movement, those being; lifelong physical fitness and its importance, building of fundamental skills, physical games and the health benefits of physical movement. These 4 goals seek to aid students in building a movement foundation, educate students on the effects of exercise and aid in the development of healthy habits. When building fundamental skills, the VCAA resources state that games should be utilised, these games are movement based and at an appropriate level to the students age. In practice, this looks like primary school aged children playing easier games that they can understand and secondary students playing organised sports as a class such as soccer or basketball. This aligns with research, such as Dugan S, 2008 which states that exercise must be engaging and age appropriate for it to be effective.

Lifelong physical fitness and its importance are taught in the classroom with a focus on the positive effects of exercise, such as increased cardiovascular health, better lifestyle and maintaining a healthy body composition. This is taught throughout primary and secondary schooling, with a focus during years 7-10. It is taught through interactive learning, with a focus on both the self and the community. The importance of lifelong physical fitness being taught to students aligns with the current scientific literature, though there are few studies that examine the effects of teaching students *only* the importance of lifelong physical fitness.

In practice most schools however, do not meet the exercise minimums that the research suggests as health and PE classes are usually only undertaken 1-2 times per week, meaning that students are potentially missing 3-4 hours of recommended exercise per week. However the VCAA putting heavy pressure and emphasis on teaching the importance of exercise within the curriculum is reaching students. In the conducted survey 90% of the 30 respondents stated they had been taught “the importance of exercise and movement for living a healthy life.”

Were past students taught the importance of exercise and movement for living a healthy life?



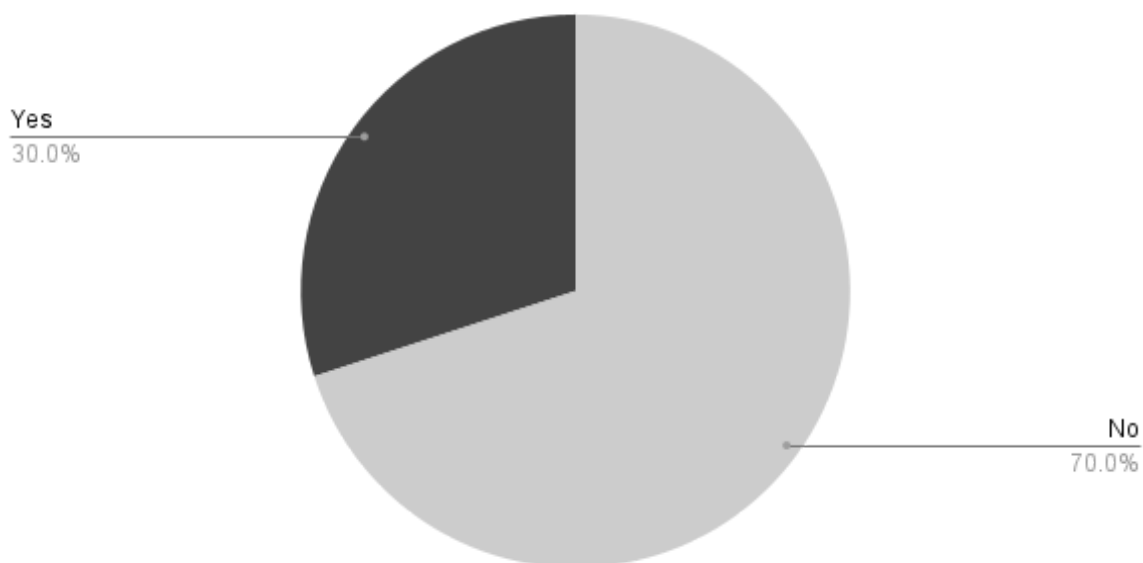
Exercise is a key component of the VCAA health and PE curriculum, while it meets many standards and goals laid out by relevant literature, it does not do enough to ensure that the health of students is maintained. Improvements could be made by increasing the number of health and pe classes taken per week by students or increasing the amount of exercise students receive, for example through the creation of a dedicated exercise class/program. Many countries have successfully incorporated exercise specific programs/classes into their school day. This practice is extremely common within China, where there are strong regulations in place to ensure that students receive a minimum of 1 hour everyday. While this is not the only reason Chinese children are less obese, it is a contributing factor to the fact that Chinese childhood obesity rate is 12% (Guo Y, Yin X, Wu H et al., 2019) while Victorias is 22.6%.

Nutrition within the curriculum

Nutrition takes up a significantly smaller proportion of the curriculum than exercise does, but the curriculum does address it as one of the 12 focus areas for formative to grade 10 learning. The VCAA outlines the purposes of nutrition education as “Food and nutrition addresses the role of food and nutrition in enhancing health and wellbeing. The curriculum supports

students to develop knowledge, understanding and skills to make healthy, informed food choices and to explore the contextual factors that influence eating habits and food choices.” In summary the VCAA sets out that students are to be educated on nutrition as a pathway to leading healthy lives. Health and pe content piece VCHPEP126 describes how students will analyse different food options available to them and examine their “nutritional value, value for money and sustainability impacts to create a weekly menu plan”. It is not foolish to assume that this means analysing the nutritional values of foods. However, when further examining the curriculum there are no actual lists of exactly what students are meant to be taught, for example teaching students about calories, macro nutrients etc. This means there is potential for students to receive different nutrition education based on what school they attend.

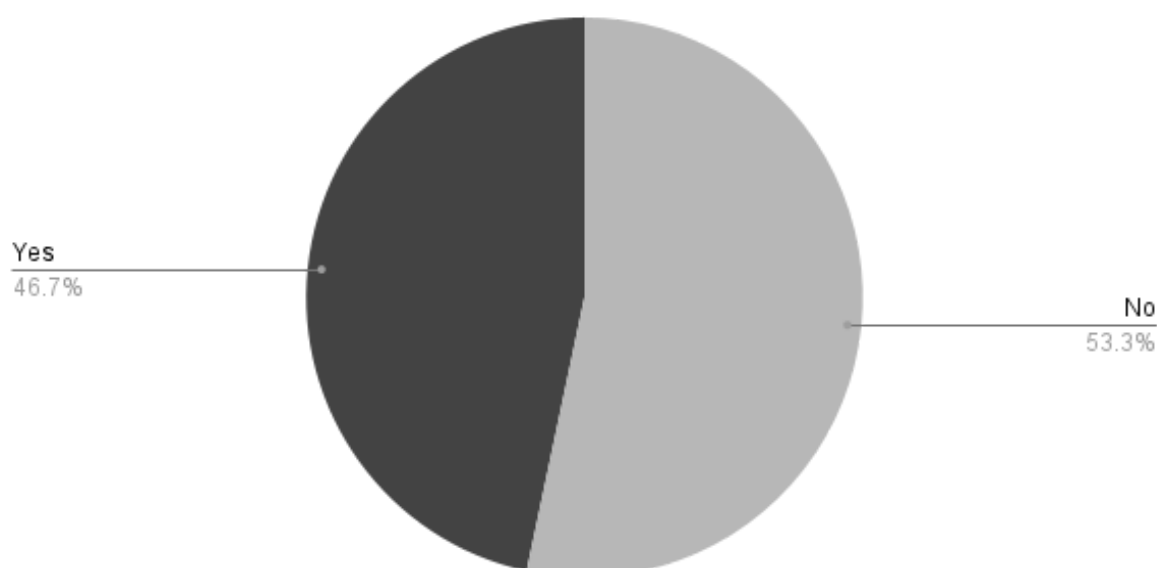
Were past students taught how to read food labels on packaging in their health classes?



When surveyed by the researcher and asked “Were you educated on healthy eating by your school? And if so, how well were you educated?” and then presented with a number scale, 30 recent graduates of Victorian inner north public schools gave an average response of 2.86/5, with 5 being the best possible education. While the average rating for their education was high, only 47% of respondents said they were educated on calories and daily calorie requirements which gives merit to the argument that students are at risk of receiving inadequate education. One area of nutrition education that did prove to be more consistent

was education on balancing meals to have the correct amounts of fruit, vegetables, protein and carbohydrates. Nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ (73.3%) of respondents responded that they had been educated on balancing their meals. This aligns with expectations from the curriculum, students are receiving education on nutrition and healthy eating, but the requirements for what they are to be taught are vague, leading to many students receiving inadequate education. The VCAA does not specify learning requirements for students, such as being aware of food pyramids, calories, or balancing meals and this is likely the root cause of some students having gaps in their education.

Were past students taught about calories and daily calorie requirements in their health classes?



In order to improve nutrition and food related education the VCAA should adjust the curriculum to have stronger requirements for what students are meant to be taught. Included within these requirements should be; education on calories and macro nutrients, education on balancing meals correctly, education on reading food packaging labels and restaurant calorie labels, the importance of fruit and vegetables for a healthy diet and the importance of not consuming sugar and fats. This education should be kept at a level that can be easily digested and implemented by the students.

School canteens

Australia is quite rare in the fact that meals are not provided by the school and instead students must bring their own meals to school. Most countries will provide students with meals, whether that is in a lunchroom style setting, classes cooking together or large meals. The reason that Australia does not participate in this global trend is that the vast majority of parents can afford to feed their children quality food consistently, meaning there is not a risk of children falling into malnutrition or receiving too few calories.

Extract from the VCAA Health and PE curriculum

However, students are permitted to purchase food in school canteens or “tuck shops” that are within most schools. For many students the canteen makes up a very significant portion of their diet, but in most schools the canteen does not reflect what the VCAA states children

Importance of a healthy school environment

The broader school environment should support the delivery of the Health and Physical Education curriculum. Learning in Health and Physical Education supports students to make decisions about their health, wellbeing and physical activity participation. If consistent messages are evident across the school and wider school community, this learning is reinforced. Students are also better able to practise and reinforce their learning in Health and Physical Education if teaching and learning in all curriculum areas and the whole school environment reflect the knowledge, understanding and skills delivered in the Health and Physical Education curriculum. A healthy and supportive school environment is developed through health-promoting school policies and processes, and partnerships with

parents and the community. The VCAA has rules in place to regulate the sale of certain items. These rules ban the sale of confectionary, chocolate and high sugar drinks, but these items are only a small part of the issue. While healthy moderated consumption of goods is crucial for developing a healthy relationship with food, schools must ensure that there are adequate and competitively priced healthy alternatives for students which in many schools is not the case. French S, Story M, et al., 1997 showed that competitively pricing healthy items and charging more for less healthy items showed a positive result on the consumption of foods within schools, yet the VCAA does not regulate pricing or health standards for student meals. The VCAA sets out that students are meant to be educated on nutrition and health, yet they place nearly no protections on children in schools. The VCAA cannot expect to choose healthy alternatives when they are often cheaper. The Victorian government and the VCAA need to adjust the rules that school food providers need to better reflect the values it attempts to teach within the classroom.

Avenues for improvement

The VCAA curriculum is lacking in many key areas, the content and intentions need to be more specific in exactly what children will learn through their schooling, especially in the later years. The curriculum also covers a significant amount of areas for a single class, covering sex education, exercise, nutrition, social skills, movement, community health, health, sexuality, gender and interpersonal skills. The content is extremely broad for one single class. One change that could immediately improve student health and the construction of healthy habits is removing physical education from HPE and making it its own class. This class should focus on ensuring students are moving everyday, the class should be run for a minimum of 45 minutes everyday. This would aid student health and help to foster a love for exercise. It is also proven to have a positive effect on student health.

A second change that could be made to improve the impacts on student health during and after education is increasing the focusing on nutrition. This could be done by granting nutrition significantly more class time and most importantly ensuring that students are taught about balancing meals, calories and macro nutrient requirements, consuming fruits and vegetables, how to eat less healthy items in moderation and what constitutes a healthy diet.

Overall health and pe should form a larger focus of the Victorian curriculum. When preparing students for life as school has been identified as a key intervention phase in the construction of a healthy nation. This would lower stress, increase happiness and lower government spending on unnecessary medical procedures. Of course education and exercise in schools will not single handedly solve obesity, but it shows strong merit and should be utilised.

Conclusion

The VCAA health and physical education curriculum is adequate in supporting students in select areas, chiefly knowledge on the importance of exercise, but in many areas it lacks focus on methods that have been proven to aid in helping students lead healthy lives and effectively lower obesity. The two main issues found are that students are not exercising enough or being taught about nutrition to an acceptable degree. While they are being taught the importance of exercise, they are not actually exercising at school. Schools should be ensuring all students receive a minimum of 45 minutes to one hour of exercise per day to support student health. Nutrition education needs to form a larger part of the health curriculum, it needs to ensure that every student is taught about calories and macronutrients, balancing meals, consuming adequate amounts of fruits and vegetables and what constitutes a healthy diet. Implementation of this, especially when incorporated at grades that students can understand, with partial parental involvement, a whole school approach and over the length of a student's entire education, is extremely likely to lead to a decrease in both childhood obesity and adult obesity.

Future Research

When conducting further research, a longitudinal study is of utmost importance. Observing the effects of long term education in conjunction with regular exercise on student health during and after their education would provide a significantly better understanding of this method of intervention.. This study would need to ensure it closely observes the effects both during and after education to accurately gauge the effects on student body composition and understanding of health.

Further surveys on students should also seek to survey more students from a significantly more diverse range of schools from around Victoria. This would broaden the understanding of how the current VCAA curriculum is reaching and educating students and allow for a greater understanding of the changes that need to be made.

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Appendices

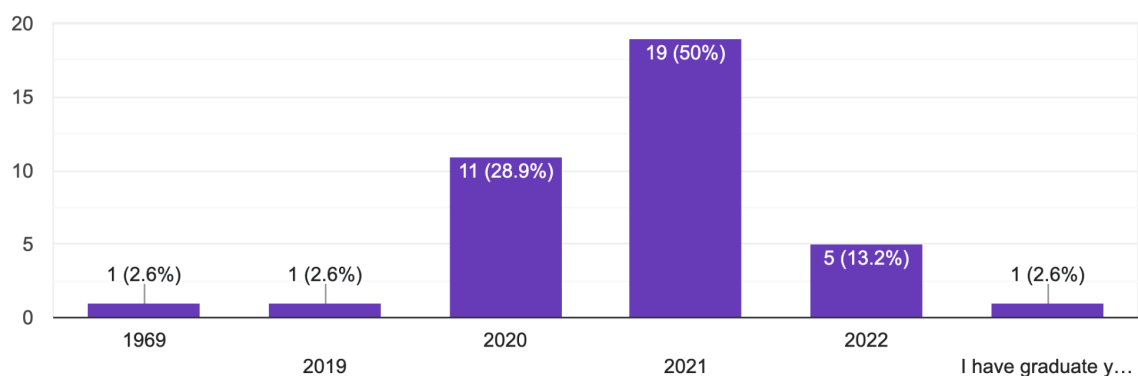
Survey questions

What year did you graduate year 10 or if you have not graduated year 10 what year will you?

XXXX format.

What year did you graduate year 10 or if you have not graduated year 10 what year will you? XXXX format.

38 responses



Question type

Did/do you attend a private, public or selective state school for year 7/10?

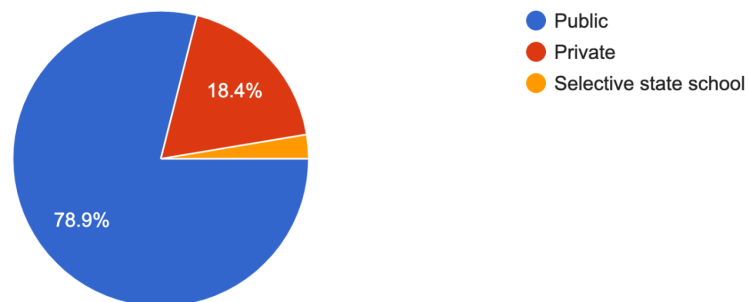
Public

Private

Selective state school

Did/do you attend a private, public or selective state school for year 7/10?

38 responses



Were you educated on healthy eating by your school? And if so how well were you educated?

0 Was not educated at all

1

2

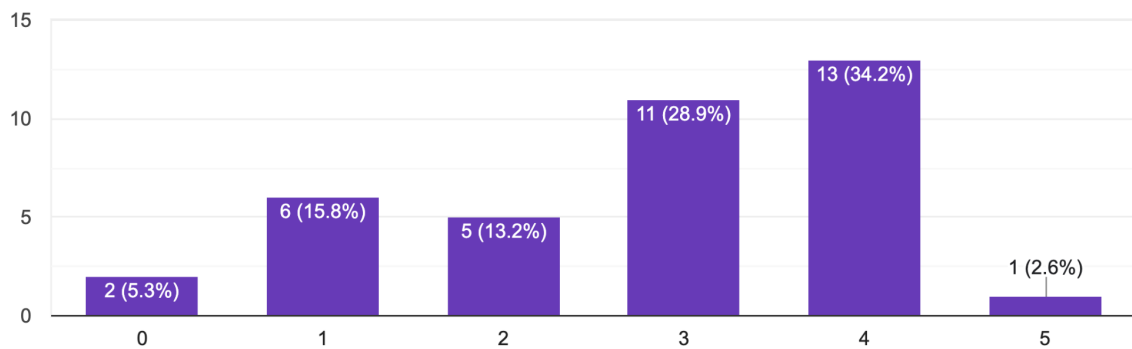
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4

5 Was Very well educated

Were you educated on healthy eating by your school? And if so how well were you educated?

38 responses



If you felt you were not educated on healthy eating , do you feel it is the roles of schools to educate students on how to lead healthy lifestyles?

Was not educated, feel schools should have.

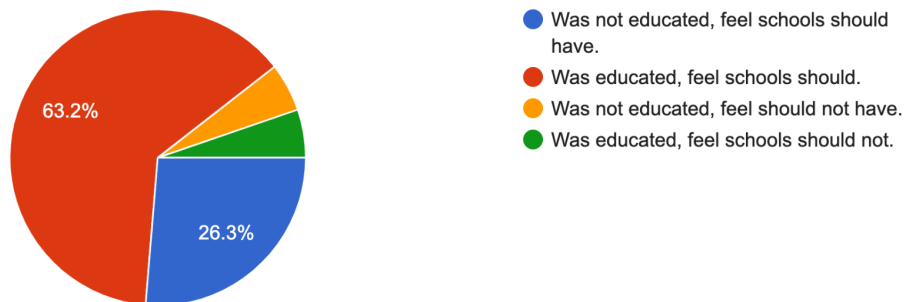
Was educated, feel schools should.

Was not educated, feel should not have.

Was educated, feel schools should not.

If you felt you were not educated on healthy eating , do you feel it is the roles of schools to educate students on how to lead healthy lifestyles?

38 responses



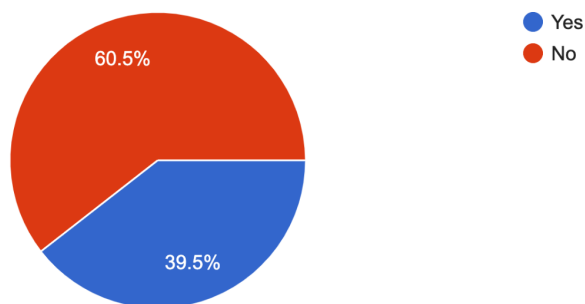
Were you taught about calories and daily calorie requirements in your health class?

Yes

No

Were you taught about calories and daily calorie requirements in your health class?

38 responses

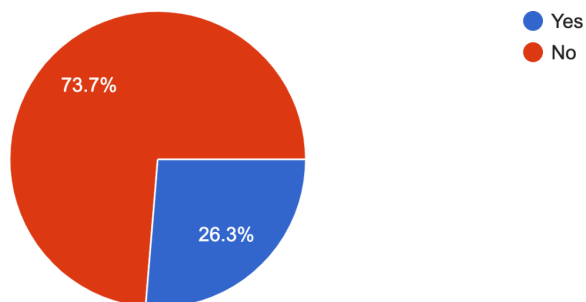


Were you taught how to read food labels on packaging in your health class?

- Yes
- No

Were you taught how to read food labels on packaging in your health class?

38 responses

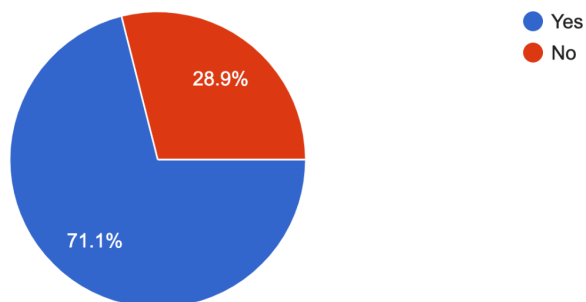


Were you educated on balancing meals in your health class? EG eating a balance of fruits, vegetables, meat, carbohydrates and not overeating sugar.

- Yes
- No

Were you educated on balancing meals in your health class? EG eating a balance of fruits, vegetables, meat, carbohydrates and not overeating sugar.

38 responses

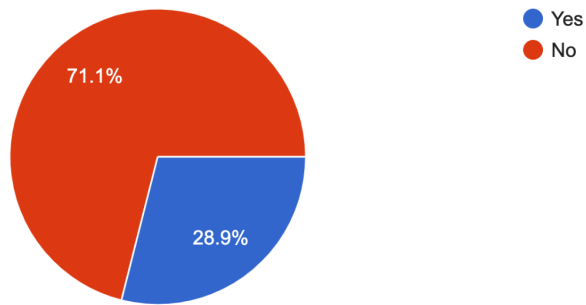


Were you educated on eating disorders in your health class?

- Yes
- No

Were you educated on eating disorders in your health class?

38 responses



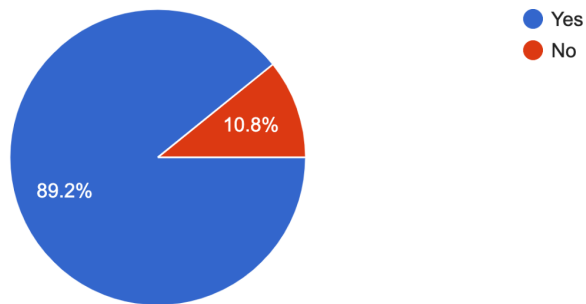
Were you taught the importance of exercise and movement for living a healthy life?

Yes

No

Were you taught the importance of exercise and movement for living a healthy life?

37 responses



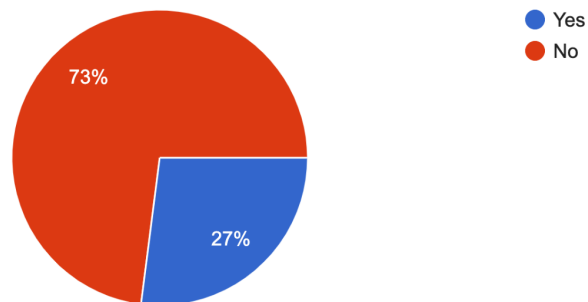
Were you regularly provided with lunches/food by the school?

Yes

No

Were you regularly provided with lunches/food by the school?

37 responses



Excerpts from the VCAA Curriculum Page

<https://victoriancurriculum.vcaa.vic.edu.au/health-and-physical-education/introduction/rationale-and-aims>

Analysis of the VCAA Health and PE curriculum were used, chiefly from the rationale and aims page and the scope and sequence.

Aims

Health and Physical Education aims to develop the knowledge, understanding and skills to enable students to:

- access, evaluate and synthesise information to take positive action to protect, enhance and advocate for their own and others' health, wellbeing, safety and physical activity participation across their lifespan
- develop and use personal, behavioural, social and cognitive skills and strategies to promote a sense of personal identity and wellbeing and to build and manage respectful relationships
- acquire, apply and evaluate movement skills, concepts and strategies to respond confidently, competently and creatively in a variety of physical activity contexts and settings
- engage in and enjoy regular movement-based learning experiences and understand and appreciate their significance to personal, social, cultural, environmental and health practices and outcomes
- analyse how varied and changing personal and contextual factors shape understanding of, and opportunities for, health and physical activity locally, regionally and globally.

Value movement

Health and Physical Education is the key learning area in the curriculum that focuses explicitly on developing movement skills and concepts students require to participate in physical activities with competence and confidence. The knowledge, understanding, skills and dispositions students develop through movement in Health and Physical Education encourage ongoing participation across their lifespan and in turn lead to positive health outcomes. Movement competence and confidence is seen as an important personal and community asset to be developed, refined and valued.

Health and Physical Education promotes an appreciation of how movement in all its forms is central to daily life — from meeting functional requirements and providing opportunities for active living to acknowledging participation in physical activity and sport as significant cultural and social practices. The study of movement has a broad and established scientific, social, cultural and historical knowledge base, informing our understanding of how and why we move and how we can improve physical performance.

The study of movement also provides challenges and opportunities for students to enhance a range of personal and social skills and behaviours that contribute to health and wellbeing.

Importance of a healthy school environment

The broader school environment should support the delivery of the Health and Physical Education curriculum. Learning in Health and Physical Education supports students to make decisions about their health, wellbeing, safety and physical activity participation. If consistent messages are evident across the school and wider school community, this learning is reinforced. Students are also better able to practise and reinforce their learning in Health and Physical Education if teaching and learning in all curriculum areas and the whole school environment reflect the knowledge, understanding and skills delivered in the Health and Physical Education curriculum. A healthy and supportive school environment is developed through health-promoting school policies and processes, and partnerships with parents, community organisations and specialist services.

**How have austerity measures in the UK
fostered the growth and development of
power structures in London street gangs?**

Extended Investigation Final Thesis

VCAA Number: 20249736G

Word Count: 4376

Abstract

By 2020, 28% of London residents were living in poverty with a corresponding rise in gang-related crime. For example, in 2021 the worst ever death toll for teenage homicides was recorded with 30 young men fatally stabbed. Austerity measures implemented since the Global Financial Crisis have seen cuts to major social support services that were implemented to aid those within vulnerable communities. This study analyses the connection between social support and how removing such services has resulted in the growth and influence of London street gangs. Of particular interest is the impact on children and young people in socially and economically disadvantaged communities. The investigation reviews a range of factors that are affecting this issue to create a clearer understanding of this complex topic. The investigation found three overarching themes are the foundations of gang related violence; the impact of austerity measures on social services, employment opportunities and education, changes to police funding and a shift away from community policing, and increasing susceptibility of young people to gang membership due to economic disadvantage. The study uses secondary research, in particular, case studies with members of communities affected by gang violence, gang members, and professionals who work with vulnerable communities. It was discovered that austerity measures that targeted social support created an environment where young people were more vulnerable to becoming involved with gangs.

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Acknowledgements

I want to thank my classmates and teacher for continually encouraging me to continue with my research; and my mum for being my rock this year.

Introduction

Historically, poverty and organised crime have been significantly linked. In the United Kingdom, specifically London, there is a demonstrated rise in gang-related behaviour after periods of social upheaval and change. After World War I, there was an emergence of racecourse gangs (Shore, 2011). After World War II, Teddy Boy gangs started springing up (Mitchell, 2019). In the 1950s, the British government invited West Indians to migrate to Britain to help boost the economy after the war (Dean, 2015). This saw the introduction of the Windrush Generation, (Wardle & Obermuller, 2018) the beginnings of Jamaican culture and influence in Britain. The late 1980s and the early 1990s saw an upswing in Jamaican-based violence and gangs because of England's lack of visa restrictions (Benn, 2019). This newfound organised crime segment was categorised as "Yardies" (Ramm, 1990). These gangs are the origins of the London street gangs we see today combined with influences of American gang culture and generational change. (Dean. 2015).

Gangs are a complicated and much-debated topic. The intricacies of the lives led by gang members are unique and different for every individual for several reasons. The definition of gangs that will be discussed throughout this investigation is the revised definition by Miller (1992 which describes a gang as follows):

"a self-formed association of peers, united by mutual interests, with identifiable leadership and internal organisation, who act collectively or as individuals to achieve specific purposes, including the conduct of illegal activity and control of a particular territory, facility, or enterprise."

Austerity: An enabling environment for violence

For over a decade austerity has been a consistent issue in low socio-economic areas throughout the United Kingdom. During the 1980s, England saw a shift towards market-based capitalism, characterised by financial liberalisation, the erosion of social security reforms and the deregulation of the labour market (Oxfam, 2013). While this benefited the wealthy, the poor saw working and living conditions drastically diminish. Between 1979 and 2008, U.K. citizens living in poverty almost doubled from 7.3 million to 13.5 million (Department of Work and Pensions, 2013).

This was only heightened after the Global Financial Crisis (2008) when the British government saw major debt and the U.K. saw the biggest recession since WWII (Cribb & Johnson, 2018). This resulted in the highest rate of unemployment since 1995 with 2.7 million British people jobless by the end of 2011 (Scruton, 2018). For those in the poorest 10% of the population, they experienced a 38% decrease in wages between 2010 and 2015 (Horton & Reed, 2010). Since 2010, the Conservative government has announced over 30 billion pounds of cuts to social services, welfare payments and housing subsidies. (Mueller, 2019).

This research will look at the effect of austerity measures implemented by the British government and how they have contributed to a severe increase in poverty in one of the richest countries in the world. This research aims to address the gap in research of the intersection of poverty, vulnerability and power, and to demonstrate how significant cuts to government spending can be to the communities that rely on it.

Literature Review

Austerity and poverty

Neoliberalism in the United Kingdom had been installed prior to the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) 2008. The British government turned to the support of the IMF, European Central Bank and European Commission. These organisations encouraged a neoliberal pathway for the U.K. to in rebuilding the country's economy. The answer to public debt and recession came in the form of austerity measures. (Labonté & Stuckler, 2016).

Austerity measures were advertised to the British public as being necessary cuts to public services and government to prevent a worsening financial state. (Peck, 2012). Although the government claimed that austerity cuts would benefit people, it has been noted by several academics and professionals that the adoption of austerity in the UK has disproportionately affected the poor and lower socioeconomic communities. These communities have seen the worst of the cutbacks with supportive public services seeing major slashes in funding. In contrast, the rich have received tax breaks and financial incentives to encourage 'business' (Schrecker & Bamba, 2015). Organised crime was an inevitable response to this systemic discrimination against low SES communities (Anglin et. al, 1999).

The Centre for Social Justice has equated poverty to a 'state of mind: As the fabric of society crumbles at the margins what has been left behind is an underclass, where life is characterised by dependency, addiction, debt and family breakdown. ... [T]he inner city wasn't a place; it was a state of mind – there is a mentality of entrapment, where aspiration and hope are for other people, who live in another place. (Duncan-Smith, 2007).

Policing

One of the many austerity cuts implemented was to police forces and Police Community Support Officers (PCSO). PCSOs were introduced in 2002 by the MET to “provide London with an increased visible police presence and to work alongside regular police officers in reducing crime and making communities safer” (MET Police, 2002). PCSOs became familiar with members of vulnerable communities and were able to create connections with people involved in gangs to get them support, defuse potentially dangerous situations, and deter crime (Cosgrove, 2015). By March 2019, the 43 territorial police forces in England and Wales had reduced their total number of police officers by 16%, police staff by 19% and community support officers by 42% (Hales, 2020). These cuts were detrimental to effective policing as the bond and trust between civilians and police officers were lost. Trust is an essential aspect of a fair, functioning society (Fukuyama, 1995). Lower levels of trust in government institutions, including the police, change democracy from being the protector to being a potential source for victimisation (Cowell, 2012).

Government intervention in social support systems has become purely focused on discipline (Cole, 1995) and has deepened the marginalisation of vulnerable young people by “systemically removing their access to state assistance” (Muncie, 2004).

The focus on discipline rather than support and prevention has led to gangs taking justice into their own hands. Knife crime offences in England and Wales have hit a high not recorded since 1946 (Dearden, 2019), with an 80% increase during the last 5 years (Shaw, 2019). About a third of the nationally recorded offences occur in London, and two-thirds of these incidents in the capital involve young people 10 to 25 years old (Bentham, 2019). In 2021, 30 teenagers between 14 and 19 were murdered in London. In the same year, 74.4% of all homicides were caused by knives or sharp objects (Overton, 2022). Policing to prevent knife crimes is based on Hot Spot Policing and Stop and Search (Home Office, 2018). Hot Stop Policing is a strategy that involves targeting police resources to areas where crime is most concentrated (Bland et. al, 2021). Once police are deployed within these ‘Sweet Spots’ (Barnes et al, 2020) Stop and Search methods are used to identify crime (Tiratelli et. al, 2018). Stop and search tactics have been on the decline since 2010 but target Black citizens disproportionately, for every 1,000 people stopped, 158 were Black (HM, Government,

2022). Neither of these tactics have an effect on the reduction of violent crime (Tiratelli et. al 2018).

Underfunded education programs failing vulnerable young people

Young marginalised men are widely reported to be the most common victims of violent crime (Hall, 2002). Austerity and other neoliberal measures have defined a generation of young British people and the high levels of inequality that have stemmed from it have led to heightened levels of anxiety, depression, social isolation and narcissism (Wilson & Pickett, 2018). Willis's (1997) concept of differentiation discusses how the education system's lack of potential and valuable knowledge makes it a valueless endeavour for young people. Hope for the better has been destroyed and the perceived irrelevance of school curriculums to aid in the real world has led them to look elsewhere for purpose. (Bakkali, 2019). The role of school in adolescents is significant in that it can shape and develop young people into who they are (Verhoeven, Poorthuis, & Volman, 2019). A "15-year decline in school funding" (Harnden, 2022) has created a breakdown in stability that is necessary for positive development to occur in vulnerable young people.

Neglect is the most prevalent form of child maltreatment in England (JTAI, 2018). Schools can play a large role in supporting children who are experiencing neglect by offering them social support and giving them a clear form of self-efficacy (Moran, 2009). Austerity measures have seen a decline in government funding for education with a 9% decrease between 2010-2019/20 (Sibitea, 2020). The Government's National Funding Formula has furthered this decline for schools in poor areas with a deliverance of funding increases 3-4% less in schools in poorer areas than wealthier areas (Sibitea, 2020). Safeguarding tactics used by schools are less effective because of budgetary constraints (Patel, 2022). Teachers claim that referring children to social work services is becoming difficult due to the 61% decrease in social workers between 2013-2018 (Institute for Government, 2019).

Students from poorer backgrounds are less likely to achieve academic success in the British education system. The General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE's) is an academic qualification necessary to progress academic standing and employability. Fewer than 30% of

students from the poorest households obtained their GCSE qualifications (Tahir, 2022). This limits the ability of these students to develop within the academic landscape.

Conclusion of themes

This literature review discussed themes that have encouraged the rise in violence in London. Three overarching themes can be seen throughout. Austerity measures have disproportionately affected vulnerable communities (Schrecker & Bamba, 2015) and have diminished support systems that had been previously installed. The instability created has destroyed a generation's ability to see beyond their immediate surroundings, forcing them to look elsewhere for a sense of self (Bakkali, 2019). Policing of gangs is deeply rooted in racism and focuses on discipline rather than support (Cole, 1995). The path that has been taken to quell the issue does not take the background issues into account and focuses purely on stereotypes and prejudice (Liberty Human Rights, 2022). Education is necessary for the beneficial development of adolescents (Verhoeven, Poorthuis, & Volman, 2019). Austerity measures have seen cuts to education so much so that young people see no purpose in school (Willis, 1997). Government support has been destroyed so young people must look in a different direction to provide for themselves and their families. (Mari & Keizer 2020).

Method

Secondary data from literature reviews and case studies provide the basis for this study. Literature reviews will investigate the trends found in the written work of others and create a broad variety of knowledge on both austerity and gangs that can be discussed throughout the investigation. Case studies will be of great importance in understanding the lived experience of gang members and their perspective on the effects of austerity on themselves and their communities. Ideally, interviews would be conducted but due to distance, potential danger, the seriousness of the issue and the inability to contact members of gangs, it would be near impossible.

Bias

Research bias must be taken into account for several reasons. Selection bias from the researcher can affect the conclusion of the study as well as potential bias from the research of the secondary sources. Political bias is a potential partiality as the actions of the Conservative government will be discussed and several sources that discuss the issues with their austerity measures are left-leaning.

Limitations

Primary research such as interviews and focus groups was not able to be conducted due to the: legal and ethical implications of interviewing minors about criminal activity, the logistics of organising and conducting interviews from Australia, and the security risk associated with interviewing gang members. This limited the study to depend purely on secondary research which can possibly distance the research from certain realities of the lifestyle.

Case study selection and application of method

A selection criteria was created for the collection of resources used for case studies:

1. Must be published after the austerity measures were implemented (2010)
2. Include interviews with gang members
3. Must have the ability to be accessed by the general public
4. Must review a range of studies from all political backgrounds

The selection criteria was established to ensure unbiased research was collected.

The selected pieces are (*Appendix A*):

1. **Life in a gang: ‘You don’t know who’s gonna die next’** (BBC News, 2020)
2. **London’s Knife Crime Emergency: ON A KNIFE EDGE** (Vice, 2018)
3. **Turning 12-Year-Olds Into Drug Dealers** (Vice, 2021)
4. **Leading and leaving the London gang world - Karl Lokko** (TEDx Talks, 2015)
5. **Inside London’s Gang Violence** (Sky News, 2018)
6. **How London Street Gangs Actually Work - Omar Sharif** (Insider, 2022)
7. **On a knife edge: The rise of violence on London’s streets** (BBC News, 2017)
8. **Police versus gangs in the capital** (Sky News, 2021)
9. **Stop and search: police battle for control of London’s streets** (The Guardian, 2013)
10. **Special report: Knife crime and the battle for the streets** (Sky News, 2017)
11. **Turning Teens Into Drug Runners** (Vice, 2022)

Application

Coding was used to extract key themes within the case studies. Coding is an analysis process whereby the researcher identifies patterns within qualitative data, reducing large amounts of data to be concise and easily available to examine (Korsgaard & Linneberg, 2019).

All the case studies used were from reputable media organisations and news outlets. 9 of the 11 case studies used were investigative and 2 were discussions of why and how gangs work. The researcher read through transcripts, looking for any common topics or topics that multiple participants mentioned as being significant to create an outcome.

Discussion and Findings

Within the 11 case studies analysed, interviews were conducted with 16 current gang members, 7 previous gang members, 3 social workers, 12 police officers, 7 activists, 2 politicians, 1 surgeon, and 10 community and family members. The interviews demonstrated four significant themes that infiltrate the lives of gang members: poverty, social media, policing, and the vulnerability of young people.

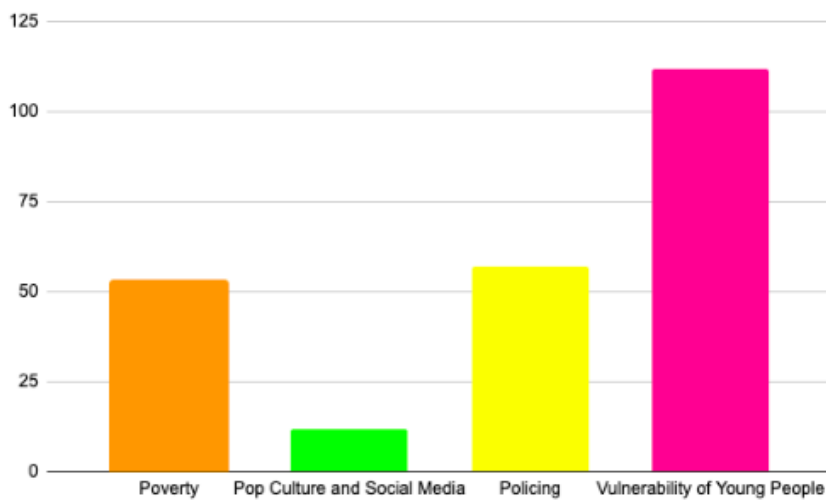


Figure 1 - the number of times the themes were mentioned or discussed within the transcripts

Vulnerability of young people

Across all of the eleven case studies, young people and their increased susceptibility to becoming involved with gangs were mentioned 122 times. Ex-members and current members of gangs discussed the ages they joined gangs, the youngest being “9 or 10” (P-Dog, 2022, 9:45) and the oldest being “16 years old” (Asha Tarabini, 2021, 1:08). Exploitation of children as drug runners were detailed in 4 of these transcripts. The following are examples of tactics used by gangs to coerce children ; “a child is given a load of drugs and robbed at knifepoint but what the child doesn’t realise is that it’s the people who gave them the drugs that have set the [robbery] up (Neil Woods, 2021, 5:34 - 5:40), “sexualized blackmail where “the child...is filmed in sexually compromised situations..that keeps them working as slave

labour” (Neil Woods, 2021, 5:46 - 5:56) offering children material things that they would otherwise not be able to buy because of their economic status including “Gucci shotta bags, North Face Jackets, and Air Maxes (Nequela Whittaker, 2022, 1:20), offering “a sense of love and friendship that’s supposed to be in the home, but it’s not” (PC Preston, 2020) and “kidnap and..beat them up, intimidate them, keep them under 24-hour watch” (The General, 2022, 8:54).

Ex-gang members featured in the case studies highlighted how community conditions and educational resourcing can lead to gang membership. Karl Lokko discussed his ambition as a young man (2015, 2:08) and because of his surroundings, living on a council estate in Brixton, along with “school not serving” him (2015, 6:06) his ambitious nature, similar to that of many young men, became influenced by gang culture. “He had a new ambition” to be a gang leader. Omar Sharif mentioned, “when you have something that you’re passionate about and have something you care about, it removes the amount of time you spend with the gang” (2022, 17:25).

Vulnerability was overwhelmingly mentioned within all case studies examined, demonstrating the failures of austerity measures to protect children. Young people in poverty are becoming increasingly likely to be involved with gangs because of the lack of opportunities within poverty-stricken areas (Kalawala, 2013). Gang members are aware that children are less likely to be police targets for carrying weapons and drugs and have begun using exploitative tactics to capitalise on the perceived innocence of children (Woods, 2021). It can be determined from the research that the vulnerability of young people and the lack of support from the government are creating a breeding ground for gang recruitment.

Policing

Policing was mentioned 57 times within the case studies. Within ethnic communities, there is “a lot of bitterness and hatred towards the police” (Roy Croasdaile, 2013, 6:00). The Met Police's two main tactics are Stop and Search and Hot Spot Policing.

The Gangs Violence Matrix (GVM) was introduced by the MET police in 2012 and intends “to identify and risk-assess gang members across London who are involved in gang violence.” In 2020, 374 people were removed from the matrix when the UK’s data watchdog found it breached protection laws (Ollerenshaw, 2020). Stop and search is the more recognised tool used by police and many believe that it is actually “counterproductive to crime detection and safety” (Roy Croasdaile, 2013, 6:11). Stop and search gives the police the ability to stop anyone they suspect may be carrying anything illegal. This is done purely on the grounds of how the police perceive a person. There is “a disproportionate amount of young black men that are stopped and searched” (Denise Richards, 2013, 0:24). Many believe that it has broken down the trust between police and communities because “police don’t get the confidence of the community so they don’t get the support from the community” (Roy Croasdaile, 2013, 6:05).

The lack of trust in the police has created a commitment to silence within communities that feel as though the “police don’t care” (Moses, 2021, 0:14). “The ultimate law is that you don’t snitch” (Josh Osbourne, 2018, 10:42). Gang members see themselves as a better fit to get justice for wrongdoings than the police. The perception of a lack of justice has enforced violent behaviours as the sole retaliation. The following quote is just one example of how gang members take justice into their own hands.

Tactics used by police to combat gang-related violence have created a further divide between vulnerable communities and the police. The main strategies employed are based purely on stereotypes of gang members. Young black men are the major targets of these stereotypes and take up the main demographic within the Gangs Matrix and Stop and Searches (Richards, 2013. Amnesty International, 2018). Austerity measures have cut government funding to the police which removed important community based policing. The removal of PCSOs has destroyed community relationships with the police and the lack of trust with police has resulted in gangs taking it as their responsibility to get the justice they feel will not be served by the justice system (Gang Member, 2018). Previous Home Secretary Priti Patel has claimed that the police need to “cut the head off the snake” (2021). This perception does not understand that crime does not exist as a single entity and when one gang is removed, several others will appear.

Poverty

Poverty was mentioned 53 times in the case studies. “As long as there is drugs and poverty, we’ll always have a gang problem” (PC Preston, 2020). In ‘Stop and Search: police battle for control of London’s streets,’ Labour councillor Zaffar Van Kalawala states that gangs infiltrate poverty-stricken areas because of the lack of opportunities. He provides the following example: “What facilities are there for young people? What is there to do..whether in terms of employment, training or recreational facilities” (2013, 8:40).

For many young people, the route toward joining a gang stems from economic necessity. Ex-gang member, Omar Sharif highlighted the difficulties finding work. “I applied for 50 jobs when [he] left school, and no one said yes” (2022, 9:23). Due to limited opportunities, many young people will turn to gangs. According to Faron Alex Paul, the creator of FazAmnesty, an anti-knife campaign that uses social media activism to encourage people to hand their knives to Faron anonymously so he can pass the knives on to the police. When one route is eliminated, another one must be taken as “they need to make money..to pay for electric..to pay mum’s bills’ ’ (Faron Alex Paul, 2018, 42:57). Many gang members are “young males from estates who’ve probably got a single-parent income, living in horrible conditions, no money” (PC Preston, 2020) and seemingly “don’t have a choice” (Jay, 2018, 14:10) but to make money through selling drugs and other gang activities.

Because of how intertwined gangs are with council estates, for children experiencing poverty gang membership is seen as a normal way of life. “[I was] surrounded from young..so it was just normal..so as I got older...I kind of wanted to be a part of it...it was the only life shown to me” (JC, 2018, 2:18-2:32). The gang members who have the “nice cars and the nice clothes” (The general, 2022, 8:38) become the role models for young boys who aspire to be removed from poverty.

Gangs and poverty have a parasitic relationship; poverty often leads to engagement in criminal activities. Austerity measures after 2008 targeted the systems set up to support people experiencing economic disadvantage. When services were removed, people were left with close to nothing and young people from families who live in poverty were forced to

grow up in an environment with limited opportunities (PC Preston, 2020). Many parents do not have access to employment based on economic and social factors and the children must therefore step in and become the economic support for their families (Paul, 2018). The research suggests that young people will initially seek regular employment, but often face rejection. Discrimination against people in poverty and Black, Asian, Minority Ethnic (BAME) young men tends to result in rejection from legal income (Sharif, 2022). The communities where these children and young people living in communities experiencing social and economic disadvantages have higher levels of exposure to criminal activity. Gangs become the only way for young people to provide for their families. When economic support is stripped away, people must look down other paths to thrive.

Social Media and Pop Culture

Across the case studies, the impact of social media on the proliferation of gang culture was only mentioned 12 times. This finding was surprising given social media is being used to “cement [members] involvement in the lifestyle.” (Josh Osbourne, 2018, 21:42). This trend is reflected in the following gang members' comments. “look cool and then the more they’re intrigued by it, they start to base themselves on what they’re watching” (Gang Member, 2018, 20:18). “One boy made a joke about another's mother, it was filmed and put on social media and one of them ended up getting stabbed” (Omar Sharif, 2022, 6:03)

Social media is a defining characteristic of the younger generation and the amount of media consumed has changed people's ability to separate real and fake. Gang life can be glamorised and, Previous to the introduction of social media, ‘beef’ a colloquial term for arguments amongst gangs would only escalate because of something serious. Beef now can start over something as simple as a joke and in a specific case when the volume in which young people can post and consume personal information has caused desensitisation to violence.

The internet gives you access to everything and regulation can be difficult. Gang ‘beef’ becomes social media memes. Killings are tallied and treated like a game. This only fuels feuds and violence that could have been avoided (Osbourne, 2018). Young people are desensitised to extreme violence because of the prevalence in which it is consumed. Exposure

to such violence at an essential developmental stage has been detrimental to how young men treat each other and what they perceive as right and wrong. Furthermore, the rise in drill music, a genre based upon descriptions of violence and crime has promoted gang life as something to aspire to (Gang Member, 2018). It is important to note that drill music is not necessarily a cause of violence but a reactionary result of an already existing culture of crime due to the themes already mentioned.

Conclusion

This investigation answers how austerity has affected the growth and influence of gangs in London. The research has demonstrated that whilst gangs have always been a part of British culture, austerity measures have indirectly removed the resources used to safeguard young people, preventing them from becoming entrenched in violence at such a high rate. The measures have targeted education, community services, and policing services that were based on creating connections with those that were vulnerable. The buffer between children, young people and gangs has been lost, leaving a generation vulnerable to exploitation and at risk. Findings from this investigation may provide professionals involved with the policing of gangs with a clearer understanding of the background of gang members. This research can also be used to change the social perceptions of gang members and defy the stereotypes created to villainize young BAME men. Pull of social media and glamorisation of gangs.

Further Research

An understanding of why crime has become so prominent in London has been discussed within this research which creates a foundation of what can be done to create a framework to support those who are involved. Further research could be done to envisage what systemic changes can safeguard children and young people. As the complexity of the issue is so connected to London specifically, interviews could be done with individuals involved in gangs, individuals who have left gangs, and community-based organisations that have the objective of helping those involved in gangs to understand their perspectives on what needs to be done. Once this has been conducted, the research could apply what has been discussed to legal, educational, governmental etc. structures.

A gap within research was identified regarding the impacts of social media and the influence it has had upon the growth of gangs in London and the notoriety the topic has gained globally. Further research could be done to investigate what role social media plays in igniting gang violence. The concept of 'hyperghettoization' could be further researched and if the glamorisation of gang culture has made violence a trend that young people want to follow.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Examined works

1. Life in a gang: 'You don't know who's gonna die next' (BBC News, 2020)
2. London's Knife Crime Emergency: ON A KNIFE EDGE (Vice, 2018)
3. Turning 12-Year-Olds Into Drug Dealers (Vice, 2021)
4. Leading and leaving the London gang world - Karl Lokko (TEDx Talks, 2015)
5. Inside London's Gang Violence (Sky News, 2018)
6. How London Street Gangs Actually Work - Omar Sharif (Insider, 2022)
7. On a knife edge: The rise of violence on London's streets (BBC News, 2017)
8. Police versus gangs in the capital (Sky News, 2021)
9. Stop and search: police battle for control of London's streets (The Guardian, 2013)
10. Special report: Knife crime and the battle for the streets (Sky News, 2017)
11. Turning Teens Into Drug Runners (Vice, 2022)

Appendix B: Coded Themes

Policing

Austerity and poverty

Education

Violence

Vulnerability of young people

Source 1: Life in a gang: 'You don't know who's gonna die next' (BBC News, 2020)

31/08/2022 12:14

Life in a gang: 'You don't know who's gonna die next' - BBC News

BBC

Menu

Newsbeat

Life in a gang: 'You don't know who's gonna die next'

By Tracy Ollerenshaw
Newsbeat reporter

18 December 2020

Knife crime

- 4
- 4
- 6
- 1



TOM HUMBERSTONE

"If you don't prove yourself you're gonna get stepped on. You can't be a wasteman."

Yusuf's been in a gang since he was 15. He wears a stab vest when he leaves the flat he shares with his mum and carries a knife in his boxers because he fears he'll be killed if he can't defend himself.

"I'd rather be judged by 12 than carried by six" he says, borrowing a Roddy

Source 2: London's Knife Crime Emergency: ON A KNIFE EDGE (Vice, 2018)

with my dad all of the time and I was
5:40

LEWIS ELWIN
(2018)

when you're carrying a knife your fuses that my sure if anybody says anything to
0:50
you it looks at you in the wrong way you're gonna react instantly big I was
0:59
by the time I had my first knife I'm was gang affiliated from the age of 16
1:10
in recent years more young black men have lost their lives to knife crime in London than at any other point over the
1:17
last decade [Music]
1:25
for me this is about certain amount of reparation for the part that I played it
1:32
was a problem that exists today if I can admit to my responsibility for being a
1:39
part of the problem then I have to accept that there's a possibility that I can also be a part of the cure
1:55
[Music]
2:10
[Music]
2:18
so that my old stomping ground Kingdom you know home the lots happened here you
2:28
had a bench we had a show we had a sharp there'll be days where they're about 30
2:34
40 of us just out scrapping a playground to scrap off the school or scrap linear
2:40
stay I grew up in poverty you know I was always looking for a way of providing
2:46
for myself or sourcing an income or sourcing some sort of money to maintain a certain status amongst my friends
2:54
violence was always a part of my life it was the way I managed to express myself you know it was demanded where I
3:01
managed to sort of release that pent up tension you know as to where deal with my sort of home environment and the
3:08
stresses there no violence was very natural to me [Music]
3:15
this is the second bit to a block you meant she in 2005 while I was heavily
3:21
involved in gang activity I began to film with various crews I knew throughout London there's a lot of gun
3:32
violence at these days so what you see
3:41
yourself killing someone with this doji if it comes to the point and when I said let off when I sell it off blood you get
3:47
me that's the story is that you get me why I record it back then shows me the
3:53
legacy that our activities have left on the youth today or not Rica keys yes a
4:00
fresh line of back seat it also reveals how those who should have known better turned a blind eye to how we were living
4:09
[Music]
4:16
[Applause] we created our own world with its own
4:23
rules and hits on values
4:33
[Music]
4:40
waiting you my worried about gave me away no bullets don't know invincible we
4:55
felt invincible because the reality of life and death had in you hit us by
5:01
assume word and many times over [Music]
5:14
I'm speaking one second I'm gonna go to does that meet you

Lewis Elwin family member
Roisin Kavilla, care worker @ Royal London Hospital
Dr Kevin Griffith - Royal London Hospital Surgeon
Josh Osborne

- 31
- 3
- 14
- 3

Source 3: Turning 12-Year-Olds Into Drug Dealers (Vice, 2021)

COUNTY LINES
(2021)

0:00
Police! Police!
0:04
For the past five years or so,
0:06
even amid all the noise around coronavirus and Brexit,
0:09
one key issue has completely dominated crime,
0:12
policing, and drugs in the UK.
0:14
This is the story of how the war on drugs created a situation
0:18
in which children across Britain
0:19
are routinely and brutally exploited to sell crack and heroin.
0:23
This is the story of county lines.
0:27
-Police! -Police!
0:28
You do not have to say anything, but it may harm your defense
0:30
if you do not mention when questioned
0:31
something which you later rely on in court.
0:33
I'm on fire! And what?!0:35
Everyone gets stabbed in Southend, bruv.
0:37
[The War on Drugs Show]
0:39
[County Lines]
0:41
In its most simple terms,
0:43
county lines refers to the practice of big-city organized crime groups
0:47
from places like London, Liverpool, or Birmingham
0:49
moving into smaller towns or even rural villages
0:52
and taking over their drug markets.
0:54
But drug dealers having to commute to sell their gear
0:56
is not what has captured the attention of British society;
0:59
it's that the people running these operations day to day
1:02
are usually kids, often 15 or 16 years old,
1:06
and sometimes as young as 11 or 12.
1:08
I was 15 years old.
1:09
When I first started getting involved with drug dealing and drug dealers.
1:13
At first, it started off as partying with them, having fun.
1:16
They had nice clothes, nice cars, money, all of it.
1:18
For me personally, I don't remember saying,
1:20
"Yes, I want to hold drugs. Yes, I want to."
1:23

11
12
9

-> Asha Tarabini
lex gang member

Source 4: Leading and leaving the London gang world - Karl Lokko (TEDx Talks, 2015)

KARL LOKKO (2015)

I think the best way to
4:22
summarize my journey was far is to
4:27
answer a question and that question is
4:31
why did I join the gang why do people
4:35
join gangs it's a question that's
4:36
throwing that meets a lot of times you
4:38
know and I always give a politically
4:42
correct answer I'll say oh yeah the
4:45
social issues and yeah there's
4:48
economical factors you know and you know
4:51
emotional deficiencies and all of these
4:54
answers are true and they have parts of
4:57
the truth overall truth but in this
5:00
tapestry of an answer I believe that the
5:03
most potent strand is the fact that I
5:08
had ambition I was ambitious that is why
5:13
I became a gang member that is why I
5:16
became a leader in the gang that is why
5:19
I became one the most recognizable the
5:21
most popular gang members in London and
5:25
it wasn't always my ambition to be a
5:29
gang member
5:30
I started off wanting to be a veterinary
5:31
surgeon you know I used to watch RSPCA
5:37
with my dad all of the time and I was
5:40
just fascinated I love I love animals I
5:43
also then wanted to be an astronaut in
5:46
ours that Wow to go to space that is
5:49
something else totally then I thought
5:51
you know what I'm gonna be a pilot you
5:53
know because this airs through this is
5:55
you know

 -5
 -1
 -2

Source 5: Inside London's Gang Violence (Sky News, 2018)

WOOLWICH BOYS (2018)

0:03
 [Music]
 0:40
 [Music]
 0:50
 my name is come papa Shima and I was
 0:53
 born and raised in London there's always
 0:56
 been gang violence here but I've never
 0:59
 seen it worse than it is now it's a
 1:02
 brutal Street war that's destroying
 1:04
 lives every week so who are these gang
 1:15
 members and why do they choose this life
 1:17
 and if they do can they ever go back I
 1:22
 want to find out from the people
 1:24
 directly involved so I'm on my way to
 1:27
 meet a gang in Brixton they call
 1:30
 themselves 410 and are pretty well known
 1:32
 around here one of them was arrested for
 1:35
 a shooting just days before we were due
 1:37
 to meet after several attempts of trying
 1:39
 to meet them they finally reached out to
 1:42
 me and sent me your location ten minutes
 1:44
 out of the town centre they told me one
 1:47
 of their most active members will be
 1:49
 there to meet me
 1:51
 [Music]
 2:09 I grew up and it was just my mum so she was like a role model
 my mom sold me the first time surrounded
 2:16 she was there for me in the hard times
 from young in it so we just know how to
 2:18 surrounded from young in it
 see it everyday as a normal lifestyle so
 2:22 so it was just normal I would just see it everyday as if it
 I took her oath or that just I was stiff was a normal lifestyle
 2:28 so as I got older I was just stupid
 it I kind of wanted to be a father
 2:29 I never of wanted to be apart of it
 because it was the only life that was
 2:32
 shown to me that was glamorize to me
 2:34
 Anna so how deep would you say you are
 2:36 gang lie I fully a hundred
 in this street life will you hundred
 2:40
 hundred hundred percent have you ever
 2:42

SC
 internet
 Sayce Holmes - lawn
 Shawn Malloff
 K1
 Dillon
 Jay
 Truck driver
 -3
 -11
 -8
 -1

Source 6: How London Street Gangs Actually Work - Omar Sharif (Insider, 2022)

How GANGS WORK
(2022)

0:00
My name is Omar Sharif,
0:01
I was formerly involved in gang activity in London,
0:04
and this is how crime works.
0:09
I was involved in gangs from 2005 until 2011.
0:13
I'm grateful that I'm still alive,
0:15
although I've come very close
0:17
to losing my life inside of gangs.
0:20
I've had a bunch of knives put to my neck, stomach.
0:23
I've been stabbed twice in my right leg.
0:26
I've had guns put to me.
0:32
The structure of a gang is almost like being in employment.
0:35
OK? You have the newbies that come involved.
0:37
You then have management.
0:38
You then have senior management.
0:40
I got involved in a gang when I was around 13 years old,
0:43
actually from selling sweets in school.
0:45
I was approached one day by someone who said, you know,
0:47
"How would you like to make more money?"
0:49
And initially I knew what he was talking about.
0:51
I was scared, but when he started mentioning things about,
0:54
you know, you can be a man,
0:55
you can provide for, help your parents at home.
0:58
And when you come from a council flat estate
1:00
and sometimes things are not easy,
1:02
that kind of languaging is enough to make you say,
1:04
"Well, OK, can I actually do this?"
1:06
When you join at the age that I did,
1:08
you're considered a younger.
1:09
A younger is the street soldier.
1:11
A younger is the person who just gets
1:14
employed into the gang.
1:16

-16
-6
-10
-6
-1

Source 7: Police versus gangs in the capital (Sky News, 2021)

**BROADWATER FARM
(2021)**

0:00
[Music]
0:03
i personally think there's a huge split
0:05
in this area between police and the
0:07
the local community
0:09
the first thought here would not be i'm
0:12
going to call the police i hold the f of
0:14
the police **the police don't care** and we
0:16
don't it's a long term problem it's *→ Moses*
0:19
never going to be fixed overnight
0:22
tottenham north london
0:24
this place and its people have been
0:26
through a lot
0:28
one of the things that defines this area
0:31
is the tension between two very
0:33
different communities
0:35
the people who live here
0:37
and the metropolitan police they'll say
0:39
we're a hard community to reach and
0:41
we'll say the same back the other way i
0:43
think the generation seemingly unable to
0:46
forget the past i condemn the police
0:48
action breaking into an innocent woman's
0:50
house and causing her death so i've come
0:53
to totenham because i want to find out
0:55
what it's like now for both sides
0:58
i spend half my time with the police
1:00
you're on a boardwalk
1:03
you know what happens down here it's
1:04
known for a lot of items and the other
1:06
half with the community they're
1:08
responsible for
1:09
i'm just a product of my own environment
1:11
i'm not a gang member
1:12

- education
- poverty (3)
- pop culture
- policing (1)
- vulnerability of young people (1)

Source 8: Stop and search: police battle for control of London's streets (The Guardian, 2013)

STOP & SEARCH
(2013)

0:05
 stop and search has become one of the
 0:08
 most contentious tactics used by police
 0:10
 in England and Wales for me personally I
 0:13
 think stop and search is one of my best
 0:16
 tools in order to prevent crime and
 0:19
 solve it I don't have a problem stopping
 0:21
 a search
 0:22
 I think stop and search is a good thing
 0:24
 I have a problem with the
 0:26
 disproportionate amount of young black
 0:29
 men that are stopped and searched over
 0:31
 the course of three weeks The Guardian
 0:33
 followed two units from rent police to
 0:35
 see how they employed the controversial
 0:36
 power whenever I see a piece or police
 0:41
 officer or police car go past
 0:43
 straightaway my first instinct is
 0:45
 they're going to stop and search me
 0:46
 let's get ready stop and search is
 0:49
 currently under review after a police
 0:50
 watchdog revealed at 30 out of 43 forces
 0:53
 in England and Wales don't use it
 0:55
 properly the report stated the black
 0:57
 people are seven times more likely to be
 0:59
 searched and white people and nearly a
 1:01
 quarter of searches nationwide might be
 1:03
 done illegally 23 year old PC Rob ferry
 1:11
 ello is an immediate response officer
 1:13
 who reacts to 999 calls
 1:15
 what is it flashed up on your own PR
 1:17
 saying concerned in the drug supply
 1:20
 her stairs gate arrested for terrorism
 1:24
 methadone we were on patrol when a
 1:26

- education
- poverty (1)
- pop culture & social media
- policing (9)
- vulnerability of young people

Denise Richards
 PC Robert Farnello
 Trevor Hutton
 PC Paul Jones

Source 9: Special report: Knife crime and the battle for the streets (Sky News, 2017)

**RUDE POLICE
(2017)**

Michael Gallagher (DS)

0:08
Jason suspects Windsor Grove now detain

0:13
Windsor Grove
suspect to have a dog van on the

0:14
hurry up please

0:15
we've got young people who are more

0:19
willing now to carry knives and think

0:21
they're justified in doing so for the

0:26
vast material of young people there

0:28
isn't a relationship with the police

0:30
there's a lack of trust in the police

0:31
yeah I've got a nice fun yeah so let's

0:34
not argue about it anymore right

0:36
where I come from it's new to hear that

0:40
someone's died sadly enough from a knife

0:42
this epidemic I will call for my mother

0:45
and my mother just said the Blues on the

0:48
floor he's not moving he's dead

0:57
[Music]

0:58
in South London the specialist ^{unit} ~~unit~~

1:01
gang unit officers are responding to an

1:04
incident involving a knife ^{all I know is that there is a male being chased with a knife} ~~colleague~~ has

1:15
called for urgent assistance the officer

1:19
is struggling with two men who may be

1:21
linked to the knife incident another

1:24
suspect has run off believing there's a

1:34
possibility the two might have a weapon

1:36
the officers are taking no chances but

1:39
one of the men is determined not to be

1:41
handcuffed

2:03
this is a pretty violent end to what

2:06
should have been a routine stop and

2:08
search the arresting officer is clear

2:20
it's a situation that escalated because

2:23
of the reaction of the man he stopped

8

3

Source 10: Turning Teens Into Drug Runners (Vice, 2022)

COUNTY LINES (2022)

:00
 We're now in the second phase of some raids across London,
 0:04
 and this morning we're going to be hitting about 20 addresses.
 0:08
 It's 5:00 am in the morning,
 0:09
 and we're down here with the Metropolitan Police.
 0:14
 Police!
 0:16
 There's a growing insidious side to the UK's drug trade.
 0:20
 Police, police, police, police, police!
 0:22
 This army of police are about to arrest a houseful of dealers.
 0:26
 They like to strike early,
 0:28
 before the accused have time to wake up.
 0:31
 But these are no hardened criminals.
 0:33
 They're teenagers...
 0:36
 sometimes as young as 12.
 0:38
 And trust me, getting arrested ain't even the scary part.
 0:42
 Many of them have already been raped, beaten, and kidnapped
 0:46
 in order to enslave them to run drugs across the country.
 0:50
 This exploitative criminal industry is called county lines.
 0:58
 [HIGH SOCIETY]
 1:02
 [TURNING TEENS INTO DRUG MULES]
 1:08
 There are at least 27,000 teenage drug runners in England,
 1:11
 who are part of an industry that generates over \$1 billion a year.
 1:17
 They groom them with Gucci shopper bags,
 1:20
 North Face jackets, and Air Maxs
 1:23
 They find them in broken homes
 1:25
 council estates, and playgrounds late at night
 1:29
 I know because I was recruited myself.
 1:35
 Raah!
 1:38
 It's been a minute since I've been around here, you know.
 1:41
 So about 14,
 1:43
 I was heavily involved in drugs, weapons
 1:46
 This would be the point of where you'd link them to make the exchange.
 1:51
 This is the bus stop where the crackhead took my drugs,
 1:54
 and I almost stabbed him.
 1:56

 -3
 -3
 -17
 -4


Was the Bismarck Class Battleship Outdated from Conception and how did it
Influence Wartime British and German Naval Doctrine?

Student Number: 20 170 708 R

Word Count: 4,400

Abstract

The Bismarck class of battleships comprised the German plan to rival the naval dominance of the British and French during the early years of WW2. It was the largest warship ever built by a European navy, and the largest European battleship to date. Designed as a direct counter to the French Richelieu¹ and Dunkerque² class ships, the Bismarck was the first Bismarck class vessel, followed by his sister ship³ Tirpitz.

The Bismarck⁴ Class of battleships in the post-war years, particularly since 1946, has become a topic of vast interest and discussion amongst the naval history community. The German war effort was tied to the political and economic significance of the Bismarck. Despite this interest, attention paid to his overall effectiveness and impact on the wider battlefield has remained neglected. In recent years, however, the literature reveals a growing interest in this class, specifically, the effectiveness of the vessel in a combat role, and his influence on the battlefield, both domestically and in foreign contexts.

Throughout this thesis, the capability of the Bismarck class and his effect on naval doctrine⁵ are explored. The exploration of armour schemes used in modern battleships will be examined, specifically the ‘All or Nothing’⁶ and ‘Distributed’⁷ armour schemes. These schemes are examined utilising qualitative data collected from case studies, PhD theses, academic papers, memoirs, and further primary sources. This data is sourced from papers published over the course of 1957-2022 to provide historical context for this study. To determine whether the Bismarck class was outdated, and how or even if it impacted naval doctrine, the findings of this study are contrasted with the literature produced by historians engaged in this field.

¹ French class of battleships made to counter German battleships Gneisenau and Scharnhorst, not compliant with Washington and London naval treaties.

² French class of battleships made to counter German battleships Gneisenau and Scharnhorst, compliant with Washington and London naval treaties.

³ The other ships built of a certain class.

⁴ The German battleship class and pride of Germany(which for the purpose of this thesis and historical integrity will be referred to as He/His).

⁵ The strategy used in relation to warfare.

⁶ The armour scheme strongly protecting integral ship parts but poorly protecting areas of lesser import.

⁷ The armour scheme strongly protecting the entire ship with no aspect of the belt unarmoured.

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Acknowledgements

To all those who helped in reading this paper, especially my Extended Investigation teacher,
this paper would not have been possible without you.

To all those who died in the Battle of the Atlantic during the Second World War.

Introduction

The Bismarck was sent on 'Unternehmen Rheinübung' (Rhine Exercise) (18-27 May 1941, Bismarck's Maiden Voyage) with Prinz Eugen⁸ to target British convoys. The two vessels would engage the HMS Prince of Wales⁹ and HMS Hood¹⁰. Bismarck, taking one hit, would return fire, sinking Hood and crippling Prince of Wales (24 May 1941). After this engagement, the Bismarck decided to attempt returning to Brest for repairs whilst Eugen continued their mission. Eugen would successfully break off, while the British continued to shadow the Bismarck. Bismarck would fail to port at Brest and eventually, after two torpedo runs against Bismarck, the ship would be crippled, cornered, and scuttled¹¹ (27 May 1941).

Understanding the Bismarck class and the mindset of the German admiralty is critical to understanding the war in the Atlantic. This is because, as the pride of Germany, Bismarck embodies the German approach to naval warfare. Resultantly, understanding if the Bismarck class was outdated provides an insight into the capabilities, strengths and weaknesses of the 'Kriegsmarine', helping a modern understanding of The Battle of the Atlantic. Furthermore, the ability of a single piece of technology to influence doctrine around it is important to both military historians and modern militaries in order to understand the potential influence a single weapon or vehicle can hold.

⁸ German heavy cruiser of the Admiral Hipper class.

⁹ British battleship made within treaty confines.

¹⁰ British WW1 battlecruiser and the pride of the Royal Navy.

¹¹ The use of explosive charges to sink one's own ship.

Literature Review

The Bismarck class's effectiveness

The majority of research of the Bismarck class comprises PhD theses and case studies. Academic papers such as Timothy P. Mulligan's PhD (2005) have provided detailed accounts of the theoretical and practical doctrinal implementation of the Bismarck. Previous researchers have utilised, where available, both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are commonly memoirs of those involved in the Bismarck class such as the 'Kriegsmarine' high command. Many post war memoirs of the German high command have been written to conceal their wrong doings. While insightful, these primary sources must be approached critically. Although at times historically inaccurate, these primary sources do, however, present a useful insight into the intellectual and political thinking of the time, thus providing context for what seemed a reckless abandonment of German naval procedure.

Whilst the Bismarck class was designated many aspects in order to bolster his chances of success, many argue that too many were conceptualised (Neidel 2020). The ship itself was designed as a 'ship-of-the-line'¹² weapon. However, part-way through the design phase (1932-39/41), the class was forced into commerce raiding.¹³ No previous design had assigned Bismarck this role (Timothy P. Mulligan, 2005). Due to 'ship-of-the-line' specifications, the Bismarck was designed primarily to fight directly with other capital¹⁴ ships. The German battlefleet doctrine pressed the Bismarck into Atlantic Raiding¹⁵, meaning the ship lost many of his advantages.

The Bismarck class was designed to fight capital ships. Critically, however, it was also intended to raid shipping lanes of allied forces (Neidell, 2020). Due to poor planning and the lack of proper escort and fuel, some historians contend that the Bismarck's maiden voyage,¹⁶ 'Unternehmen Rheinübung' (18-27 May 1941), was in fact a suicide mission (Neidell 2020). Conversely, Kast argues that these perceptions are untrue, as the ship was deployed in a manner to hide it from allied eyes. Although this failed, Kast suggests, the mission itself was

¹² Ships used in the 'Battle Line', which is the order in which ships fight.

¹³ The use of warships to destroy supplies being sent via convoys to the enemy.

¹⁴ Important naval vessels such as Battleships, Aircraft Carriers, Battlecruisers and Cruisers.

¹⁵ Commerce Raiding in the Atlantic Ocean.

¹⁶ The first combat voyage undertaken by a ship.

not suicidal (2018). This discussion raises the question of whether the German naval command was simply indifferent to their most expensive ship, or if they overlooked the necessary precautions to let their flagship¹⁷ sortie¹⁸.

The 'Kriegsmarine'¹⁹ high command was not experienced with modern battleship design as the Allies²⁰ were, and so they could not effectively create a truly versatile ship. This was caused predominantly by the restrictions on navy by the Treaty of Versailles²¹.

'Großadmiral'²² Raeder had always known the value of this sort of ship and he had always planned for the correct escort and environment for the Bismarck to flourish (Mulligan 2005). The sinking of the Bismarck (27 May 1941) highlights the importance of Raeder's statement, therefore suggesting German naval doctrine was in many ways behind the times. Resultantly, the loss of the Bismarck seems not so much due to the ship itself but the role it was given. Importantly, this was overlooked by the Führer due to the upcoming 'Unternehmen Barbarossa',²³ in the overall German plan for the war, a battleship, even the most important one, had minimal importance. The amount of resources that would need to be poured into the Eastern Front²⁴ was far greater than that afforded to the navy. Consequently, Hitler paid little attention to the 'Kriegsmarine' in favour of more important operations.

The research of Pyke (2018) and Kast (2018) revealed that the Bismarck class of battleship was one of the most advanced warships at the time of his commission²⁵ in 1940. Contrarily, historians such as Neidell (2020) view this ship as unfit to fulfil the plethora of roles it was assigned. To varying degrees, other historians agree with Neidell's assessment (Mulligan; 2005; Pyke, 2018; Kast, 2018). Kast states that "The heavy AA²⁶ guns used various forms of fire control²⁷ systems that performed calculations on different inputs" (2018, 1:06). However, "these controlled several guns at once, thus the number of targets to engage at once was limited" (2018, 1:26). This practically meant that the advanced nature of the fire control

¹⁷ The most important, politically or strategically and most well known ship in the navy.

¹⁸ A ship's combat voyage.

¹⁹ The naval arm of the German Wehrmacht or military.

²⁰ The Alliance headed by the UK against Germany, Japan, and Italy.

²¹ The treaty that removed Germany from WW1

²² Grand Admiral, the highest attainable naval rank.

²³ The German Invasion of the Soviet Union on the 22nd of June 1941.

²⁴ The Soviet front of WW2.

²⁵ The time a ship is put into service.

²⁶ Anti-Air.

²⁷ Systems to control the rotation and targeting of the turrets used in tandem with rangefinders.

system for the heavy and medium AA systems was their biggest flaw as they were prone to either failure and could not target British Fairey Swordfish²⁸ torpedo bombers.

Armour Scheme

One of the most contentious and vital aspects of the Bismarck class was his armour scheme. Pyke (2018) states that whilst the 'All or Nothing' scheme provided proper protection for a vessel, especially when given a protective screen²⁹ of friendly warships, "The Germans were actually aware of the 'All or Nothing' armour scheme" (Pyke, 2018, 5:40); it was simply down to the fact that "When you're getting close enough that even smaller calibre³⁰ shells start to become an issue [...] they should have some armour protection pretty much all over the ship." This comprised a crucial distinction to make as the German 'Kriegsmarine' had a severe lack of surface vessels³¹, especially at the start of 'Unternehmen Rheinübung' (18-27 May 1941, Bismarck's Maiden Voyage). Neidell contends that whilst the ship had excellent hull³² armour, "Design flaws like a poorly protected rudder³³ will emerge" (2020, 7:39) This, he suggested, created a significant issue for the ship class.

The Bismarck class's influence on naval doctrine

Mulligan (2005) explains that the Bismarck's poorly armoured rudder would show the changing nature of naval warfare; this poorly armoured rudder would not have mattered in the Great War at 'Jutland'³⁴. "A single shell hit from HMS Hood exposed the vulnerability of a limited-range warship and punished those who substituted ambition and ambiguity for analysis," (Mulligan, 2005, p. 33). This analysis provides an insight into perspectives of the Bismarck's voyage at the time. Mulligan (2005) argues that this was perhaps the greatest effect of the Bismarck, as it demonstrated that a poorly protected rudder and insufficient fuel storage was more critical since the conclusion of the Great War and the Anglo-German experience at 'Jutland'. This change came from the rising popularity and accuracy of long range torpedoes and other armaments becoming more effective.

²⁸ British Aircraft Carrier based Biplane with a torpedo payload.

²⁹ The outer layer of warships in the battleline used to protect capital ships.

³⁰ The diameter of a gun or cannon barrel.

³¹ Vessels that travel above the sealine.

³² The main body of a ship.

³³ The steering apparatus at the rear of the ship.

³⁴ The largest naval battle of WW1.

Conclusion of Literature Review

Despite the disagreements between historians on Bismarck's advanced or outdated nature, most agree that there are aspects of the Bismarck class that fit either an outdated or advanced nature. With the addition of memoirs of 'Kriegsmarine' High command, the common historical view of the Bismarck shows a widely nuanced view of the Bismarck class. Most historians and the admirals agree that while minimal, the Bismarck's effect on naval doctrine was important. It demonstrated to both the British and Germans the benefits and drawbacks of this type of ship, leading to the primacy of naval air power, and the extensive German use of 'U-boats'. This exemplifies that, although contentious, most agree that the Bismarck was at least partially advanced and had influence.

Methodology

Data was primarily sourced from existing case studies and theses. These sources provided easy access to a range of key historical perspectives on the development of the Bismarck class. Due to the large amount of research previously conducted on the Bismarck Class, PhD theses provided a condensed level of knowledge with interpretations. Consequently, the researcher was able to effectively collate the information for their writings and research. Due to this, information gathered can be both broader and more in depth, leading to a more comprehensive understanding of the subject matter.

Memoirs embody another critical research method. Looking at memoirs of experienced persons, namely the German 'Kriegsmarine' high command of Raeder and Dönitz gave a strong view on the ideas and thought processes of important German admirals of the period and so giving an insight into choices made by the high command. Comparatively, the PhD's and theses of modern historians give the researcher a deep level of knowledge on the subject as they both use the information from the primary sources, but generally without the biases created by a Nazi era wartime high command. These historians give a useful perspective on the subject which leads to a stronger understanding of the Bismarck's effectiveness.

The analysis of data and information collected will be completed through the use of coding the papers researched, encouraging a deeper level of understanding to inform this thesis. As a

result, the amount of information gathered by the researcher can be increased; the coding of writings allows a more in depth view of the subject. The information being collected and the perspectives, views and ideas of relevant historians will additionally be emphasised in the resolution of the research question.

Ethics

Broadly, the events of the Bismarck class of battleships are ethically unchallenging. As the majority of people who witnessed these events have died, ethical considerations centre around them. Accordingly, respect should be shown to those who have died. Furthermore, historical integrity must be prioritised in this study.

Feasibility

The researcher has considered the feasibility of research by examining it within the context of the available literature: case studies, memoirs, PhD theses, academic papers and further primary sources such as diary entries, letters and blueprints. This approach has yielded the greatest results. Recognition of the point in which research should cease is important. Without maintaining clear research scope and focus, the researcher risks losing direction. The way the researcher will determine when they can stop is by attaining the required knowledge to successfully answer the research question.

Findings & Discussion

The different aspects of the Bismarck class play an important role in the definition of whether he was outdated and on his influence on doctrine. Different aspects of the ship will be discussed such as the armour, armament, speed and battle effectiveness. These characteristics are integral in the discussion of whether the Bismarck class was advanced or outdated as they are arguably the most important parts of a combat vessel. Furthermore, the changing of doctrine after the Bismarck's demise and the direct influence the class had will be discussed. Altogether, this will provide a strong overview and answer for the research question.

Armour

| Section | Thickest | Thinnest | Below Water Line |
|---------|----------|----------|------------------|
| Belt | 320mm | 145mm | 170mm |
| Fore | 60mm | 60mm | 60mm |
| Aft | 80mm | 80mm | 80mm |
| Turrets | 360mm | 130mm | - |
| Deck | ~200mm | 50mm | - |

The Bismarck class, whilst having undeniable cutting edge aspects in many ways, simply failed to achieve competitiveness to a significant degree with the Royal Navy³⁵. The Bismarck class ships were outfitted with a 'distributed' armour scheme in which the main belt³⁶ armour made from 'Wotan'³⁷ 'Krupp'³⁸ steel was completely armoured. The belt was 170.7 metres long, 80.8 metres short of covering the entire hull. Additionally, the Bismarck's armour made up 44% of the ship's displacement,³⁹ a larger percentage than any other warship to date.

Bismarck's deck armour was separated into different layers. This dispersed armour allowed Bismarck to cut back on weight that would be required for a single-level deck armour scheme. Furthermore, this enabled the armour to be spaced.⁴⁰ In addition, the decks of the

³⁵ The British Navy

³⁶ The main protected section of the hull.

³⁷ Rolled homogeneous armoured steel.

³⁸ A German industrial company.

³⁹ The amount of water displaced by the movement of the ship.

⁴⁰ Armour with gaps inbuilt between layers to allow shells to spin and lose velocity whilst also expending its explosive charge.

Bismarck all shared a 50mm layer of teakwood as a measure to absorb shock from enemy shells. The Bismarck's turrets also had thick armoured steel. This turret armour was also in parts angled⁴¹ to different degrees to act thicker than it otherwise would be.

Despite his modern and thick armour, the Bismarck's armour scheme suffered what would prove a fatal flaw; his rudder had next to no real armoured steel. This choice was made to reduce weight on the ship. Additionally, the German admiralty assumed, due to their Great War combat, that it was extremely unlikely the Bismarck's rudder would suffer a hit under the waterline. This choice would prove fatal for the Bismarck.

Although the 'distributed' armour scheme was at the time considered outdated, the German admiralty saw that without a screen of warships, this scheme would be important.

Furthermore, the Bismarck would survive nearly an hour against a barrage of at least 13 Allied ships (27 May 1941, North Atlantic) before the Bismarck's crew set scuttling charges. Considering aforementioned factors, the armour scheme of the Bismarck, although based on an old design, was an excellent and modern scheme. However, the armour had a fatal flaw that caused his demise, showing that although generally the utilised 'Distributed' armour scheme was excellent and still very much up to date, a chain is only as strong as its weakest link.

⁴¹ Armour is angled because doing so increases the effective thickness of less armour and increases the chance of a shell ricocheting.

Armament

| Role | Name | Calibre |
|--------------------|---------|---------|
| Main Armament | SK C/34 | 380mm |
| Secondary Armament | L/55 | 150mm |
| Anti-Air | L/65 | 105mm |
| Anti-Air | L/83 | 37mm |
| Anti-Air | Flak 38 | 20mm |

Main Battery

The Bismarck class' armament was feared by the Royal Navy; his guns were larger and could pierce most British ships. Bismarck's main armament was housed in four twin gun turrets, Anton, Bruno, Cäsar and Dora. Turrets Bruno, Cäsar and Dora all were equipped with rangefinders⁴² protruding the sides of the turret. Initially, Anton also was equipped with these rangefinders but in the winter of 1940/41 these would be removed from the turret due to them fogging and becoming ineffective after travelling at high speeds. Consequently, Anton would have to rely on the main rangefinders of the ship. Bruno, Cäsar and Dora instead used these secondarily. This would not prove majorly detrimental.

The Bismarck class' main armament was perhaps, in conjunction with the skilled gunnery, one of the most important factors of the vessel. The Bismarck's armament and gunnery were excellent, and, when paired with the state of the art fire control and rangefinding systems, the primary armaments of the Bismarck class were formidable. Despite the advanced systems, the placement of the fire control on the ship was poor. The fore and aft fire control were both placed too close to the main guns and one of the systems was disabled by the concussion⁴³ of the main armaments during the Battle of the Denmark Strait (24 May 1941, Bismarck's first combat engagement). Due to these factors, although the fire control was placed poorly, the main armament was still superior to many Allied counterparts. This exemplified that, despite the ship still being effective, the German lack of experience was an expensive and dangerous mistake.

⁴² Installations on ships to find the range of enemy targets.

⁴³ The shockwave from firing a gun.

Secondary Battery

The secondary batteries of the Bismarck class were housed in 6 twin gun turrets. All Turrets were controlled by two main fire control groups. Each side of the ship housed 3 of these turrets, one of each containing a rangefinder protruding from the side of the turret. These rangefinders would give range to three turrets each. The main role of the Bismarck's secondary battery was to target lightly armoured destroyers⁴⁴ and light cruisers⁴⁵ at shorter ranges. This was because the use of the main battery against smaller ships was inefficient and expensive. In addition to anti ship purposes, the secondary battery was unsuccessfully used against Fairey Swordfish torpedo bombers from HMS Ark Royal⁴⁶.

Although it was cutting edge, the secondary armament suffered from the flaw that multiple turrets would be controlled by the same fire control and rangefinding systems. This, although not a fatal flaw, was detrimental, namely when fighting the Fairey Swordfish from Ark Royal. Although the fire control and rangefinding of the secondary armament had flaws, the crew were excellently trained. The crew were able to maintain strict discipline, far above almost every other navy save the Japanese Pacific Fleet. Because of these factors, the secondary armament, although containing some flaws, was generally above the international standards.

Anti-Air Battery

For the time, Bismarck's anti-air battery was advanced. The AA guns were controlled by four command posts, all containing one rangefinder. In addition to these rangefinders, the AA battery was equipped with two night time rangefinders. The fire control systems for the heavy AA was one of the most advanced fire control systems in the world. Despite the advanced nature of these systems, multiple heavy AA turrets relied on one fire control group, leading to an inability to target multiple aircraft. The smaller 37mm AA guns suffered from a slow cyclic⁴⁷ rate compared to most of his contemporary adversaries. Smaller 20mm guns were a very effective and modern system that were widely used in ground warfare, and targeting fast modern warplanes. The 20mm guns on Bismarck would suffer because they were insufficiently implemented. The Bismarck's AA battery proved ineffective against the British

⁴⁴ Small ships made to destroy submarines and to screen capital ships.

⁴⁵ Ships used as convoy escorts, screens and scouting ships for the large battlefleet.

⁴⁶ British aircraft carrier integral in immobilising Bismarck.

⁴⁷ The rate of fire of a fully automatic firearm or gun.

Fairey Swordfish, because the Swordfish were simply too slow to be hit by the modern fire control system, having a max speed of only 90.3 knots and a stalling speed⁴⁸ of 48.4 knots. The German fire control systems were made to target modern monoplanes⁴⁹ and so were unable to target the slow biplanes.

The heavy and medium guns were able to consistently target modern monoplanes effectively, but were unable to target slower moving aircraft. The Bismarck's 12 20mm Flak 38⁵⁰ were high quality weapons. The Flak 38 saw action in all German theatres of war and gained an infamous reputation among the Allies, and amongst the Axis⁵¹, was highly praised. Although this weapon was high quality and effective, it was simply implemented in too small numbers to have a noticeable effect on a naval vessel. Resultantly, the Bismarck was unable to shoot down any Fairey Swordfish on the night of the 26th of May 1941. Due to the aforementioned factors, the Bismarck's AA systems were generally subpar.

General Characteristics

The Bismarck class was, for his time, one of the fastest and most manoeuvrable capital ships. Other contemporary capital ships that would face Bismarck had an average max speed of 25.66 knots compared to the Bismarck class' 30.01 knots. This speed meant that the Bismarck could outrun the majority of his adversaries. In addition to the speed, the Bismarck was a fairly manoeuvrable ship, generally similar to his contemporaries. The class' turning circle radius of 850m was on par with the majority of Royal Navy battleships. Furthermore, the Bismarck had a cruising range⁵² of 8,870 nautical miles while travelling at 19 knots. This compared to the Bismarck's most likely adversary, HMS Hood, was an immense distance. The HMS Hood had a cruising range of only 5,332 nautical miles at 20 knots. Due to this, the Bismarck could outrun and out-distance almost all of his potential rivals.

⁴⁸ The speed at which a plane will stall.

⁴⁹ A plane consisting of one wing on each side of the fuselage, the fuselage being the body of the plane.

⁵⁰ Flugabwehrkanone 38 or Flugzeugabwehrkanone 38 meaning Anti-Aircraft Cannon 1938.

⁵¹ The Rome-Berlin Axis, later including Japan after the signing of the Tripartite Pact, the alliance of Nazi Germany in WW2.

⁵² The range a ship can sortie.

Battle Effectiveness

Bismarck

The Bismarck class's battle effectiveness was debatable. Initially, it showed his potential by destroying the HMS Hood with only two salvos⁵³. Bismarck straddled⁵⁴ the Hood in the first shot, and in the second salvo, launched a plunging shot into Hood's magazine, splitting the ship in two. Despite this success, the conditions Bismarck was given made it less able to succeed. First, admiral Günther Lütjens, who was in overall command of the Bismarck above its captain Ernst Lindemann, was especially cautious, refusing to fire on Hood before two salvos were fired by the British and Lindemann ordered return fire despite Lutjens' refusal. Furthermore, Lutjens inept command would partially lead to the Bismarck's destruction as he would break radio silence, letting the British reaffirm Bismarck's position. Later, further shortfallings were shown when the British Fairey Swordfish torpedo raid immobilised the ship. During the Last Battle of the Battleship Bismarck (27 May 1941, North Atlantic), Bismarck was proven to be an extremely strong opponent. Having approximately 2700 shells fired at it, it is estimated that roughly 700 hit, while only three pierced his armour in uncritical places. The main failure of the Bismarck itself was not the ship, but the doctrine and rushed nature of 'Unternehmen Rheinübung' (18-27 May 1941, Bismarck's Maiden Voyage), failure to give a proper escort and an inept admiral in overall command.

Tirpitz

Tirpitz, the sister ship of Bismarck, had a far less dramatic career, being used sparingly in shore bombardment and convoy raiding missions. Tirpitz was more effective than the Bismarck; he sank 24 merchant ships compared to Bismarck's one battlecruiser. The Tirpitz was fitted with multiple upgrades and successfully repelled numerous air raids before being sunk in 1944. Despite having larger battle effectiveness than the Bismarck, neither ship had a large effect achieved militarily. Although Tirpitz didn't achieve large success militarily, his mere presence in the Norwegian Fjords stopped much of the Allied shipping to the USSR without firing a shot.

⁵³ The barrage of shells by a ship's main battery.

⁵⁴ Landing multiple shells in the water surrounding the ship, causing the ship to rock.

Influence on Doctrine

German

The Bismarck class had a significant effect on German naval doctrine throughout WW2. The most noteworthy effect of the Bismarck class was the German adoption of a 'U-boat' effort headed by Dönitz. Initially, the sinking of the Bismarck (27 May 1941) would see Raeder fall out of favour from Hitler, and later, the Führer's abandonment of Raeder's 'Plan Z'⁵⁵ would eventuate. As a result of Raeder falling from favour, Dönitz could capitalise on this opportunity to further progress on 'U-boats'. This eventuated because the loss of the Bismarck proved to both the German admiralty and leaders including Speer, Hitler, and Goebbels, that expensive battleships were not viable for the German economy. The main reason for this was that without the ability to properly screen and give air support to German capital ships, these ships would be a complete waste of valuable money and resources that could be used elsewhere.

One concern of the Germans in 1940-41 as stated by former 'Großadmiral' Erich Raeder in his memoirs (1957) was that "She suffered under one great disadvantage the enemy did not share: she would have no accompanying integrated air forces to protect her". This was as contended by Kast and Pyke (2018) stating that the Fairey Swordfish torpedo raid was the most significant aspect to the downfall of the Bismarck, this highlights the significance of air power and protection as stated by Raeder (1957).

'Großadmiral' Dönitz (1959) in his memoirs states that "The sinking of the Bismarck (27 May 1941, North Atlantic) had nevertheless shown that the enemy had improved his system of patrolling the Atlantic to such a degree that our own surface vessels could obviously no longer operate in these sea areas". This idea completely changed the way in which the 'Kriegsmarine' conducted Atlantic voyages. This among other events led to, in 1943, the resignation of Raeder as 'Großadmiral' of the 'Kriegsmarine', being replaced by Dönitz who changed the 'Kriegsmarine' to a near full 'U-boat' effort. The loss of the ability to send a majority of surface vessels led to Dönitz and Raeder creating a new doctrine to send out the fleet with the idea that "from now onwards, only 'auxiliary cruisers'⁵⁶ [will remain] actively engaged against the enemy," (Dönitz 1959).

⁵⁵ Plan Z was the German plan headed by Erich Raeder to rebuild German surface capabilities to rival the British, a plan that was ultimately doomed from the start.

⁵⁶ Merchant raiders disguised as convoys.

British

For the British, the Bismarck class changed very little about their doctrine during WW2. However, the demise of the Bismarck class reaffirmed that the Royal Navy ruled the waves; the Bismarck class reinforced the British naval status quo, demonstrating that naval air would be the future of maritime warfare. The only change the Bismarck made to British doctrine was to quicken the British retirement of battleships and battlecruisers, because similarly to the Germans, the British saw that the loss of a mighty warship such as HMS Hood or the Bismarck was a massive blow both in propaganda and economically.

The Bismarck class would also have his effect on British naval doctrine. Although it was minimal, the British would take into account the successes and flaws of the Bismarck. This is shown by the British hastening of movement towards an aircraft carrier based navy and their quick retirement of battleships post WW2. This additionally led to greater spending on development of carrier-based aircraft and air primacy in naval warfare. Furthermore, as stated by Mulligan (2005), the British would take into account design flaws such as a poorly protected rudder and take this into account with all new ship classes.

Conclusion

The Bismarck class was, for his time, one of the most advanced commissioned warships in the world. It was effectively able to outgun and outrange the majority of his potential foes, and if it was unable to do this, it was likely that it could simply outrun them instead, although this claim would prove false after the loss of the rudder. Additionally, the Bismarck class had some of the most feared guns on Earth, leading to the Bismarck's capability not just being physical, but also mental. It would garner the title 'the Terror on the Seas' (Neidell) for his sinking of HMS Hood. This all shows that Bismarck's effectiveness was indeed immense and although it suffered from flaws, some minor and others major, generally it was not an outdated design and in many aspects, in fact, was quite advanced. Furthermore, the Bismarck class had an immense influence on German doctrine, nearly completely changing the strategic mindset of the German admiralty to 'U-boats'. Additionally, it would have minor influence on British doctrine, causing the massive buildup of aircraft carriers that would also be seen in the doctrine and approach of the main trans-Atlantic ally, the USA. The Bismarck

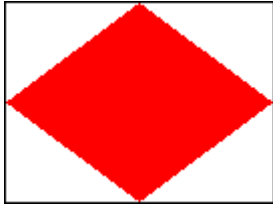
would also show Britain and Germany that battleships and battlecruisers were out of fashion, and so, they would be relegated to supporting roles and decommissioned shortly after the war in favour of both lighter cruisers and aircraft carriers.

Appendices

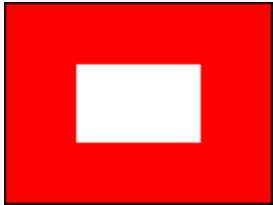
Appendix A: Turret Designations



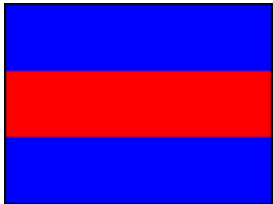
Anton 38cm SK C/34



Bruno 38cm SK C/34



Cäsar 38cm SK C/34



Dora 38cm SK C/34

Appendix B: Turret Characteristics

Main Turrets

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Designation | 38cm SK C/34 |
| Turret weight, excluding barbette | Anton: 1,048 metric tons Bruno, Cäsar and Dora, 1,056 metric tons |
| Elevation/Depression | -5.5° and +30° |
| Training (rotation) range | Anton and Bruno: 215° - 0° - 145° Cäsar and Dora: 035° - 180° - 325° |
| Rate of fire | 2.4 RPM (rounds per minute) per barrel |
| Maximum range | 35.55km |

Secondary Turrets

| | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| Designation | 15cm SK C/28 |
| Turret weight, excluding barbette | 108 metric tons 110 metric tons, rangefinding turrets |
| Elevation/Depression | -10° and +40° |
| Rate of fire | 8 RPM per barrel |
| Maximum range | 23km |

Heavy AA Battery

| | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Designation | 10.5 cm SK C/33 |
| Turret weight, excluding barbette | Mounting C31: 27.350 metric tons Mounting C37: 26.425 metric tons |
| Elevation/Depression | Mounting C31: -8° and +80° Mounting C37: -10° and +80° |
| Rate of fire | 18 RPM per barrel |
| Maximum range | 17.85 |
| Vertical Range | 13km |

Medium AA Battery

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| Designation | 3.7 cm SK C/30 |
| Elevation/Depression | -10° and +80° |
| Rate of fire | 80 RPM per barrel |
| Maximum range | 6.75km |

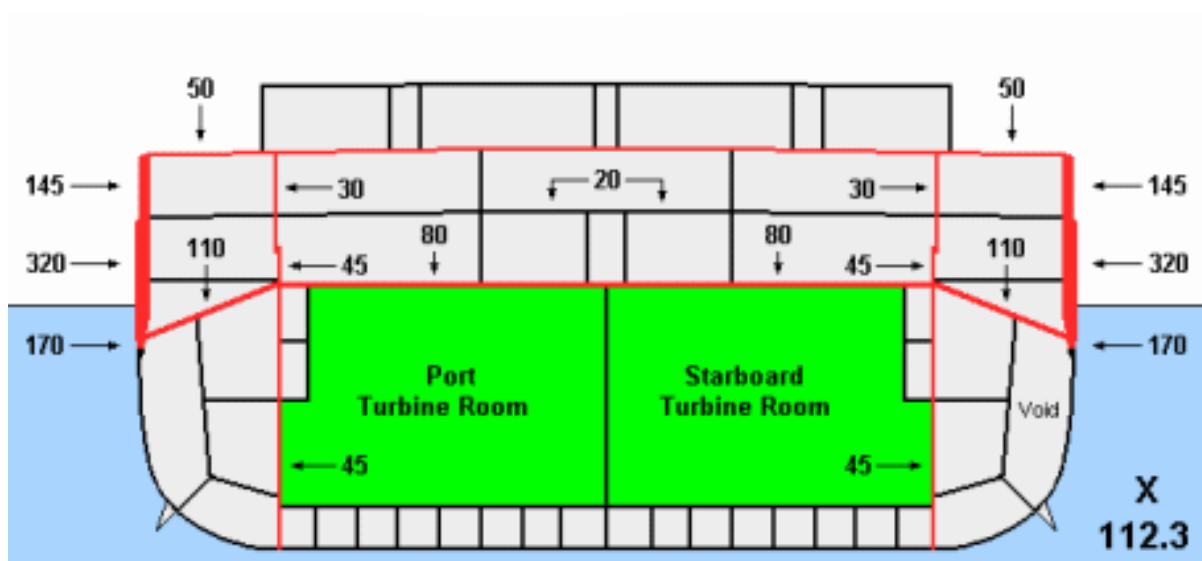
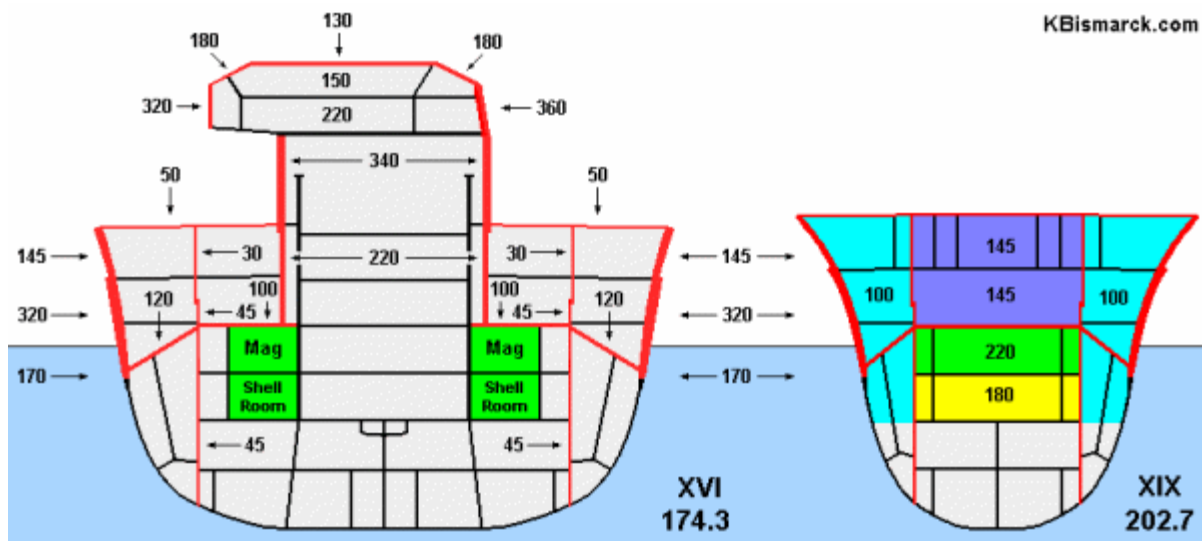
Light AA Battery

| | |
|----------------------|--------------|
| Designation | 2 cm MG C/30 |
| Elevation/depression | -10° and 85° |
| Rate of fire | 200 RPM |
| Maximum range | 4.6km |
| Vertical range | 3.5km |

| | |
|----------------------|----------------|
| Designation | 2 cm Flak C/38 |
| Elevation/depression | -10° and +100° |
| Rate of fire | 200 RPM |
| Maximum range | 4.6km |
| Vertical range | 3.5km |

Appendix C: Armour

KBismarck.com



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What does psychosomatic misdiagnosis look like in Myalgic Encephalomyelitis/Chronic Fatigue Syndrome (CFS) and how does it impact delays in diagnosis?

Student Number: 20270967A

Word Count: 3950

Abstract

The aim of this research was to investigate the phenomenon of psychosomatic misdiagnosis as it appears in the condition Myalgic Encephalomyelitis/Chronic Fatigue Syndrome (CFS)¹, as well as whether it impacts diagnostic delay. This research intends to provide a specific scientific investigation into the anecdotally observed connection between psychosomatic misdiagnosis and diagnostic delay in CFS, which has previously been suggested by CFS patients but not received attention as a subject of research. A qualitative methodology was used, employing case studies that were coded by hand for common themes. Coding of the case studies identified that psychosomatic misdiagnosis and diagnostic delay were strongly correlated. One of the reasons why psychosomatic misdiagnosis was contributing to diagnostic delay was that doctors were not investigating their patients' symptoms seriously, based on the assumption that they were psychological rather than physical. As well as that, some doctors avoided giving the label of CFS due to its uncertain reputation in the medical field, while others expressed that the diagnosis itself could prevent patients from recovering from symptoms they believed to be due to their thinking. For patients, receiving a psychosomatic misdiagnosis represented an unnecessary and often frustrating extra step in the journey towards the correct diagnosis of CFS. Furthermore, it led to patients feeling dismissed and disregarded by their doctors, and for some serious and permanent worsening of symptoms. Further research is necessary to investigate what can be done to combat the issue of psychosomatic misdiagnosis in CFS, and facilitate CFS patients receiving a timely, accurate diagnosis.

1

¹ The current most widely accepted name for this condition is Myalgic Encephalomyelitis/Chronic Fatigue Syndrome, which is commonly abbreviated to either ME/CFS or CFS. This represents a combination of the two previously used terms, Myalgic Encephalomyelitis and Chronic Fatigue Syndrome. In the UK, the term Myalgic Encephalomyelitis, or ME, is still frequently used.

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Acknowledgements

To my teachers, friends, parents and family members who read my work, encouraged me and supported me throughout this long project. In particular, to my Extended Investigation teacher, to my dad, and to my awesome research partner. I couldn't have done it without you.

Introduction

Chronic Fatigue Syndrome, also known as Myalgic Encephalomyelitis, CFS, or ME/CFS, is a little-known chronic illness characterised by a wide variety of symptoms such as severe fatigue, chronic pain, cognitive difficulties, and post-exertional malaise (CDC, 2000). It affects an estimated 0.4-1% of the population, and can appear in people of all genders, ethnicities and ages (“What is ME/CFS?”, n.d.). More women than men are affected, at a rate of approximately 4:1 (“ME/CFS in women and men”, 2015). CFS has a complex history in the medical field owing to its unknown aetiology, going through several names and attempts to uncover its cause over the past centuries (Mandal, 2019). In recent decades, CFS gained a reputation for being a psychological issue, leading to a split in the medical field between testing psychological treatments for the condition, and investigating possible biological causes (Tucker, 2015) (Sharpe et al., 2015) (Hornig et. al., 2015). This controversial history of CFS makes it a perfect candidate for research into diagnostic delay and psychosomatic misdiagnosis.

Diagnostic delay refers to the amount of time between onset of symptoms that prompted investigation and a formal diagnosis being given (Paramasivan et al., 2017). In this research, 12 months and over was determined to be a significant delay in diagnosis, considering the lengthy diagnostic process for CFS (NICE, 2021). The 2021 National Institute for Health and Care Excellence (NICE) guidelines on the diagnosis and management of CFS identified both that people with CFS report long delays in diagnosis, and that delayed diagnosis can negatively impact the physical and emotional health of the patient, as symptoms may worsen while waiting for diagnosis and treatment (NICE, 2021).

Psychosomatic misdiagnosis is also an issue that has been anecdotally reported by CFS patients. Psychosomatic misdiagnosis refers to the misattribution of physical symptoms to psychological causes, such as mental illnesses, personality traits, or emotions (Smith, 2011). There is some evidence that psychosomatic misdiagnosis may be a contributing factor to delays in diagnosis in CFS, which then results in patients experiencing delays in accessing treatment (Sloane et al., 2020). Little research has been done into the phenomenon of psychosomatic misdiagnosis, especially in CFS, and what research has been done has focused on its relationship with gender-politics (Smith, 2011). Therefore, this research will focus on

developing a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of psychosomatic misdiagnosis, as well as any potential link to diagnosis delay in CFS.

Literature Review

For people living with a rare chronic illness, receiving a diagnosis is often the first hurdle in a long and difficult journey towards treatment. (Kole & Faurisson, 2009). On the journey to receiving an accurate medical diagnosis, it is common for rare chronic illness patients to experience misdiagnoses along the way. Kole and Faurisson found that over half (52%) of the rare disease patients in their study had been given at least one, and an average of three, incorrect diagnoses. One of the most damaging types of misdiagnosis is psychosomatic misdiagnosis, meaning the misattribution of physical symptoms to psychological causes such as ‘health anxiety’ (hypochondria) or depression (Smith, 2011). Experiencing a psychosomatic misdiagnosis frequently causes patients to feel dismissed and shamed by their doctors, and reduces their future trust in physicians; this mistrust may then cause some patients to be less likely to continue to seek help in receiving an accurate diagnosis in the future (Sloane et al., 2020).

Chronic Fatigue Syndrome

According to a 2015 Institute of Medicine report, an estimated 836,000 to 2.5 million Americans suffer from CFS, and up to 90% of the actual population of CFS sufferers may not yet be diagnosed (CDC, 2000). CFS has been the subject of much controversy in the past, and some doctors still treat it as a purely psychological condition (Anthony, 2019). Uncertainties around the aetiology, diagnostic protocol, and management strategies for CFS, which present difficulties in making the diagnosis of the disease, have been suggested as possible reasons for the extremely high proportion of patients who remain undiagnosed (Griffith & Zarrouf, 2008). According to Griffith & Zarrouf (2008), CFS is frequently misdiagnosed and conflated with depression. For that reason, this research will focus on CFS as a case study for the issues of psychosomatic misdiagnosis and diagnostic delay in rare chronic illnesses more generally. However, this literature review will also cover literature relating to diagnosis experiences of other rare chronic illnesses such as lupus, which share key characteristics with CFS; for example: having an unknown aetiology, no definitive diagnostic tests, and a wide range of fairly non-specific symptoms. These characteristics seem to be important in contributing to the experience of misdiagnosis and diagnostic delay (Sloane et al., 2020). There is an existing

body of research into how psychosomatic misdiagnosis occurs in women based on gender biases (Smith, 2011). However, as the focus of this research is not gender-based differences in diagnostic experiences, those studies will not be reviewed in detail.

Psychosomatic Misdiagnosis

Psychosomatic misdiagnoses have been documented in sufferers of chronic or rare illnesses on the path to diagnosis (Muir, 2016) (Smith, 2011). Sloane et al (2020) conducted a study into diagnostic experiences in patients with Lupus, which found that “more than 80% of the respondents who reported receiving a [psychological or medically unexplained] misdiagnosis (often referred to by participants and forum members as an ‘in your head’ misdiagnosis) indicated that it had both reduced their future trust in physicians and altered their health-care-seeking behaviour” (pg. 6). A study by Smith (2011) looked into the incidence of psychosomatic misdiagnosis in regards to gender through interviews with patients. Some participants experienced severe physical consequences to psychosomatic misdiagnosis, including worsening of symptoms and in some cases hospitalisation, while others felt dismissed by their doctors (Smith, 2011). Further studies have uncovered common patterns of isolation and misunderstanding, as patients experienced accusations of laziness from those around them, including doctors (Njølstad, Mengshoel & Sveen, 2016). This indicates a wider issue: that CFS lacks credibility outside, as well as within, the medical community (Njølstad, Mengshoel & Sveen, 2016). CFS is a quintessential example of a chronic illness diagnosis that is often preceded by psychosomatic misdiagnoses (Griffith and Zarrouf, 2008), perhaps owing to the precarious position of the condition in the medical field (Tucker, 2015).

Diagnostic Delay

Receiving a diagnosis is often the first hurdle in a long and difficult treatment journey for sufferers of rare and chronic illnesses. According to Kole & Faurisson, (2009), late diagnosis can delay the beginning of treatment, which can have “severe irreversible, debilitating and life-threatening consequences” (pg. 20) as symptoms can worsen while patients are not receiving appropriate care. Rare chronic illness patients frequently experience long waits for diagnosis, often involving multiple doctors, until one doctor is finally able to recognise the symptoms (Muir, 2019). There is significant variation in the average wait times for diagnosis for different chronic illnesses, depending on the symptoms and diagnostic requirements of each illness. Kole and Faurisson (2009) studied ten rare chronic illnesses and found the average diagnosis time ranged from 15 months for Cystic Fibrosis, all the way to 28 years for

Ehlers Danlos Syndrome. Bayliss et al. (2014) note that a recent trial found diagnostic delays in primary care patients with CFS to be an average of 3.7 years, and find that there are currently serious barriers to diagnosis experienced by CFS patients. Most studies into the potential causes of diagnostic delay have focused on the knowledge and skill-base of doctors tasked with treating it, although this may be just one factor leading to delays in diagnosis (Stenhoff, Sadreddini, Peters & Wearden, 2013) (Richards, Morren & Pioro).

Conclusion: Psychosomatic Misdiagnosis Leading To Diagnostic Delay

The perception that psychosomatic misdiagnosis can lead to greater delays in diagnosis seems to be commonly accepted by chronic illness patients, including CFS sufferers. This is demonstrated by the example of a participant in Smith's 2011 study, who was a self-diagnosed Chronic Fatigue Syndrome sufferer and was concerned that a diagnosis of depression "on [her] record" might increase the likelihood of future misdiagnosis or diagnostic delay. In Muir's 2016 study, a patient with multiple chronic conditions stated that "a lot of time was wasted" while her GP did not believe her symptoms, until she was eventually diagnosed by a different doctor. 72% of Sloane et. al's participants reported that they believed that doctors disregarding their symptoms or dismissing them as psychological contributed to their diagnosis delay or misdiagnosis. However, such observations are backed mostly by anecdotal evidence from patients with little purposeful scientific research into it, particularly in the area of CFS. This research aims to help fill that gap by producing a case study analysis of the relationship between psychosomatic misdiagnosis and diagnostic delay in CFS.

Methodology

The aim of this research was to investigate the phenomenon of psychosomatic misdiagnosis in Myalgic Encephalomyelitis/Chronic Fatigue Syndrome (CFS), and its potential impact on timely, accurate diagnosis. This research will take an exploratory approach, aiming to describe the nature of the problem through qualitative data (Singh, 2007).

Case studies, also referred to as qualitative studies, are a research technique that is often used in the field of sociology to investigate a phenomenon in the context of real life (Yin, 2003). Diagnostic delay and psychosomatic misdiagnosis are phenomena that occur only in real life, and cannot be isolated for analysis away from that context (Yin, 2003). Therefore, case studies were determined to be an appropriate methodology for this research.

In the area of CFS, case studies provide a useful framework to discuss patient experiences (Bayliss et al., 2014). Bayliss et al. (2014) conducted a study into barriers for diagnosis in CFS, analysing 21 previously published case studies for trends in diagnosis rates and GP knowledge and use of various medical frameworks. This research has similarly made use of secondary data analysis of previously published case studies, which allowed the researcher to make connections between psychosomatic misdiagnosis and diagnostic delay using multiple examples. The use of secondary data analysis also allowed the research to be compiled within a reasonable time frame, and avoid incurring ethical issues, by avoiding the direct collection of data.

Collection of Case Studies

A literature search was performed across online databases of health journals, including the State Library of Victoria web database and Monash University virtual library, as well as online platforms such as Youtube. Search keywords included 'Chronic Fatigue Syndrome', 'Myalgic Encephalomyelitis' and 'CFS' combined with terms such as 'qualitative study', 'case study', 'diagnosis story', and 'diagnosed with'. Case studies of CFS patient perspectives were suitable for selection if they included: the length of diagnostic delay, and; a description of how the diagnosis was obtained, including describing interactions with care providers. Case studies of doctor perspectives were suitable if they described the doctor's beliefs about the diagnosis and management of CFS. Seven case studies in video and written format were selected for analysis, which are identified as I through VII. The majority of the selected case studies (5 out of 7) were patients describing their experience of diagnosis with CFS; however, one case study was an interview conducted with GPs on their experiences in diagnosing CFS, and one included interviews with both physicians and patients. The inclusion of the perspective of physicians was concluded to be important to analysing and understanding the issue as a whole, by covering all possible perspectives to create a holistic view of the situation.

A description of each case study is provided below:

| Case | Description |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| I | Set of semi-structured interviews with 22 GPs, topics including: ideas about the cause of CFS, previous experience of patients with CFS, how the diagnosis of CFS was achieved, and the GP's role in management of these patients. |
| II | Published qualitative study with data drawn from a group meeting, written answers to a questionnaire and a follow-up meeting, using a sample of 10 women and 2 men of various ages with CFS, recruited from a local patient organisation. |
| III | Submission by a woman with CFS sourced from a CDC series on CFS patient perspectives. Describes the process of diagnosis and current and past presentation of the illness. |
| IV | Set of semi-structured interviews with 20 GPs and 50 CFS patients. GPs were asked about their views on CFS and the difficulties it presented in their practice, while patients were asked to describe the history and social consequences of their illness as well as any medical interventions they had received. |
| V | Video interview with a woman with CFS, describing her diagnosis with CFS and what she thinks others should know about the condition. |
| VI | TEDX Talk by a woman with CFS, describing the development and diagnosis of her illness, including psychosomatic misdiagnosis with conversion disorder. |
| VII | Video essay by a man with CFS. He describes his feelings about a recent diagnosis of CFS, and the experience of receiving the diagnosis and beginning treatment. |

Figure 1. Table of case descriptions.

Analysis of Case Studies

Common themes and patterns found in the case studies were analysed in order to identify any connection between psychosomatic misdiagnosis and diagnostic delay. An inductive approach was taken to generating themes (Yin, 2003). Case studies were coded by hand; the researcher read each case study and highlighted and noted down themes (see Appendix B for an example of the coding process). Using that primary data, a table was constructed to track the number of cases each theme appeared in. Themes which appeared in only one case study were eliminated, leaving 14 final themes which appeared in two or more of the case studies. The table was converted to a graph showing the most to least common themes (see *Figure 2*).

Ethical Considerations

Ethical guidelines provided by NHMRC note that psychological or medical-related studies may incur issues of privacy and confidentiality for patients. They also discourage research into areas such as health, which could be sensitive for participants. The use of previously published case studies instead of primary data collection will help to avoid both the issue of privacy and potential sensitivity of the research topic. No identifying personal information will be published in this research.

NHMRC-provided guidelines also advise schools to assess, monitor and manage risk when approaching sensitive research topics such as medical- or mental illness-related issues. An onsite psychologist was made available to the researcher should any issues have arisen regarding the sensitivity of the nature of the research.

Limitations

While case studies were ultimately determined to be the most effective form of data collection for this style of research, they do present some limitations as a methodology. The main issue is the necessity of a very small sample size, which limits the generalisability of any conclusions drawn (Faber & Fonseca, 2014). For that reason, each finding from the case studies was cross-referenced against other literature to ensure that the themes drawn were not unique to this particular body of data.

People with positive or neutral diagnosis experiences may be less likely than those with negative experiences to share their stories on the internet due to the negativity bias, a cognitive bias which causes people to remember negative memories more strongly than positive or neutral ones (Cherry, 2020). To avoid creating a negativity dominance in the research, neutral search terms such as “diagnosis story” and “diagnosed with CFS” were used when collecting case studies.

Findings and Discussion

There was significant variation across the case studies, resulting in a total of 14 themes that appeared more than once. Eight themes appeared three or more times, and four themes appeared more than three times.

Prevalence of Themes

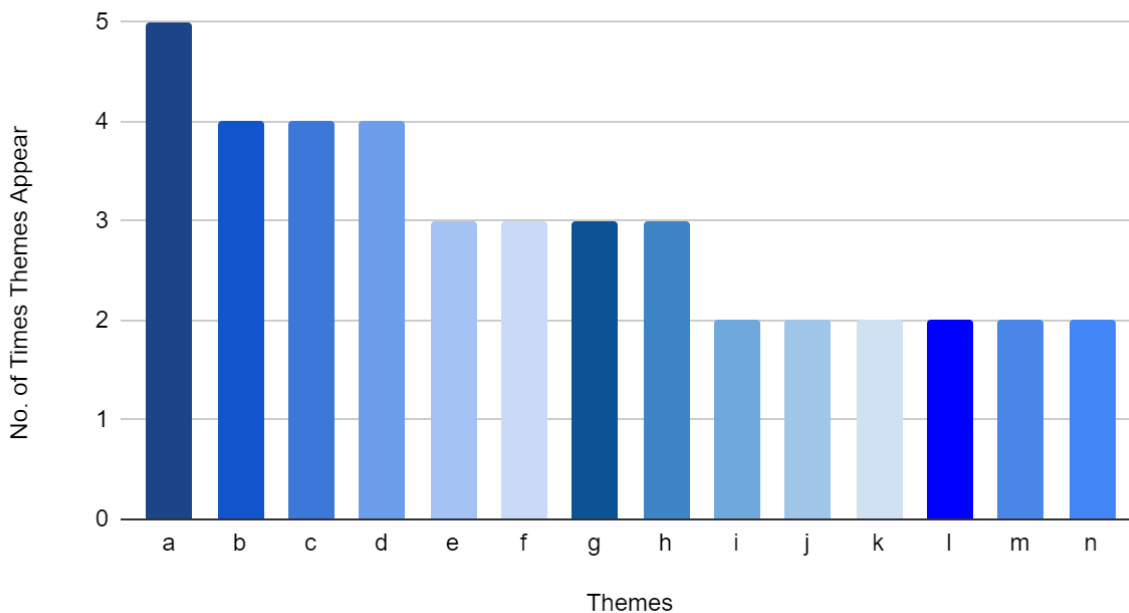


Figure 2. Graph of the prevalence of each theme. For Key see Appendix A.

The four most common themes were: diagnosis delay of more than 12 months (a); doctor's belief that CFS doesn't exist as a biological medical condition, or should be classified as psychological (b); patients feeling dismissed, disregarded, or not taken seriously by doctors (c); and psychosomatic misdiagnosis (d). For identification of themes e - n, see Appendix A.

FINDING 1 : Diagnostic delay and how it correlates with psychosomatic misdiagnosis

Five out of seven cases reported diagnostic delays of over 12 months (cases II, III, IV, V, and VI), making it the most prevalent theme across all cases. Four out of seven cases reported both diagnosis delay and psychosomatic misdiagnosis or suggestion at the same time. These were II, IV, V, and VI.

Table of Themes vs. Cases

| | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| a | - | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | - |
| b | yes | | | yes | | yes | yes |
| c | | yes | | yes | yes | | yes |
| d | yes | yes | - | yes | - | yes | - |
| e | | | yes | | yes | yes | |
| f | yes | | | | | | |
| g | yes | | | | yes | yes | |
| h | yes | | yes | yes | yes | | |
| i | | | | | | | |
| j | | | | | yes | | yes |
| k | yes | | | | | | yes |
| l | | yes | | | | yes | |
| m | | yes | | | | | yes |
| n | yes | - | - | - | yes | - | - |

Figure 3. Raw data of themes present in each case.

- psychosomatic misdiagnosis and psychosomatic suggestion

- diagnostic delay over 12 months

Ultimately, the correlation between psychosomatic misdiagnosis and diagnostic delay in this research was very strong. Of the five cases which reported diagnostic delays over 12 months, psychosomatic misdiagnosis was also reported in four. Only one case reported diagnostic delay without mentioning psychosomatic misdiagnosis. When a patient receives an incorrect diagnosis, this only lengthens the amount of time before the correct diagnosis is made. Psychosomatic misdiagnosis, specifically, creates unique issues for patients that may contribute to the delay in diagnosis, including creating feelings of dismissal in patients.

One of the two cases that did not report diagnostic delay was case I, a set of interviews with 20 GPs. In this case, diagnosis time was not a focus of the interview, which may account for why it was not covered. Case VII reported neither psychosomatic misdiagnosis nor diagnostic delay. This case was unique in that when symptoms of CFS arose, the patient had already been regularly seeing a GP for other chronic health problems for multiple years. This GP suggested CFS quickly after the onset of symptoms that provoked investigation, although the diagnosis took 8 months to be confirmed. It is also necessary to note that the GP in this case

did initially believe that CFS is psychological in nature, and suggested psychological treatment (CBT) as a first step. However, he was educated by his patient and consequently referred the patient to a local CFS service instead of a psychologist, which did not occur in other cases of psychosomatic misdiagnosis.

FINDING 2: Psychosomatic misdiagnosis

The theme of psychosomatic misdiagnosis, which was codified as patients experiencing a diagnosis of a mental health problem or psychological condition instead of CFS, was present in four cases. Diagnoses included depression, conversion disorder, and hysteria, while one individual recounted multiple incorrect diagnoses of various “psychiatric disorders”. This is somewhat in accordance with Griffith & Zarrouf (2008)’s assertion that CFS symptoms are commonly misdiagnosed as depression; although, only one patient specified the diagnosis of depression.

Beyond receiving misdiagnoses of psychological disorders, patients also frequently experienced “psychologising” of their symptoms in other ways. This was codified under the theme of psychosomatic suggestion (n), which included patients who were assumed to be reacting problems at home or in school (II and V), stress, or tiredness (I), as well as those who had symptoms blamed on negative character traits; for example, case V described persistent accusations of laziness from teachers, family friends and doctors. Smith’s 2011 study into the role of gender in psychosomatic misdiagnosis detailed experiences of women who were erroneously told their medical problems were due to stress or emotional issues. Within this research, a similar pattern emerged, with patients who were told their CFS symptoms were due to emotional trauma, stress, or a reaction to problems at home, school or work.

One conclusion of Smith’s 2011 study was that psychosomatic misdiagnosis may have serious physical consequences for patients due to the lack of correct treatment; a finding that was supported by Kole & Faurisson (2009), who found that diagnostic delays which caused patients to be without the correct treatment could have potentially life-threatening consequences. In case VI, the patient was misdiagnosed with a conversion disorder, a diagnosis which “didn’t feel true” but which she felt she “couldn’t just reject” as it came from her neurologist. As a result of the diagnosis, the patient was convinced to push herself beyond her physical limits, resulting in a post-exertional malaise episode that severely and

permanently worsened her symptoms. This case represents an extreme example of the sort of consequences that might occur due to psychosomatic misdiagnosis in any illness, specifically because receiving a psychosomatic misdiagnosis means that patients were not receiving the correct diagnosis and treatment. Furthermore, in the case of CFS specifically, the psychosomatic misdiagnosis in and of itself directly caused the worsening of symptoms, by leading to incorrect treatment; as opposed to symptoms worsening as part of the natural progression of the disease due to a lack of correct treatment.

Sloane et al.'s 2020 study into diagnostic experiences in patients with Lupus found that psychosomatic misdiagnosis reduced patient's trust in physicians and altered their healthcare-seeking behaviour, which could lead patients to be reluctant to continue to seek out help, extending the delay in diagnosis. Interestingly, the CFS patients in this research did not express the same sentiment. In fact, despite the experience of receiving a psychosomatic misdiagnosis being generally negative – patients described feelings such as “self-doubt and bitterness” as a result – the frustration seemed to fuel their search for a doctor who would “finally listen”.

FINDING 3: Feeling dismissed

The theme of patients feeling dismissed, not taken seriously, or disregarded by doctors was very common throughout the cases. It frequently occurred as an emotional response to the experience of psychosomatic misdiagnosis, which patients often felt was the result of not being listened to or having their concerns minimised. Case V, who waited for a diagnosis for 8 years, expressed that she felt “no one listened to [her]”, and instead she was characterised as lazy. Once they received their diagnosis, patients finally felt they had been taken seriously and “listened to”. A qualitative study of CFS in adolescents revealed similar patterns of misunderstanding and accusations of laziness from friends, family and occasionally doctors (Njølstad, Mengshoel & Sveen, 2016). Although it was not further investigated in Njølstad, Mengshoel & Sveen's study, in this research the fact that doctors were not investigating their patients' symptoms seriously because they were instead being assumed to be psychologically-based appeared to lead to longer delays in receiving the correct diagnosis.

FINDING 4: Doctor's beliefs on CFS

The prevalence of psychosomatic misdiagnoses was unsurprising based on the frequency of doctors expressing the belief that CFS symptoms arise out of psychological problems. One doctor in case I, for example, described CFS as a “somatic presentation of a mental health problem”. The theme of doctors holding incorrect beliefs about the medical cause of CFS was among the most common. In the medical field, CFS has long been the subject of controversy (Anthony, 2019), and although in recent years ground-breaking research has been performed in the search for biomarkers of CFS, the disease's aetiology is still unclear (Hornig et. al., 2015) (Nagy-Szakal et al., 2017). In case I, some GPs expressed uncertainty about the medical recognition or physical basis of the condition, daunted by CFS being a “relatively recent diagnostic term”, which led them to believe the illness may be psychological in origin instead. Other GPs were fully convinced of designating CFS as a psychological illness, as in case II. This issue was also reflected on by patients, notably in case VII whose doctor mistakenly attributed the patient's symptoms to his “thinking”. Furthermore, from a doctor's perspective, CFS is often seen as “untreatable”, causing doctors to be concerned that making the diagnosis would be unhelpful for both the doctor and patient as it may only increase the uncertainty; in contrast, a diagnosis of depression was said to be easier to make as GPs felt more confident in the treatment pathway that would follow. Some GPs in both case I and case IV felt that “labelling” a patient with CFS may create a self-fulfilling prophecy in which their symptoms increase in accordance with the diagnosis, indicating an implicit belief that the symptoms are due to the patient's thinking rather than arising from a biological dysfunction. In these cases, doctors were avoiding making the diagnosis of CFS based on an assumption that CFS symptoms are psychological in origin, potentially leading to longer diagnosis delays for their patients.

Conclusion

This research aimed to investigate the question: *What does psychosomatic misdiagnosis look like in CFS and how does it impact delays in diagnosis?* A qualitative methodology utilising case studies was used to explore the phenomenon of psychosomatic misdiagnosis in CFS, and how it was potentially linked to diagnostic delay. Coding of the case studies identified that psychosomatic misdiagnosis and diagnostic delay were strongly correlated. Receiving a psychosomatic misdiagnosis represented an unnecessary and often frustrating extra step in the journey towards the correct diagnosis of CFS. Psychosomatic misdiagnosis also

contributed to diagnostic delay as doctors were not investigating their patients' symptoms seriously owing to an assumption that they were psychologically-based. Furthermore, it led to patients feeling dismissed and disregarded by their doctors, and for some serious and permanent worsening of symptoms.

In further studies, it may be more effective to use interviews with patients, in which it would be possible to ask specific questions about psychosomatic misdiagnosis leading to diagnostic delay; this was not possible in this research due to ethical concerns. Further research into the topic of psychosomatic misdiagnosis could potentially investigate the phenomenon in other illnesses with similar characteristics to CFS, such as lupus or fibromyalgia. The focus of this study was on patients; beyond that, further research topics could include how the current diagnostic criteria and medical training around CFS may impact the prevalence of psychosomatic misdiagnosis in the illness.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Key to Figure 2

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|
| diagnosis delay of more than 12 months | a |
| doctor's belief that CFS doesn't exist as a biological medical condition, or should be classified as psychological | b |
| patients feel dismissed, disregarded or not taken seriously by doctors | c |
| psychosomatic misdiagnosis: depression, hysteria/conversion disorder, emotional trauma, stress | d |
| going to multiple doctors before diagnosis | e |
| doctor's belief that giving a label of CFS is harmful, unhelpful, pointless e.g. self-fulfilling prophecy, no clear treatment pathway | f |
| patient assumes they are being lazy/overreacting/there is no medical issue | g |
| doctors seeing their role as to understand, support, work with patients holistically | h |
| being referred to a specialist is helpful for getting a diagnosis | i |
| patient feels they were listened to/believed by doctor who gave diagnosis | j |
| patients unwilling to admit to psychological components of their illness, are offended by the suggestion | k |
| doctors stop looking/say nothing is wrong after tests come back normal | l |
| being believed by doctors who you have a long term-relationship with | m |
| psychosomatic suggestion: laziness, passive, giving up, overreacting (blaming symptoms on negative character traits). | n |

Appendix B: An example of the coding process

'thing, but often it's to do with too much emotional stress going on in their life.' (GP17)
'I thought it was very much a sort of somatic presentation of a mental health problem and that was pretty much it. Probably quite patronising...sort of acknowledge that there was the fatigue, but didn't really see it as a separate entity. And I thought it was people sort of passively giving into symptoms and just sort of saying "right that's it", giving up. So I think it can be quite frustrating to work with.' (GP9)

In addition, there was some debate over whether CFS/ME actually existed as a medical condition:

'Well it's a relatively recent diagnostic term and I'm not so sure yet that it's recognised throughout the medical profession as an illness.' (GP0)
'I think that's increasingly wrongly medicalising it...to reinforce the fact that it's a medical disease that a specialist can cure, I think, gives the wrong messages.' (GP16)

Such beliefs about CFS/ME necessarily will lead to difficulties in labelling the symptoms or making the diagnosis of CFS/ME.

Excluding the physical

GPs articulated a process of diagnosis that prioritised excluding a physical cause for a patient's symptoms and presentation:

'Well I'm a doctor, so I'd take a very full medical history, I would examine them and look for relevant things, and I'd do some investigations which would include looking for anaemia, thyroid problems, liver problems, vitamin D deficiency, that kind of thing' (GP18)

GPs described looking for physical causes for symptoms and rarely suggested that exploring psycho-social issues would be important. Some GPs suggested that this bio-medical focus could be therapeutic since investigating symptoms communicates to the patient that the GP is interested in their symptoms and taking them seriously:

'In the sense that if I sent, for example, the patient for a full blood count and ESR, the patient will feel two things, one is that he will feel that I have taken him seriously, if that comes back as negative, then they feel that "yes, the doctor has something to back up, to say I haven't got any cancer or anything", so they are doubly reassured. So I know it's a £10 investigation, but it is therapeutic in that respect...and they feel at least you have taken them seriously, and

they go away reassured, that in itself is therapeutic, because the word therapy means to be cured doesn't it?' (GP13)

Other GPs suggested that taking this bio-medical approach was important since they were excluding treatable causes of the patient's symptoms:

'Clearly I'm excluding the treatable' (GP14)

This implies that some GPs may feel that CFS/ME is not treatable, making their role in managing people whose symptoms are not easily categorized challenging.

Potential harm from the label

Some GPs believed that the label of CFS/ME can be helpful for the patient in giving a name to their symptoms:

'Some people like a label, some people like to know what's causing their symptoms whether it's the truth or not and some people are looking for a label to attach to their symptoms.' (GP17)

However, this value was generally considered to be limited and short-lived:

'At a superficial level it's empowering because it gives them control over their life and their work, but at a deeper level it prevents them from engaging fully with the existential conditions of their life which is what they can't cope with.' (GP18)

Furthermore, the majority of GPs felt that the label of CFS/ME could be harmful because it did not offer a clear management pathway for either the GP or the patient:

'I try to avoid it because once you give them the label you're actually setting them off on a track which will get them nowhere.' (GP14)

'Once you start labelling a patient if you're not careful you might have a self-fulfilling prophecy.' (GP15)

Role of referral

Those GPs who felt that making the diagnosis, or labelling the patient's condition, was helpful suggested that referring the patient to secondary care could potentially assist in achieving a diagnosis and providing support to GPs who lack confidence in making the diagnosis alone:

'If someone else saw them who I felt was a good physician and also came to the same diagnosis as me then I would feel more confident that we were right.' (GP15)

VCE Extended Investigation 2022

Do the in-school experiences of Melbourne senior students with traits of Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) and/or Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) vary on the basis of their gender?

Student ID: 20255925R

Word count: 4,388

Abstract

This investigation aimed to identify variations in senior students' in-school experiences on the basis of both their gender identity and displays of behaviours or traits of ASD and/or ADHD, whether or not they have a medical diagnosis of either disorder. This research considered the social influences that may explain the underdiagnosis of females, such as the phenomenon in which females seem most likely to mask i.e. perform certain behaviours while suppressing others in order to mimic the people around them. A qualitative method was utilised; first, a survey was employed among grade 11s and 12s in order to research the differences, if any, in both social and educational experience. Following this, six semi-structured interviews with survey respondents were conducted to further understand and extrapolate the data. These were all analysed via a coding strategy. The results showed that there are differences in social, but not academic experiences within school on the basis of gender. Specifically, females and gender diverse individuals who have traits of ASD and/or ADHD, and especially if they are suspected of or diagnosed with these disorders, will experience higher levels of stress, ostracisation from their peers, and discomfort in group settings. However, the differences in solely educational outcomes are not gendered in nature, but rather influenced by an individual's ASD and/or ADHD behaviours. In conclusion the research successfully found that there are variations in school experience for senior students, but primarily in regards to social interactions rather than academic performance.

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Acknowledgements

Thank you to my Extended Investigation teacher and my research partner for providing me with support, advice, and tireless patience.

Introduction

Within the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) and Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) are considered neurodevelopmental disabilities (ND or “neurodiversities”), a collection of conditions that typically manifest early in development, and lead to impairments of personal, social, academic, or occupational functioning (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Despite differences in diagnostic criteria, numerous connections have been drawn between ADHD and ASD, and the two are frequently discussed together. Between 30-65% of children with ADHD have symptoms that satisfy the DSM criteria for ASD (Clark et al., 1999), and 22-83% of children with ASD have medically substantial symptoms of ADHD (Ronald et al., 2008). Therefore, for the purposes of this research, both disabilities will be discussed in conjunction with one another.

There are numerous connections between sex and gender and ASD and ADHD, with research suggesting that the experiences of disabled individuals can be impacted by their sex. Both ASD and ADHD are, to varying degrees, predominantly diagnosed in males. In addition, a large investigation found elevated rates of both ASD and ADHD within gender diverse individuals; that is, transgender, non-binary, and genderqueer people (Warrier et al., 2020). Due to the correlation between gender diversity and neurodiversity, this study will use the term “sex” solely to describe the assigned gender at birth of an individual, and “gender” to describe gender identity of an individual, regardless of sex.

Research suggests that those who display behaviours of ASD and/or ADHD are more likely to be mistreated within school, although this can vary depending on the individual's gender. Students with diagnoses of ASD and/or ADHD have a higher chance of being rejected by their peers in comparison to typically developing individuals (TD or “neurotypicals”) (Boer et al., 2016; Petry et al., 2018), which may worsen their academic outcomes (Strøm et al., 2013). In general, females are significantly more likely to be accepted by their peers in comparison to males (Boer et al., 2016). Simultaneously, there are numerous elements of ASD and ADHD that may impact an individual's ability to reach their full academic potential, including the

range of sensory challenges within the classroom (Butera et al., 2020). Additionally, masking can have drastic impacts on an individual's mental health, having been found to impact females more than males (Cook et al., 2017; Hull et al., 2017). This may lead to decreased academic performance. In general, masking can cause higher levels of depression, anxiety, and stress (Bernardin et al., 2021). Both masking and mental health issues may worsen an individual's academic performance (Brännlund et al., 2017). As indicated by previous research, this may be influenced by both gender and disability.

Literature Review

Research indicates that gender and ASD and ADHD can impact an individual's experience within school, especially females and gender diverse (GD) people. In general, those with ASD and/or ADHD may experience more social rejection from their school peers, though this may be relative to their gender (Boer et al., 2016; Petry et al., 2018; Holtmann et al., 2007). Females tend to be underdiagnosed with ASD and ADHD, which is possibly due to their inclination to mask their behaviour (Fombonne et al., 2009; Ramtekkar et al., 2010; Holtmann et al., 2007). Alongside this, increased rates of both ADHD and ASD have been found among the gender diverse community (Warrier et al., 2020). These factors accumulated may contribute to lower academic outcomes partially due to the mental health problems they can result in (George & Stokes, 2018; Cook et al., 2017; Hull et al., 2017; Strøm et al., 2013).

Gender inequality in treatment, diagnosis and experience

Both ASD and ADHD are predominantly diagnosed in males, even when equally severe symptoms are displayed (Russell et al., 2010). The most consistently reported male-female ratio for ASD prevalence is 4:1 (Fombonne et al., 2009), and 2-3:1 for ADHD, with differences highest in adolescents (Ramtekkar et al., 2010). However, Begeer et al. (2012) found the opposite, with no delayed identification for adolescent females with Level 2-3 ASD. It is worth noting that this study used outdated terminology, thus potentially limiting the accuracy of the findings. Nonetheless, Russell et al. (2010) discovered that males are significantly more likely to have an ASD diagnosis, with ratios of 9:1. Specific behaviours associated with

ASD may be displayed more regularly by males, as Holtmann et al. (2007) found that females are better at displaying “appropriate facial expressions” (pg 3) and “showing and directing [their] attention” (pg 3) compared to males.

While genetic factors have been used to explain this underdiagnosis of females, there are also numerous social influences, such as females' likelihood to mask their symptoms (Holtmann et al., 2007). Masking reduces the chance of receiving a diagnosis as the symptoms are not as externally prominent. Similarly, in regards to ADHD, parents may notice more symptoms in males, as they typically have higher levels of disruptive hyperactive-impulsive symptoms (Ramtekkar et al., 2011). However, Holtmann et al. (2007) also discusses that if females are unable to successfully mask, they may be perceived as having a greater level of impairment due to the discrepancy between social expectations and actual behaviour.

Gender diversity in ASD and ADHD

Numerous investigations have found a correlation between ASD and gender diversity, including one study of 641,860 individuals across five unrelated datasets. Only 5% of cisgender people were diagnosed with ASD, compared to 24% of gender diverse people. Alongside this, gender diverse individuals were found to have elevated rates of ADHD (Warrier et al., 2020). Considering this, it is relevant to note that gender diversity and neurodiversity are both considered minority attributes. George and Stokes (2018) studied the phenomenon of “minority stress”, in which minority groups experience heightened rates of depression, anxiety, and general stress. The more minority groups an individual is part of, the more symptoms of poor mental health they exhibit (George & Stokes, 2018). Accordingly, GD people with ASD can experience intensified amounts of stress. Similarly, interviews conducted by Strang et al. (2018) with autistic gender diverse people found that more than half of the participants “believe being neurodiverse and gender diverse has certain challenges” (pg 10). About 32% of these same participants mentioned that their gender identity has been questioned due to their ASD diagnosis. In general, the experience of being both GD and ND can be arduous for an individual.

ASD and ADHD: Social acceptance and rejection in schools

Multiple studies have drawn links between an individual displaying behaviours of ASD and/or ADHD and being socially rejected within school, though this may be relative to their gender. A study by Boer et al. (2016) prompted secondary school students to nominate their peers for certain categories, such as whom they would or would not prefer to spend their time with. They found that students with ADHD are twice as likely to be rejected by their peers in comparison to typically developing individuals. Similar research by Petry et al. (2018) discovered that students with ASD are significantly less accepted compared to TD students, with more than 10% receiving no positive nominations, and almost a quarter having no reciprocal friendships. Females often have more severe social deficits during adolescence, particularly in peer relationships (Holtmann et al., 2007), despite the fact that they receive substantially less negative peer nominations compared to males (Boer et al., 2016). Overall, students with ASD and/or ADHD tend to be both less accepted and more excluded by their school peers which could potentially lead to worsened mental health and lower self esteem (Boer et al., 2016), particularly for females.

Academic performance

There are numerous elements of ASD and ADHD that may impact an individual's ability to achieve their full academic potential, but these may affect females most severely. Butera et al. (2020) observed that a range of stimuli processing found in the classroom may negatively influence academic performance. Specifically, they discovered that school performance scores were lowest for children with greater hypersensitivity and fewer self-regulation avoidance behaviours – both symptoms of ASD and ADHD. Ashburner et al. (2010) found that 43% of primary-aged students with ASD had issues with perfectionism, and 54% were rated as under-achieving academically by their teachers, compared to only 8% of TD students. Difficulties with self-regulation can also lead to distress for students, thus making it harder to process information within the classroom (Butera et al., 2020). Alongside this, both masking and mental health issues may decrease an individual's ability to perform academically (Strøm et al., 2013), having been found to impact females more than males (Cook et al., 2017; Hull et al., 2017). Masking, in general, can cause higher levels of depression, anxiety, and stress (Bernardin et al., 2021). Especially in

females, masking can also lead to loss of one's identity, lower self-esteem, self-harm, and suicidal thoughts (Cook et al., 2017; Hull et al., 2017).

Overall, the literature suggests that gender and ASD and ADHD can impact an individual's experience within school on both a social and academic level. This is especially so for females and gender-diverse people, who may experience higher levels of stress due to the range of complications both their gender and neurodiversity can introduce.

Methodology

As Creswell (2007) discusses, the qualitative research design is best “to study a group or population, identify variables that can then be measured, or hear silenced voices” (Creswell, 2007, pg 40). A qualitative methodology was therefore used for this study. This included a survey method which provided a complex, detailed understanding of a group's experiences. Thus, the research mostly took the form of a survey alongside multiple follow-up semi-structured interviews, allowing for primary data to be harvested and extrapolated. This provided increased validity of the data with a focus on subjective experiences of the population.

Surveys & Interviews

A survey was undertaken with Melbourne-based senior students, aged approximately 15 to 19. It remained open for two months and received 39 responses. An online format is likely to obtain higher response rates in adolescents compared to a mailed questionnaire (Shih & Fan, 2008), alongside being more practical for the researcher. The survey was released via online platforms and social media websites to any students currently in grade 11 and 12. The researcher aimed to compare the in-school experiences of students regarding their gender identity and traits of ASD and/or ADHD. Participants were asked to discuss their experiences within school on a social and educational level in a series of open and closed questions. As open questions provide richer and more personalised answers (Abbott & Bordens, 1999), most questions were open-ended. A cross-sectional design was used as the survey was intended to reflect participants' experiences at the time of the study (Abbott & Bordens, 1999).

Six follow-up semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants who consensually provided their information at the end of the survey. Before conducting the interviews, participants were provided with a physical consent form to sign to both partake in the interview and have their responses audio-taped. All audio recordings were erased after completion of the research project. The questions were constructed based on the participants' responses to the survey questions to elicit further detail. Completing interviews allowed for detailed and personal responses (Creswell, 2007), which informed the final results.

Limitations

Due to the fact that surveys do not measure causation but rather correlation, the investigation could have been limited (Abbott & Bordens, 1999). The use of primary data also meant that the accuracy and validity of the responses given was not infallible (Hox & Boeije, 2005).

There were numerous ways a selection bias could have been created. Although the survey was accessible to any Melbourne senior student with internet access, releasing it via social media meant that its reach was primarily those who were in the immediate vicinity of the researcher. This group is largely LGBTQ+ and neurodiverse. This was alleviated by posting the survey across different online platforms, especially forums such as ATAR Notes, where the researcher can not develop a 'following.' Nonetheless, women may be more likely to respond to surveys (Curtin et al., 2000) and rely on the internet for self-help (Addis & Mahalik, 2003) in comparison to men. Thus, the online format of the study may still have created a bias.

Importantly, the impacts of an individual's ethnicity/race, religion, socioeconomic status, or diagnoses outside of ASD or ADHD were not considered throughout this study. However, these attributes could have influenced responses to the survey. This was partially alleviated through the use of interviews, which provided a richer understanding of the participants' reasoning when answering survey questions. Alongside this, this study investigated the impact that an individual's *behaviour* had

on their in-school experiences, rather than an ASD and/or ADHD diagnosis within itself. If participants still have traits associated with these disabilities, then diagnoses other than ASD and/or ADHD could not limit the capacity to answer the research question.

Ethical Considerations

Alongside the survey was an informed consent statement. This assured anonymity, identified the research and where to locate further information related to the study and findings, and stated that participation is voluntary and consent could be withdrawn at any time (Neuman, 2014). In that situation, any data collected from the removed participant would be immediately erased. It was critical for the anonymity of participants to be maintained to increase the likelihood of their responses reflecting their true perspectives, rather than being influenced by fear of social criticism (Ong & Weiss, 2000).

Ethical guidelines provided by the NHMRC prohibit the conduct of surveys asking individuals questions related to their personal life, especially those that may be emotionally sensitive. As such, survey questions related solely to experiences within school, particularly within classrooms in regards to learning and behavioural differences. They were framed in such a way that they did not directly seek out emotive responses.

Discussions & Findings

Overall, the findings show that there are increased rates of gender diversity within the population of those with suspected or diagnosed ASD and/or ADHD, which influences their social experiences within school. In general, in-school social experiences are influenced by an individual's gender identity and disability, such as females being less inclined to take control of assignments during group work and being more likely to mask their behaviour. However, an individual's academic performance beyond social interactions (e.g. sensory or comprehension issues) are not gendered in nature, but rather solely impacted by the status of their disability. Those with diagnosed or suspected ASD and/or ADHD can have decreased academic performance due to their internal, non-social related complexities.

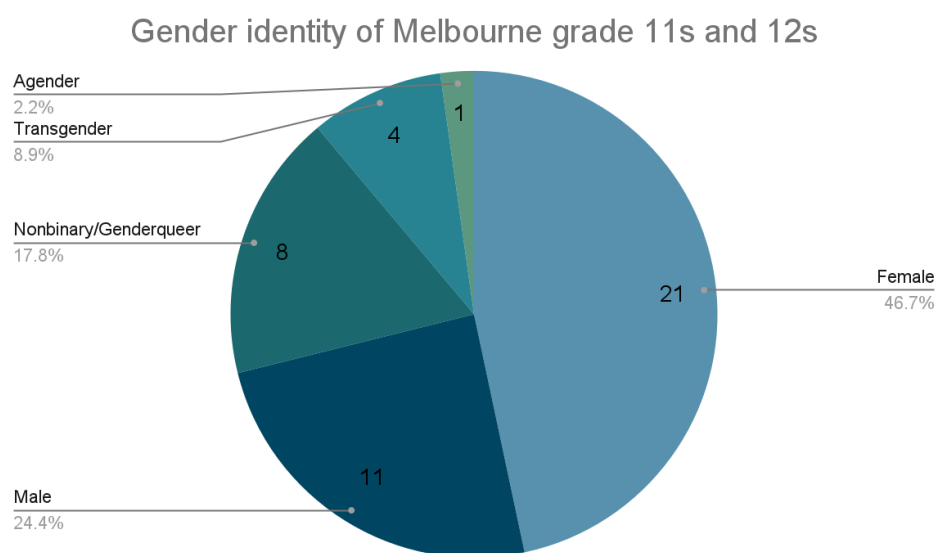


Figure 1: gender identity of survey respondents. Individuals were able to select more than one gender identity. Due to their overlap, all following displays of data will collate the categories of “Agender”, “Nonbinary/Genderqueer” and “Transgender” under the single category of “Gender Diverse.”

Status of ASD/ADHD diagnosis in Melbourne grade 11/12s

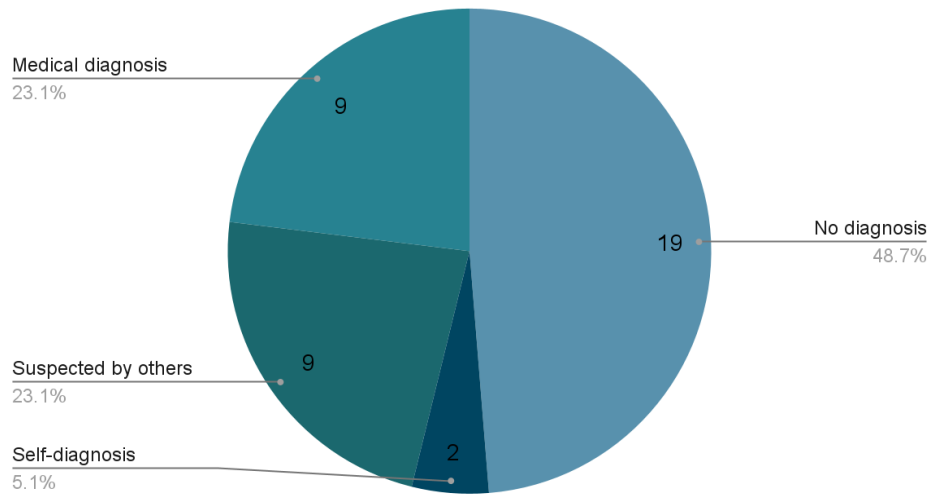


Figure 2: status of ASD and/or ADHD diagnosis in survey respondents. For all following displays of data (with the exception of the chart below), the “self-diagnosis” and “suspected by others” categories will be collated.

Status of ASD/ADHD diagnosis by gender identity (%)

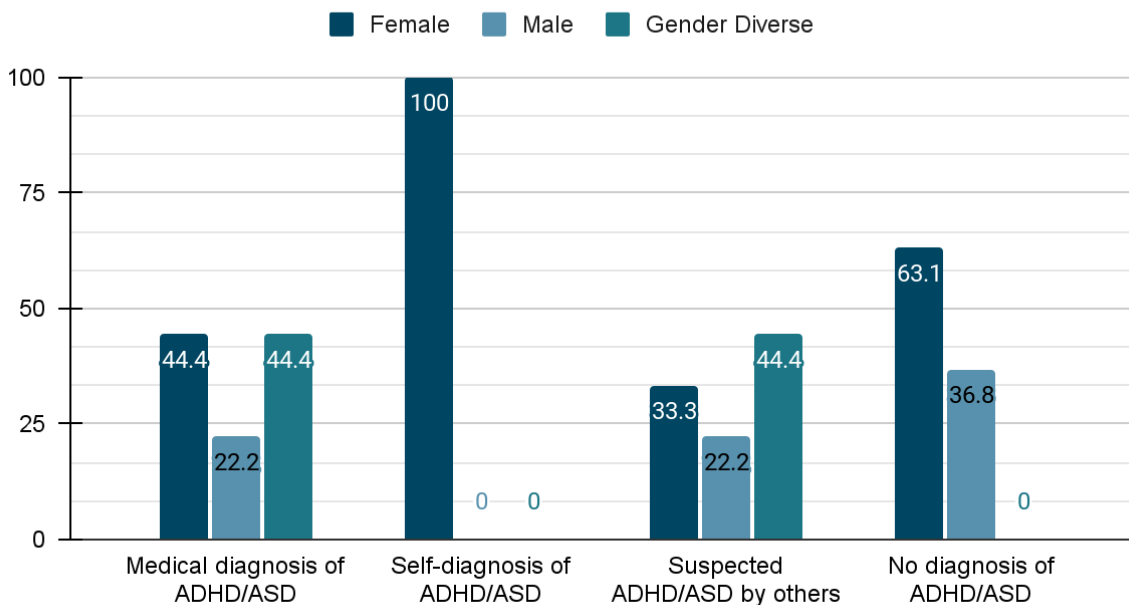


Figure 3: the status of the respondents’ ASD and/or ADHD diagnosis as categorised by their gender identity.

Finding 1: Gender Diversity in ASD and ADHD

Those who identified as gender diverse were equally as likely to have received a medical diagnosis of ASD or ADHD as they were to be suspected of either disorder by themselves or others. No individual without a diagnosis of ASD or ADHD identified as gender diverse. While no GD respondent with suspected or diagnosed ASD and/or ADHD mentioned gender diversity as an influencer on their experiences, anxiety was a common theme. One individual (Participant B) mentioned that they *“never feel in place in groups.”* When asked to expand on this in the follow-up interview, they mentioned having generalised anxiety disorder (GAD) and *“likely ASD”* according to their psychologist. They described that while their current school is inclusive in terms of gender identity and sexual orientation, they were treated as *“an anomaly because I wasn’t straight [or cisgender]”* at their old school. This same individual also defined their gender identity as *“complicated.”* Multiple neurodiverse individuals who participated in follow-up interviews had difficulty describing their gender identity. One respondent (Participant E) who had been diagnosed with ASD and selected both “female” and “non-binary/genderqueer” in their survey response stated that they are *“very confused about my gender in general.”* These difficulties defining their gender identity may be linked to the fact that those with ASD and/or ADHD often struggle to understand and conform to social norms. Because of this, they may not match traditional (cisgender) gender roles and expectations, and thus connect with gender diversity.

Finding 2: In-school experiences

The general in-school experiences of respondents were significantly impacted by their disability, but are only gendered in nature regarding social experiences. For females and gender diverse individuals, their social experiences are severely impacted due to gender identity and disability. However, the dissimilarities between experiences of different genders are limited in terms of academic performance.

2.1: Social interactions

An individual’s relationship with their peers has profound effects on their in-school experiences across all categories. While the term “friends” was not used within the survey questions, it was mentioned 64 separate times in the

responses. Interview participants who used this term alongside the word “peers” were asked to define the difference between ‘friendship’ and ‘peership.’ Only one participant could precisely explain the difference: Participant A, who is female and self-described as ‘neurotypical.’ The remaining two individuals, Participant E and Participant D (a male diagnosed with ADHD), found it difficult to provide a concise explanation. Similarly, in their survey response, one genderqueer individual with medical diagnoses of ASD and ADHD described the group of people they spend their time with as their “*safe people*” rather than using more conventional terms. They later went on to describe that they have “*always [been] in unsafe situations at school.*” This theme of discomfort and a lack of safety was present among numerous individuals who are both gender diverse and neurodiverse, including one person who described that they “*may be perceived as weird due to my gender expression and awkwardness.*”

There was a general neutral consensus on group work, but it became especially negative among those with diagnoses of ASD and/or ADHD. 10.3% of individuals referenced their ability to take charge as a contributing factor to their level of comfort completing group work. Participant D stated that he “*can usually contribute sufficiently to a group project if tasks are delegated,*” and later expanded in the follow-up interview to say that if other people do not take the leadership role, he is capable of doing so. The ability to lead group assignments is shared among multiple respondents, though one female with suspected ASD and/or ADHD mentioned in their survey response that “*sometimes I feel awkward because I might seem overbearing*” when they take charge. While there are minimal differences in the social needs between those with and without an ASD and/or ADHD diagnosis, individuals with such disorders are generally more articulate of their needs. In a similar sense, women may be more self-aware of their social position and thus tend to feel ‘awkward’ when taking on roles and behaviours expected traditionally of men. One female with suspected ASD and/or ADHD mentioned that they are comfortable with group work because they generally “*know the rules for how we should interact.*” This concept of both recognising and having the ability to conform to set social dynamics or ‘rules’ was mentioned several times (18%)

by respondents, especially in regards to group assignments. All but one of these individuals was either female or gender diverse and had ASD and/or ADHD either diagnosed or suspected of them. Specifically, 57.1% of these individuals identified as both gender diverse and had an ASD and/or ADHD diagnosis. These participants frequently disliked group projects as they struggled to cope with both the conflicting social dynamics of the situation and the task itself.

Respondents were asked about inclusion and exclusion separately. This is because an individual who is not included is not necessarily actively excluded; rather, their participation could be treated with total indifference.

Levels of inclusion & exclusion within Melbourne grade 11/12s

data displayed in raw amount of responses (out of 39)

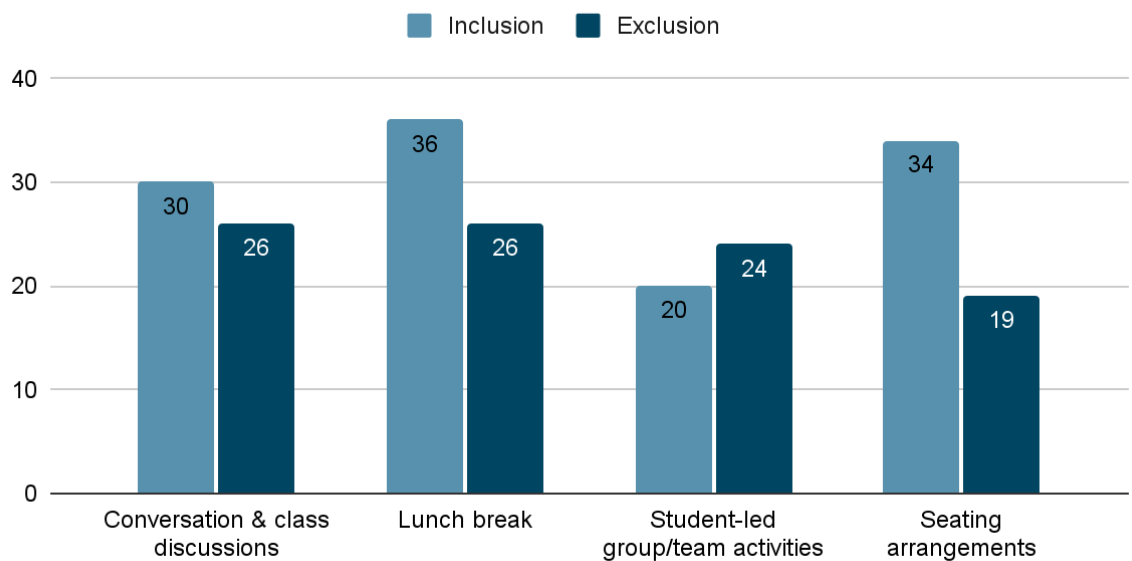


Figure 4: comparison of levels of inclusion and exclusion within four given school settings. Respondents were given a list of these settings, an example of behaviour within each, and the option to provide their own setting. They were asked (1) if they are included in the settings and (2) if they have ever been excluded in the settings.

When asked if they are included by their peers, 61.5% stated either a general or clear 'yes.' 23.1% of individuals responded with more 'intermediate' answers such as "sometimes," or that they are not 'actively' included, but rather only if they seek their peers out first. Following this question, when

asked if they are generally excluded by their peers, 20.5% gave a blanket 'no' while 30.8% regularly do feel excluded. 50% of individuals who are generally excluded identified as female, thus making them the most excluded group. Of this proportion, the majority have ASD and/or ADHD either suspected (50%) or medically diagnosed (16%). Across all categories, the most common form of exclusion is being interrupted or ignored, particularly so (60%) for females.

2.1.1: Masking

According to participants, masking is most frequently done in group settings and with people the respondents do not feel comfortable around e.g. not their friends. Although masking was not mentioned specifically within the survey responses, multiple interview participants discussed how they change their behaviour to conform to the expectations or needs of the people around them. Participant F, who is suspected of having ASD and/or ADHD and identifies as gender diverse but disclosed that they were assigned female at birth, mentioned that they "*get anxious that I'm being annoying or being judged*" so they stop themselves from fidgeting. Likewise, Participant C (a female with suspected ASD) discussed trying to internalise her sensory issues around other people as she experiences them more severely than her peers and finds it difficult to explain herself. While she does not have a diagnosis of ASD or ADHD, she is on a waiting-list for an ASD assessment and has been diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which can lead to sensory reactivity. Attempting to internalise her sensitivities often worsens her situation as she becomes too overwhelmed and cries, which creates further difficulties because "*you can't just be like, 'I'm crying 'cause it's too loud.' That doesn't really make sense to a lot of people.*" Similarly, Participant A talked about "*acting confident,*" especially around those who are more withdrawn than herself. She described it as "*[putting] on a social performance,*" and referenced her social anxiety disorder. As suggested by previous research, it is possible that women are more inclined to mask in comparison to men. Participant C mentioned that as a 'direct' person, she has been through "*periods of time where I will just*

not do anything, 'cause I don't wanna be told I'm bossy." This aligns with the experiences of individuals with ASD, who are often routine-driven and struggle to recognise social cues, thus being perceived as 'blunt' or 'controlling.' Women may be more likely than men to suppress these behaviours to better conform to the expectations of the people around them.

2.2: Academic performance

As found in the research, there are numerous factors that influence an individual's comfort-level and ability to perform academically at school, many of which are influenced by their disorder rather than their gender identity. Sensory issues were mentioned consistently and frequently throughout the survey responses, especially regarding an individual's ability to concentrate in class. Those with suspected or diagnosed ASD and/or ADHD reported sensory issues with greater severity. When asked if there were ways in which their learning needs differ from their peers, these individuals mentioned their internal comprehension issues, such as requiring special provisions. However, these experiences were not gendered in nature, but rather influenced solely by an individual's disability.

When asked about exclusion, active bullying was mentioned only twice, but still has an apparent impact on an individual's ability to reach their full academic potential. One male with no diagnoses of ASD or ADHD explained that after recent ostracisation from their peers, they *"find it extremely hard to speak up [or] give suggestions"* unless directly prompted by their teachers. This could lead to decreased academic performance because they are less engaged with their learning. As discussed previously, those who are both gender diverse and neurodiverse experience increased levels of stress and discomfort due to both their gender identity and disability. Women are also less inclined to take on leadership roles during group projects or, as Participant C discussed, may act less knowledgeable on a topic if the class has *"a more male-skew traditionally."* In reference to her social anxiety disorder, which may cause an individual to mask their behaviour in a similar way to someone with ASD and/or ADHD, Participant A mentioned being

“much more comfortable around women than around men” and struggling to concentrate when put in groups of males due to increased anxiety. This combination of ostracisation, masking, and overcoming gender stereotypes within school may lead to decreased academic performance due to an inability to suitably complete the assigned work or ask for help. This may lead to worsened academic outcomes for any individual who has traits of ASD and/or ADHD, but especially for women and gender diverse people.

Conclusion

The research project aimed to investigate if and what ways an individual’s gender identity and traits of ASD and/or ADHD influence their social and educational in-school experiences. The research revealed that an individual’s social interactions within school are likely to be impacted by these factors, especially for females and gender diverse people, as they experience higher levels of social stress, ostracisation from their peers, and discomfort in group settings. However, effects on academic performance are limited in terms of gender as an influencer. Within school, individuals who have traits of ASD and/or ADHD (and especially suspected or diagnosed) will experience increased rates of social and educational deficits, but the extent to which gender identity impacts educational experiences alone is highly restricted. Therefore, the research question, ‘Do the in-school experiences of Melbourne senior students with traits of ASD and/or ADHD vary on the basis of their gender?’ has been answered in that their experiences are impacted by these two factors, but primarily only on a social level and less so in terms of academic performance.

Further Research

The conclusion that the in-school social experiences of senior students are influenced by both their gender identity and disability has important implications for further research. Specifically, it brings into question the best method to support students with unique needs and experiences, especially if they do not have a medical diagnosis of any specific disorder. Additionally, given the gender disparity in responses and the lack of control for other factors such as unrelated diagnoses, future research is recommended with greater control over the investigated groups.

Medical inaccessibility and the length of waiting-lists may also be relevant to investigate especially when researching individuals with suspected ASD and/or ADHD. For example, obtaining special provisions may support a student to have a better school experience, but this is only possible if they have an official diagnosis. Alongside this, as the survey did not receive significant responses, further surveys should be performed in order to generate a greater sample size and increase reliability. A longitudinal survey may be appropriate as to best investigate the prolonged experiences of high school students.

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Appendices

Respondents were asked numerous closed answer questions which required them to rate a specific in-school experience out of five. Each of these closed questions was followed by an open question prompting them to provide detail as to why they rated the way they did. The table below displays the mean response to each closed question:

| | Diagnosis of ADHD/ASD | | | | Suspected or self-diagnosis of ADHD/ASD | | | | No diagnosis of ADHD/ASD | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|------|-----|------|-----------------------------------------|-----|-----|------|--------------------------|------|------|----|
| | All | F | M | GD | All | F | M | GD | All | F | M | GD |
| <i>N</i> | 9 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 19 | 12 | 7 | 0 |
| Are your learning needs met? | 3.1 | 2.75 | 4 | 3 | 3.81 | 4.4 | 4 | 4 | 4.05 | 3.81 | 4.4 | — |
| How often do you ask the teacher clarifying questions related to assignments / homework? | 2.8 | 3 | 1.5 | 4 | 3.09 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3.1 | 2.72 | 3.71 | — |
| Do you feel comfortable asking questions in front of the class? | 2.7 | 2 | 2.5 | 2.75 | 3 | 2.8 | 4 | 2.75 | 3.16 | 3.45 | 3 | — |
| How easy is it for you to concentrate in class? | 2.2 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 3.36 | 3.2 | 3.5 | 3.5 | 3.5 | 3.54 | 3.57 | — |
| Do you feel comfortable participating in group work? | 3 | 2.5 | 3 | 2.5 | 3.36 | 3.2 | 4 | 3.25 | 3.16 | 3.09 | 3.71 | — |
| In general, do you feel comfortable at school? | 3.4 | 3.25 | 4 | 3.5 | 3.45 | 2.6 | 4 | 4 | 3.6 | 3.54 | 3.86 | — |

Open-ended Survey Questions

(4) In general, are you included by your peers? If so, in what ways?

Coded themes: Yes (61.54%); No (10.26%); Intermediate (23.08%); Unanswered (5.13%).

(6) In general, are you excluded by your peers? If so, in what ways?

Coded themes: Yes (30.77%); No (20.51%); Intermediate (20.51%); Excluded only by those the individual is not friends with (7.69%); Unanswered (17.95%).

(7) Are you treated the same as your peers by teachers and school staff?

Coded themes: Yes (56.41%); No, treated better (17.95%); No, treated worse (5.13%); Intermediate (15.38%); Unanswered (5.13%).

(8) At lunch break, how do you spend your time?

Coded themes: Social (79.49%); Solitary (2.56%); Mix or “depends” (15.38%); Unanswered (2.56%).

(9) Do you prefer to spend time with your school peers or by yourself?

Coded themes: Peers (51.28%); Alone (12.82%); Mix (23.08%); Unclear or “depends” (10.26%); Unanswered (2.56%).

(10) Are there ways in which your learning needs are different from your peers?

Coded themes: No difference to norm (33.33%); General “yes” (20.51%); Internal comprehension and concentration issues (23.08%); Environment too loud (7.69%); Preference for traditional learning styles (5.13%); Needs to work separately from class (5.13%); Unanswered (5.13%).

(12) If you rated 3 or below on the previous question, in what ways are your learning needs not met?

Coded themes: Lack of support and understanding from teachers (7.69%); Difficulty coping with the social environment (7.69%); Unclear instructions (5.13%); Difficulty with self-guided tasks (5.13%); Unique learning style (5.13%); “too much work” (2.56%); Unanswered (74.36%).

(15) Regarding the previous two questions [on asking questions], why did you answer the way you did?

Coded themes: Relationship with peers (35.9%); General anxiety/confidence (30.77%); Comprehension abilities (12.82%); Relationship with teacher (10.26%); Ability to ask for help (10.26%); Uncertainty or indifference to survey questions (7.69%); Unanswered (7.69%).

(17) What makes it harder and/or easier for you to concentrate in class?

Coded themes (coded by internal/external rather than statistics): interest in the class and the content (either); mood and stress levels (internal); energy levels (internal); the social environment of school (external); sensory issues (internal); music playing (external); ICT (external); multitasking (internal); comprehension abilities (internal); personal ability to remain engaged and productive (internal); and issues within an individual's personal life (external).

(19) Regarding the previous question [on group work], why did you answer the way you did?

Coded themes: General social skills and anxiety levels (30.77%); Preference working with friends or familiar people (23.08%); Recognition and ability to conform to social dynamics or "rules" (17.95%); General dislike for group work, or preference for individual work (15.38%); Ability to take charge (10.26%); Inequality in work distribution (7.69%); Intermediate (10.26%); Unanswered (5.13%).

(21) Regarding the previous question [on general comfort within school], why did you answer the way you did?

Coded themes: Unspecified relationship with "others" or "the school" (33.33%); General comfort and safety or levels of stress (30.77%); Relationship with peers or friends (15.38%); Relationship with teachers (15.38%); Ability to fulfil academic requirements or enjoyment of learning (15.38%); Physical space, noise levels, or crowds (10.26%); Intermediate (10.26%); Unanswered (7.69%).

**Has Daphne du Maurier's novel *Rebecca* (1938)
been consistently misrepresented as a
conventional romance by filmic adaptations?**

Extended Investigation Final Written Thesis

VCAA Student Number: 20133300L

Word Count: 4338

Abstract

This investigation examines adherence to conventions of the romance genre in seven filmic adaptations of Daphne du Maurier's novel *Rebecca* (1938), filmed in 1940, 1962, 1979, 1997, 2008, 2008 and 2020 respectively, by combining textual analysis with adaptation theory. Specifically, this investigation employs a qualitative case study approach to examine the contrived romance evident in the majority of filmic adaptations produced since the novel's publication. Previous academic literature on *Rebecca* and its mixed reception has informed the development of the research question, the selection of an appropriate method and an evaluation of findings. Analysis of these adaptations suggests a consistent emphasis on idealised romance which is not present in the source material, with all of them except the 1979 production, supporting a patriarchal ideology within the representation of male-female relationships. Furthermore, the overarching message about the importance of being a docile and subservient wife remains essentially unchanged across versions, irrespective of the cultural context in which they were produced, indicating the discomfort du Maurier's undermining of this message continues to provoke. If du Maurier's novel "infuses with menace the lives women are supposed to want" (Auerbach, 2000), the filmic adaptations extract this menace and polish *Rebecca* into the kind of fairytale romance the author was attempting to undermine. The "perturbing, darker construct" (Beauman, 2002) of *Rebecca* is made palatable and satisfactory to a wider audience. These findings are utilised to interrogate the feminist critique of romance fiction, and the social concerns presented in *Rebecca*, particularly the constraints imposed on gender and sexuality that impact contemporary society.

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Acknowledgements

Thank you to my family, friends and Extended Investigation teacher for their crucial feedback and support throughout the year.

Introduction

“Rebecca was not drowned at all. I killed her. I shot Rebecca [...] Will you look into my eyes and tell me that you love me now?” (*R* 298)¹. This pivotal question asked by husband to wife in the final act of *Rebecca* proves to be the ultimate test for both reader and wife. The wife chooses to embrace the murderer, telling him she “love[s him] more than anything in this world.” The divide between those who perceive this choice as romantic and those who perceive it as disturbing has defined the legacy of Daphne du Maurier’s “enduring masterpiece of suspense” (Rao, 2017).

Cited as “one of the most influential novels of the 20th century” by Sarah Waters, and even “the greatest psychological thriller of all time” by Erin Kelly, Daphne du Maurier’s best-selling gothic novel, *Rebecca*, first published in 1938, has proven to be “an enduring classic of popular fiction” (Watson, 2005). According to Waters, *Rebecca* has “woven its way into the fabric of our culture with all the troubling power of a myth or dream.” The narrative “touches a fearful nerve, buried deep in the unconscious” (Saunders, 2005).

The novel has been a consistent commercial hit; selling 2.8 million copies from 1938 to 1965 and never going out of print. It won the United States’ National Book Award in 1938, and has been adapted to stage and screen numerous times. Alfred Hitchcock’s Academy Award-winning 1940 film remains the most popular and successful adaptation to date, overshadowing even the novel itself (Llompart Pons, 2013). According to Beauman (2003), recurrence in the media has transformed the novel’s reputation from a middlebrow romance bestseller to a respected 20th century classic.

M. Dole (2007) notes that “so many [filmic] adaptations of classic novels [...] have privileged the novel’s love story.” Whether this trend holds true in the case of *Rebecca* is undetermined due to a significant gap in critical qualitative analysis of any adaptations beyond Hitchcock’s 1940 version. Thus, investigating this acute gap in research is the aim of this study.

¹ *R* will be used when ever referring to a direct quotation from the novel *Rebecca*.

Literature review

Romance as a genre

For the purposes of this investigation, a text that qualifies a romance must contain:

1. A central love relationship that is mutual and genuine
2. A hero and heroine whose actions are morally justifiable
3. A satisfactory ending that affirms their love

This criteria is based on the Romance Writers of America's (2012) requirements that a romance should contain "a central love story and an emotionally satisfying and optimistic ending."

The RWA demands that "a climax in the book [must] resolve the love story" and the ending must "make the reader feel good". Romances are ostensibly "based on the idea of an innate emotional justice—the notion that good people in the world are rewarded and evil people are punished." According to the organisation, romances should revolve around two lovers who are rewarded for their virtue and heroism with "emotional justice and unconditional love."

Walker (2022) asserts that a proper romance contains "a strong female lead," "who take[s] charge of their lives and their sexuality or their romantic situation". Thurston (1987) concurs that romances offer "heroines [who are] independent and strong-willed and [...] often paired with heroes who evolved into caring and compassionate men who truly admired the women they loved."

The Cambridge Dictionary highlights the importance of sexuality in romances, defining them as "a loving and sexual relationship." Schopenhauer (2013) suggests that romance is more successful than other genres because partner choice is the most important prerequisite to have offspring—the fundamental purpose of humankind.

In contrast, the formula of popular romances has been criticised by some third-wave feminist scholars as "coercive and stereotyping narratives which invite the reader to identify with a passive heroine who only finds true satisfaction in submitting to a masterful male" (Light, 1984). According to Auerbach (2002), romance fiction often "seduces [its] female readers into 'good feelings' about the dominion of men and the primacy of marriage".

***Rebecca* as a romance**

Rebecca was successfully advertised and sold as a “convention-ridden” romance (Beauman, 2002) during its first publication run, despite being categorised by du Maurier herself as “sinister”, “psychological and rather macabre,” and too “grim” to be commercially viable (Forster, 1994). According to Beauman (2002), “*Rebecca* was touted to booksellers as an ‘exquisite love story’ with a ‘brilliantly created atmosphere and suspense’”. Du Maurier, however, “dested and resented” that her novel was “shunted” into the category of romance (Beauman, 2002).

The marketing of *Rebecca* as ‘merely’ a romance led many critics to condemn the book’s lack of a sophisticated “relationship between literature and ideas, between literature and society” (Stockwell, 1955), and it was spurned by many purely on the basis of being “women’s fiction” (Beauman, 2002).

Beauman (2002) asserts that critics “willfully and woefully underestimated” and “unthinkingly misinterpreted” *Rebecca* in “prejudiced terms” as a romance novel. A review in *The Times* newspaper published in 1938, stated that “the material is of the humblest...nothing in this is beyond the novelette”. As du Maurier complained: “I am generally dismissed with a sneer as a hack-writing, best-selling spinner of yarns” (Forster, 1994).

Hitchcock disowned his 1940 adaptation of *Rebecca* because it supposedly coveted the female audience’s appetite for romance. “It’s not a Hitchcock picture. It’s a novelette really. The story is old-fashioned; there was a whole school of feminine literature at the period [...] the fact is that the story is lacking in humour,” (François Truffaut et al., 1984). Rohmer and Chabrol (1982) attributes the flaws in Hitchcock’s film to the “absolutely faithfully adapted” novel that they scorn as “gossipy and somewhat affected”. Nevertheless, the scholars insist Hitchcock transformed du Maurier’s “romance” into a “modern and disquieting” thriller solely through his own revisions (Light, 2020).

***Rebecca* as an anti-romance**

The “romance” interpretation of *Rebecca* clashes with the author's intention, since, according to Forster (1994), du Maurier believed the novel contained more resentment and bitterness than love. In the decades since du Maurier’s death in 1989, there has been a steady rise in feminist discourse surrounding *Rebecca* that has helped undermine the novel’s reputation as a socially conservative “popular vehicle of entertainment” (Linkin, 2016), with critics attesting to its legitimacy as a subversive “anti-romance” (Wisker, 2003).

According to Light (2022), the “bedrock” of *Rebecca* is “female hostility toward men and marriage.” The scholar labels *Rebecca* as a “post-romantic” text that “suggest[s] that at the heart of every marriage is a crime” (Light, 2022).

While Massie (2017) diminishes *Rebecca* as “derivative and full of clichés”; Wisker (2003) contends that du Maurier lulls the reader with conventional romance archetypes including the protagonist as the “virginal martyr”, and Rebecca as her “sexually-liberated” romantic rival, Manderley as the “symbol of aristocratic and patriarchal power”, and Maxim as the “tormented Prince Charming”, and then rapidly “problematizes” and “destabilises” the conservative “assumptions, social behaviours and values” they represent. This accords with Brazzelli’s (2021) opinion that the novel “works partly through the manipulation of its readers’ awareness of the conventions of [romance]”.

This anti-romance discourse surrounding the novel has seeped into popular consciousness; evidenced by American Pop singer Taylor Swift criticising Maxim’s unloving behaviour towards his wife in a 2020 interview with Apple Music and taking inspiration from their troubled relationship for her ballad “Tolerate It” (2020). “When I was reading *Rebecca* by Daphne du Maurier, I was thinking wow, her husband just tolerates her. She's doing all these things and she's trying so hard [...] to impress him and he's just tolerating her the whole time [...] so I ended up writing this song *Tolerate It* which is all about trying to love someone who is ambivalent” (Swift, 2020).

Summarising existing research

Published literature pertaining to the novel *Rebecca* is fairly extensive for a modern classic (Linken, 2016), with research predominantly skewed towards an unromantic interpretation of the text (Beauman, 2002). However, critics tend to adopt an ideological interpretation such as feminist psychoanalytic perspective and focus on one aspect of the novel, for example, its depiction of female sexuality (Harbord, 1996; Hovey, 2001; Jagose, 2000; Noe, 2020), its place in the Gothic genre (Meyers, 2001; Nollen, 1994; Nungesser, 2007; Simons, 1998; Tatar, 2004), its depiction of feminine archetypes (Maurel, 1992; Massé, 2003), or its exploration of class dynamics (Blackford, 2005; Giles, 2003; Wisker, 2003). Overall, the majority of *Rebecca* scholars directly or indirectly support the interpretation of the novel as an “anti-romance” (Wisker, 2003).

Textual analysis has proven to be the most common methodology for understanding how *Rebecca* functions and the implications of both its content and cultural impact. The 1940 Hitchcock adaptation has garnered significant analysis in its own right (Billheimer, J. W., 2019); but the majority of scholars confine themselves to discussion of the technical craft and the thematics of how it fits into the director’s renowned canon of work. Academics such as Watson (2005) and Llompart Pons (2013) have incorporated criticism of the 1940 adaptation into their research of the novel, particularly Hitchcock’s “unambiguously romantic” (Watson, 2005) revisioning of du Maurier’s narrative.

While there is an abundance of academic literature on Hitchcock’s 1940 adaptation, there has been no systematic analysis of the numerous book-to-screen adaptations of *Rebecca* that have been produced since 1940. What influence has the seminal adaptation had on its successors? What patterns of alteration have emerged over time? And what do these adjustments suggest about the narrative itself? With an extensive body of adaptive works that have largely gone unexamined by academics and critics alike, it is important to analyse and evaluate the perpetual filmic reworking the seminal narrative has undergone as recently as 2020.

Method

This investigation chose a case study method in which content analysis was utilised to decode the textual data constituted by seven motion picture adaptations of the novel *Rebecca*. The case study method entails a detailed investigation of phenomena within their context (Hartley, 2004) and is considered a suitable method for the investigation of how and why (Kolhbach, 2005). Content analysis examines the purposes and effects of communicative material, qualitatively or quantitatively (Luo, 2019) and was hence deemed an appropriate method for the investigation of the representation of du Maurier's narrative in adaptive works.

The case study will focus on seven film and television adaptations of *Rebecca* produced internationally between 1940 and 2020. The time frame was selected to accurately encompass the development of the romantic misrepresentation of *Rebecca* in film beginning with Hitchcock's 1940 feature length classic; the first and most seminal cinematic adaptation of the text.

Case selection

An original selection criteria was devised to select an appropriate cross-section of the fourteen filmic versions of *Rebecca*:

1. Each version must be a filmic adaptation of du Maurier's novel
2. Each version must be publicly accessible for a contemporary audience

These criteria were designed to ensure the cultural significance of the selected versions and limit the scope of the investigation in accordance with the research question and time constraints. The chosen texts include both film and television, as definitive versions have been produced in both media forms. By focusing on versions of *Rebecca* that are accessible to a contemporary audience and draw directly from du Maurier's text this investigation attempts to analyse the ways in which the text has been broadly represented to global audiences over time in a variety of filmic formats and the patterns of alteration from the original novel that have developed. This can be used to gauge if the changes reflect an underlying uneasiness with the anti-romance sentiment evident in du Maurier's novel.

The versions selected were:

1. *Rebecca* (1940). Directed by Alfred Hitchcock. Produced by Selznick International Pictures. Running time: 130 minutes.
2. *Rebecca* (1963). Directed by Boris Sagal. Produced by NBC-TV. Running time: 59 minutes.
3. *Rebecca* (1979). Directed by Simon Langton. Produced by BBC. Running time: 205 minutes.
4. *Rebecca* (1997). Directed by Jim O'Brien. Produced by Carlton Television. Running time: 183 minutes.
5. *Rebecca, la prima moglie* (2008) translated: *the first wife*. Directed by Riccardo Milani. Produced by Titanus and Rai Fiction. Running time: 185 minutes.
6. *Anamika* (2008) translated: *the one without a name*. Directed by Anant Mahadevan. Produced by Bhanwar Lal Sharma. Running time: 121 minutes.
7. *Rebecca* (2020). Directed by Ben Wheatley. Produced by Netflix(?). Running time: 121 minutes.

This selection accounts for almost every filmic adaptation of *Rebecca* that has been produced, with the exception of three 60 minute TV movie adaptations made between 1940 and 1962 that are currently inaccessible to the public and have had an obscure cultural impact.

Coding

As romance constituted the area of interest, a mixture of predefined and explanatory coding was conducted. Creswell (2014) identifies explanatory coding as a suitable method in the field of social sciences because it allows for codes to emerge from the data.

Ethical considerations

The ethical considerations mandated by The National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) are not relevant to this study as the collection of secondary data does not involve contact with human participants.

Limitations

The definition of romance and the conventions of the romance genre utilised as a framework for this study are contested, and thus statements advanced about adherence to the romance genre in the study could be reasonably contested. The popular feminist reading of *Rebecca* that this investigation applied to examine filmic adaptations is disputed by critics such as Yanal (2002). Individual examination of the wide variety of academic perspectives on the novel that exist and the building of a new interpretation is beyond the scope of this study. The analysis of filmic adaptations in this investigation is not supported by prior academic studies due to the gap in research on these texts. This may affect the validity of the studies' conclusive assertions.

Findings

If romances conclude with the promise of “unconditional love in an emotionally safe world” (Crusie, 2009), then du Maurier’s novel cannot be classified as a romance. Analysis of seven versions of *Rebecca* produced between 1940 and 2020 suggests that an adherence to the conventions of the romance genre is consistent across adaptations, irrespective of the cultural context in which they were produced.

Finding 1: Happily ever after

While du Maurier described *Rebecca* as being “on the gloomy side,” it was the ending she singled out as particularly “brief” and “grim” (Beauman, 2002). By the end of the novel, Maxim and his wife are reduced to “a sad couple of relicts, maundering about in hotels” and “beached up abroad in ex-pat loneliness,” who “absolutely can’t [...] start life afresh.” Yet every filmic adaptation of *Rebecca* rewrites the narrative to facilitate the emotionally gratifying denouement of a conventional romance.

The 1940, 1962, 2008 (AB²) and 1979 adaptations repress any proper glimpse of the depressing aftermath of the fire that destroys Manderlay at the end of the novel. These versions all conclude with a shot of Mrs de Winter and Maxim joyfully embracing each other

² *Rebecca, la prima moglie* (2008) will be referred to as 2008 (A) to distinguish from *Anamika* (2008) which will be referred to as 2008 (B).

in front of the burning house; implying that Manderley's destruction is less of a concern than their romantic union. Unlike in the novel, the destruction of Manderley enables the defeat of both Rebecca and Mrs Danvers and thus amends their tragic loss into a climactic victory. In the 1940, 1962, 1997, and 2008 (AB) adaptations, Mrs Danvers perishes in her own fire and in the 2020 version she drowns herself in the ocean. Only the 1979 production lets Mrs Danvers live freely, as du Maurier intended. Furthermore, the 1940, 1962, 2008 (AB) adaptations show Mrs Danvers' attempt to burn Mrs de Winter to death—unnecessarily vilifying the character and giving the opportunity for the couple to seem more victimised in comparison.

Instead of Rebecca's righteous comeuppance, the fire is rewritten as a deranged act of suicidal pyromania by a sadistic mad-woman, a derivative of Bertha Mason in *Jane Eyre*. Mrs Danvers simultaneously achieving revenge, closure and liberation at the end of the novel, while the couple are left homeless, friendless and exiled, is fundamental to du Maurier's "compensatory moral discourse" (Light, 2022) that the adaptations constantly resist.

The loss of the "Eden" (Laing, 2018) of Manderley is less profound in the filmic adaptations because they tend to diminish the "dominant presence" of the estate (Hitchcock in Beauman, 2002). For example, the 1962, 1997, 2008 (AB) productions omit *Rebecca's* famous opening chapter that begins with the line "Last night I dreamt I went to Manderley" and immediately establishes the grief Mrs de Winter harbours for the estate she was promised, which becomes "the biggest preoccupation in du Maurier's novel" (Pons, 2013). Instead these adaptations begin with Mrs de Winter meeting Maxim, exemplifying the filmic adaptations' emphasis on romance.

With the hopeful, open ending of the filmic version, the audience are led to believe the couple will most likely rebuild the house, have children and live a happy domestic life together. Comparatively, du Maurier's ending deliberately "fails to deliver happy heterosexual romance with its conventional promise of domesticity and procreation" (Watson, 2005).

Beauman (2002) also notes that the relationship between Maxim and his wife throughout the novel is "carefully devoid of passion, and apparently without sex." The 1997 and 2020 are the only adaptations to directly reference sexual intercourse between the couple, but every adaptation injects frequent instances of physical intimacy and lustful embraces throughout their romance. This affectionate filmic version of Maxim bears no resemblance to du

Maurier's Maxim—who “strokes like [she was a dog]” and pats her “in his terrible absent way” (R 300).

The 1997 adaptation ends with a “ten years later” epilogue sequence that lasts one minute and incorporates lines from the novel in Mrs de Winter's voiceover narration, including the fact that their “little hotel is dull,” that “day after day dawns very much the same” and that “there will never be children”. The 2020 adaptation concludes with a two minute sequence depicting Mrs de Winter in a blissful haze with Maxim in Cairo. They passionately kiss and mention they are searching for their dream home. The final line of the film is Mrs de Winter claiming that, out of the wreck of Manderley, she saved the only thing worth saving—love. If the epilogue is a “living death” for the couple (Beuman, 2002), du Maurier's afterlife—a “hell of expatriation” (Laing, 2018) and a purgatory of and “stifling monotony” (Beuman, 2002)—is reframed by the 2020 adaptation as a blissful, harmonious existence that approximates a sort of heaven.

Finding 2: Mrs de Winter as a romantic heroine

In order to mitigate du Maurier's implication that Maxim isn't genuinely attracted to his new wife, the filmic adaptations tend to discard Mrs de Winter's clumsiness, shyness and terrible fashion sense in favour of poise, an air of modesty, and bright, elegant clothing that accentuates the actress's beauty. Joanna David in the 1979 production is the only actress who adheres somewhat closely to the description of Mrs de Winter as a “shy, uneasy colt”, with “straight, bobbed hair”, a “youthful, unpowdered face, dressed in an ill-fitting coat”, “handicapped by a rather desperate gaucherie and filled with an intense desire to please” (R 10). She is also the only actress who is routinely awkward and clumsy. Like in the novel, her courtship with Maxim begins when she spills food over herself and he takes pity on her. All the other adaptations come up with a more romantic “meet-cute” scenario involving Mrs de Winter and Maxim meeting dramatically on a cliffside (1940, 1962, 1997, 2008 (B)), or Maxim admiring her and then subsequently inviting her on a date (2008 (A), 2020).

In the 1997 and 2020 adaptations especially, Mrs de Winter expresses personality and imaginative, concrete desires. In the 1940, 1962, 1997 and both 2008 adaptations, it is Mrs de Winter herself who organises the ball at Manderley, whereas in the 1979 adaptation and the novel she is pressured into it. Not only does the 2020 adaptation make the change of Mrs de Winter tracking Rebecca's doctor down herself, she also confronts Mrs. Danvers without fear

on multiple occasions. In short, she embodies the romantic heroine that du Maurier's Mrs de Winter longed to be.

Finding 3: Romanticising Maxim

Miquel-Baldellou (2019) comments that du Maurier's conclusion can "scarcely be described as pleasing, insofar as the relationship between the spouses truly gains in strength once Maxim de Winter confesses he is guilty of murder, which rather becomes a source of dissatisfaction", as "the reader ultimately realises that the narrator of the story actually consents to being married to a murderer."

The 1940, 1962 and 2008 (A) adaptations extract this dissatisfying component by "rewriting Maxim's murder of Rebecca as an unfortunate and practically self-inflicted accident for which he feels irrationally guilty" (Watson, 2005). The 2008 (B) version absolves Maxim even further by making Mrs Danvers solely responsible for Rebecca's death. Instead of being in love with Rebecca, Mrs Danvers is in love with Maxim and attempts to kill both his wives out of jealousy; thereby satisfying the romance formula by rewriting the male love interest back into the centre of the narrative. In the 2008 (B) and 1962 adaptations, Maxim risks his own life to rescue his wife from being burned alive by the housekeeper, further solidifying his character as the conventional hero.

In the novel, the abusive nature of their relationship is enhanced by their dramatic age gap. Maxim himself admits that "there are too many years between us." The glaring difference between a twenty-one year old and a man almost fifty is only captured accurately in the 1997 production, which has the largest age gap between actors playing the roles, with Charles Dance (51) as Maxim and Emilia Fox (22) as Mrs de Winter. Almost all the other actors playing Maxim were in their early thirties, and Joanna David and Lily James themselves were over thirty. With Armie Hammer being only three years older than Lily James in the 2020 production, it doesn't make sense for Maxim to constantly refer to her as a "child".

Only the 1979, 1997 and 2020 adaptations maintain that Maxim killed Rebecca. The 2020 adaptation exonerates Maxim somewhat by asserting that Rebecca forcefully placed Maxim's gun to her chest and claimed that the only way to be free of her was to kill her. Meanwhile, the 1997 production makes the change of Maxim strangling Rebecca to death instead of

shooting her. Disturbingly, despite committing the most gruesome crime, the 1997 Maxim is framed as a hero by risking his life attempting to save Mrs Danvers from the fire, emulating Mr Rochester's arc in *Jane Eyre*. The 1997's anti-romance components are complicated by the fact it is the only production to depict the scene of Rebecca's death. This gives Maxim full credibility that everything he says about Rebecca is true, rather than the intentionally disputable account of her death that du Maurier provides.

Discussion

The 1940, 1962, 2008 (AB) and 2020 adaptations of *Rebecca* can be classified as romances by the Romance Writers of America's (2000) criteria. The 1979 and 1997 adaptations are still significantly more romantic than the source material, however their compliance with this criteria is complicated by the fact they are faithful to the depiction of Maxim as a "cold-blooded killer" (Laing, 2018). The 1979 production is the only adaptation to capture du Maurier's "shy, self-effecting" (Jagose, 2000) characterisation of Mrs de Winter that undermines the conventional attributes of a romantic heroine, while the 1997 adaptation most accurately portrays the imbalanced dynamic between the couple by casting age appropriate actors, and also comes the closest to accurately depicting the "ennui" (Laing, 2018) of their life after Manderley.

Beauman (2002) claims that du Maurier's "instinctive sympathy lies" with Rebecca and "the angry voice of female dissent" she embodies. The sympathies of the selected adaptations evidently lie with Maxim as the victim of a dissenting wife. Rebecca is reduced to a one-dimensional femme fatale who is conquered and punished for her sexual rebellion in a satisfactory way. Perhaps sympathy towards the male perspective was assured by the fact that the majority of these adaptations were written, produced and directed by men. If du Maurier's bleak, bitter ending "represents an unease at the configurations of power and gendered relations of the time" (Whisker, 2003), Hitchcock's hopeful ending and the five subsequent productions that replicate it suggest a preference for female subservience in male power structures.

Conclusion

This investigation aimed to examine the question: *Has Daphne du Maurier's novel Rebecca (1938) been consistently misrepresented as a romance by filmic adaptations?* After establishing through a thorough literature review that the majority of scholars agree that du Maurier's narrative is fundamentally unromantic or at least a "failed romance", detailed analysis of seven filmic adaptations observed several patterns of selection, alteration and omission that make these versions more romantic overall and undermine the feminist subtext of the original text. Watson (2005) argues that Hitchcock's adaptation is "a masculine re-reading of a woman's novel", with a structure that "realigns the film from the feminine point of view to something more mainstream and masculine." This investigation proves that Watson's analysis can easily extend to every subsequent adaptation.

Suggestions for further research

Further research would benefit from extending the scope of focus beyond the representation of romance in filmic adaptations of *Rebecca* to examine general trends across the different versions. A comparative examination of similar texts would also contribute to an understanding of how complex male-female relationships in novels have been inately romanticised by filmic adaptations. Another significant opportunity for further research only briefly mentioned in this investigation is the stage and radio adaptations of *Rebecca* and the numerous other works inspired by the novel.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Extract from the 1979 adaptation/novel

In the 1979 adaptation, Mrs de Winter kisses Maxim almost instantly after his confession and claims that their love for one another is the only thing that matters, whereas in the novel she is “wooden” for minutes after while Maxim “desp[er]ate[ly]” kisses her, and instead claims that the “only thing that matters” is that he “had never loved Rebecca” (R 300/301). While in the novel his “hollow, melodramatic” confession is “accompanied by a declaration of love - the first he has made, despite months of marriage” (Beauman, 2002), Maxim has already confessed his love by this point in the 1979 production.

Appendix 2: Extracts from novel about pregnancy omitted in filmic adaptations

Maxim’s sister pressures Mrs de Winter about pregnancy, saying: “I do hope you will produce a son and heir before long. It would be so terribly good for Maxim. I hope you are doing nothing to prevent it”. Later Maxim justifies his murder of Rebecca by claiming she provoked his longing for children: “You would like an heir, wouldn't you, for your beloved Manderley?” (R 313). Mrs de Winter subsequently fantasises about giving Maxim sons—“the boys were young - our boys - for I saw them sprawling on the sofa”. She then envies a woman at the beach in a “pink-striped frock and a hair-net” (R 260), who prepares a picnic lunch for a husband and son. Before Manderley burns down, Maxim stipulates to his wife “You'll have children”. This is anxiously repeated by Mrs de Winter: “We would have children. Surely we would have children” (R 423).

Appendix 3: Extracts from novel about Manderley omitted in filmic adaptations

The most vivid passage of the book, according to Prosecraft’s linguistic data analysis, is Mrs de Winter’s detailed exaltation of Manderley’s “loveliness” (R 400/401). The narrator obsessively repeats the statement “I am going to be Mrs de Winter. I am going to live at Manderley” (R 61). Manderley is described as “exquisite and faultless” (R 73) with unimaginable “grace and beauty” (R 73). Mrs de Winter falls in love with the estate as a child after buying a “picture postcard” (R 71) depicting the house, which she describes as “lovelier even than I had ever dreamed” (R 73). She is filled with pride knowing that “the house of the

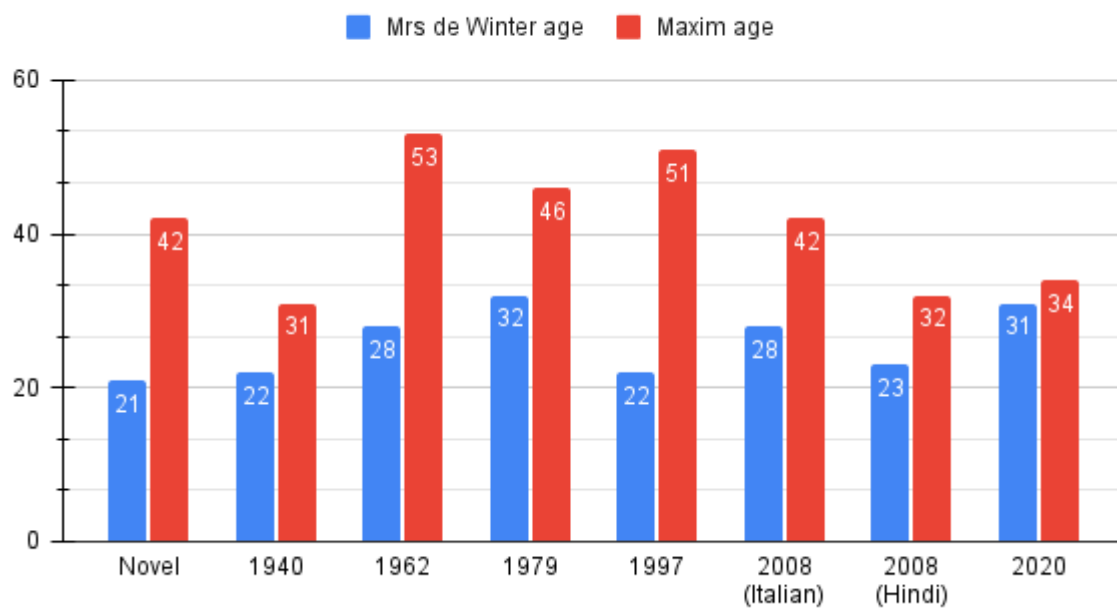
picture postcard, the Manderley that was famous [...] the Manderley I had read about, all of this was mine now because I was married to Maxim” (R 401)

Appendix 4: Extracts from critics on Mrs de Winter

Critics characterise du Maurier’s Mrs de Winter in unflattering terms including a “timid childlike creature” (Meyers, 2001), “naïve, friendless and orphaned” (Ferreira, 2012), “mousey and dull” (Light, 2022), “masochistic” (Beauman, 2002), “timid” (Habermann, 2010), “unwitting” (Horner and Zlosnik, 1998), “innocent, gawky” (Linkin, 2016), “selfish and hypocritical” (Pons, 2013), and “frightened, unknowing, and powerless” (Jagose, 2000).

Appendix 5: Age Gap Graph

The Romance Age Gap



EXTENDED INVESTIGATION 2022

“To what extent did protest music from the 1960s American folk revival influence young people's views on political topics such as the Vietnam War and Civil Rights Movements?”

VCAA: 20146557R

Word Count: 4093

Abstract

This study seeks to identify the strength of the relationship between protest music of the 1960s American folk revival and young people's views on political topics of the Vietnam War and Civil Rights Movement. Previous research has identified that there is a strong relationship between the anti-Vietnam War movements and Civil Rights Movement, as well as a strong influence of politics on music. Due to the limited research on the influence of music on political views, this study aims to identify the strength of the potential influence. A mixed methodology process was undertaken. Firstly, a literature review was undertaken which demonstrated that there was a relationship between the music of the 1960s American folk revival and politics. Although limited, a relationship between the music of the 1960s American folk revival and youth engagement could be identified. Secondly, a survey was conducted which allowed primary accounts of political engagement and music consumption in the 1960s. This survey identified that among those aged 18-25 between 1960-1960, there was a strong link between consumption of protest music of the 1960s American folk revival and political engagement and acts of activism or other forms of participation. It can be concluded through this study, that while there is a link between protest music from the 1960s folk revival and political engagement and activism, it did not directly, or was not the primary influence, on young peoples changing political views.

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Acknowledgements

To my Extended Investigation peers, friends, and family for their endless support and patience. To the incredible songwriters, performers, and activists who changed the course of history. Most of all, my Extended Investigation teacher, who provided me with invaluable feedback, advice, and support throughout this journey.

Introduction

The term ‘folksong’, translated from the German word ‘volkslied’, was coined by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), a German cultural philosopher, theologian, and writer, in his book ‘Stimmen der Völker in Liedern’ (1846). He proposed that in order for a piece of music to be a ‘folksong’ it must include key characteristics, including its production of “communal composition” and an aesthetic of “dignity” (Pegg, 2001). Since Herder’s coining of the term, the notion of folk music has continued to exist and grow in popularity. The United States of America experienced two “folk-song revivals”; in the late 1930’s and 1940’s, and the early 1960’s (Eyerman & Beretta, 1996). The 1960’s American folk revival saw folk musicians such as Tom Paxton, Pete Seeger, Joan Baez, Phil Ochs, and Bob Dylan provide “the active sociopolitical conscience” of the movement (Mitchell, 2006). The connection between politics and music is strong, as presented in these artists, as well as their predecessors of the 1930’s and 1940’s folk revival; Woody Guthrie and Burl Ives (Donaldson, 2014).

The United States in the 1960s was in a period of renewal following the 1950s post World War II climate (Lekus, 2006). The growing political movements of the Civil Rights Movement and anti-Vietnam War Movement saw an increase of young people's engagement and active involvement in political demonstrations through the introduction of the New Left (Blake, 2016).

Folk music was pivotal in the Civil Rights Movement and anti-Vietnam War movements, as was youth participation through the New Left (Cain, 2019; Blake, 2016). Although there was a strong relationship between protest folk music and political movements of the time, there is limited research relating to the extent to which music influenced young people's political views, if at all, or if their political views determined the music they listened to. This study therefore asks “*To what extent did protest music of the 1960s American folk revival influence young people's political views on topics such as the Vietnam War and Civil Rights Movement?*” and explores the relationship between popular folk music and politics.

Literature review

Music as a political tool

Music has long been used as a political tool, both as a way to reject political norms, and as a way to promote political ideals, ranging from electoral songs to protest songs. From seminal folk, rock, and soul songs calling for change and hope in the 1960s and 1970s; ‘Blowin’ in the Wind’ by Bob Dylan, ‘Give Peace a Chance’ by John Lennon, and ‘A Change Is Gonna Come’ by Sam Cooke, to hip-hop songs of the 1980s and 1990s; ‘Fight the Power’ by Public Enemy and ‘Changes’ by 2Pac, the notion of using music as a political tool as transcended genres (Stewart, 2005; Kutschke, 2015). Music has also been used as a tool by politicians during election campaigns. During John F. Kennedy’s 1960 presidential campaign, Frank Sinatra performed to the tune of his song ‘High Hopes’ with the lyrics changes in support of Kennedy. While Litegi (1978) argues that music should exist as its own entity, separate from social, political, and economic concerns and discourse, Goehr (1994), James (1989), and Dunaway (1987), argue that music is one of the most powerful and accessible tools of political communication.

Folk Music and the Folk Revival

Despite the notion of folk music existing throughout generations and across multiple cultures, there is yet to be a single agreed upon definition of the genre. Nettl (1960) discusses this;

For some people folk music must sound a certain way, it must be composed in a particular style and any music which conforms to this style is folk music. If one follows the other approach, one accepts as folk music all music produced by a particular group in society, which one calls and defines as the ‘folk’

While A.L. Lloyd (1975) proposes “the main thing is that the songs are made and sung by men who are identical with their audience in standing, in occupation, in attitude to life, and in daily experience”. The 1960’s folk revival was epitomised by the “optimistic participatory democracy of the New Left” and the liberal ideas represented and symbolised by John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. (Mitchell, 2006). It was in Greenwich Village, New York, where folk music became the prominent genre, and would become the homeground of the revival, with notable artists such as Tom Paxton, Phil Ochs, Joan Baez, and Bob Dylan being significant figures in the Greenwich Village folk scene before finding wider success

(Lund & Denisoff, 1971). Blake (2016) suggests university campuses and towns were pivotal locations for folk music. He suggests “Folk music was not only an entertaining, extracurricular social activity, but also an object of serious study”. The 1960’s folk revival was rooted in authenticity and rejecting “the shallowness of commercialisation” (Roy, 2002). It is however the political themes within the music of the 1960s folk revival that is its most defining trait. With the emphasis of the music from the revival being on the lyrics, accompanied by simple instrumentation, most commonly an acoustic guitar, the political themes and messages within the songs were intended to be the primary focus (Frith, 1981). Cain (2019) suggests that folk music in the 1960s drove the Civil Rights Movement and the anti-Vietnam War Movement.

Protest Music and The New Left

Protest music can be defined as:

Music that seeks to defy and redefine cultural and political norms...Through defiance and redefinition, protest music seeks to give voice to the many excluded people in society...and provides a new perspective of what the world could be when these marginal identities are included (Hills-Villalobos, 2020, p.1).

While protest music is not exclusive to one genre, it was a key characteristic of the 1960s American folk revival (Mitchell, 2006). In discussing protest music, it is important to note that it is not exclusive to left-wing ideas, in the 1980s, there was a rise in ‘White Power’ music in the heavy metal genre, which Ferrell and Sanders (1995) argue that by definition, is considered protest music. Despite this, protest music is primarily rooted in, and recognised for spreading left-wing, progressive ideas; challenging governments, regimes, systemic oppression, and social norms (Friedman, 2013).

The emergence of the New Left¹ in the United States marked a new era of young people's involvement in politics and activism. With overarching themes of rejecting capitalism and bureaucratic communism, anti-imperialism, and an activist orientation, violent or non-violent (Lynd, 1969). These beliefs were channelled in protest music of the 1960s folk revival, with Cain (2019) suggesting that the New Left drove the folk revival movement, and the folk revival drove the New Left movement. The New Left’s power lay in its actions, not its

¹ Liberal and radical youth movements, mainly made up of university students. Opposed authority structures in society. Included anarchist and countercultural groups (Burner, 1998)

organisations, as suggested by Hijiya (2003). The New Left saw large numbers of university age students becoming more politically engaged and active, this strengthens the relationship between political folk music on university campuses and in university towns and young people's political engagement (Blake, 2016).

Vietnam War

The United States military escalation in Vietnam during 1965 resulted in rapid and organised public opposition and protest. As the war escalated, so did the demonstrations of public protest, which Hall (2004) suggests, resulted in one of the largest social movements in United States history, though was part of a larger period of unrest, and these demonstrations contributed to a general questioning of America's direction and values. Herring (1991) suggests the U.S. intervention was the result of the interaction of "two major phenomena of the post World War II era"; the dissolution of colonial empires and the start of the war. The military draft was in place from September 1940 until July 1973, and during the Vietnam War era, 26.8 million American men were of draft age, 8.7 million men served in the military, of those, 2.2 million men served in Vietnam, with the other 6.5 million men serving elsewhere (Maxwell, 2006). It was in part due to the fear of being drafted that the folk protest songs saw a great amount of popularity on university campuses and among people of that age (James, 1989). The Vietnam War was a topic of contention among society, and the feelings of opposition were strongly demonstrated in folk music. Musicians discussed at length their concerns with the military-industrial complex which was shaping the United States at the time (Gillibrand, 2019). The folk revival, as suggested by Cain (2019) drove the anti-Vietnam War movement, and was driven by the United States government's military objectives in Vietnam.

Civil Rights Movement

Martin Luther King Jr.'s 1963 speech "I Have a Dream" at the March on Washington has become one of the most defining moments of the Civil Rights Movement, and, arguably, one of the most influential speeches in history (Hall, 2005). The Civil Rights Movement was accompanied by a soundtrack spanning genres; from the soul and blues music of black artists such as Nina Simone, Smokey Robinson, The Supremes, and Odetta, to the folk songs of

white artists such as Bob Dylan, Phil Ochs, Tom Paxton, and Joan Baez (Rabaka, 2016; Friedman, 2013). It is important in discussing the music of the Civil Rights Movement to make a distinction between the music made by black and white artists, and the music written by black artists that was performed by, or popularised by white artists. Morris (1999) suggests the Civil Rights Movement was successful in part due to its visibility across multiple mediums which allowed it to reach various demographics, both domestically and internationally.

Conclusion of themes

While there has been extensive academic research focused on the 1960s American folk revival, and the role the political climate of the time influenced the music of the aforementioned movement, there has been limited research that explores how 1960's political folk music influenced people's political views. Although many academics have conducted extensive research on the relationship between folk music and politics, there is limited research relating to music as an influence on young people's political views (Booker, 2020; Cohen & Donaldson, 2014; Dunaway, 1987; Mitchell, 2006; Skinner 2006). The connection between the anti-Vietnam War Movement and the Civil Rights Movement, and music has been identified as strong (Cain, 2019; Friedman, 2013; Frith, 1981; James, 1989; Morris, 1999; Rabaka, 2016). The popularity of folk music on university campuses and university towns, and the growing New Left during the 1960s suggests there is a relationship between the protest songs of the 1960's folk revival and young people's political engagement (Blake, 2016).

Methodology

A mixed methodology approach was undertaken during this study. Through employing primary and secondary research methods, the researcher was able to ensure accuracy and depth in their findings (Fernandes et al., 2013; Hox & Boeijs, 2005). Surveys and semi-structured interviews were conducted as a form of primary data collection, while the process of a literature review allowed a refined and detailed analysis of the themes (Dearnley, 2005; Suri & Clarke, 2009). The survey conducted was intended to identify the link between political engagement and participation in people aged 18-25 between 1960-1970 and their consumption of folk music, while the literature review allowed the findings of the survey to be supported, as well as offering crucial historical perspectives on the political, social, and cultural climate of the 1960s.

Survey

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between protest music of the 1960s folk revival, a survey was distributed to participants who were aged 18-25 between 1960-1970. Participants were asked questions relating to their age, geographical location, consumption of protest folk music, and their engagement and participation in political movements. These questions prompted qualitative answers, though the specificity of the questions aimed to limit chances of misrepresentation of the data (Davis & Meyer, 2009; Rahman, 2020). The survey was cross-sectional, as a longitudinal study would not increase reliability or be relevant to the research topic (Farrington, 1991).

Existing research conducted on the relationship between 1960s protest folk music and politics were mainly related to the influence of politics on music. The researcher was unable to find research focused on the extent to which 1960s protest folk music influenced young people's political views, with a specific focus on the Vietnam War and Civil Rights Movement. Previous research had been done relating to the presence of folk music on university campuses which informed the questions asked in the survey (Blake, 2016; James, 1989).

The survey was distributed digitally to adult participants who were aged 18-25 in 1960-1970. All responses came from those of Australian or American nationality. All participants were

given the same questions to allow the researcher to effectively analyse the responses (Bertot, 2009). Responses from Australian and American participants were compared to understand the geographical and social factors that influenced responses.

Ethical considerations

In accordance with ethical guidelines laid out by the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) and VCAA, a plain language statement was attached to the survey distributed, with details regarding the process and purpose of the research were outlined, anonymity was ensured, and a statement that participation could be withdrawn at any time.

Data analysis and literature review

The literature review required as part of the study allowed the researcher to summarise a body of literature and build context in order to properly interpret the survey data (Knopf, 2006; Neuman, 2007). This involved identifying the relationship between protest music of the 1960s American folk revival and politics, and using the literature to help in determining the strength of this relationship. While there has been significant research done on the impacts of the 1960s American political climate on the protest music of the 1960s American folk revival, research relating to how the music of the movement influenced people's political views was underdeveloped. Therefore, the survey conducted aimed to identify the extent to which protest music of the 1960s folk revival influenced people's political views, with a focus on young people.

Limitations

A number of potential limitations arose while undertaking the methodology for this research. Participation bias, or non-response bias, was a potential limitation of the research. This refers to the potential of participants disproportionately having certain traits which can impact the outcome (Slonim, et al., 2013). In this research, participants who were more engaged in folk music or political movements during the 1960s may have been more likely to respond to the

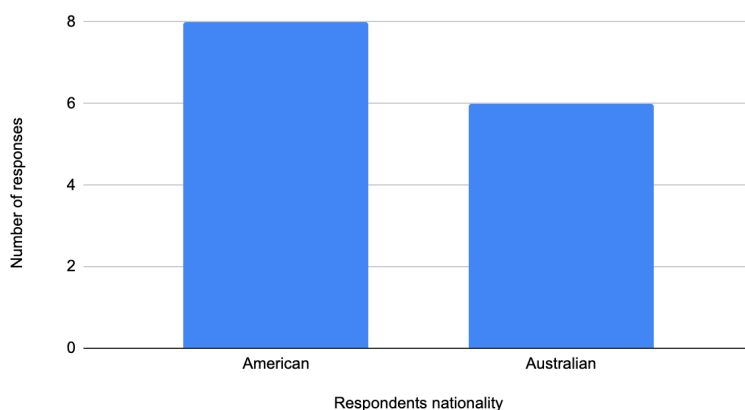
survey, therefore potentially affecting the accuracy of the results. Furthermore, as participants were being asked questions related to the 1960s, the time elapsed since the focus of this study may have influenced the responses. Alongside this, the potential of rosy retrospection, which refers to how memories and their associated affect change over time, was also present (Latimer & Raghurir, 2013).

Additionally, there was the possibility the survey would not generate enough responses. In this case, the literature review would take prevalence.

Discussion and Findings

The investigation was successful in generating participant responses. In total, there were 14 participant responses, a significant sample size in the context of the study. Of these participants, 8 were American and 6 were Australian, which is loyal to the research question. All respondents, except 1, were aged between 18-25 between 1960-1970, which was the intended demographic. This data is reflected in Fig 1.

Fig 1: American and Australian Survey Respondents



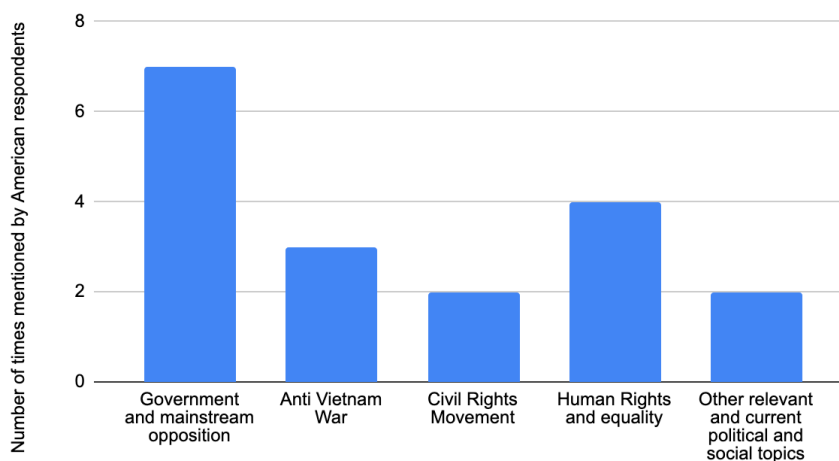
Engagement with protest music

American

When prompted to share their understanding of protest music, respondents identified similar themes to one another. Respondents identified common themes of protest music; government and mainstream opposition (88%), anti Vietnam War sentiment (38%), Civil Rights Movement (25%), equality (50%), and other current relevant political and social topics

(25%). This is shown in Fig 2. The themes identified by respondents align with those identified in the literature review (Cain, 2019; Hills-Villalobos, 2020; Lynd, 1969; Mitchell, 2006). Furthermore, 100% of respondents described themselves as avid music listeners between 1960-1970, and consumed music by artists of the likes of Bob Dylan, Phil Ochs, Pete Seeger, and Joan Baez, key members of the folk revival and frequent political activists (Cain, 2019; Lund & Denisoff, 1971; Mitchell, 2006). Respondents also named other protest folk artists they listened to between 1960-1970, these included Woody Guthrie, Arlo Guthrie, Country Joe and the Fish, and Peter, Paul and Mary. Three respondents also said they listened to other protest musicians that were not part of the folk music genre or revival. 100% of respondents also said they were able to identify political themes in the music of the specific artists mentioned previously; these responses replicated those displayed in Fig 2. When asked if they were able to identify the political themes within this music, Participant 7 responded “The impact of the music was to reinforce the feelings one already had by showing people there were many others out there who thought the [Vietnam] war was morally wrong. As a young person, I went from feeling vaguely uneasy about the cause and the conduct of the war to outright resistance to it”.

Fig 2: Themes in Protest Music

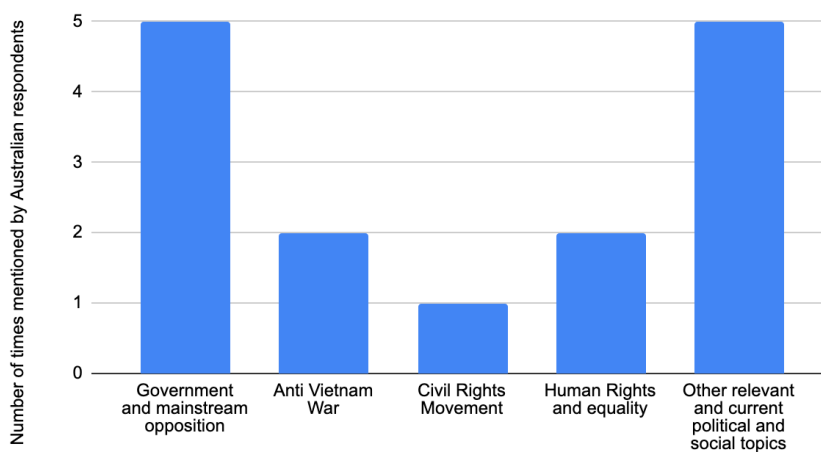


Australian

Australian respondents, while identifying similar themes, strongly identified broader themes of government and mainstream opposition (83%), and other relevant current political and social topics (83%). The geographical and political differences between the two countries likely informed the difference in responses. These responses are shown in Fig 3. 83% of

respondents described themselves as avid music listeners when prompted, while 100% responded positively to consuming music by artists of the likes of Bob Dylan, Phil Ochs, Pete Seeger, and Joan Baez. Similarly to the results in the American responses, respondents also mentioned other artists they listened to during this time, including Tom Paxton, Buffy St. Marie, Joni Mitchell, and the New Lost City Ramblers. Participant 6 was strongly involved in the Australian folk music community, performing various international folk songs, including those of Bob Dylan and Joan Baez, in a folk music band. Correspondingly to American responses, Australian participants were also able to identify the themes in the music of the specific artists mentioned previously; these responses replicated those displayed in Fig 3.

Fig 3: Themes in Protest Music



Overall

The responses from American and Australian participants concluded a strong engagement with protest music and an awareness of the identified themes. This conclusion is supported by prior research which suggests that listeners of protest music were highly aware of the themes throughout, and the political themes were indeed the primary focus and intention of the music (Frith, 1981). As noted, when asked to identify themes in protest music, American participants offered more specific responses, including themes of anti Vietnam War sentiment and the Civil Rights Movement, while Australian participants offered broader and less specific responses, such as government and mainstream opposition, and other relevant and current political and social topics. This can likely be attributed to the fact that Anti-Vietnam War demonstrations became popular in Australia in the late 1960s, while in the United States, these demonstrations began in the mid-1960s (Murphy, 1993; Zunes & Laird, 2010). The popularity of the anti-Vietnam War demonstrations in both countries likely informed the

responses, as the folk revival was at its peak in the mid-1960s (Cain, 2019). Additionally, as the Civil Rights Movement was an American movement, those living in the United States would have a more in depth understanding.

Movements

American

Respondents were asked about their awareness of the anti-Vietnam War Movement and the Civil Rights Movement. 100% of respondents answered yes they were aware of these movements to this question. When asked what they knew about these movements, many respondents offered personal anecdotes. Participant 1 responded “Schools in my town (...Kentucky) were integrated...in the 6th grade...So that brought to my awareness the history of racial discrimination that had up to then been very vague in my mind since my own family was not bigoted”. Within these responses, participants identified themes of examples of protests, including on university campuses and larger demonstrations of protests. As well as historical understandings. These questions were asked in the context of 1960-1970 to gain an accurate understanding of how well they understood the themes discussed in the music being studied. All respondents offered an in-depth understanding of the two movements, which strengthened the reliability of the responses regarding the themes participants identified within protest folk music by the artists focused on.

Australian

Mirroring responses from American participants, 100% of Australian participants answered that they were aware of the anti-Vietnam War Movement and the Civil Rights Movement. Australian respondents also offered in depth answers relating to their understanding and awareness of these movements, also explaining the sources through which they were engaged with these movements, and how these movements were approached in Australia; this included a description of how the Civil Rights Movement in the United States informed Indigenous rights movements in Australia. Participant 1 says they followed the news on television and subscribed to overseas news sources; The Manchester Guardian, the New Statesman, and the New York Times. As with the American responses, the information concluded from these answers support the responses regarding themes in protest folk music.

Overall

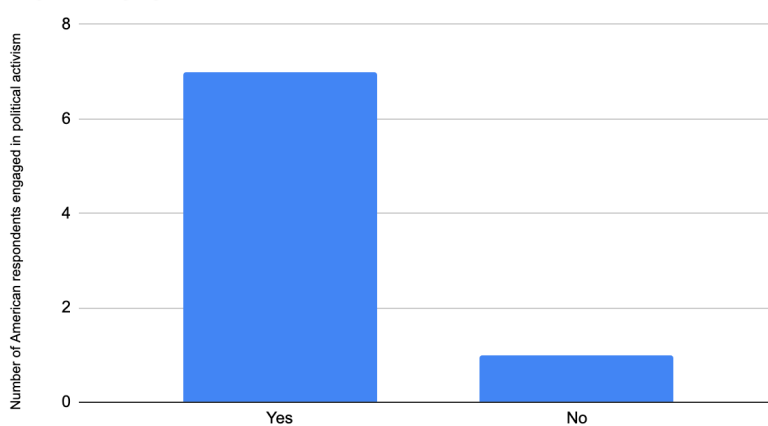
It can be concluded through the answers supplied by American and Australian respondents that understanding of these movements was strong. Both categories of respondents offered in-depth understandings of the anti-Vietnam War Movement and Civil Rights Movement. It can be concluded that these in depth understandings aided in the understanding and identification of themes in protest folk music.

Political Engagement and Engagement in Movements

American

A majority of American respondents (88%) were engaged in various forms of political activism. This is reflected in Fig 4. These forms of political activism included going on marches, campaigning, letter writing, signing petitions, and working in politics as a career. These varied from organising university campus protests and volunteering for electoral campaigns at both state and federal levels. Participant 4, along with attending protests, escorted the first female black students to be admitted to their university to their dorm. Participant 5 “wrote letters...signed petitions, [and] played and sang songs in public”. Participant 8 was also involved in other political and social movements, including the early parts of the gay liberation movement. These forms of political engagement were key factors of the emergence of the New Left (Blake, 2016; Cain, 2019; Lynd, 1969).

Fig 4: Engagement in political activism

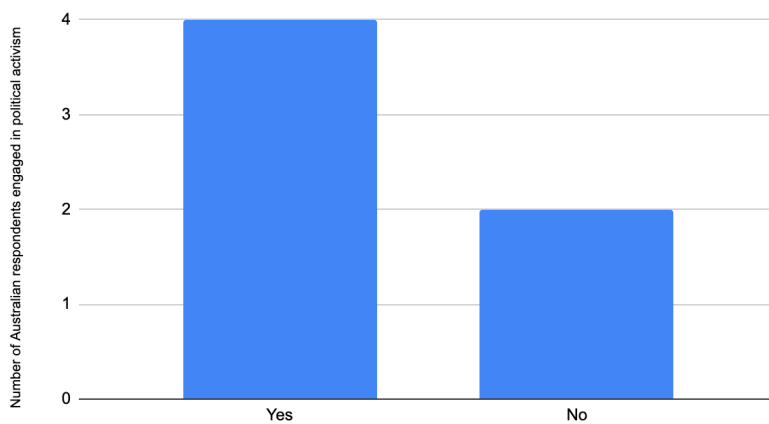


Australian

4 out of 6 Australian respondents (67%) were engaged in various forms of political activism, these included going on marches, union protests, joining political parties, strikes, and

occupation. This can be seen in Fig 5. The two respondents who were not engaged in political activism between 1960-1970 expressed their interest in, and awareness of the movements, despite their lack of engagement in political activism.

Fig 5: Engagement in political activism



Overall

Majority of respondents were engaged in political activism between 1960-1970. This aligns with the key characteristics of the American New Left, which was also seen in Australia (Cain, 2019; Lynd, 1969).

Conclusion of findings

The relationship between political engagement and activism, and the consumption of folk music appears to be strong based on the results of the survey conducted. The findings of the survey conducted show a strong relationship between engagement with protest folk music and understanding and engagement in political activism. In conducting this research, there is a likely bias in the results due to the fact all participants were aware of both the music of the folk revival, and the anti-Vietnam War and Civil Rights movements.

Conclusion

This research project aimed to investigate the extent to which protest music from the 1960s American folk revival influenced young people's views on political topics including the Vietnam War and Civil Rights Movement. This research concluded that while there was a strong connection between consumption of protest folk music and engagement and participation in the anti-Vietnam War and Civil Rights movements, it can not be concluded that protest folk music was the primary influence, or directly influenced, young people's political views on the Vietnam War and Civil Rights Movement. From survey responses and the literature studied, many young people engaged with protest folk music because of their political views and the aligning views within the music. It can also be concluded from this research that there is a link between protest folk music and political activism, although it remains unclear as to whether protest folk music directly increased political activity, or if individuals and groups were already politically active.

Suggestions for further research

In order to gain a stronger understanding of the relationship between protest folk music and political ideas and participation, a stronger participation base would be required. This refers to a larger sample size and engagement with those who did not listen to the music but did engage in political movements. A stronger participation base would likely result in a more in depth understanding of the relationship and the relationship of such.

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**Does a Waldorf Steiner education
compared to Mainstream state
education in secondary school lead to
greater academic outcome? If so, to
what extent?**

Extended Investigation Final Written Thesis

VCAA Student Number: 20206556T

Word Count: 4345

Abstract

This investigation compares the experience of secondary school students to answer the question of whether a Waldorf Steiner education, compared to mainstream state education in secondary school, leads to greater academic outcomes. A detailed analysis of the history and founding ideologies of both Steiner and mainstream is provided within the thesis. The study employs sequential mixed methods to examine how different education styles implement critical thinking and emotional well-being. Qualitative data was first collected through interviews and surveys and then the data was assessed and transformed into quantitative data that resulted in five repetitive themes. The themes that came out of the study were academic outcome through formative and summative assessments, educational transition from primary to secondary school, student resilience through the ability to overcome issues at school, emotional well-being by having healthy coping strategies and critical thinking through being taught necessary analytical skills. These themes were then compared to previous academic literature by theorists and philosophers such as Franz Carlgren, Rudolf Steiner, and Tao Bak to ensure validity. The results gave no definitive answer that one style of education is better than the other but instead showed the beneficial impact both Steiner and mainstream education have. A suggestion for further research in the topic was provided and the potential outcomes that may come out.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to my Extended Investigation teacher who has guided and supported me through the writing of this thesis and who gave me the opportunity to take part in this project. I would also like to thank my friends and family who have been nothing but encouraging.

Introduction

Rudolf Joseph Lorenz Steiner, an Austrian philosopher and social reformer born in 1861, is renowned for his creation of Steiner education in the early 20th century. Steiner education was formed after the chaos and mass destruction of WWI as a perceived improvement on mainstream education. Rudolf's ideologies of Steiner come from the belief that "humans are a threefold being of spirit, soul, and body whose capacities unfold in three developmental stages" (Steiner Education Australia. 2022). The first Steiner school founded in 1919, was a co-educational, fee-free school for children of factory workers. Steiner's early research led him to conclude that there are three aspects of early childhood development. They are "human wisdom", "knowledge of the human being" and "anthroposophy" which was a movement founded by Rudolf in the early 20th century (Steiner Education Australia. 2022). Mainstream education was founded on a set of principles from the 1872 Victorian Education Act, which influences much of the mainstream education system we know today.

This research aims to explore how different forms of education can potentially impact academic outcomes in High School. Steiner education promotes engaging the "head, heart, and hands" (Carlgren, F. 1976) and achieves this by encouraging imagination, artistic skills and self-directed free play. This philosophy aims to put students in charge of their learning. The artistic skills aim to promote childhood development and independence for later life.

Out of Britain's colonies, Victoria was the first to establish a central public school system based on the principles of "free, secular and compulsory education" (Education Act. 1872). Australian mainstream education is made of 4 core principles which are scholar academic, social efficiency, learner-centred and social reconstruction (Nguyen, T. 2019). These two systems of Steiner and mainstream, whilst philosophically different, are both at their core aiming to build better education outcomes. This research will explore whether a Waldorf Steiner education compared to a mainstream state education in secondary school leads to greater academic outcome and if so to what extent.

Literature Review

Steiner education can be categorised as a “holistic learning environment that is oriented towards moral growth, social consciousness and citizenship” (Steiner Education Australia. 2022). Mainstream on the other hand is based on the Australian Qualifications Framework which was established in 1995 and mandates that all citizens must go to school until they have at least finished year 10 (Australian Education Department. 2022). Through an investigation into academic outcome in school, education transition from primary to secondary school, student resilience at school, participation in critical thinking and incorporation of emotional wellbeing, the researcher aims to answer whether a Waldorf Steiner education compared to mainstream state education in secondary school leads to a superior academic outcome.

Alternative Education

Alternative education and more specifically Steiner education emphasises “holistic education ... through a community of teachers, parents and children” (Dhont, P. 2015). Steiner education encourages self-directed play, imagination, flexibility and academic learning which is intended to set a child up for life after school (Steiner Education Australia. 2022), which is why “young people who graduate from Flexi schools (such as Steiner) are more likely to transition into further study or training” (Moffatt, A. & Riddle, S. 2021). However, students who undertake alternative education may become excluded from mainstream settings later in life (Moffatt, A. 2021). In Bak Taos’ 2011 study he reviewed three Steiner programmes through interviews to see what challenges were met in alternative education settings. The study was conducted between 1990-2011 and the results showed that there is prominent mitigation of tension within Steiner schools due to philosophical ideology. It is suggested that this is because Steiner prioritises engagement in emotional well-being and empowerment (Bak, T. 2021). The results from this research can be applied to a wider context of education in Australia because they conducted sequential mixed-method research. This aligns with a 2018 study conducted by Steiner Education Australia where 80% of parents said that they chose Steiner education for their children because it reflected the family’s values at home. Furthermore, 85% of parents preferred Steiner education over other types as

they believed it offered a well-rounded education for students (Steiner Education Australia. 2022). Similarly, in a study conducted in 2020 (Carlgren, F. 2020) interviewed eight former alternative education students were interviewed about the reason they left mainstream school for alternative education. The results showed that the prominent reasons were that they “properly [addressed] the environment, planning, delivery and collaboration practices” of the students. The students said that this helped them with their post-secondary placements (Carlgren, F. 2020).

Mainstream Education

Mainstream education within Australia is constantly adapting which is why since the 1970s Australia has had roughly 100 reviews of teacher education in Australia due to changing policies and nationwide teacher training (Mayer, D. 2014). In 2020 Melbourne held the World Congress of Positive Psychology which involved more than 1,600 delegates from 60 countries who came to discuss and represent their nations’ culture of Positive Education. Trudel S.M (2020) found Melbourne’s inclusion of positive education impactful. They summarised the two key principles of positive education to be; “(1) the framework used by each school is grounded in research; and (2) participants were able to see how the practice of positive education is integrated into very...diverse environments: a public primary school and private K-12 school (Trudel, S.M. 2020). Furthermore, an ongoing longitudinal study around professionalism in Australia’s education system was conducted over the past decade. The research suggests that a teacher’s professionalism not only affects the subject they teach but also the wider experience of education in general (Mayer, D. 2021).

Comparison of Mainstream to Alternative Education

A study conducted in 2020 by Naca C.L. et al., explored what mainstream and alternative education can learn from each other. The research was conducted through in-depth interviews with principals, teachers and students. The research identified that a prominent difference between the two education styles is that alternative education better teaches students to adapt to challenges in their daily lives. However, the results ultimately showed that both mainstream and alternative education “could benefit from a greater exchange between institutions of inspirational policies and practices’ (Nada, C. 2020). Furthermore at the biennial World Congress on Positive Psychology (2020) reports states that both alternative and mainstream education in Victoria incorporated positive education at some of the best rates in the world (Trudel, S.M. 2020).

Recurring Themes in Literature:

I. Academic Outcome

As defined by Idea Ground Inc Global (2020) academic outcome refers to “an overall academic achievement by students based on multiple assessments” results such as quiz, test, assignment, attendance, participation and final examination” (Idea Ground Inc Global. 2020). Both formative and summative assessments are the predominant tool used in testing academic achievement (Collins, D. & Benassi, V. 2018) worldwide which is why it is so heavily ingrained in the Australian education system (Selwyn, N. & O’Neil, C. et al., 2021). The usage of formative and summative assessments is because a study conducted by Collins D (2018) found that students are more likely to have a more satisfactory answer on an exam or test when a deeper level of processing is required (Collins, D. & Benassi, V. 2018)

II. Educational Transition

The United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child set out a procedure of rights to be implemented for children in their transition process from primary to high school. The reason for these rights was to promote learning in the new school setting (Woods, K. 2021). A review conducted by Evans, D. et al., (2018)

evaluated the psychological and academic impact young adolescents face when they transition from primary to high school. The results show the importance of emotional well-being in the form of psychologists and counsellors. It was concluded that “only 24-40% of young people affected by [emotional distress as a result of the transition] receive support from mental health professionals” (Evans, D. et al., 2018). Furthermore, teachers with less training in differentiation are more likely to hinder a student's transition experience from primary school to high school. Results from the research conducted by Nikčević-Milković (2019) showed that teachers who undertake “professional development and establish cooperation” enhance a student’s experience in early high school (Milković, N. 2019), thus highlighting the importance of teachers in the transition from one educational setting to another.

III. Student Resilience

A study conducted in the United States in 2018 modelled academic success in the form of resilience through a qualitative interview. Henderson (2018) contends that students from a combination of public and private schools were interviewed about how resilience is taught. The research showed that there is a gap in education between private and public, as private schools have greater resources to put into education around promoting resilience (Henderson, D. 2018). Similarly, Zolkoski 's (2016) investigation into student resilience found that academic success in the form of resilience and engagement in school was lacking in alternative education settings for students with behavioural disorders. Zolkoski (2016) used semi-structured interviews so that he could identify “elements specific to alternative education settings that may contribute to resilience in young adulthood”. A significant theme that emerged from the study was that there is research to suggest that students with behavioural disorders will not thrive in alternative education settings and are in fact actively discouraged from enrolling (Zolkoski, S.M. 2016)

IV. Emotional Wellbeing

Emotional well-being as described by Sissons B (2022) is the “awareness and understanding a person has about their emotions and how well they are able to manage through different life events” (Sissons, B. 2022). Growing mental health difficulties for students have become especially apparent since COVID-19 (Burns, D. Dagnall, N. & Holt, M. 2020). In an investigation of education systems, inclusion can enhance student mental well-being (2019). Results found that the most important aspect of maintaining healthy student well-being is seeking and acting on the advice of students as this creates a “sense of inclusion and empowerment” (Baik, C. et al.,. 2019). Similarly at the 2018 Students, Transitions, Achievement, Retention and Success Conference Brooker, A. et al., (2019) asserted that many academic institutions invest too much in resources to prevent poor student mental health when ideally they need to be “flexible to [change]” (Brooker, A. et al.,. 2019).

V. Critical Thinking

Governments globally have stressed the importance of complementary sectors of critical thinking within education systems (Pithers, R. & Soden, R. 2000) so that students are taught the necessary analytical skills. In a study conducted by Ennis R.H (2018), a hypothetical “Alpha College” was created to test to what extent the inclusion of critical thinking has on students’ achievement. The study tested the difference between summative and formative critical thinking-based coursework. The results supported the claim that we should incorporate more critical thinking across the curriculum (Ennis, R.H. 2018). Moreover, a study about improving Generations Z’s critical thinking skills produced similar results. The study was created after educators globally expressed concern that younger generations when faced with problems give up easier (Seibert, S. 2021). The solution as suggested by Ennis R.H is to fund more critical thinking programs (Ennis, R.H. 2018).

Conclusion

From the research that has been collated from academic literature, five main themes have been identified in the investigation about whether mainstream or a Steiner education leads to greater academic success in the transition to high school. For the purpose of the researcher's study, academic success is categorised as engagement in critical thinking and fluency in literacy, numeracy and social engagement. A background and comparison of mainstream education and alternative Education (more specifically Steiner) present the similarities and differences between the two styles of education.

The first theme was the exploration of academic outcomes through formative assessment tasks to see whether mainstream or Steiner achieve the notion better. The second theme was around the process of transition from primary to secondary school as research shows that it "is one of the most stressful events in a young person's life" (Zeedyk, S. et al., 2003). The purpose of exploring this theme was to understand whether alternative or Mainstream education better prepares students for the transition. The third theme was resilience in school due to transition and well-being. This theme is closely linked to the fourth one which was an investigation into how healthy emotional wellbeing is maintained in different education systems, and what tools are best implemented to support student wellbeing. The final theme was critical thinking which refers to the "Objective analysis and evaluation of an issue" (Oxford Languages. 2022). The analysis of these five themes will assist in answering whether a Waldorf Steiner education compared to Mainstream state education in secondary school leads to a greater academic outcome.

Methodology

Throughout the research, a combination of primary and secondary data was collected. The secondary data collected came from historians and anthropologists such as Rudolf Steiner, Franz Carlgren and Tao Bak. The primary data that was collected came from explanatory sequential mixed methods which involved collecting quantitative research (graphs and statistics) and then further analysing it into qualitative research (interviews and surveys). Aspers. et al., 2019 describes qualitative data as an “iterative process in which improved understanding of the community is achieved by making new significant distinctions resulting from getting closer to the phenomenon studied” (Aspers, P. et al., 2019). Queirós et al., (2017) states that quantitative methodology “seeks to maintain accurate and reliable measurement that allows a statistical analysis” (Queirós, A. et al., 2017). The purpose of using both primary and secondary data was to see where the researchers’ results are congruent with wider studies of the topic. Qualitative data was converted into quantitative research by organising and interpreting the data. The survey requests were distributed digitally as Shih, T.H. et al., (2008) states that this would result in high rates of responses (Shih, T.H. et al., 2008). They were sent to one local mixed stream school, two pure Steiner schools and two pure mainstream schools. The purpose of using this form of research methodology was to investigate and compare the relationship between Steiner and mainstream education in leading to educational outcomes in high school. The researcher followed up with participants with interviews to get a better understanding of their experience in mainstream and Steiner. The researcher first sent out the surveys to current school students across the state that met the requirements about their experience in either a mainstream or Steiner education. Each question of the survey was meticulously chosen as they are “critical to the shaping of a qualitative study” (Agree, J. 2009).

Practical Considerations

With the time provided a deep analysis of the potential benefits of a Waldorf Steiner education in leading to preparedness in High School when compared to mainstream state education was conducted. The researcher's question of 'whether a Waldorf Steiner education compared to mainstream state education leads to greater academic outcome' was practical, reasonable, manageable and was explored through a sound research method.

The practical considerations that the researcher followed when conducting the survey were the ones set out by National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC). This included not disclosing any personal information that might identify a participant and ensuring that all participants were aware of their withdrawal rights before the study. The research also ensured that the survey could be conducted in a timely manner. This was achieved by limiting the question to Victoria and specifically looking at academic outcomes for High School as a result of Primary School. Another issue that the researcher took into consideration was attempting to achieve accurate data sampling. In order to avoid bias and improve accuracy, the research took a representative sample of the population of school students from both Steiner and Mainstream schools. Within the survey, students were asked a range of questions about their knowledge of modern history, how they felt about homework in High School and if they felt their type of education benefited them in the long run (see appendix 1 for examples of questions asked). The research followed up with face-to-face interviews with a selection of participants. Although Electronic Data Capture Methods like online surveys are more cost-effective, research undertaken by Tate, A & Smallwood, C (2021) states that information communication technology (ICT) surveys when "compared to traditional Paper-based Data Capture" show that they are "often implemented without proper evaluation of any changes in efficiency, especially from surveys" (Tate, A. & Smallwood, C. 2021).

Ethics of the Research

Each survey request was accompanied by a plain language statement that detailed the purpose of the study and assured anonymity to all participants, as “anonymity for participants is assumed to be an integral feature of ethical research” (Grinyer, A. 2002). The plain language statement also presented all rights given to participants including withdrawal, informed consent and voluntary participation. The plain language statement is the “important information about the study [that is] extracted into a concise key information section to help potential subjects make informed decisions regarding participation” (Lecompte, L. & Young, S. 2020). There were a few practical problems that may have arisen through the researcher’s study if they did not follow the NHMRC guidelines. An ethical concern that arose was that the majority of participants in the study were under 18. In order to mitigate this concern, all participants were asked to sign consent forms before undertaking the survey. Each of the questions asked in the survey had to be open-ended so that participants did not feel like they were expected to answer a certain way (National Health and Medical Research Council. 2022)

Limitations

There were many limitations the researcher faced when conducting the survey. Although they tried to mitigate them, by releasing an online survey it was only accessible to those with an online presence. The benefit however of having the survey online is that they provide “ethically defensible methods of conducting research that would not be feasible offline research settings” (Robert, L. & Allen, P. 2015). A limitation of releasing it generally to the public was that a much higher proportion of Mainstream students have access to ICT than Steiner students which is why the researcher went directly through different academic institutions. In a 2000 study by Curtin, R. et al., they suggest that women have a much higher likelihood of responding to surveys than men because of cognitive biases (Curtin, R. et al., 2000). By incorporating the use of interviews, it eliminated the limitation of creating biases stemming from a lack of response from a particular minority group.

Discussion & Findings

The data collected was sorted into 5 main areas to record the frequency themes that came up in the surveys as well as in other researchers' literature. The 5 themes broadly were Academic Outcome, Educational Transition, Student Resilience, Emotional Well-being and Critical Thinking. The research was conducted through sequential mixed methods which Creswell (2014) suggests is an acceptable method of collecting and coding data (Creswell, J. 2014). Each of the themes were referenced against previous literature to see how it fits in with past research. For example one of the researcher's themes in their literature review is academic outcomes. In previous research conducted by Zoloski (2016) they suggest students from alternative education have less engagement in the academic elements of school which coincidentally reflects the results from the researcher's surveys (Zoloski, S. 2016).

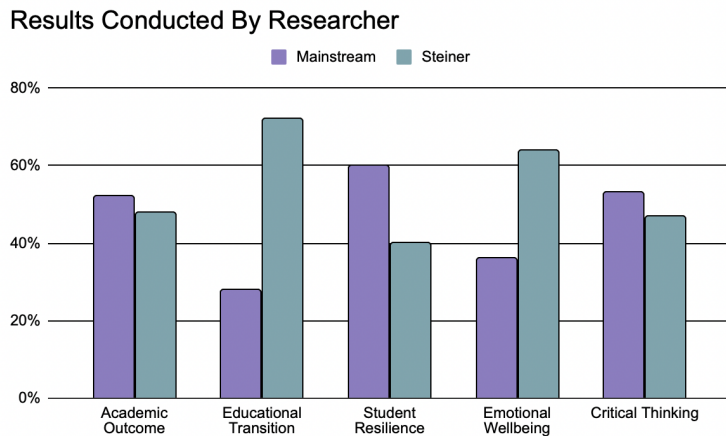
(See appendix 2 for a glossary of themes)

Results from the Survey:

The survey asked participants whether they would recommend their form of education. The results showed that out of 75 participants surveyed 70.8% of mainstream students answered on a scale of 1-5 (1 meaning absolutely not and 5 being definitely) with either a 4 or a 5 compared to only 50% of Steiner students. This suggests that Mainstream students are more sure about themselves and what style of education suits them. The reason these results can be expected is many Steiner students entering high school often want to transition to mainstream to focus on academics to get into university (Dhont, P. 2015). However many Steiner students also stated that they would recommend Steiner as it builds a “sense of community and closeness with peers”. The research also showed that 58.8% of the Steiner students surveyed stated that they ‘definitely’ grasp concepts when attending class compared to only 26.6% of Mainstream students. This complements the results of whether teachers cater to the needs of students in class. The results showed that out of the Steiner students surveyed 55.6% answered that the teacher ‘definitely’ catered to the need compared to only 27.3% of Mainstream students. The researcher further conducted interviews to investigate why this happens. The surveys conducted suggest that the reason is that Steiner has strict ideological guidelines that they must follow which often excludes people from feeling included. A surprising element that came out of the research came when participants were asked the pros and cons of their type of education. Steiner students wrote the pros and cons in terms of themselves whereas mainstream students wrote the pros and cons in deflection from Steiner. An example of this is that many mainstream students commented on the fact that they are glad that music was not mandated and that they believe mainstream is recognised as a “better education” and more “academic”. A possible explanation for this is that 97% of mainstream students who answered in this way went to co-stream schools. It has been shown that where alternative education (like Steiner) is introduced into mainstream schools there can be tension and mistrust between the students (Zolkoski, S. 2021). This is because humans inherently are told to mistrust what they don't know (Isaeva, N. et al., 2019).

Data Representation:

Representation 1: Frequency of Survey & Interview Themes

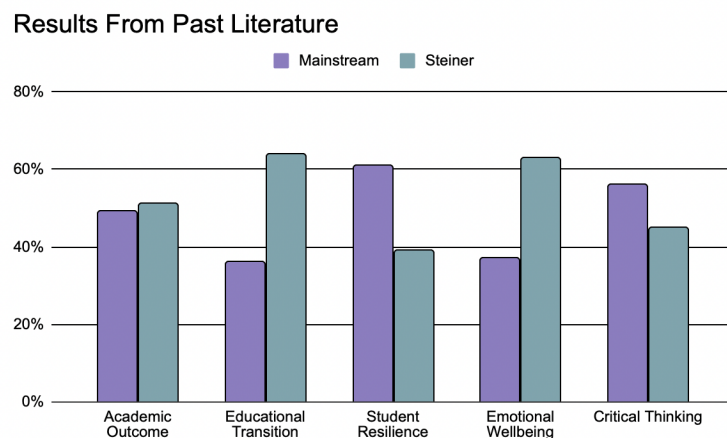


Above in representation 1 the frequency results within the themes occurred in the interviews and surveys conducted by the researcher. On the left axis is the percentage of themes that came up throughout the survey results. On the bottom line of the graph is the themes

that were meticulously sorted and compared to past literature (see appendix 3 for further explanation on coded survey and interview themes)

Representation 2: Frequency of Past Academic Literature Themes

Above in representation 2 is the frequency of results that occurred in past literature and academic papers. On the left axis is the percentage of the themes that came up. On the bottom line of the graph is the themes that were meticulously sorted and



compared to the researcher's results (see appendix 4 for further explanation on coded academic literature themes)

Comparative Data Analysis:

From the results, there is no definitive answer that Steiner is inherently better or vice versa. What can be seen is that students who undertake Steiner education have stronger healthy emotional well-being due to their more holistic approach while mainstream students have more resilience in the classroom. This is because mainstream students are taught the necessary skills from prep to overcome inevitable obstacles through “developing thoughts, behaviours and actions that allow [them] to recover from traumatic or stressful events” (Riopel, L. 2019). The most stark differentiation in results is that students who undertake a Steiner education are more likely to have an easier educational transition. When the researcher asked participants to rank their experience in transitioning from primary to high school, results found that on average Steiner students handle the educational transition 44% better in representation 1 (results from the survey and interviews) and 28% in representation 2 (results from past literature). The ranking of the transition is based on emotional distress and overall enjoyment or lack thereof. This is because of Steiner's philosophy that states students should stay in the same class from grade 1 to high school (Steiner Education Australia. 2022). Mainstream however is represented by engaging in more critical thinking. In representation 1 it is 6% more while in representation 2 it is 11%. This is because as part of the Victorian Education Act, Australian mainstream schools are mandated to test through formative assessment tasks like tests and exams (Education Act. 1872). Furthermore in representation 1 Mainstream education is displayed with slightly higher academic outcomes by 4% while in representation 2 Steiner is shown slightly higher at 2%. This slight differentiation in results suggests that there is no real difference between academic outcomes, it is the other factors like educational transition, student resilience, emotional wellbeing and critical thinking that really separate the two styles of education.

Conclusion

The investigation aimed to answer the question “Does a Waldorf Steiner education compared to mainstream state education in secondary school lead to greater academic outcome?”. A detailed analysis of past literature and the results conducted in the surveys identified 5 themes which were; academic outcome, educational transition, student resilience, emotional wellbeing and critical thinking. The purpose of comparing the survey results to past literature was to see where the researchers' questions fit with past literature and to see how similar the results were. The researcher however did not provide a statistical analysis as it would have been beyond the scope of the research. The results suggest that both styles of education have their advantages and disadvantages, but neither is inherently better than the other. While students who undertake Steiner education are shown to be more in touch with their emotional well-being, mainstream students are depicted as being more resilient to school-based conflicts. Moreover, through the interviews conducted by the researcher with past Steiner and mainstream students who have entered tertiary education in the past 4 years noticed no significant advantages or disadvantages compared to someone who completed a different form of education. Both Steiner and mainstream education are based on different philosophical frameworks but the results conducted in this study, show that none is fundamentally or academically “better”.

Suggestion for Further Research

Although the results did not give a definitive answer it creates room for further research. A larger scale qualitative study into attitudes and how they play a role in academic success may result in more conclusive outcomes. As well as whether being taught in an environment that is not compared to another stream of education makes it easier to thrive. Furthermore, a study should be conducted on what each form of education can learn from each other. If the researcher had more time they would look further into how mainstream could learn from Steiner's holistic approach to education and how Steiner could become more structured and career-driven like mainstream. Research in these areas would allow for a better understanding of the educational benefit of studying within a mainstream or Steiner educational framework (or pedagogy).

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Example of Questions Asked

- *“When attending classes do you grasp concepts?”*
- *“Do you engage in critical thinking?”*
- *“Was the homework you received effective for your learning?”*
- *“Do you feel your teachers cater to the needs of everyone in your class?”*
- *“When attending classes do you grasp concepts?”*
- *“Was the transition to high school difficult?”*

Appendix 2: Themes Glossary

| Academic Outcome | Educational Transition | Student Resilience | Emotional Wellbeing | Critical Thinking |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Academic outcome refers to personal achievement by students based on formative assessment tasks. | Education Transition is the move from one institution to another. For the purpose of this study, it is from Primary School to High School. | Student Resilience is the ability to overcome obstacles faced in school place settings by promoting competence. | Emotional Well-being refers to the ability to process one's emotions in order to cope with challenges that may arise at school. | Critical thinking is the analysis, evaluation and synthetisation of a problem and or issue, that allows a student to form a judgement or opinion. |

Appendix 3: Transcription from Surveys and Interviews

Below is a sample of results that the researcher received from the surveys and interviews. Each response was then sorted into general areas until the following 5 themes emerged.

→ Academic Outcome

- “The education system is built around a mainstream education, which most people have to undertake in later years”
- “Mainstream teaches you the skills to get a tertiary education according to VCAA”
- “Secondary education helps you get into tertiary studies”
- “Since the Steiner stream is based on experimental learning themes - creativity, gratitude, collaboration, responsibility etc - the program suits a primary style of learning”
- “Steiner values both creativity and academics”
- “Mainstream starts learning earlier which could be a positive as we find it easiest to learn when we are young and our brains are flexible”

→ Educational Transition

- “There were things that were challenging but that was normal stuff like homework and catching the train. Overall it was pretty smooth”
- “The transition to high school was no more difficult than being in primary school”
- “It was almost too easy... I honestly think that the transition to high school should be a challenging experience, but extremely characters building”

→ Student Resilience

- “Steiner idealistic whereas mainstream is more realistic”
- “Mainstream is a supportive atmosphere and the teachers want to help students with their education”
- “Mainstream prepares students for VCE”
- “If you don’t mesh well with your classmates or teacher then completing Steiner education would be difficult as you are meant to spend years with them”
- “Steiner students may be unable to branch out socially”

→ Emotional Wellbeing

- “Mainstream can work well for some people, but it is a very rigid and inflexible system which can be harmful to students who may require different styles of teaching”
- “Steiner is more fun and a more sociable way of learning”
- “Steiner has a social connection. Emphasis on human connection, love for nature, kindness, social skills and storytelling”
- “Steiner built a sense of community and closeness with peers”
- “Steiner builds strong lasting bonds”
- “Mainstream is not suited for everyone and a lack of flexibility and understanding of people's needs in regards to learning”
- “Mainstream can be restrictive as it allows for less individual growth, less creativity and harder to build lasting friendships”

→ Critical Thinking

- “Steiner offers a different viewpoint on the world compared to mainstream”
- “As Steiner exposed me to many different perspectives I was able to engage in critical thinking:
- “Critical thinking was a prominent element of my mainstream education”
- “In mainstream, I was forced to undertake formative assessments which engaged me in critical thinking”

Appendix 4: Extracts from Past Literature

Below is a sample of extracts taken from past academic literature. Through the papers, excerpts were taken and sorted into general areas until the following 5 themes emerged.

→ Academic Outcome

Test-enhanced learning is a technique instructors can use to increase recall on summative assessments (e.g., exams) via formative assessments (e.g., quizzes). The present research examined recommendations based on the transfer-appropriate processing and level-of-processing (LOP) perspectives to assess the question, does deeper processing on quizzes (i.e., using application questions compared to factual) benefit exam performance? Students were more likely to correctly answer application questions on the exam when quizzes required a deeper LOP, and students

(Collins, D. P., Rasco, D., & Benassi, V. A. 2018)

→ Educational Transition

student relationship. The data show that a positive teacher-student relationship quality tends to be associated with a reduction of psychological symptoms. A stable, low-conflict teacher-student relationship was confirmed as a protective factor from increased internalizing and externalizing symptoms during all normative school transitions. Furthermore, we see that an increase in teacher-student conflict during the transitions from primary to middle school, and from middle to high school is linked to an exacerbation in students' externalizing symptoms during the first year of attendance of the new school. Our study confirms the importance of the teacher-student relationship in reducing psychological symptoms associated with school transitions, in every type of transition, favoring an improved psychological adjustment to the new environment. A positive

(Longobardi, C., Settanni, M., Prino, L. E., Fabris, M. A., & Marengo, D. 2019)

→ Student Resilience

Many students with emotional and behavioral disorders placed in alternative education settings lack resilience and are likely to experience failure in school and beyond without carefully designed intervention programs. Although researchers have examined both resilience in children and youth and their placement in alternative education settings, there is little research regarding resilience among students who have graduated from alternative education settings. Using semistructured

(Zolkoski, S. M., Bullock, L. M., & Gable, R. A. 2016)

→ Emotional Wellbeing

author, a participant at the conference, found the tour of the schools in Melbourne impactful in three ways: (1) the frameworks used by each school are grounded in research; (2) participants were able to see how the practice of positive education is integrated into three very diverse environments: a public primary school, a private K-12 school, and an alternative secondary school; and (3) the impact of these programs was witnessed firsthand by interacting and speaking with students as well as through data collection. This article is about her

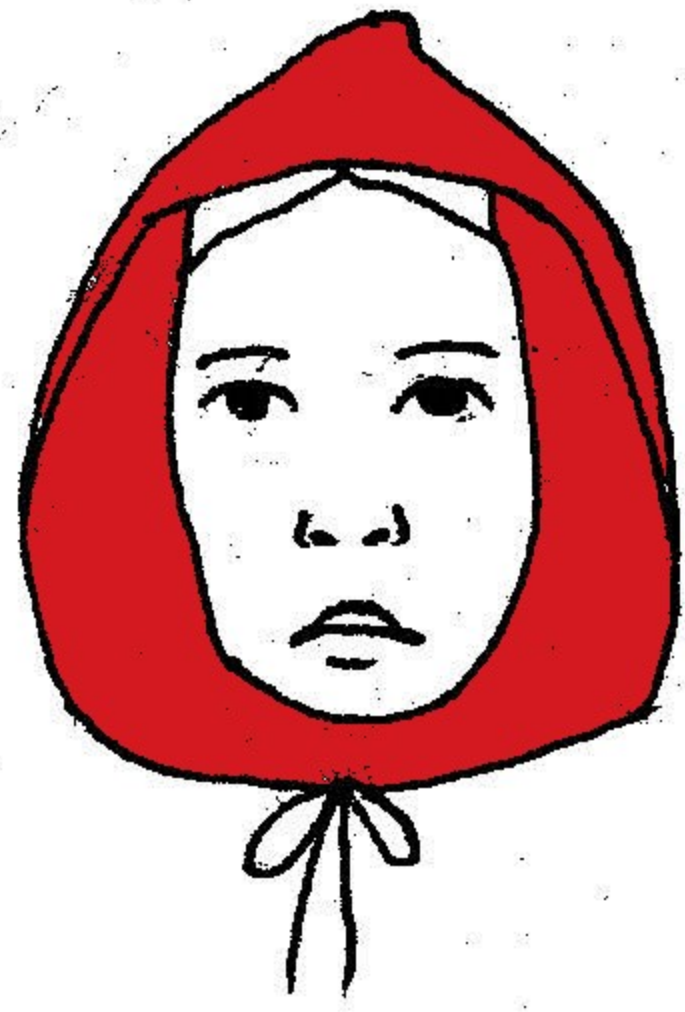
(Wilkinson, S., Kumm, S., & McDaniel, S. 2020)

→ Critical Thinking

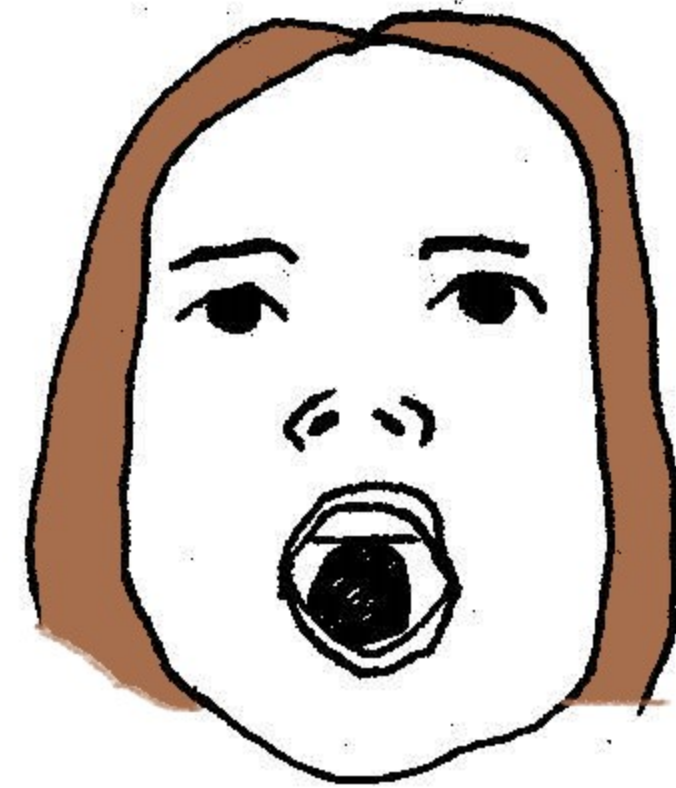
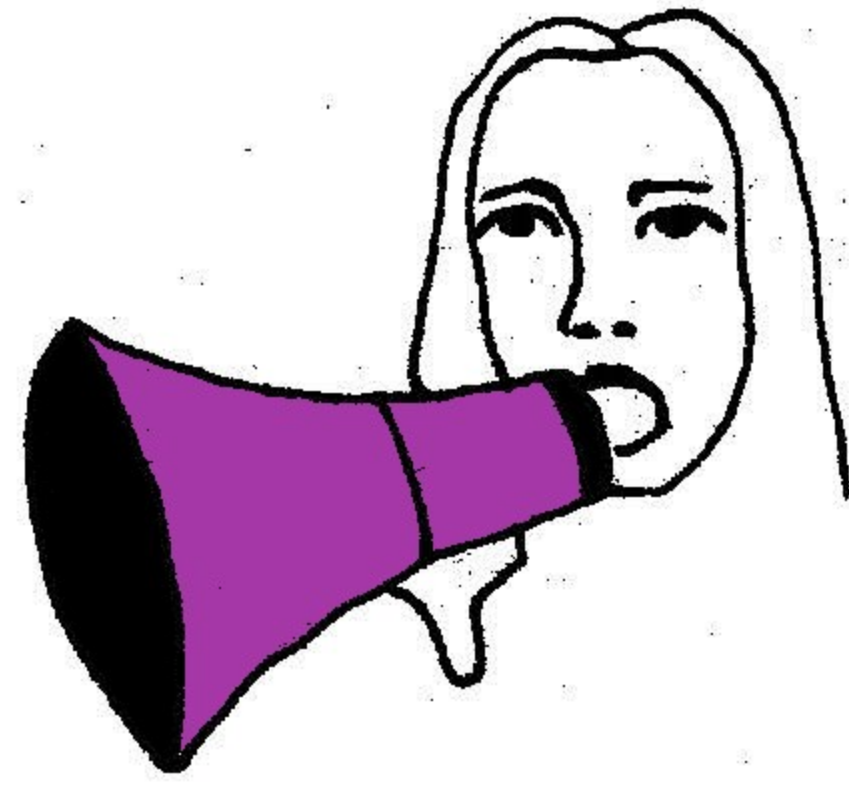
Educators are concerned about Generation Z's inexperience with higher order critical thinking and tendency to give up or move on when faced with challenges. While acknowledging that this generation brings technological skills and an inclusive mindset that will enhance our profession, educators are challenged to adapt teaching strategies to promote critical thinking and foster perseverance. This manuscript will recount the attributes of Generation Z and describe problem-based learning as a strategy to enhance critical thinking and perseverance.

(Seibert, S. A. 2021)

22R Sylvia



Jackie



Jan

