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What About Me? Theorizing Power and Pushback in Advancing Marginalized Identities

Sara Schley ^{1*}, Deborah L. Blizzard ¹, Annemarie Ross ¹, Carol E. Marchetti ¹, Wendy A. Dannels ¹,
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ABSTRACT

In 2012, the Rochester Institute of Technology (RIT) received an NSF ADVANCE Institutional Transformation grant to improve the career advancement of women. The National Technical Institute for the Deaf, one of RIT's colleges, had over 30 Deaf and Hard of Hearing (DHH) female faculty members. The project designated a DHH female faculty team with a budget to conduct a self-directed program of development and networking: the DHH Women's Connectivity Series. Starting in 2014, other faculty began to request access to these sessions - hearing male and female faculty, DHH male faculty, and faculty of color. They argued that they too experienced marginalization due to issues of gender, race, ethnicity and hearing loss. This article summarizes the Connectivity Series' story of power, privilege, and pushback. How do DHH women successfully negotiate careers in academia, given the impact of intersectional minority identities (disability, gender, etc.)?

Keywords: power, pushback, marginalized identities, faculty, disabilities

INTRODUCTION

Playgrounds make great ethnography, and so do academic institutions. At a minimum, both create complex case studies from which critical scholars can observe power hierarchies in motion. While both contexts seem disparate, self-expression is evident at each. Twentieth century French social theorist Michel Foucault reminds us that, under the sanitized view of children playing and scholars working, other invisible forces are at play and work. There is an implied hierarchy in which the mainstream majority, 'Us', seeks to maintain power and privilege (advantages in society for being members of certain groups, or, background qualities which don't get in the way of navigating through your world) by calling attention to the perceived weaknesses of another group, the 'Other' (Foucault, 1977).

In 2012 the Rochester Institute of Technology (RIT) was awarded a five-year grant from the National Science Foundation's ADVANCE program. The primary mission of ADVANCE is to increase the participation and advancement of women in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) careers in academia through institutional transformation. A secondary mission is to conduct social science research that examines one or more areas relevant to the project's over-arching mission. The National Technical Institute for the Deaf (NTID), one of

the nine colleges at RIT¹, had over 30 Deaf or Hard of Hearing (DHH) women faculty members. As an underrepresented group within the target population of ADVANCE, DHH women were identified as a primary focus of study. The project sought to document the experiences of DHH women in higher education and identify potential strategic interventions, opportunities, and resources that may mitigate barriers encountered en route to careers in academia. A team of DHH women faculty was provided a budget to conduct social science research, and a self-directed program of professional networking and development called the *DHH Women's Connectivity Series*. After a year of offering these sessions, other NTID faculty began to request access to them - hearing men and women faculty, DHH men faculty, and faculty of color. They argued that they too experienced marginalization due to issues of gender, race, ethnicity and hearing loss and that limiting the sessions to DHH women created a divide among faculty and denied other faculty the opportunity to benefit from this series. In summarizing the story of the *DHH Women's Connectivity Series*, we discuss issues of power, privilege, and *pushback* that complicate efforts to advance equity for those with disabilities (and perhaps those with a different form of otherness: gender, race, ethnicity, etc.) in STEM fields.

This reflective article examines a phenomenon we term *power-push* by which individuals from a disempowered group attempt to push themselves metaphorically, and at times physically, into a more powerful stance within a given multicultural context (e.g., attempts at gaining access to workshops limited to DHH women). To better understand how and why these power-pushes occurred, we examine the DHH women faculty team's reflection on their work environment and subsequent implementation of the *DHH Women's Connectivity Series*. From a social justice perspective, this programming was a reasonable course of action; however, many of those involved in delivering the *DHH Women's Connectivity Series* encountered a negative *pushback* from individuals who did not fall into the target population for this programmatic attention. These persons pushed against the Other for what they perceived to be inequitable access to special resources and opportunities that could enhance their own professional position. While some of these were different kinds of Other (e.g., DHH men, faculty of color), some were mainstream majority faculty (white male and female). This article outlines a question that emerged as we observed this pushback: How did these DHH women successfully negotiate careers in academia, given the impact of intersectional minority identities (disability, gender, etc.)?

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Intersectionality. Intersectionality considers the effect of a multiple of discriminations and disadvantages on a person or on groups (Crenshaw, 1989). The 'Double Jeopardy' hypothesis suggests that a minority woman's membership in an additional minority group increases her disadvantage (King, 1988). Certainly, the complex social structures do not operate using a principle of additivity, however, the reality remains that minority women's experiences are unique, comparable neither to those of white women nor to those of men of the same ethnicity. Coston and Kimmel (2012) looked at samples of white men who were also either disabled, gay, or working class: in other words, they were privileged in one sphere and unprivileged in another. Gay, working class, or disabled men are thus as "less male" given their marginalizations. These men used different strategies in managing questions of their masculinity based on their class, sexuality, or bodily status.

Diversity in Academia. A number of scholars have focused on the challenges faced by underrepresented racial and ethnic minorities within academia (e.g., Turner, Haddix, Gort, and Bauer, 2017). Numerous factors influence successful negotiation of tenure, such as multiple written and unwritten standards of advancing through the academy (e.g., Matthew, 2016; Rockquemore and Laszloffy, 2008), increased demands of mentoring and service (e.g., Rockquemore and Laszloffy, 2008; Turner, Walker-Dalhouse, and McMillon, 2005), and overrepresentation of numbers on contingent vs. non-contingent tracks (Finkelstein, Conley, and Schuster, 2016). Similarly, for decades, feminist scholars have examined the inequities facing women academics within the academy, a historically hegemonic, masculine, institution. There are similar issues of representation (Finkelstein, Conley, and Schuster, 2016), biases against caregiving responsibilities (e.g., Drago et al., 2005), hesitation to use family leave policies (see Williams, 2004), additional emotional labor as a female faculty member (El-Alayli, Hansen-Brown and Ceynar, 2018), and increased service loads (Guarino and Borden, 2017).

Often romanticized (by outsiders) as inherently equitable due to its emphasis on objectivism and scientism, academia is assumed to be a hallmark of meritocracy (see Dench, 2006). The scholar rises and falls in direct relationship to demonstrations of their ability (on objectivism and scientism, e.g. Blizzard, 2007). However, when

¹ At the time of the events in this study, there were 9 colleges at RIT: College of Applied Science and Technology, Saunders College of Business, College of Science, College of Imaging Arts and Sciences, College of Liberal Arts, Kate Gleason College of Engineering, Golisano College of Computing and Information Sciences, College of Health Sciences and Technology, and the National Technical Institute for the Deaf. Since then, some of the colleges have changed names, and there are a few new degree granting units. For more details, see <https://www.rit.edu/colleges>.

examined under a critical frame of gender, power, and race, this narrative quickly dissipates into little more than a cultural myth, ensuring the further entrenchment of inequity disguised in objectivism. In this light, power can be seen as concentric circles in which the ‘norm’ (and the power, the objective) of scientific ideal resides in the epicenter (e.g., white, male, hearing, straight), with Others maintaining cultural space further out from the center. Thus when examining individuals with less cultural capital, it is noticeable that they live and work in the outer reaches of these circles: where difference in gender, race, and body politics (including physical, social, and mental differences, among others) are often seen as threatening to the already accepted and entrenched status quo. A crucial question emerges: what happens when one group pushes into the power of the privileged?

Feminist Critiques of Inequities. Many feminists in Science and Technology Studies (among other areas of thought) have examined the processes by which women categorized through either sex or gender, terms that are themselves socially created and scientifically categorized, are often structurally and systematically pushed out of science due to overt and subversive behaviors within the field (e.g., Fox Keller 1995; Harding 1986; Wyer et al., 2009). One approach, offered by Mary Barbercheck, to viewing how and why women are repressed in STEM disciplines focuses on either differential treatment (*a deficit* model) or on innate differences in how men and women act and behave (*a difference* model). In her analysis of social behaviors of men and women in STEM education she writes that the deficit arguments support the belief that women are comparably at a loss, or deficit, in how much STEM education they may receive (e.g., some studies to support this approach include accounts of girls not being called upon in STEM classes or being silenced or spoken over by male classmates). The second approach, the difference model, lies more in line with arguments of biological determinism: put simply, girls are not ‘wired’ to excel in the STEM disciplines. Although biological determinism is often countered by theories of social constructivism, its cultural pervasiveness remains strong. These explanations are not new and are rooted in biology. For example, in the 1800s, theologians, biologists, and social scientists believed that if women were educated, blood would flow away from their most precious organs and be redirected to the brain; this would in turn cause severe social disruption. In 1873, Edward H. Clarke, Professor of Education at Harvard University, argued that girls should be spared higher education or they would fail to reproduce ... instead the immigrants would reproduce thus outnumbering the ‘whites’ (Clarke, 1873; Zschoche, 1989). Alongside sexism, racism was at play.

Ultimately, Barbercheck (2009) argues that neither the deficit nor the difference model ‘...adequately takes into account the force of stereotypes, gender schemas, and images that surround us but do not seem to have the direct or concrete power to shape an individual’s choices’ (p.119). She points out that while stereotypes may or may not be true, that is not enough reason to disregard them. She writes, ‘...scientists are often not aware of the biases that may arise from the stereotypes of men and women. A prevailing assumption is that gender is irrelevant in doing science, and therefore is irrelevant in the culture of science (see also, Fox Keller, 1995). But if gender is truly irrelevant, then one would expect that the images of people in professional publications would be quite different from those in broader culture,’ since the broader culture contains enormously gendered and stereotyped images (p. 119). Her findings suggest that this is not the case. In a study of diversity in science advertisements, the images are predominantly men and white. So *diversity* as a concept is gendered: it is women (Zuska, 2007).

Mackinnon (1987) focuses instead on gender *dominance*. Difference is that while (say) men and women have differences, underlying these differences is a sameness – that of humanity. Dominance, instead, acknowledges that while men and women may both be human, there is an unstated measurement of maleness that is “more than;” there is a hierarchy, and men and male are at the top. This higher status is moreover unstated, and inherently better than the lower status: it is an unacknowledged privileged status. McIntosh (1989) extends this from gender to race, and clarifies how privilege carries with it an “invisible knapsack” of qualities which allow freedom of confidence, criticism, comfort, and control of decisions – where those without the privilege suffer negative consequences for the same decisions. Thus, this privilege is really about conferring dominance because of one’s race or sex. Difference is therefore inferior – the dominant group is so because it is superior. For some, the push for equality can feel like oppression. Since many of those in positions of privilege do not easily see their privilege, and since the lack of privilege is by definition “less than” or inferior, it is easy to feel that those who want equality want those in privilege to give up at least some of their power. In addition to the general invisibility of the position of privilege, because there is diversity in dominant ways of being, there is space for marginalization – and with it – inferiority (Cheng, 2008).

Disability and Deaf Studies. It is not a stretch to overlap disability identity with these gender and race analyses of privilege. Since the 1970s, disability studies has focused on social, cultural and political contexts of disability, and has recognized that – like gender, ethnicity, and race – disability is a key aspect of human experience, and disability has important implications for political, social and economic arenas of society (Shuttleworth and Meekosha, 2017). Garland-Thomson (2017) and Thomson (2017) argue that when scholars of disability studies tackle new areas and problems within their discipline, they often replicate what has previously been done within feminist studies: many issues overlap, and in the end are part of a larger arena of identity studies. Certainly deaf studies can fit under this analysis too.

Models of deafness include the medical model and the sociocultural model (see Higgins and Lieberman, 2016). Legally and educationally, DHH individuals are served under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, 1997) and the Americans with Disabilities Act (Public Law, 1990). These laws entitle services and accommodations (e.g., ASL/English interpreters, speech-to-text captioning, etc.). This is a medical model of disability: The disability is treated as something to ameliorate and accommodate within a world built for those without special needs. The medical model is focused on the absence of hearing ability. Deafness is a condition that requires some form of remediation (Woodward and Allen, 1993). By contrast, in the sociocultural model of deafness, the deaf person's interactions with individuals and institutions in their culture shape who they are (Power, 2005). Given specific environmental contexts, the dis- part of the disability disappears. Here, deafness is a culture, with its own language, etiquette, accepted behaviors and humor. Deaf individuals are a cultural and linguistic minority, where access to language is framed as a human rights issue (Grojean, 2001; Siegel, 2008). While access to spoken language via interpreters (for example) is still necessary, it is necessary because of the multilingual context (spoken English, ASL) of individuals interacting, not because the deaf individuals are "not hearing" and deficient.

It is worth noting that there are a number of ways where Deaf Studies and Disability Studies diverge as fields rather than intersect (see Burch and Kafer, 2010). The biggest reason for this is the importance of language as a focus: where being Deaf is centered as a cultural difference. However disability and deaf students staunchly overlap in their focus on identity, on lack of pathologization, and emphasis on a social rather than medical model.

The field of disability studies has also examined "ability privilege," i.e., unearned benefits that accompany being typically abled individuals (Bialka and Morro, 2017), extending the critical race and gender conversations to ability status. Like gender and race discussed above, those who are able are typically unaware of their privilege, although they may have a level of pity or concern about the deficits of those with disabilities (c.f., the medical model). Confronting ableism (Hehir, 2005; Hehir & Katzman, 2012; Wolbring, 2008; Valle and Connor, 2011) thus similarly focusses on a dominance model of ability/disability, rather than deficit or difference models (c.f. discussion on these models above).

Academics with Disabilities. Not surprisingly, academics with disabilities experience challenges of dominance and privilege. Inckle (2018) discussed the prevalence and extent of her experience with unpaid labor done in order to get her own physical accessibility needs met. Negotiating for accessible teaching spaces, parking spaces, and bathrooms, adds extensive hours and emotional work to her daily work life. Brown and Leigh (2018) discuss issues of when and whether to disclose disability status (and the inherent risk/benefit decisions), and challenges of accessing basic arenas of academic networking like conferences. Disabled faculty may feel pressured to behave as "non disabled" as possible – being disabled is a weakness, one that adds to the already difficult tenure and promotion processes. The contradiction between the mental image people hold of an academic (highly qualified, bright, capable) and an "abnormal body" disrupts normative assumptions about who is qualified to be a faculty member and how they should act and behave (Iantaffi, 1996). Faculty with disabilities may also internalize shame and stigma from societal attitudes, which may reduce their willingness to seek necessary accommodations (Evans, Broido, Brown, Wilke, and Herriott, 2017).

Kerschbaum *et al.* (2017) present a volume on negotiating disability, disclosure, and diversity in higher education. Multiple chapters present the complexity of the issue, and argue for inclusion of disability in the intersectionality picture alongside diversity, gender, race, and sexuality. Authors take the view that "diversity—including disability—is broad, complex, multileveled, intersectional, and dynamic" (p. 3). While diversity often does *not* include disability within the discussion, this book argues that it should be included. Further, disability identities "intersect with, emerge with, and are influenced by myriad aspects of embodied presence and experience" (p. 6). As such, disclosure of disability is a fluid and evolving process, dependent on multiple contextual factors.

Dolmage (2017) offers a thorough analysis of "academic ableism." Using three metaphors of "access" to higher education, Dolmage cogently lays out layers of challenges for those with disabilities accessing and succeeding at higher education. The first metaphor considers "steep steps:" literally and figuratively, if those with disabilities can conquer challenging access issues (physical and otherwise) and succeed despite these challenges, they are afforded access to the academy. The second metaphor, "retrofitting," considers present-day US law and entitlements – such that the ADA guarantees "access" in the form of adding structures and supports that allow for access to challenging settings and scenarios. The ramp gives access to entrances with stairs...but it is a retrofit, that works sometimes better than other times (e.g., ramps are at times behind buildings with inconvenient entrances). Here the focus is on compliance with the law, not designing spaces for access by those with diverse abilities and physical attributes. The third metaphor, one of "universal design," focusses on designing inclusive spaces from the get-go (see also D'Souza, 2004; Mace, 1985; Meyer, Rose, and Gordon, 2014).

Dolmage (2017) further delineates a long history of able-bodied people perceiving disabled people getting accommodations and services as "gaining advantage." Stigma surrounding disabilities is pervasive: "This begins with the idea that the university is the space for society's most able, physically, mentally, and otherwise—not a

place to admit to any weakness or challenge. There is also the quite reasonable feeling that you will be accused of faking it, even though the financial cost and labor involved in faking a disability would vastly outweigh any benefits. And the benefits are negligible—note-taking and extra time or space for tests or exams can help, but the accommodations model too often assumes that learning only happens in lectures and high-stakes tests, and hasn't kept up with the modern classroom." (p. 96).

Intersectionality – gender and disability. Williams, Phillips, and Hall (2014) based on interview and surveys of women in STEM, reported that both women of color and white women experience pervasive gender bias, but in different ways. Clancy *et al.* (2017) surveyed 474 astronomers and planetary scientists between 2011 and 2015 about their workplace experiences, and found overwhelmingly that women of color experienced higher rates of negative workplace experiences than white women or men of color. Weisel and Cinamon (2005) asked 74 DHH and 91 hearing high school students to rate the suitability of 25 occupations (varying according to prestige and required level of communication) for deaf men and women. The findings showed that occupations requiring intensive communication were considered less suitable for deaf individuals than those requiring less communication. Among DHH adolescents, highly prestigious occupations were not considered suitable for deaf adults even when communication barriers were irrelevant. The evaluations of both DHH and hearing participants showed a negative bias toward deaf women's competence.

Woodcock *et al.* (2007) describe the barriers that Deaf academics face, including the problem of convincing potential colleagues that they can do the job, as well as the hearing community's lack of knowledge about deafness. Once a Deaf academic has been awarded tenure, he or she may not feel encouraged to seek promotion. Career success can be linked to strong networking and collegiality, but Deaf people are denied access to both internal and external networks. Punch (2016) reviews studies that provide evidence that DHH employees experience greater levels of fatigue, psychophysiological stress, and stress-related sick leave than their counterparts with no hearing loss experience.

CONTEXT: THE *DHH WOMEN'S CONNECTIVITY EXPERIENCE OF AT RIT/NTID*

NTID has a sizeable number of DHH faculty. This presented a unique opportunity to study faculty with an identified disability, working within a context of multiple supports for DHH students and faculty. The *DHH Women's Connectivity Series* launched during the 2013-2014 academic year, in which six events were held for DHH women faculty only. The first was a planning session where participants suggested future topics such as grant writing, career advancement, and self-advocacy. Subsequent sessions included DHH faculty who shared their individual pathways to academic posts, researchers who discussed strategies for writing proposals for external funding, discussion of challenges and strategies for networking at largely hearing conferences, and other areas of interest. Guests included local, regional, national and international visitors. Since the population of DHH women academics is relatively small and geographically diverse, online and video conferencing allowed for interaction with national and international colleagues. It soon became evident, however, as scholars of the institutionalization of power have noted, that pursuing fundamental change and unsettling the status quo led our team members to unearth a collective *pushback* to these events for DHH women.

As the *DHH Women's Connectivity Series* continued, it became clear that many people with a variety of differences marking them as Other found themselves on a perceived losing end of potential advantages. These benefits were reserved for individuals who identified within the labels of marginalization: series advertisements and announcements of events invited 'Deaf and Hard of Hearing Women Faculty.' Being a DHH man did not qualify them, nor did being a hearing woman or man of color, nor did a DHH man of color, nor a staff person; you had to identify as a women, as a faculty member, and as DHH.² Being in double, triple, or quadruple jeopardy was not enough. *The marginalization needed to be of a specific type; the jeopardy had to be in a particular category.* As we now look at our findings the question emerges: Was this the correct decision? The answer is as simple as it is complex: yes and no.

The excitement of better understanding the context of DHH women faculty, however, was quickly questioned by Others outside this marginalized group who felt equally or similarly maligned. Why, they asked, were they excluded? Did not they deserve attention too? During the second year of events, additional NTID faculty and staff began to request access to these sessions - hearing men and women faculty, DHH men faculty, faculty of color, and DHH women staff members. They argued that they too experienced marginalization due to issues of gender, race, ethnicity and hearing loss, and that limiting the sessions to DHH women faculty created a divide among employees, and denied many the opportunity to benefit from the program. The complexities of the issue were

² It is important to note that although we recognized a variety of identities within this project, to our knowledge, we did not face *pushback* on the basis of transgender identities. That notwithstanding, in light of current debates on public restrooms and similar social policies policing gender identity, transgender identities are an important consideration.

apparent to the DHH Women social science research team. The primary goal of the team was to improve the inclusion of women in academia, and DHH women faculty were the main focus of the work to date. Yet there was also recognition that the exclusivity of the *DHH Women's Connectivity Series* did create a small tension, and that by limiting participation, some members of our community felt marginalized by our program.

What emerged was a powerful story of inequities and challenges amongst a host of positives: none of these DHH women were the 'only' DHH faculty member and all had ample access to visually-based communication within their work environment. All faculty at NTID are expected to communicate effectively across a variety of work-related contexts and differences in DHH communication preferences, such as signing vs. relying on voiced speech production and lipreading. There is an expectation that in public spaces (hallways, dining commons, etc.) all individuals sign their conversations so that DHH individuals are not left out of incidental conversational information. However, these practices do not eliminate barriers that DHH women faculty face. The central question we address in this paper is thus: how do DHH female academics successfully negotiate their careers given the impact of intersectional minority identities (disability, gender, etc.)? Using a case-study approach, we share the story of what these DHH women experienced, and how they decided to resolve the pushback they received when designing and implementing career development and networking opportunities for themselves.

The Connectivity Series. In 2012 and 2013, the DHH women Social Science Research team designed, conducted and analyzed two focus group interviews with DHH women faculty to examine the question of how these DHH female academics successfully negotiated their attempts to build networking and professional development for their own specific needs as DHH female faculty. Questions focused on the the impact of intersectional minority identities (disability, gender, etc.). The goal was to document individual and contextual factors that helped or hindered these women's ability to access and succeed in their career professional development, mentoring, and networking. Main topics covered included descriptions of career their career pathway including barriers and strategies to overcome barriers (see Marchetti, Foster, Schley, & Kavin, in preparation), the influence of both formal and informal mentoring/support, and the importance of opportunities for peer networking. From this reflection on their work environment, the DHH women faculty team saw the need for resources that could give these women the same opportunities as other faculty, and they decided to develop the *DHH Women's Connectivity Series*. Three DHH female-identified women lead the effort – inviting speakers, scheduling, and managing their budget for these events. All three were from the same race/ethnicity category: white people. **Table 1** summarizes demographic characteristics of focus group attendees.

Table 1. Demographics of 13 Focus Group Participants

Background	Groups	Participants (n=13)
Highest Degree Attained	EdD	2
	PhD	1
	M.S.	8
	M.A.	2
Discipline Area of Highest Degree	STEM/SBS	7
	Non-STEM/non-SBS	6
Tenure and Rank	Pre-Tenure or Tenured	6
	Assistant	4
	Associate	2
	Non-Tenure Track	7
	Lecturer	4
	Senior Lecturer	2
	Research Assistant Professor	1
Years Worked at University-Z	Range	1.5 – 35

From the fall of 2013 to the spring of 2017, the DHH Women's Connectivity Series hosted 21 events. Attendance ranged from a low of 2-7 people per event, to a high of 16-18 people per event, with an average of 9 attendees at each event. A number of events were targeted professional development sessions, such as "getting your feet wet with grant writing," and others added a level of networking and mentoring from other successful DHH women academics, such as "Swimming Against the Tide as a Deaf Woman Professor," and "Navigating Our Roles as Female Deaf Faculty." **Table 2** summarizes dates, topics and speakers, and invited audiences for all of the DHH Women's Connectivity events between the fall of 2013 and the spring of 2017.

Table 2. Dates, Topics and Audience of DHH Women's Connectivity Events, 2013-2017

		Attendees		
		DHH Women Faculty	DHH Faculty	All Faculty
9/19/13	Working Together and Moving Forward: A new Series – workshop planning	*		
11/21/13	N Forand, D Lange, S Schley - How to Get Your Feet Wet with Grant Writing	*		
12/5/13	Caroline Soloman, Swimming Against the Tide in Academia as a Deaf Woman Professor	*		
2/20/14	Karey Pine – Getting beyond the barriers – Advice and Strategies for Success in the Academy	*		
3/20/14	Karey Pine – Getting beyond the barriers – Advice and Strategies for Success in the Academy Part 2	*		
4/17/14	Liisa Kauppenin, High ==-Level Negotiating and Resolution Building Skills for DHH Women Faculty in STEM/SBS Fields	*		
9/12/14	Welcome Back and Series Kick-Off	*		
10/17/14	Dr. Khadijat Rashid, Professor, Dept of Business, Gallaudet - Finding Leadership Opportunities in Academia	*		
11/21/14	Dr. Carol Padden, Professor of Communication and Interim Vice Chancellor of Equity, Diversity and Inclusion at UCSD. Breaking the Glass Ceiling: Deaf Women in Academia	*		
2/20/15	Dr. Wendy Harbour, Association for Higher Education and Disabilities. Issues of Equity and Diversity for Deaf and Hard of Hearing Faculty	*		
4/3/15	Dr. G. Buckley, Interview and Discussion with NTID President	*		
9/24/15	Dr. C Marchetti, Associate Professor, RIT. A conversation about different strategies to ignite cross-campus collaboration. DHH women faculty	*		
10/8/15	Dr. C Marchetti, Associate Professor, RIT. A conversation about different strategies to ignite cross-campus collaboration.		*	
10/8/15	Dr. C Marchetti, Associate Professor, RIT. A conversation about different strategies to ignite cross-campus collaboration.			*
10/15/15	Dr. Wendy Harbour. Assoc Exec. Director of Programs and Development at the Association on Higher Education and Disability. Navigating Our Roles as Female Deaf Faculty.	*		
2/5/16	Dr. Kathryn Woodcock, Associate Professor, Ryerson University Toronto. Best Practices for Collaboration with External Organizations.	*		
3/15/16	Trudy Suggs, T.S.Writing Services. Crafting the Perfect Proposal: Grant			*
3/16/17	Trudy Suggs, T.S.Writing Services. Saying it Right: How to Get Ahead. Writing	*		
2/27/17	Dr. Nancy Hlibok Amann, Superintendent of CA School for the Deaf in Riverside. Casual Meet and Greet over Dinner.	*		
2/28/17	Dr. Nancy Hlibok Amann, Superintendent of CA School for the Deaf in Riverside. The Past, Present, and Future of Deaf Education, DHH Women Faculty.	*		
2/28/17	Dr. Nancy Hlibok Amann, Superintendent of CA School for the Deaf in Riverside. The Past, Present, and Future of Deaf Education, All NTID Faculty			*

In total, eleven events were held for DHH female faculty and staff over a three-year period. Five of the events had additional open sessions for all faculty and staff. Topics included discussions with hearing and DHH guests regarding barriers to advancement and strategies for achieving career goals, a panel of experts discussing how to develop proposals for external funding, a meeting with the college Dean, and advice regarding building international networks and partnerships. Sessions took a range of formats, including on-campus and video-conference events.

Across the eleven events, 42 DHH female faculty and staff, plus the two coordinators, attended at least one event. About two-thirds of those participants attended a single event; about 14% attended two events, and 19% attended three or more events (including one person who attended eight). Eight male faculty and staff attended the open events, plus an additional five hearing females.

DHH co-authors Beiter, Dannels, and Ross were all engaged in developing and implementing the Connectivity series. In 2016, these women discussed their experiences and challenges regarding DHH men and other faculty who wanted access to these events. As hearing members of the research team, coauthors Foster, Schley and Blizzard had several meetings with these DHH female faculty to support their efforts. Notes from those meetings, and narrative accounts of the DHH women's reflections on what happened and the decisions that were made, were used in framing this paper. These narrative accounts were collected via requests in person and via email for written or verbal accounts of what happened. In-person accounts (via signing and/or speaking) were summarized in

written English, and emailed back to the DHH team members, where individuals each confirmed that the narrative summaries accurately reflected their experiences and reflections. A collaborative process was used to weave together the series of events and these women's story about designing and implementing this series. First, the sequence of events was summarized narratively, using a document review of the *Connectivity Series* events (see [Table 2](#)), and details from the DHH female faculty's reflections.

POWER-PUSH AND PUSHBACK

In the following section we outline some of the *power push* and personal *pushback* from individuals at NTID and RIT, who despite having multiple markers of difference, or living in multiply compounding levels of jeopardy, were not initially invited to participate in the *DHH Women's Connectivity Series*. As illustrated below, the anxiety sensed by many already marginalized individuals who felt they were facing further marginalization was palpable. Their stories highlight two important factors within our analysis: first, whether one 'lives' in the epicenter of power or not, the feeling of losing power can prove highly threatening; and second, the similarities within the experiences of a variety of differences may in fact be a useful force to unite disempowered Others to bind together in a push for change and visibility.

The coordinators of the *DHH Women's Connectivity Series* shared the story of what happened:

Initially, several men DHH faculty showed up to the events, but left when they realized the events were limited to DHH women faculty. Then, several women staff asked if they could attend, and were included in the events. 'For a few deaf women staff [members], I welcomed them when they asked...often they are the ones who are teaching or have taught one course or have ambitions to become faculty in the near future.' A hearing woman from another college of RIT knew the deaf guest speaker very well, so I had to let her in the web conference... She's a good friend of the speaker and hadn't seen her in a long time... She was respectful to everyone throughout the session... I had no idea if she's hearing or deaf as I met her for the first time in the video conference room while the speaker was on the big screen. One women hearing faculty of color came to the kick-off session and I explained that the event was for DHH women only and asked [team leader] to meet with her individually. The same individual later asked me via email if she could attend a web seminar presentation by a Deaf faculty of color from another university. She challenged me by asking something like "How many deaf women of color faculty are out there that I can listen to?" I let her attend because she hopes to collaborate with Deaf persons of color on scholarship.

This *pushback* presented a challenge to the DHH Women social science research team. Team members had a number of reactions, with the following quotes:

I guess I felt kind of put on the spot, wanting to invite them but at the same time wanting to maintain the confidentiality and integrity of the group discussion. My first response would be 'I'll get back to you after talking with the organizers.'

Maybe slightly intrusive, but overall, I don't mind...

I had to mention what the flyer said to the person and see what his/her reaction was, then explain the situation depending on their reaction... Once in a while, some women/men apologized for not reading the flyer carefully... they were respectful and left the session. More of of a case-by-case basis...

I was pleased that the events were popular but concerned that the benefits of the separate series for DHH women would be compromised if the sessions were open to all – our presenters tailored their sessions specifically to the needs of this group.

Oy...another case of the privileged wanting access to things designed for the underprivileged.

Sociologically it makes sense. They see others receiving privileges and want the same treatment. What they fail to see is that they are not on a level playing field.

Discussing issues such as successful strategies to manage and respond to these concerns might cause conflict if both men and women were in attendance – e.g. strategies for women respond to microaggressions from men on campus, or strategies to frame promotion documentation to head off potential gender bias in the promotion process. With both men and women in attendance, female participants may not feel comfortable discussing these challenges, or strategies to manage the challenges.

However, there were men that wanted to participate because they also wanted access to the expertise and training to combat some of these challenging issues – as well as access to the very few Deaf academics invited to lead events. The men did not care if the speakers were female or male, only that they were Deaf and successful in academia; these networking opportunities were not to be missed. As the coordinators discussed this issue with the administration, all in attendance were supportive and understood why male faculty and staff wanted access, but recognized the need to protect the safe space for female faculty and staff.

Eventually, a decision was made to resolve this challenge as follows. First, the *DHH Women's Connectivity Series* was maintained in its current format, for DHH women faculty only, to maintain a safe space for DHH female faculty to discuss any gender-biased concerns. As a result, they decided to proceed with a separate, second session open to all faculty and staff, with financial support from the Dean and President of NTID, to fund access to events for the male faculty and staff who had felt excluded and to provide a separate event for female faculty and staff only. The two separate events solved all objections. The male faculty and staff, who had initially complained about being excluded attended these sessions, expressed their appreciation to the coordinators.

There was no further *pushback* after this resolution. However, implementation of this strategy impacted the *DHH Women's Connectivity Series* in its third year. Arranging event times was difficult, due to challenging teaching schedules of research team members. The usual day and time was changed, and fewer DHH women faculty attended. Overall, attendance at the *DHH Women's Connectivity Series* events was smaller; groups averaged between 6-8 women at the DHH Women only sessions, compared to 10-12 before this change. This could be because DHH women faculty now had a choice of going to the DHH women faculty sessions or the open sessions, or because of scheduling conflicts. Two open sessions had the same attendance as the closed sessions; one open session had higher attendance than the closed session. Nevertheless the drop in attendance by the primary population in question merits further examination. It is also possible that the DHH women who attended the first group of workshops received either real or perceived hostility from those who were excluded from earlier workshops, leading them to attend the more “open” workshops in subsequent semesters.

DISCUSSION

Here we examine the manifestation of these *pushbacks*, and theorize why it happened and what it tells us about power within differing categories of Otherness. We also explore the ways in which further activities aimed at bringing equity and understanding to a specific marginalized group may be used to assist many types of Others (disabilities, races, gender identities, etc.) in achieving and gaining power at their institutes.

Around college campuses, physical spaces are being designated to foster dialogue. Sometimes labeled safe spaces, safe zones, or other explicitly sanctioned ‘safe’ areas it is hoped that in these locales at least two things may occur: those in positions of power can safely learn about Others and themselves, and Others can safely share stories and create (survival) narratives. But why are these spaces necessary? Should not all spaces be safe?

Safety has physical, intellectual, and emotional components. Physical safety, and the risk of not being physically safe, is relatively easy to define and accept. Few would openly admit wanting to show physical hostility toward another. To physically harm someone due to their otherness or to difference from the perceived norm established in the epicenter of power is often termed a *hate* crime, and understood by most as *unacceptable* behavior.

However, intellectual and emotional safety are often less obvious. Aggression to undermine this type of safety is described by flexible terms such as *hostile* or *chilly* environments/climates (note the rhetorical differences in nomenclature). At what point does an environment become chilly? And, when does it become hostile? Which is worse and can they happen at the same time? Within complex lives and contexts where multiple identities and multiculturalism evolve, we are unlikely to find answers to these questions.

While Foucault leads theorists through examinations of power and expression, feminist philosopher of science Sandra Harding (e.g., 1986, 1991, 2004) offers nuanced analyses of women in science. She explains the concept of *fractured identities*, where viewing individuals solely through a minority category lens is problematic, even in discourses of equity (see also Haraway, 1991). The colloquial phrase *she wears multiple hats* is commonly understood as one hat at a time. Harding demonstrated that in fact she is always wearing multiple hats (c.f. Derrida, 1976). Thus a woman is not just a woman, she is a multiplicity. She is race, religion, gender, ethnicity, and so on, a collage of intersectionality. While one identity may surface more than another, they are all always in play and within a kaleidoscope of lived experience. One does not have a single identity then, with an ever-smaller slice of the pie as additional hyphenated-terms are added to one's identity description; rather, everyone has multiple fractured identities – with specific features emerging more strongly at times in contrast to others.

When considering the similarities and differences that separate and unite DHH women faculty, the concept of fractured identities is useful. DHH women faculty have multiple identity hats which they are always wearing. While gender and race are likely the two most studied markers of difference in STEM career attainment (e.g., Harding, 1991; Hubbard, 1990; Wyer et al., 2014) other difference signifiers also exist, and depending upon the context may

be as powerful as race and gender within the hierarchical, concentric circles of power. Such signifiers may include religion, sexuality, and (dis)ability. Thus, at an academic institution that houses NTID, DHH and hearing identity (aka, audiological (dis)ability) may be a very important signifier for potential personal and professional success. Our population of women who were also DHH consisted of a compelling group of twice marginalized academics living and working in double jeopardy, with fractured identities, who encountered *power pushes* with and *pushback* from individuals with unrecognized privilege.

However, this story begs the question of the ethics of separate spaces. What does it mean for one group (say, DHH women) to have a separate space, so that information, opportunities, and resources are withheld from other also-marginalized groups? Multiple groups have multiple overlapping and separate needs re. succeeding in a workplace where they are not the majority. By definition, having a separate space leaves others out. We have no answer, but the “What about me?” question becomes particularly poignant from an intersectional lens.

CONCLUSION

In the 1980s, Harding (see 2004, 1991) made the claim that to change the beneficiaries and practitioners of science and technology would take *more* than structural change and political posturing; it would need *cultural change*. At this juncture, her claim was that ‘add women and stir’ was not enough. If women, with multiple standpoints and fractured identities (e.g. being women and DHH), are to have a fair chance at excelling in the STEM disciplines, we need to change how we think about what we know, and how we define STEM, who can practice it, and what is and is not acceptable. It is not enough to only make room for Others in STEM, it must also include the *value of Otherness* into the very content and context of STEM (see also Longino, 1990).

While some argue that the ‘issues’ facing women in STEM may be resolved through better mentoring, other critical scholars ask how mentoring can help if the mentor is an unknowing participant in the mainstream culture of STEM and captive to stagnant culture? Structural and political changes in policy and/or law will only go so far; the context of STEM includes a variety of cultural differences inhabited by multiple Others, all unique in their cultural differences expressed through fractured identities. To change STEM is to change the cultural context, and to change the culture is to understand the current cultural contexts of those within it, especially those who inhabit the margins (i.e., Others). Therefore, what we learn from women who are also DHH assists us in learning how the culture might change, and in (re)thinking how other Others (e.g., women and men with other differences, other disabilities, other identities) might also benefit from a better understanding of this group. To illustrate, what are the similarities between a woman, white, Deaf, mathematician and a man, black, hearing, chemist? And, how can we identify shared similarities within their differences to create better contexts that incorporate and commend STEM exploration, and take advantage of nuanced cultural difference, rather than view it as threatening to the epicenter of power?

Such cultural change of the level and depth that we imagine above will take work and time. The academy and its inhabitants (both faculty and administrators) need to make efforts to better understand who we are – as opposed to what we are not – to create a world in which STEM is accessible. Through such accessibility, a more robust arena for intellectual development may well occur.

It is generally argued that we do not see women in STEM fields because of gender differences in scientific ability; gender differences arising from *social selection*, based on gender discrimination as well as gender difference in role performance and the allocation of resources and rewards; gender differences arising from *self-selection*, including marriage and motherhood and their consequences, as well as gender differences in career commitment; and outcomes of accumulation of advantage and disadvantage, including the ‘Matthew effect’ (see Zuckerman, 2001, p. 69). The women in this study all achieved high-level academic careers at a large university focused on career and technical education. By continuing the *DHH Women’s Connectivity Series* for DHH women and *adding* a second session open to the community, this group of DHH women modeled inclusivity while honoring their own needs of mentoring and career support. Addressing one group’s needs for a separate space can be accomplished while also providing access to these events for the wider community. This is a model example of effective *power-push*. DHH women on this project focused on improving their social and cultural positioning within an unequal culturally-mediated power distribution. They received *pushback* from the larger community, and found one way to address the larger community’s needs as well as their own. While we cannot answer whether multiple facets of the “What about me?” question were resolved, these women found a solution.

Robinson and Henner (2018) contend that universities that teach American Sign Language (as a “foreign language;” in an interpreting program; as part of a Deaf Studies program) profit from these courses. In return, these institutions have an obligation to make sure that disabled students and disabled academics are able to succeed in academia. They essentially argue that disabled students, communities and academics have an opportunity to push back here, capitalizing on the popularity of ASL to expand accessible institutions and resources, and in effect, ensuring that disabled people have a solid place within higher education. In effect, the DHH women in this story

pushed back to maintain their own space, while allowing for the needs of others having access to these opportunities too. Arguably, it is not “their” job to additionally shoulder the responsibility of getting the same support and resources for other non-majority groups, and perhaps the other groups did not gain access to the same levels of support and resources that they deserve. Their story provides an opportunity to contribute to literature on diversity in higher education – literature which often excludes not only disability issues, but also Deaf issues, attending more narrowly to race, class and gender. While the DHH authors of this paper firmly held on to the locus of themselves in the “What about me?” question, there are undoubtedly other intersectional loci which remain uncentered.

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Reconsidering Cultural Representation with Field Theory: Continuity and Change in the Discursive Construction of Italy and the Italians in England from 1680 to 1830

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ABSTRACT

This article demonstrates the comparative merits of Bourdieu's field theory, as opposed to the composite theoretical model set out in Edward Said's *Orientalism* specifically and critical normative approaches to theorizing constructions of otherness more generally, as the basis for a more analytically differentiated account of cultural representation. Crucially, one capable of acknowledging the generative effects negative constructions of the other have for informing the contexts in which positive constructions arise and how the interplay of both negative and positive discursive constructions inform continuity and change in the discursive representation of the cultural other over time. Drawing on secondary historical data relating to discursive representations of Italy and the Italians in England during the period 1680 to 1830, the argument is made that both negative and positive discourses of Italy and the Italians arise out of and inform relations of conflict and cohesion conjoining agents at an intra-, as opposed to inter-, cultural level. It is the variable conditions of fields which determine agents' dispositions towards representing the other either negatively and or positively. The article concludes by reflecting on the limits of the 'Saidian' legacy for theorizing cultural representation and calls for the analytical significance of positive constructions of the other to be further problematized and explored.

Keywords: cultural representation, discursive representations, orientalism, Said, Bourdieu, field theory, England, Italy

INTRODUCTION

Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) is arguably *the* classic study in cultural representation. Bringing into dialogue Foucault's (post-)structuralism and Gramsci's theory of hegemony, Said deployed a critical theoretical model and methods to bring into sharp relief the façade of Western representations of the Orient and the forms of violence – literal and symbolic – implicated in their realization. In terms of its wider significance, and in ways that Said could never have fully anticipated at the time, *Orientalism* marked a defining moment in the constitution of cultural representation and constructions of otherness as objects of scholarly discourse (Sax, 1998). Some forty years on, *Orientalism* has become a 'touch-stone and key source of inspiration for scholars in the field of literary, critical and cultural theory, especially in post-colonial studies' (Varisco, 2007: 68). According to Joffe (2007: 78), the critical normative approach to cultural representation to have grown up in the wake of *Orientalism* has become a 'stifling orthodoxy... thanks to having permeated into countless fields' – one organised around an 'all-engrossing emphasis

on domination, submission... and the evils of discourses, regimes, hegemonies, global capitalism, neoliberalism, and other phenomena of the human world' (Lewis, 2007: 777).

Within anthropology, a discipline organised around the Other, and representations thereof, it is hard 'to find a book by a historian or anthropologist of 'non-Western culture that does not include some gesture of obeisance to Said' (Sax, 1998: 292)¹. According to Lewis (2007: 776), to broach constructions of otherness in anything less than critical and morally condemnatory ways is to run the risk of being charged with 'complicity'. By contrast, or perhaps precisely because of this, sociologists have demonstrated markedly little interest in the subject of cultural representation². Where they have done, the tendency has been to position themselves normatively and thematically within the Saidian tradition. The work of Steinmetz (2007, 2008), for example, deploys field theory to explain differences in ethnographic accounts of the colonial other across a range of German colonies during and after World War Two. More recently, Guhin and Wrytzen (2013) have called for sociologists to (re-)read *Orientalism*, lest their analyses serve to perpetrate a range of 'epistemological violences' embedded within orthodox forms of sociological reasoning and theoretical constructs.

Representations of the other comprise discursive artefacts and as such can serve as vehicles for negative expressions of power e.g. reification, stereotypification and generalization; but they are much more than this too. A central contention of this paper is that discursive representations work to depict the other more or less negatively and or positively – at least as understood through the eyes of those wielding the discourse. The distinction between negative and positive discursive representations can be understood in terms of 'positioning'. Negative representations *position* the other in a relationship of inferiority to those doing the representing, whereas positive representations *position* the other as superior in some or another way. Negative and positive discursive representations are dialectically bound and co-constituting. That is to say, negative representations make possible and inform the relational contexts e.g. 'fields', in which the other comes to be understood positively e.g. as an object of veneration, emulation and edification, and vice versa. Positive discursive representations form the backdrop against which agents are disposed towards seeking out and 'knowing' the other in more complex, differentiated and 'reality congruent' ways. Negative representations tend to dispose agents away from engaging with the other.

Scholars have devoted vast amounts of time and effort to demonstrating and deconstructing the negatively constraining dimensions of cultural representation. Far less attention has been trained on exploring the conditions under which the other is constructed positively, how in turn positive representations relate to and are shaped by their negative counterparts, and how the interplay of both negative and positive discursive representations inform wider patterns of continuity and change in the historical constitution of the other. This article seeks to develop a more comprehensive account of the processes driving continuity and change in the discursive rendering of the other, which it does by drawing on Bourdieu's field theory and the work of scholars who have sought to advance field theory across different empirical domains (Gorski, 2013; Krause, 2018; Sapiro, 1992; Steinmetz, 2007, 2008). The argument is made that field theory provides the basis for a more analytically differentiated and theoretically versatile apparatus for theorizing cultural representation. Crucially, one capable of holding in its purview simultaneously the conditions under which both negative *and* positive discursive representations of the other arise and how and why particular discursive representations are reproduced, revised and or rejected. The central claim on which the article rests is that it is the 'variable conditions' of fields (Krause, 2018), and the shifting relations between habitus and capital therein, which determine whether agents are disposed towards representing the other more or less negatively and or positively.

The article begins by critically (re-)reading Said's *Orientalism* from a cultural historical sociology perspective. A flawed text on numerous levels, nonetheless Said's *Orientalism* remains an instructive point of (negative) reference for constructing an alternative model of cultural representation grounded in field theory. The second part of the article explicates how field theory can be adapted to cast light on the various dynamics by which actors – individual and collective – seek to distinguish and differentiate their claims to know and represent the other. The third part of the paper provides a worked example of the ways field theory can be used to capture and explain continuities, diversification and changes to, the discursive representation of the cultural other. It does this with specific reference to the case of representations of Italy and the Italians in England during the period 1680 to 1830. The data used

¹ See also Dirks (2004) for a critical survey of the impact of Said's *Orientalism* on anthropology in Western Europe and North America. In particular, the role played by *Orientalism* in relation to what has since been referred to as the 'crisis of representation'.

² The work of Bryan Turner (1978, 1989, 1994) is the most notable exception to this general rule. That said, however, Turner's work on orientalism forms part of his wider concern with inter-societal conflict as understood through the master category of globalization. More recently, the work of Go (2013a, 2016) has engaged with conceptions of the colonial other as part of a wider critical project aimed at interrogating sociological theoretical concepts and modes of reasoning through the framework of an emergent postcolonial social theory.

here derive from an in-depth cross-disciplinary analysis of a range of sources e.g. textual artefacts such as grand tourists travel narratives and literary works, and secondary literature and historical studies. These data were used to reconstruct and analyse the habitus of cultural producers, structural properties, ideologies, logics and relations organising and between fields (Sapiro, 2012).

ORIENTALISM: A CULTURAL HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGICAL (RE-)READING

Like all texts which attain to classic status, *Orientalism* does so on account of its generative capacities. Said's appropriation of Foucault's theory of discourse comprises one of the earliest introductions of the latter's work to Western audiences (Goodwin Smith, 2009). *Orientalism* was key to situating Foucault and post-structuralism more generally at the heart of post-colonial studies. Following *Orientalism*, analysis of the other as a product of discourse and site for the negative expression of power has proliferated in relation to a range of cultural others (Khare, 1990; Cassano, 2012; Chovanek and Molek-Kozakowska, 2017). While all 'others' are discursively constituted, not all discourse is organised around or works to position the other in a relationship of inferiority to those doing the representing.

Said's failure to distinguish and differentiate between negative and positive forms of discursive representation is understandable. After all, *Orientalism* was explicitly intended to be a polemical text (Said, 1987). For the argument I am making here, however, the distinction is a crucial one. This is so in the following ways: first, while all discursive representations contain the 'bad seeds' of reification, stereotypification and generalization, not all representations work to position those being represented in a relationship of inferiority to those doing the representing; second, neglecting to acknowledge this works to obscure an appreciation of the generative consequences negative discursive representations have for informing the contexts in which positive representations arise (and subsequently vice-versa). It also precludes an understanding of how the form and content of negative and positive discursive representations intimately impinge on and shape one another; and third, recognising the difference between positive and negative representations opens up a space in which to consider how the interplay between the two connects up to and informs continuity and change in the discursive rendering of the other over time.

Precisely because, not in spite of, the analytically curtailed framework Said employs in his analysis, *Orientalism* remains a highly instructive text. Specifically, for the purposes of plotting the analytical coordinates with which to map-out a more differentiated and versatile account of cultural representation. In adopting a *longue durée*-inspired approach to the history of Western representations of the Orient, Said was forced to grapple with a number of general-level analytical issues which *any* historically-based account of cultural representation, critical normative or otherwise, must attend to and resolve. Said failed to adequately resolve these issues (Ahmad, 1992; Porter, 1993). Notwithstanding this, I am suggesting here that (re-)reading *Orientalism* through the nexus of analytical concerns and problematics characteristic of historical cultural sociological modes of reasoning allows for these general-level analytical issues to be reformulated in terms which field theory is far better equipped and able to grasp. With this in mind, there are four main general-level analytical issues worthy to note.

Continuity and Change

Why do particular discursive representations of the cultural other persist over time and space, others are revised and change altogether, while others still are rejected and fall out of view? A central claim of *Orientalism* centres on the historical longevity and continuity of Orientalist discourse. Rhetorically at least, Said (2005 [1978]: 21) claims for *Orientalism* the status of a genealogy; in actuality his approach to the data is resolutely archaeological. This is deeply problematic, not least because Foucault's archaeological method conceives history as a series of wholly distinctive and radically differentiated 'epistemes' e.g. pre-classical, classical and modern (Foucault, 2002 [1969]). Epistemes comprise the bounded normative and ideational structures in which social life unfolds. Viewed synchronically, from within the self-referential confines of a particular episteme, historical change transforms the objects of discourse in new and unprecedented ways. On this view, the continuity of Orientalist discourse cannot be accounted for. In the replacing of one episteme with another the world and everything within it is brought to life anew. The question begs: by what means does Orientalist discourse retain its historical longevity and cumulative capacity?

Cultural Transmission

How and by what means are discursive representations of the other transmitted to and between actors? In effect, this is a cultural transmission issue and one which *Orientalism* fails adequately to address. Irrespective of the cultural entities in question, an historical account of cultural representation must be able to identify and explicate the mechanisms by which discursive constructions of the other are transmitted. Either synchronically e.g. to and between actors at a particular historical moment; and or diachronically, by which is intended inter-generationally. *Orientalism* contains very few clues at all, if any, as to how Orientalist discourse once airborne, is passed on and

transmitted between actors. Foucault (2002 [1969]; 1984 [1968]) grants absolute autonomy to the discursive realm. The result is that discourse is severed from its moorings in the mundane world of everyday social (inter-)actions (Reed, 2013). On this point, Steinmetz (2007:26) is critical of Said's 'discursivism', which he rightly claims fails to demonstrate how discourse connects up to the 'psychic' and 'social' levels. Furthermore, conceived as the outcome of the aggregate and partially unintended consequences of collective human (inter-)actions, changes at the level of the episteme are elevated to the 'untheorizable' plane of 'trans-historical' breaks and ruptures (Alexander, 2003). As such, the notion that discourse can be purposively modified, revised and or rejected by actors subject(ed) to it is closed-off to view.

Discursive Diversity

How and under what conditions does the cultural other come to be understood and represented through a range of contradictory – negative and or positive - discursive representations? In an afterword to his critics penned in 1997, Said (2005 [1978]: 340) declared that *Orientalism* was a 'partisan book, not a theoretical machine'. This is most evident in Said's highly selective use of the 'data'. The *animus* driving the work of Foucault and Gramsci is resistance. Both Foucault and Gramsci conceive resistance as a necessary and inevitable correlate of power. Power begets the very discursive categories which seek to resist it. As such, where there exists 'discursive hegemony' (Said, 2005 [1978]: 340), material and or discursive forms of resistance are necessarily brought into being. *Orientalism* contains no attempt to track the emergence of resistive discursive formations as they arise along-side the hegemony of Orientalist discourse. The result is an overly simplified and undifferentiated account of discursive representation, which Said projects onto the image of an equally undifferentiated and homogenous collective Western subjectivity.

Discourse and Power

Which came first the representation or the relations? Whether or not Orientalist discourse drives colonialism, or vice versa, is not clear in *Orientalism* (Chibber, 2018); neither is it inconsequential. In actuality this is an empirical, as opposed to theoretical question, and one which would require to be carefully reconstructed by the analyst as it pertains to a particular historical moment. The obvious response would be that both material and discursive forms of power are at play in the making and remaking of the Other. But how the two interweave and impinge on one another is never unpacked or made clear in *Orientalism* (Chibber, 2018). Said's presentation of the data suggests that the hegemony of Orientalist discourse is the result of colonialism. In the 'caricatured version' of *Orientalism* carried around in the practical consciousness of many scholars (Iskander and Rustom 2010), this has tended to be read as saying that that colonial domination results in discursive formations which map squarely onto and work to reproduce the binary logic of dominator/ dominated.

In part, the seductive power of this imagery is a function of Said's highly selective presentation of the data; it also points towards his failure to reconcile the materialist basis of Gramsci's theory of hegemony with Foucault's discursive account of power (Porter, 1993). If discourse is autonomous then it cannot be colonialism which determines its form and content; if it is discourse which drives colonialism how are we to account for the enduring enmity towards the East on the part of the West without recourse to some atavistic and or reductionist form of reasoning? The important point to make here is this: negative and positive discursive representations of the other arise out of and inform struggles and solidarities organised around the accumulation of both material and discursive forms of power. As we shall see with the example of representations of Italy and the Italians in England, once objectified in modes of perceiving, texts, practices etc. discursive accounts of the other are taken up, re-appropriated and mobilized along the relations of conflict and cohesion conjoining agents within fields. Moreover, agents appropriate and deploy their knowledge and experience of the other as resources for negotiating, preserving and or changing the social-relational and material dimensions of the fields in which they are positioned.

REPRESENTING THE OTHER WITH FIELD THEORY

Field theory provides the basis for an analytically differentiated and theoretically versatile account of cultural representation: one capable of holding in its purview critical normative modes of seeing, without being reducible entirely to them. Field theory allows us to identify and track the relations and pathways through which both negative and positive representations of the other arise and impinge on one another, as well as capturing how the interplay between the two informs continuity and change in the discursive construction of the other across time and social space. In place of the strangely seductive but overly abstract image of one culture eyeing up and scrutinising the other from afar, field theory enables for a bottom-up and empirically-led model of cultural representation. One which recasts fields as the intra-, as opposed to inter-, cultural arenas in which representations of the other are produced, reproduced and or change.

Objectified in the modes of conceiving and perceiving, practices, and a wide range of cultural artefacts, representations of the other are wrapped up in and constituted through forms of discursive practice. Discursive

practices are rooted in the ‘classificatory schemes’ and modes of vision and division generated by a socially-marked habitus (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Discursive constructions of the other are shaped by the amount and types of capitals e.g. economic, cultural and social, acquired by and embedded in the habitus (Bourdieu, 1986). Particularly important here is the amount and types of cultural capital agents possess. Cultural capital e.g. formal education and culturally valorised forms of knowledge, shapes which aspects of the other agents direct their attention towards. Similarly, the amount of cultural capital agents are able to draw on determines the content of the discourses they generate, enabling and constraining them to express and objectify their conception of the other in a given way. Conversely, the amount and types of capital agents accrue shapes their capacity to ‘decode’ discursive accounts of otherness. The amount and types of capitals necessary to produce and or decode a particular discourse testifies to its ‘legitimacy’, and hence, ‘cultural value’ e.g. ‘symbolic capital’.

Discursive representations of the other are constructed from various forms of capital and the claims to knowledge embedded in discursive representations comprise forms of capital in relation to particular fields. It is worth to emphasize this point. Reconceived as capitals, it becomes possible to account for the mechanisms by which discursive representations of the other are transmitted both synchronically - within and between particular fields - and diachronically too, as part of the inter-generational transmission of capitals whereby parents seek to inculcate particular forms of socially-valorised interest and knowledge into their offspring. It is the variable conditions of fields, and the shifting relations between habitus, capital and field therein, which determine continuity and change in the discursive representation of the other. How the other is conceived is informed by and informs the relations of conflict and cohesion conjoining agents across a range of more or less autonomous fields. More specifically, whether or not the other is represented positively and or negatively, is contingent on: the habitus and capitals of the producer; the organisation of the field and position-taking they occupy therein; and the position of the field in the wider architecture of fields.

Discursive representations of the other are realised and objectified at the point of intersection between a socially-marked habitus and field position. The concept of field refers to a ‘network, or configuration of objective relations between positions’, which operate as an aggregate of ‘position-takings’ agents (habitus) are more or less disposed to occupy depending on the amount and type of capitals available to them (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 97). All fields are ‘force-fields’, playing host to solidarities and struggles between actors – individual and collective – as they collude and compete to accumulate the stakes on offer e.g. field-specific forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1995). Underpinned by Saussure’s relational account of meaning, the positions constitutive of fields are constituted by and through relations of difference (Bourdieu, 1993). Field positions, and the discursive representations emanating from them, are simultaneously enabled and constrained by the structure of relations conjoining them. Fields are characterised by varying levels of ‘autonomy’ (Bourdieu, 2000). Precisely because fields are not structurally determined but instead refer to processual relations extending through time and space, they are shaped by actions and relations occurring within adjacently-positioned fields. Fields with high levels of autonomy e.g. ‘restricted fields’ such as mathematics and poetry, are little influenced by ‘external causal chains or mechanisms’ (Go and Krause, 2016: 10), albeit forces external to fields are always refracted therein in one way or another. The more autonomous the field ‘the more it is capable of imposing its specific logic, the cumulative history of its particular history’ over the habitus therein (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 105), whereas the inverse holds true for fields characterised by low levels of autonomy.

Fields are characterised by and demonstrate certain ‘logics’, some of which are universal and found in all fields, while others are particular to some fields and not others. The ‘logic’ of a given field refers to the ‘rules of the game’ played therein (Bourdieu, 2000). One such universal logic is the division between dominant and subordinate players. Dominant players, or groups of players, possess the capacity to define as ‘legitimate’, or not, the range and types of moves players in the field can make, the value of the capitals players possess, and, by extension, the positions they are able to occupy. A particularly significant dimension of the struggles to occur within fields for the analysis I am undertaking here comprises ‘classification struggles’ (Bourdieu, 1993, 2000). These are forms of struggle organised around attempts to (re-)classify and define as legitimate, the particular claims to knowledge embedded in forms of discursive representation (Gorski, 2013). The notion of ‘classification struggles’ and the positions agents take up as part of those struggles is central for capturing the dynamics disposing agents towards representing the other either negatively and or positively. Moreover, whether the claims to knowledge embedded within a particular discursive representation are understood as legitimate or not, directly determines the likelihood that it is taken up by other players within the field and reproduced, revised and or subsequently comes to be rejected.

ENGLISH REPRESENTATIONS OF ITALY AND THE ITALIANS: 1680-1830

At any given historical moment there exists a dominant assemblage of discursive representations of the cultural other. These comprise socially legitimate ways of perceiving, understanding and representing the other – in this

case Italy and Italian culture - available to those situated within –in this case– English culture. Italy and Italian culture have been highly influential in the history English culture and identity formation. The following analysis tracks continuities, the diversification of and changes to the ways, Italy and the Italians were represented in England during the period spanning approximately 1680 - 1830. The timeframe dealt with here is a highly significant one. It represents the period during which English upper-class interest in and engagement with Italy and Italian culture was at its highpoint. Significantly, it also signals the earliest moments in the wider historical shift towards increasingly positive discursive accounts of Italy, Italian culture and the Italian people in England and later Britain (Thorpe, 2009). It is during this period that discursive representations of Italy, contemporary Italian culture and the Italian people begin to diversify in a range of contradictory ways. Many of the discursive representations forged during this period continue to inform the modes of seeing Italy and the Italians characteristic of British culture in the present day.

For the purposes of analysis the timeframe is divided into two analytically distinct but overlapping periods: the first, spanning approximately 1680 - 1780; and the second, spanning approximately 1780 - 1830. Throughout the former, representations of Italy and the Italians are organised almost exclusively around a simple binary opposition: Italy's Classical and Renaissance past is revered and contemporary Italy and the Italians are reviled. Exceptions to this general rule comprise the discourses of the Italian landscape as 'picturesque', and Italian opera as the finest example of its kind in Europe. In the work of the first generation of romantic poets, specifically Lord George Byron (1788 – 1824) and Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792 – 1822), contemporary Italy and the Italian people are reconstituted in markedly positive and laudatory terms. Elaborated most explicitly in the poetic works of these two men, the romantic rendering of Italy and the Italians grew up alongside, as opposed to entirely displacing, the focus on Italy's Classical and Renaissance past, and the still largely hostile treatment of contemporary Italy, Italian culture and the Italian people.

CLASSICAL AND RENAISSANCE ITALY: 1680-1780

During the period 1680 – 1780, claims to know and represent Italy and the Italians derive almost exclusively from fields dominated by the upper class. During this period habitus and field are poorly differentiated. As such, the habitus of field incumbents are more or less interchangeable. Upper-class identity is organised around consensus and conformity far more than it is oriented towards distinction achieved through differentiation. It is not until the mid-point of the 18th century, when the social basis of fields steadily begins to diversify and the conditions under which the autonomisation of fields becomes possible, that the differentiation of discursive representations can take place. As we shall see, the slow but steady diversification of the social composition of fields corresponds with the diversification of possible modes of knowing and representing Italy and the Italians characteristic of this period.

Positive discursive accounts of Italy were refracted almost entirely through the prism of classicism. The education of the English upper class was organised around the accumulation of high levels of classical knowledge and learning. The setting of the classical curriculum in England can be traced back to St. Paul's Grammar School in 1509 and forms part of the enduring influence of Renaissance humanism imported into England from Italy during the 16th century (Simonini, 1952). Of most prominence here were classical Roman models from 'the 1st century BC to AD14, the world of Julius Caesar then Augustus' (Lane Fox, 2006: 2). The appeal of the classical authors centred on their perceived didactic value in practical matters, such as farming (Hesiod and Virgil), warfare (Livy, Frontinus, Aelian), mathematics (Euclid), architecture (Vitruvius), education (Plutarch) and moral and political behaviour (Cato, Cicero, Augustus etc.) (Ogilvie, 1960). Read as literary works, the classical authors were regarded as exemplary in the virtues of order, symmetry, balance and restraint (Highet, 1949).

The hegemony of upper-class representations of Italy as home to classical Roman and Renaissance civilization is an index of the comparatively lowly differentiated status of fields during this period. The high-levels of classical learning consolidated in the upper-class habitus strongly shape the collective response to the crisis of legitimacy resulting in the regicide of Charles 1st in 1649 (Ayres, 1997). Regardless of political persuasion, members of the upper class mobilised and appropriated forms of classical Roman discourse as part of a collective attempt to consolidate their increased powers and status within the post-revolutionary political constitution. The civic values, political constitution and stratified society of Republican Rome meant that 'the dangers it faced not just from Julius Caesar and autocracy...all become compound metaphors for the state of England in the decades following 1688' (Johnson, 1967: 17). Imaginative literature during the late 17th and early 18th centuries frequently explored and extended the analogy of the Roman Republic to the English Civil War. Most notably in the Elizabethan dramatist Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* (1605), John Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* (1666), and Joseph Addison's *Cato* (1711).

Similarly within the intellectual field, the legacy of imperial Rome provided a fertile terrain from which to extract valuable lessons from Posterity, the dominant conception of historiography throughout the 18th century (Leffler, 1978; Spadafora, 1990). Prominent Enlightenment thinkers such as David Hume, Edward Gibbon and Edward

Burke, each stood with one foot in the intellectual and political fields, occupying positions ‘which recognised and reflected on the interpenetration of culture and politics’ (Black and Gregory, 1991: 9). By way of the homology of positions to obtain between particular intellectual formulations and political ideologies, the discourse of Italy as a land of the classical past was carried on and reaffirmed in Gibbon’s celebrated *History of The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1788). A Whig in politics and ‘a modernist in philosophy and religion’, Gibbon claimed that the idea to write the *History* came to him while on tour in Rome (1763 – 1765) (Pocock, 1993: 144).

Classical learning and knowledge oriented the upper class towards the civilizations of ancient Rome and the Renaissance respectively, but it was experience of these civilizations *in situ* which consolidated their status as the premier expression of cultural and moral refinement within the hierarchy of English taste proclivities. By 1700, the Tour of Italy was a defining practice in the formation of the upper-class habitus, integral to both the moral and aesthetic edification of the upper-class tourist (Black, 1992)³. Inspired by the value conferred on foreign travel by the classical authors (Dalby, 2000) and informed by the Post-reformation spirit of learning ‘which valued empirical knowledge over abstract speculation or look learning derived merely from tradition’ (Ousby, 1990:9), the Tour of Italy was considered the highpoint of the Grand Tour (Black, 2003).

Travel to Italy and exposure to classical and Renaissance culture profoundly shaped the cultural practices and taste dispositions of the English upper class. Displays of knowledge and attempts to emulate classical Roman and Renaissance styles and models across almost every sphere of the creative arts passed virtually unchallenged throughout the 18th century. Sir Joshua Reynolds, the first President of the Royal Academy of Arts, was an ardent advocate of the study of the Italian masters. For Reynolds, who spent some two years in Italy (1749 – ‘52) studying the ‘Grand Style’ of the Renaissance masters, travel to Italy comprised an indispensable part of an artist’s education ‘and in some cases essential to securing patronage’ (Black, 2003: 181). Reynold’s influence in founding the Royal Academy in 1768 represents a defining moment in the institutional consecration of Italian travel as a highly valued form of capital within the fields of painting and sculpture respectively.

Upper-class evaluations of contemporary Italian civilization were almost entirely negative. The high levels of cultural capital orienting upper-class attention towards classical and Renaissance civilization, awareness of England’s rising status throughout the century as a ‘colonial superpower’, and the perceived threat of papal Rome, strongly influenced the discursive parameters within which English tourists’ evaluations of modern Italy and the Italians were framed. Only Italian opera and the picturesque natural scenery of the peninsula drew positive evaluations. This is evident from the travel narratives kept by upper-class tourists while abroad. Travel narratives were used to document tourists’ itineraries, experiences and observations on a wide range of Italian social customs and cultural practices, as well as playing an important role in ‘affirming communal stability’ among the upper class (Spacks 1980: 204). In addition to this, travel narratives were a key site for the production of novel forms of discourse, which either fed back into and affirmed, altered, and or challenged pre-existing discursive accounts of Italy and the Italians. The practice of swapping and reading travel narratives was popular among tourists, albeit one confined to an informal association of upper-class networks. However, as the number of upper-bourgeois writers and tourists began to increase from around 1750 onwards, the practice of writing travel narratives became subject to increasing commercialisation (Turner 2001: 1).

Particularly important for understanding the formation of the sub-field of travel narratives within the wider field of literature were the periodicals, *The Monthly* and *Critical Reviews*. Established in 1749 and 1756 respectively, the consecrating power of these publications grew throughout the century as the number of travel narratives sent to them for review steadily increased. By the final third of the century, travel writing was established as a sub-field in its own right, ‘a site of struggle for competing claims to moral virtue – claims which are frequently expressed in the gender inflected language of class and nation’ (Turner 2001: 55). As such, upper-class travel practices were increasingly challenged and subject to derision by bourgeois authors and writers. The Tour of Italy was reframed as extravagant and unpatriotic, leading to vast sums of money being frittered away on foreign goods and services. As the century progressed, upper-bourgeois travellers and writers came increasingly to imagine themselves, as opposed to their upper-class counterparts whom they regarded as effete carriers of cosmopolitan ideals, as the legitimate proponents of English national identity (Black, 1992, 2003).

Tobias Smollett’s travel narrative, *Travels through France and Italy* (1766), comprises a particularly well-known example of the rising condemnation of upper-class travel practices to and in Italy characteristic of an increasingly self-confident and critical bourgeois audience (Turner, 2001; Sena, 1968). A surgeon-cum-author, Smollett’s position-taking self-consciously sought to assert and display his bourgeois values, attitudes and tastes through the medium of a ‘splenic narrator’ (Smollett, 2010 [1766]). The attribute of ‘spleen’, understood as an affliction particularly prevalent among the ‘over-educated classes’, was recognised within the field as a specifically English malady deriving from the damp climate (Sena 1968: 355). Smollett’s position-taking was forged in direct opposition to that of the allegedly characterless ‘upper-class cosmopolite’ whose class-based identity was regarded among

³ Throughout the 18th Century the importance of cultivating one’s aesthetic sensibilities and capacity for discernment in matters of Taste, or ‘virtu’ as it was known then, was regarded as essential to making sound moral judgements.

bourgeois writers as 'non-distinct' and 'indistinguishable' from the faceless herd from which (s)he derived (Turner 2001: 60). In adopting a splenetic persona and narrative style, Smollett was engaged simultaneously in a strategy of literary distinction aimed at increasing the marketability of his narrative, at the same time as marking out a dominant position within a predominantly bourgeois field.

ROMANTIC ITALY: 1780-1830

The emergence of a historically novel constellation of positive discursive representations of contemporary Italy and the Italian people is first formulated in the work of the romantic poets, Lord George Byron and Percy Bysshe Shelley. The romantic rendering of Italy was forged from the confluence of changes occurring to and within the field of cultural production within England throughout the final third of the 18th century. Of these changes, particularly important are: the decline of religious and aristocratic forms of patronage and the concurrent rise of commercial forms of printing and literature; the formation of a range of novel positions and position-takings taken up by an emergent class of professional bourgeois authors; and the perceived threat this was understood to pose to the nature and status of Art as understood from the restricted wings of the fields of literature and poetry.

From the mid-point of the 18th century, the modes by which literary artefacts were produced, distributed and consumed were subject to increasing change. Historically, the production of cultural works was organised along the lines of religious and aristocratic forms of patronage. Herein, cultural producers were bound to their patrons and one another through local networks of direct and personal relations. As the century progressed, patronage was undermined and replaced by a system of capitalist relations and markets presided over by emergent forms of 'subscription' and 'commercial' publishing (Brantlinger, 1998). By the final third of the 18th century, the production and consumption of cultural goods among the educated classes was increasingly mediated through networks of impersonal and instrumental relations. These emergent networks were organised around abstract economic values and the pursuit of commercial success (Keen, 1999).

Particularly significant in this regard was the crystallization of a new middle-class readership and 'the industrial and commercial restructuring of the 'literary' field [which] include[d] printers, publishers, reviewers, booksellers, readers and of course authors' (Brantlinger, 1999: 12). Changes to the ways cultural goods were produced and consumed opened up new channels for upward social mobility (Kelly, 1989). An emergent class of professional bourgeois authors motivated by the opportunity to accumulate large amounts of economic and symbolic capital e.g. status, notoriety, acclaim etc. were called forth. The number of printing houses in London, such as William Lane's notorious Minerva Press, steadily increased in number. The cultivation of reading habits facilitated by travelling libraries and rising levels of literacy comprised similarly important developments, feeding directly into the rising demand for novels and romances on the part of a crystallizing middle-class readership (Williams, 1961).

It was in the spaces opened up by commercial and subscription forms of publishing that the Gothic depiction of Italy began to take shape. According to Punter (1996), the emergence of the Gothic novel cannot be understood without reference to the genesis of the novel form itself. The Gothic novel was consecrated by, while working to consolidate, the emergent field of novelistic production. At the hands of the Gothic authors, most notably Mrs Radcliffe and Matthew Lewis, Italy was transmogrified into a land of picturesque and remotely situated castles, 'moonlit nights, wicked Catholic clerics...Italian settings, beautiful persecuted heroines, dark villains and catalogues of horror' (Le Tellier, 1980: 2). Radcliffe's success and dominance within the field became a model that 'spawned a whole series of minor but vigorous novels in the early years of the nineteenth century...[that]...attempt to reproduce the commercially successful formula' (Churchill 1980: 18). Novels such as: Lewis's *The Bravo of Venice* (1805), Edward Montague's *The Legends of a Nunnery* (1807), and Anne Hatton's *The Oath of Vengeance* (1819) (Marshall 1934: 256).

The Gothic rendering of Italy represents an important moment in the romantic depiction of Italy, refracting tensions in the relations between the emergent class of commercially-oriented bourgeois authors and aristocratic and conservative writers and poets. The Gothic novel opened up a discursive space in which a distinctively bourgeois response to the wider social, political and religious changes of the period was formulated (Kelly, 1989; Demata, 2006). Specifically, in ways which capture the ambivalence of the bourgeois authors towards those above them e.g. their social and artistic superiors, and those beneath them e.g. the undistinguished mass. The use and appropriation of Italy and Italian themes on the part of a class of writers not possessed of the means to undertake the Tour of Italy forms part of a self-conscious attempt to emulate the cultural proclivities of their social superiors. That the Gothic novels were set in Southern Italy, largely unexplored and unknown to British tourists, provided authors with an unspoiled imaginative terrain on which to think through and consolidate the coordinates of an emergent bourgeois subjectivity (Demata, 2006).

The Gothic rendering of Italy was a necessary but not sufficient condition of possibility for the romantic treatment of Italy (Le Tellier, 1980). This is so in a number of ways. First, the majority of the romantic poets, including Byron and Shelley, had read and were influenced by the work of the Gothic novelists (Marshall 1934;

Churchill 1980). Second, the use of supernatural themes and motifs as devices for escaping the wider social and political anxieties of the period contributed to the wider evolution of romantic discourse. In particular, the growing consensus as to the importance of 'Imagination' as a creative faculty. Third, the focus on Southern Italy and pre-industrial forms of community understood to be outside of the sweep of the Enlightenment served to consolidate the alleged 'authenticity' of traditional forms of social relations. Fourth, the Gothic rendering of Italy, the novel form through which it was realised, and the class of professional bourgeois writers from whose pens it derived, all served as negative points of reference against which the romantic poets sought to reconfigure and reclaim the ideals of 'Art' and 'Artist'.

Notwithstanding that 'the horror novel...affects all the great romantics without exception', publically its status as a genre was condemned by romantic poets and conservative critics (Rodway, 1963: 59). The commercial success of the Gothic novel was read as symptomatic of the wider threat of literacy among an unguided and poorly educated reading public on the one hand, and the professionalization and commercialisation of 'literature' on the other (Valenza, 2009). The status of poetry in particular, understood as the supreme art form and guarantor of the distinctiveness of a national culture and language, was perceived as under threat (Valenza 2009; Williams, 1958). It was against the backdrop of these changes, referred to by Thomas Carlyle as 'industrialism', that the Romantic category of the Artist was forged (Williams, 1961: 85).

The romantic poets were vociferous in their attempts to reassert themselves and their art form as unique within, if not wholly distinct from, those engaged in the wider cultural division of labour. Prominent poets such as Coleridge and Wordsworth vigorously asserted the difference between the calling of the poet and all other forms of professional career. It is with the Romantic poets that the prevailing conceptions of the 'poet and poetic faculties' are transformed (Keith, 2001: 286). Poets are not made; rather, they comprise constitutionally different types of human being altogether (Valenza, 2009).

The category of Artist forms part of the wider process of self-realization of creative producers who actively sought to represent and promote themselves in more distinctive and self-serving ways (Inglis and Hughson, 2005: 16). The vision of the romantic Artist as a unique and almost divinely gifted individual was a direct attempt to reclaim the identity and the status of Art from the mechanized and fragmented nature of work under the conditions of a rapidly industrialising capitalist society. It is in this context that the category of the Artist comes to assume the figure of a driven but lonely and socially dislocated figure, marginalised from and opposed to the stuffy and conservative conventions of respectable bourgeois society (Williams, 1961: 85). The concept of 'skill' in relation to the category of Artist came to be displaced by that of 'sensibility' during this time too (Williams, 1983 [1958]).

ITALY AND THE ITALIANS IN BYRON AND SHELLEY

In the poetic works of Byron and Shelley, pre-existing forms of discourse are revised, reconfigured and used to reconstruct Italy and the Italians in a range of novel and distinctly positive ways. Aristocrats by birth, both Byron and Shelley acquired high levels of classical learning and knowledge of English literature during their time at England's elite educational institutions. During their time at the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford respectively, the poets were exposed to a number of prominent literary circles. Entry into these literary circles brought Byron and Shelley into contact with a number of prominent Italian poets who had quit Italy for England. Now living in exile in England, the Italian poets introduced Byron and Shelley to and cultivated within them a greater knowledge and appreciation of the work of the 'Italian bard', Dante Alighieri (1265 – 1321). As both man and poet, the figure of Dante provided rich inspiration for Byron and Shelley as well as the subsequent generation of romantic poets, writers and painters (Churchill, 1980).

Dante's appeal to the English romantics operates on two main levels. First, as a political dissident and fugitive forced to flee his native Florence, the self-sacrificing spirit in which Dante lived and worked appealed greatly to the romantic poets. Here was a poet prepared to die in exile for his art. And second, it was on account of his outsider status that the exiled Italian poets living in England sought to play up Dante's reputation as the supreme exponent of the Italian language. The depiction of Dante as both exile and poetic genius appealed greatly to Byron. Born with a club-foot, subject to troubled familial relations and forced exclusion from his natural aristocratic milieu, the figure of the exiled genius was one with whom Byron felt a powerful affinity. As Vassallo (1984: 37) notes, the appeal of Dante to Byron was as much the magnitude of his 'poetical achievement as...the fact that he was a martyr to his high principles...an exile himself. In Shelley, the influence of Dante is most notable in the style in which the poems *Prometheus Unbound* (1820), *Epipsychidion* (1821), *Adonais* (1821), and the *Triumph of Life* (1822) are composed and written, whereas his *Ode to the West Wind* (1819), inspired by and written in the Italian countryside, draws on Dante's style of the *terza rima* (Reiman and Powers, 1977).

The fertility of 'Italian literature exerted a strong influence on the narrative style and versification of the Romantic poets' (Saunders, 2004: 350). An appreciation of Italian literature, themes and poetic forms, is central to the poetic verse of Byron and Shelley and subsequent romantic depictions of Italy as evidenced in the work of the

members of the Pisan Circle⁴. More broadly, English romantic poetry placed great emphasis on creativity and innovation, not only in terms of genre but also ‘all that was involved in its design as verbal artefact’ (O’Neill 2004: 275). Rarely adhering to established poetic models, the romantic poets preferred instead to use and appropriate their materials by altering them in novel and expressive ways. Hybrid poetic forms, along with a renewed interest in epic poetry, poetic drama, lyric poetry and poetic narrative, grew and flourished under the romantics. A key development facilitating the rise of the lyric form was the popularity ‘of a literary and popular culture rich in song’ (Saunders 2004: 311). Use of the ‘lyric’ and ‘narrative’ form features extensively in Byron and Shelley’s Italian works. It is via the poets’ Italian works that the lyric form assumes ‘its modern cultural role as the poetic voice of the individual self’ (Saunders 2004: 318). Shelley’s *Adonais*, for example, is an elegiac variation of the extended lyric form undertaken in the style of Spenserian stanzas.

Thematically, a central facet of romantic literature and poetry is an intense concern with Nature and natural phenomena more generally as a source of aesthetic beauty and moral and spiritual edification (Berlin, 1999). Particularly influential for shaping these concerns were Edward Burke’s *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1756) and William Gilpin’s *An Essay upon Prints: Containing Remarks Upon The Principles of Picturesque Beauty* (1768). Within the field of poetry, the turn towards natural phenomena as a source of emotional, as opposed to intellectual creative inspiration, forms the context in which poets such as John Dyer (1699 – 1757), James Thomson (1700 – 1748) and Thomas Gray (1716 – 1771) broached the natural landscape as subject matter. In Wordsworth’s, *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), appreciation of England’s natural landscape reached its apotheosis (Manwaring 1967: 96). In the work of the pre- and romantic English poets, the lyric form is brought to bear on the English countryside and a range of natural phenomena. In Byron and Shelley, the lyric form, along with a range of Italian-inspired poetic styles and devices, are adapted and put to work on the Italian natural scene and Italian themes. It is travel to Italy, and immersion within the natural beauty of the Italian countryside specifically, that are represented as spiritually and artistically transformative.

Thus far we have established how and why the type of habitus and capitals acquired by Byron and Shelley shaped their respective trajectories through the cultural field and how in turn this enabled them to assume dominant positions within the field of poetry. Notwithstanding the poets’ bankruptcy, that they were both were able to generate enough income to quit England for Italy⁵ and were well received within Italian society (Byron more so than Shelley), is highly significant for understanding the similarities and differences in the poets respective position-takings. Typically in ways which served to advance the dominant positions they had attained to and were subsequently able to consolidate in self-serving ways. Key here is the way both Byron and Shelley draw on, revise and re-appropriate, various negative discursive constructions of Italy, contemporary Italian culture and the Italian people, as vehicles for critically evaluating changes taking place in England at the time. Particularly as they relate to the nature and status of poetry and the romantic poet as the supreme expression of the Artist.

Central to Byron and Shelley’s Italian poetic works is the depiction of Italy and contemporary Italian culture as all that England is not. Drawing on and revising a range of pre-existing negative forms of discourse, Byron and Shelley (re-)construct Italy and the Italians through a range of positive and novel discursive forms. To increase their dramatic effect, the poets (re-)organise their framing of Italy around a series of arresting juxtapositions centring on different aspects of England, including: the natural scenery and landscape; history; social conventions and pre-industrial way of life; language; and temperate climate. Italy is re-constructed as Europe’s premier location for poetic (read artistic) meditation, a life-affirming alternative to the oppressive and stifling Puritanism of industrialising England. The discourse of Italy as a picturesque, natural idyll, a discourse arising earlier in the century in the fields of landscape painting and then poetry, is taken up and enlarged to incorporate notions of ‘refuge’. On the one hand, Italy is aesthetically beautiful, picturesque and temperate, providing refuge from the smog-ridden bleakness of industrialising England, a land described by Keats ‘as continually under hatches...a region of Mists’ (Foreman, 1935: 135). On the other, Italian society is free from the stifling and oppressive dictates of upper-class social norms and conventions.

Having both quit England for Italy, Byron and Shelley appropriate the distance between themselves, England, and the ‘vulgar’ class of professional writers and poets living and working there, to draw to attention the enhanced conditions in which their ‘art’ is realised. Italy is recast as host to a rich array of life-affirming sensory pleasures, the like of which are denied to the professional writers and poets back in England. The inspirational qualities of the Italian landscape are extended beyond its natural elements so as to incorporate the historical remnants of

⁴ The term ‘Pisan Circle’ refers to an informal network of English poets and writers who left England for Italy and took up residence in Pisa both during the time of, and in some cases after, the period of Shelley’s residence there (approximately 1820 – 1822). The Pisan circle included Lord Byron, Leigh Hunt (writer and poet) and Edward Trelawney (novelist and writer) to name but the most prominent members. See Schoina (2009) for an in-depth treatment of the Pisan Circle and the influence both Percy Bysshe Shelley and Mary Shelley had for shaping the discursive accounts of Italy and the Italians associated with its members.

⁵ Byron and Shelley left England for Italy in 1816 and 1818 respectively, never to return.

antiquity. Reconceived in this way allows Byron and Shelley to assert the uniqueness of Poetry as the supreme art form and the Poet as the boldest expression of the creative Artist (Thorpe, 2013). The conception of the Artist as a constitutionally different type of human being is interwoven into a range of discursive representations centring on the transformative capacities that exposure to Italy, the Italian natural scene and life-affirming culture are alleged to inspire. Only in Italy, a land so rich in natural beauty and steeped in history and culture, can the inspiration for true Art be realised; and only through realising one's innate creativity faculties in an Italian setting is it possible to lay claim to the lofty ideal of the romantic Artist.

Inheriting the upper-class deference towards Italy's classical past, Byron and Shelley re-appropriate the classical ruins as vehicles for poetic meditation. Italy provides a privileged backdrop for the 'emerging romantic sensibility and the preferred setting for a 'poetry of ruins' that reached its climax in...Byron and Shelley' (Springer, 1987: 1). While both poets prized the relics and ruins as living testimony to ancient civilizations, they elaborate and extend their meaning in divergent ways. Whereas Gibbon saw in the ruins of ancient Rome testimony to the *sic transit* of fallen Empires, Byron elevates this sentiment to the plane of human existence. At the hands of Byron, Italy's Roman ruins become metaphors for the human condition: no other setting in Europe could provide such an arresting sense of the bathetic contrast between the everlasting 'immortality of art' and the fleeting 'mortality of genius' (Churchill, 1980: 2). By contrast, Shelley felt positively inspired and comforted by the proximity of a ruinous past with which he felt a far greater spiritual affinity than the industrialising present of England (Weinberg, 1990: 14).

Where Byron and Shelley diverge most notably is in their experience and representation of the contemporary Italians. Byron's relations with the Italian people were typically direct and personal; Shelley's were largely abstract and impersonal. Byron conducted numerous sexual liaisons with Italian women while in Italy, kept the company of Italian high-society when in Venice, and actively shunned the company of English tourists to the peninsula who sought him out. It was via his love affair with the Italian countess, Teresa Guiccioli, that Byron was recruited into the revolutionary Carbonari Movement, a secret society devoted to liberating Italy from foreign suzerainty. In Byron, the sensory and affective indulgences of the Italian people and Italian way of life more generally, are read as testimony to the life-affirming qualities of pre-industrial forms of human relations, from which he believed more 'natural' and 'authentic' modes of being flowed forth. While the political plight of the Italian people is central to a number of Shelley's poetic works, nonetheless his concern reflects the broader romantic interest in ideal notions of 'Freedom' and 'Liberty' (Berlin, 2000) rather than a genuine, heart-felt empathy. Of the Italian people, Shelley was openly reproachful. He was particularly scathing of Italian women, referring to them as 'perhaps the most contemptible of all who exist under the moon; the most ignorant, the most disgusting, the most bigoted, the most filthy' (Jones 1964: 504, vol. II).

In summary, the positive reconstruction of Italy and the Italians in the poetic works of Byron and Shelley marks a key moment in late 18th century and early 19th century discursive representations of the peninsula and its people in England. The associative ties Byron and Shelley forge between the pre-industrial and life-affirming qualities of contemporary Italian life on the one hand, and notions of creative inspiration, sensory indulgence and artistic authenticity on the other, worked to enhance the perceived value of Italian travel within the field of Art throughout the 19th century. Reconstituted in such positive and edificatory terms, the perceived value of Italian travel as an indispensable form of 'capital' necessary for the realisation of the artistic habitus comes to assume doxic status. Testimony to the transformative powers Italy and Italian culture were understood to possess, can be gleaned from even the most cursory glance of the list of writers, painters, poets, sculptors etc. who travelled to and spent time in Italy during the 19th century e.g. Rossetti, the Brownings, Ruskin, E.M. Forster and D.H. Lawrence, to name but the most prominent. This is not to suggest that discursive practices which positioned Italy and the Italians as inferior or lacking in various senses, ceased to exist or diversify – they did and in a variety of historically novel areas too. Rather, the point to emphasise here is that it was against the backdrop of a diverse range of positive, as opposed to negative, discursive constructions of Italy within 19th century English culture were forged and took shape.

CONCLUSIONS

This article contends that the subject of cultural representation has been normatively overdetermined and insufficiently theorized. Following in the wake of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, social-scientific accounts of cultural representation have been dominated by a one-sided and partisan conception of discursive constructions of the other and otherness as sites marked out primarily for the negative expression of power. Some forty years on, and Said's *Orientalism* remains a powerful and legitimizing point of reference underwriting a range of analytically limiting and delimited account of cultural representation. In privileging normativity over analytical acuity, scholarly analysis has neglected to acknowledge the generative effects negative discourses have for shaping their positive counterparts and the contexts in which they are formed. A further corollary of this situation is that attempts to

account for the mechanisms driving continuity and change in the discursive construction of the cultural other have been significantly overlooked and under-theorized.

Drawing on the case of discursive representations of Italy and the Italians in England from 1680 to 1830, this article has sought to demonstrate the merits of field theory as the basis for a more comprehensive and analytically differentiated account of cultural representation. Claims to 'know' and represent the other comprise forms of capital relative to fields. The type of habitus and capitals intimately inform the discursive parameters of the categories through which the other is brought into view and constituted. Whether or not agents are disposed towards representing the cultural other negatively and or positively is contingent on the variable conditions of fields. Arising at the point of intersection between a socially-marked habitus and field position, discursive representations of the other refract the relations of conflict and cohesion characteristic of the fields in which they are produced, the position of the producer therein, and the position of the field in the wider architecture of fields. Whether or not forms of discursive representation are reproduced, revised and or rejected, is contingent on the structure of fields and the structure of relations through which fields are conjoined.

Critical normative forms of theoretical discourse comprise merely one way of constituting the terrain of cultural representation. As this article has demonstrated, field theory opens up a more analytically differentiated and historically-oriented vista from which to survey that terrain. With this in mind, two avenues for future research into cultural representation seem particularly pressing. Firstly, what would an alternative account of Western representations of the 'Orient' based on field theory look like, and how might it be used to reframe debate and disputation in this area? And secondly, how might a model of cultural representation based on field theory be used to recognise and problematize the analytical significance of positive discursive constructions of the other and otherness? In other words, if discourse brings into being and constitutes the other in relatively arbitrary ways, why have particular cultural others – in this case Italy and the Italians as they have been represented in England - been understood and represented in largely positive and laudatory ways? Given that at the time of writing the European Union is preparing to leave Britain, the task of capturing the conditions under which the other comes to be positively understood and represented seems more pressing than ever.

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Blaming Beauty for the Beast: A Jungian Explanation for the Persistence of Patriarchal Patterns

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ABSTRACT

Rape was a prominent theme in Greek mythology and has recently re-emerged in the media spotlight due to the #MeToo and #TimesUp movements as well as celebrity-involved cases of sexual assault and sexual harassment (i.e., Bill Cosby and Harvey Weinstein). The current paper examines three ancient Greek myths involving rapes committed by gods. A qualitative content analysis was done to compare these myths to modern day sexual assaults. Latent content results were analyzed and framed within the context of Jungian theory. Prior research has placed rape and other sexual assaults within a patriarchal framework, presuming strategic male hegemony. Archetype theory offers an alternative, and more benign, explanation for the prevalence of rape myths, the persistence of gender power differentials, and for the perpetuation of ancient stereotypes. Analysis of study findings within a Jungian framework suggests a possible solution for these persistent problems within society, one worthy of empirical investigation.

Keywords: Carl G. Jung, archetype theory, rape, sexual assault, patriarchy, misogyny, feminism, myths, Greek mythology, stereotypes

INTRODUCTION

Recently, there has been heightened public awareness of sexual assault and harassment as a result of celebrities (i.e., Harvey Weinstein, Bill Cosby, and Larry Nassar) dominating broadcast news and social media. The latest #MeToo movement has shed light on the far-reaching impact of sexual assault and the emotional and physical effects that follow. Despite the recent focus on the issue of sexual abuse, few people realize that current rape myths and the accompanying negative perceptions of rape victims have long-standing historical roots. For instance, Medusa, the Greek monster who had venomous snakes for hair, was once a beautiful maiden. After being raped by Poseidon, she was denounced and demonized for her victimization. Other mythological women endured similar fates. This paper draws parallels between three mythological stories and three modern-day accounts of criminal sexual behaviour, and then offers the Jungian concept of archetypes to explain those parallels.

GREEK MYTHOLOGY & ARCHETYPES

Myths have been referred to as society's sacred stories (Lule, 2001) because they persist generationally as a result of their evocative nature. Myths are ideological rather than factual (Dowden, 1995). While ideology has been defined as a belief or conviction (Livingstone, 2008), in reality, ideology is the force that empowers specific beliefs

or convictions. Sometimes, as with certain Greek myths, that force is brutal, but that is primarily because almost everything is amplified or bigger than life in Greek myths. Also, raw, undiluted emotions and exaggerated traits allow myths (or exemplars) to be more easily visualized and remembered (Gibson and Zillmann, 1994; Morgan and Dennehy, 1997), and it is those types of archetypal characteristics that enable myths to continue to resonate in the modern world.

It was C. G. Jung, renowned Twentieth Century Swiss psychiatrist and founder of analytical psychology, who used the term ‘archetype’ to represent a ‘primordial image’ (Jung, 1968, p. 57). Jung considered archetypes to be akin to the embodiment of primitive emotions imbedded within a ‘collective unconscious’ (Stevens, 1994, p. 47). For Jung (1968), the persistent power of archetypes could not be overstated: “[A]rchetypes create myths, religions, and philosophies that influence and characterize whole nations and epochs of histories” (p. 68). By looking back at Greek myths and the archetypes contained within them, it may be possible to trace the germination of gender ideology in the modern world to better understand the presence of rape then and now and to also possibly explain societal reactions to sexual assault.

WOMEN & RAPE IN GREEK MYTHOLOGY

Greek myths were early ancestors’ attempts to understand relationships and explain origination. At first, according to myth, only the male human was created by Prometheus, a Titan god, and it was not until later that the first mortal woman was created as the way to punish man for fire being stolen from the sun. Upon instructions from Zeus, the king of the gods, Pandora was created as a torment to man, and she was described as *kalon kakon*, or ‘beautiful evil’ (Zeitlin, 1995, p. 59). While many people today may not know that Pandora was the first female creation in Greek mythology, they will likely recognize the phrase ‘Pandora’s box,’ and know that Pandora was blamed for bringing ‘death, woe, and evil into the world’ (Zeitlin, 1995, p. 49).

One of the vilest accounts of rape and murder in Greek mythology is the story of Princess Philomela being raped and mutilated by her brother-in-law, King Tereus of Thrace. Neither were gods, but both were royalty. After the sexual assault, Tereus commanded Philomela to keep silent about the rape; when she refused, he cut out her tongue. Even though she no longer had a voice, Philomela created a tapestry upon which she had written within the weavings the story of her sexual assault, and she sent that to her sister, Procne, who was the wife of Tereus (the rapist). After learning what her husband had done to her sister, Procne was enraged and killed her own son (who was fathered by Tereus) in revenge. Procne then cooked and served those remains as a meal to her husband. After Tereus finished eating, Procne brought out their son’s severed head so that Tereus would know the horror of cannibalizing his own son (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2018a).

Despite this myth being rewritten very concisely in the preceding paragraph, the violence remains vivid. This illustrates how viscerally potent the images contained in myths are, even when retold thousands of years later. That is what Jung (1968, p. 87) meant when he described the quality of ‘numinosity’ being present with archetypes or emotion-packed symbols.

WOMEN & RAPE IN MODERN SOCIETY

In modern United States history, rape was viewed as a crime against property, and the husband or father would be recognized as the victim (Burgess-Jackson, 1996). Rape, therefore, was viewed as lessening the value of the female property, and it required financial recompense paid to her male ‘owner’ (Burgess-Jackson, 1996). While women are no longer legally viewed as property in America, the differential power that men hold over women remains problematic. Patriarchal and misogynous attitudes continue to be related to the commission, and acceptance, of rape and other sexual assaults (Murnen et al., 2002).

Feminists have reframed rape as a crime motivated by control, anger and power, designed to strip dignity from its victims. Brownmiller (1975) specifically challenged rape as a form of sex and instead defined rape as an expression of masculinity that endeavors to keep women oppressed through fear. This new perspective reframed rape as a political act as much as an individual crime. Radical feminism asserts men, not women, have maintained control over the female body for reproductive and sexual purposes (Whisnant, 2007). Men may use violence or threats of violence as forms of power to control their female victims. Rape-prone civilizations – such as the Kenyan tribe of Kikuyu, the Arunta which is an Aboriginal Australian population, and the Mundurucu from Brazil – use rape as threat, punishment, or even as a ceremonial act (Sanday, 1981). There are still 12 countries with ‘Marry-Your-Rapist Laws’ which allow a rapist to escape prosecution if he agrees to marry his victim; and the coerced marriage is often viewed by the victim as her only way to regain honor (Raphelson, 2017).

Feminists also argue that the domination of the sexual experience by men causes women to lack sexual freedom and to unconsciously fill the role of submissive, blurring the lines between consensual sex and rape (Whisnant,

2007). While not always legally rape, men may utilize power and coercion to lure women into sexual engagement. Patriarchal views which oppress women are furthered by the transmission of misogynistic comments, jokes, and fantasies (Ford and Ferguson, 2004). Common misconceptions of sexual assault, its victims, and the perpetrators articulate similarly misguided and detrimental ideas. Burt (1980) termed many of these false beliefs broadly as ‘rape myths’ (p. 217).

“Rape myths are attitudes and generally false beliefs about rape that are widely and persistently held” (Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1994, p. 133). These myths are held both by individuals in society and by the institutions entrenched within society (Edwards et al., 2011). While there are many rape myths, this article focuses on the myths that remove blame from the male offender by excusing his behaviour and transferring blame to the victim due to her voluntary alcohol consumption, physical appeal, choice of clothing, or promiscuous past (Burt, 1980; Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1994; Suarez and Gadalla, 2010). Rape myths harm society by trivializing rape and all forms of sexual assault and by discounting their long-term psychological effects (Iconis, 2008). Because rape myths are attributed to a patriarchal society and patriarchy is defined as a political system in which males dominate and perpetually maintain power over laws and policy (Lerner, 1986), the presumption has primarily been that the persistence of the control and oppression of women has been conscious and strategic; that the domination has been deliberately driven. The explanation presented in this article presumes a much less malignant motive, and that is a theory of archetypes (Jung, 1968). This paper proposes that the persistence of patriarchal attitudes and behaviors in society may have less to do with conscious intent and much more to do with unconscious content (archetypes). The reason this distinction is relevant and important is not to excuse sexual assaults or even minimize the harm caused by rape myths. Instead, this article offers a new avenue to explore, one which has the potential to provide a way out of the ‘sexist stalemate’ position that patriarchy has appeared to place upon society. Current theories tend to make males and females antagonistic to each other, and antagonism is never conducive for creating collaborative solutions.

THE THEORY OF ARCHETYPES

Jung (1968) was convinced that archetypes represent evolutionary pre-programming or patterns that pre-exist in everyone, akin to an imprint created from an action repeatedly occurring in early history and becoming a pattern of default survival behavior.

[Archetypes] are, in a sense, the deposits of all our ancestral experiences themselves...all those factors, therefore, that were essential to our near and remote ancestors will also be essential to us, for they are embedded in the inherited organ system (Jung, 1972, p. 717).

Jung (1968) considered archetypes to be natural and neutral in value but recognized their potential for stimulating reactive, non-reflective responses that might be perceived as being prejudicial. Archetypes, which have been called residue from ancient memories, are an unconscious link to the collective mind of our earliest ancestors (Jung, 1968).

Modern man is in fact a curious mixture of characteristics acquired over the long ages of his mental development. This mixed-up being is the man and his symbols that we have to deal with, and we must scrutinize his mental products very carefully indeed. Skepticism and scientific convictions exist in him side by side with old-fashioned prejudices, outdated habits of thought and feeling, obstinate misinterpretations, and blind ignorance (Jung, 1968, p. 86).

Jung (1968) was convinced that the reason people dream so vividly in archetype forms is because the unconscious is attempting to bring those ancestral imprints into conscious awareness for acknowledgement and insight.

The symbol-producing function of our dreams is thus an attempt to bring the original mind of man into “advanced” or differentiated consciousness, where it has never been before and where, therefore, it has never been subjected to critical self-reflection. For, in ages long past, that original mind was the whole of man’s personality. As he developed consciousness, so his conscious mind lost contact with some of that primitive psychic energy (Jung, 1968, p. 88).

Some scholars have compared Jungian philosophy with that of Friedrich Nietzsche (Huskinson, 2004) because Nietzsche “suggested a plan for ‘becoming what one is’ throughout the cultivation of instincts and various cognitive faculties, a plan that requires constant struggle with one’s psychological and intellectual inheritances” (Wilkerson, 2019, para. 3). Nietzsche termed the fundamental driving force within all life forms as the *will to power*. Nietzsche’s *will to power* may be interpreted as the battle between the rational mind and primordial instinctive drives;

such struggle could be overcome through reaching an equilibrium between the two or an integration, which was Nietzsche's concept of *Übermensch* or whole self (Huskinson, 2004). This aligns with Jung's belief that human beings will only reach their highest potential when they stop denying or repressing primordial instincts and, instead, work diligently to bring them into conscious awareness and under cognitive control.

Bringing personal archetypes out of the shadows (the unconscious) and into the light (the conscious) is also how analytical therapists believe a person becomes whole (Jung, 1968). In society, the same principle applies. It can only be after archetypes are brought into cultural awareness that people will stop being so susceptible to forces that, for centuries, have resided within the collective unconscious (Jung, 1968).

Analyzing language may also illuminate archetypes (or imbedded bias) because words can be viewed as both expressions of symbols and as stand-alone symbols. "[A] symbol is a term, a name, or even a picture that may be familiar in daily life, yet that possesses specific connotations in addition to its conventional obvious meaning" (Jung, 1978, p. 3). For example, when referring to a subject as an invalid, the speaker may not be consciously aware of the etymology of the word because of the different pronunciation, but the subject's subconscious will instinctively sense the derogation from literally being dismissed as in-valid. In critical language studies, there is a term called *naturalization*, which is when ideological language becomes so mainstream that it appears to be free of ideology and is generally accepted as unbiased (Fairclough, 2001). For instance, mass media and even judicial reporting may use evocative words to describe sexual assault; i.e., referring to women's underwear as *panties* or using the term *fondling* for a forcible touching (Judicial Language Project, n.d.); and these titillating terms may slip past conscious awareness despite connoting a decreased degree of crime culpability. Over time, they may become naturalized, which hides the harm and reinforces archetypal stereotypes and rape myths, both individually and collectively across society.

While the concepts of archetypes and a collective unconscious are foundational principles in analytical psychology, there has been little attempt to empirically test these concepts outside of that discipline (Sotirova-Kohli et al., 2013). Part of the problem is that Jung never formulated his theory in a way that would allow easy testing (Stevens, 1994). Jung believed the reason his books were not well read or understood was due to the difficulty of explaining with words a phenomenon that pre-existed language; for him, the archetype was a 'hypothetical and irrepresentable model' (Jung, 1969, p. 5). Because Jung was trained as a medical doctor and was up-to-date in scientific knowledge, he saw a similarity between archetypes and the 'pattern of behavior' (Grillner, 2006, p. 751) phenomenon from biology, which allowed him to state with confidence: "Not the criticism of individual contemporaries will decide the truth or falsity of these discoveries, but future generations" (Jung, 1966, p. 201).

Since Jung's passing in 1961, a variety of different disciplines have independently come up with their own version of the archetype (Stevens, 1994). Neurobiologists call a similar concept 'instinctual psychological processes' (Goodwin, 2012, p. 11). Ethologists or behavioral biologists have identified innate releasing mechanisms (IRMs) which are patterns of behavior that are activated by sign stimuli in the environment (Stevens, 1994). In addition, the triune brain (MacLean, 1990), a popular but overly simplified model, was developed that fits in well with Jung's theory of archetypes. The triune brain model shows the brain as being comprised of three evolutionary layers with the earliest layer labeled as the reptilian brain; the next evolutionary brain level as the limbic brain system or emotional brain; and the last layer as the new mammalian brain. Only the latest brain level is hypothesized to be involved with higher order reasoning, and that is the area of the brain that is thought to be most plastic or capable of continuous adaptation; in contrast, the reptilian brain would be the least likely to change, would be the seat of survival instincts, and would be the most likely location of the archetypes (Goodwin, 2012). "Archetypes emerges as a nonmystical but profound representation of the deep organizing unconscious, which cognitive science has finally helped us to understand as a mechanism" (Fonagy, 2003, p. xv).

While word association (WA) tests are widely used today (Fitzpatrick et al., 2015), it is rarely acknowledged that Jung was an early pioneer of that methodology. Jung used WA tests to provide empirical support for the existence of a universal depository of archetypes (Stevens, 1994). Results of recent studies utilizing word association and word matching tests support the idea that the unconscious, rather than conscious, retains knowledge of archetypal symbols, even cross-culturally (Huston et al., 1999; Brown and Hannigan, 2006). While not a direct test of the theory of archetypes, Roesler (2013) reviewed empirical studies that evaluated the effectiveness of Jungian psychotherapy for patients and found it was effective in (1) reducing symptoms, (2) decreasing healthcare claims, and (3) successfully concluding most treatment after an average of 90 sessions.

Critics of Jung's theory of archetypes argue that human migration and cultural diffusion sufficiently explain the universality of symbols across cultures (Stevens, 1994). While it is intriguing that other disciplines have independently come up with concepts similar to archetypes and a collective unconscious, more empirical studies are needed. Despite the small body of literature, however, the theory has instinctive appeal and provides an explanation for why – despite changing laws, a progressive society, and the passage of time since the creation of

the Greek myths – parallels still exist between those mythical accounts of rapes and sexual assaults that occur thousands of years later.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The current study is guided by the following research question: To what extent, if any, do the presentations of rape in Greek mythology and the facts of three modern day sexual assault cases parallel each other? A qualitative content analysis compared these mythological rapes to three media accounts. While plots were purposely chosen that contained rape portrayals in the Greek myths, when utilizing content analysis, ‘how the story is told and how characters are portrayed are often more telling than specific plot points’ (Kort-Butler, 2016, p. 5). Here, a latent analysis was conducted because, instead of looking at specific words (which undoubtedly changed through repetitive retelling of the mythological stories), the objective was to uncover the overall meaning being conveyed, as that likely remained intact over time.

The criteria for choosing a modern case to analyze was (1) it needed to be a sensationalized case that (2) involved a male athlete or celebrity, i.e., someone who could be the modern equivalent for the mythological Greek god, (3) in which there had been a lawful conviction in the criminal justice system. In addition, (4) there needed to be sufficient coverage of the case so that facts could be accessed as well as (5) reliable information on how the public reacted. Lastly, (6) enough time had to have passed so that follow-up information could also be attained. The three modern cases selected were *State of Indiana v. Michael G. Tyson, People (of the State of California) v. Roman Raymond Polanski*, and *People (of the State of California) v. Brock Turner*.

Qualitative Content Analysis

Mythological account: Medusa & Poseidon

Legend has it that the world was divided into three parts after the War of the Titans, and three supreme brothers – Zeus, Poseidon and Hades – drew straws to find out which one-third of the world would become their kingdom: the sky, the sea, or the underworld. Poseidon became the sea god. According to Ovid, around 8 AD, in *Metamorphoses*, Medusa was born human and quite beautiful. “Every man who saw her face and her gorgeous, silken hair immediately asked for her hand in marriage - all but one” (Saldarriaga, 2015, p. 8). And that one was not a man, but a god. While the virginal Medusa reposed in Athena’s temple, Poseidon raped her, an act which also defiled Athena’s temple. Athena blamed Medusa for the defilement of her temple, and ‘also chose to punish Medusa for her part in the whole affair - she cursed Medusa’s beauty’ (Saldarriaga, 2015, p. 8). She punished Medusa by turning her locks of hair into serpents and causing her face to be so horrible that merely glancing at it would instantly transform the observer to stone. Medusa was forced to go into exile, and she was eventually beheaded (Freeman, 2013).

Modern Account: Desiree Washington & Mike Tyson

Present day parallels were drawn between this Greek myth and the case involving Desiree Washington and convicted rapist, Mike Tyson. Mike Tyson, known as ‘Iron Mike,’ had been the youngest heavyweight boxing champion of the world. When he was 26 years old, after having recently lost the heavyweight boxing title, Tyson was persuaded to lend his celebrity name and presence to the Miss Black America pageant held in Indianapolis on July 19, 1991. While present at the pageant festivities, Tyson saw Desiree Washington, a beautiful, 18-year-old woman; Desiree had recently graduated from high school and was a part-time Sunday school teacher (Corliss, 2001) who aspired to go into law and politics; she was outgoing and enjoyed being part of the beauty pageant events (Walters, 1992). After agreeing to go out with Tyson on a late-night date, Desiree went with him to his hotel room, where a jury later found that she was raped by him. Tyson was sentenced to a six-year prison term, but he was subsequently released after serving only three years. One of the prosecutors in the case gave the following statement about Desiree Washington: “She is imprisoned herself emotionally for the rest of her life... There are so many competing fears and concerns. This child has no sense of happiness or elation. It’ll take months just to get back to normal and that’s what she’s trying to do” (Shipp, 1992, p. 23). One of Desiree’s concerns was related to the vast number of Tyson fans who were blaming her and supporting him. At least one study showed that 60% of television station viewers did not agree with the jury’s verdict of guilt for Tyson (Corliss, 2001). Such unsympathetic and hard-hearted response to Desiree by a slight majority of the public might be seen as the manifestation of the metaphoric ‘turning to stone’ by those who viewed Medusa.

Desiree Washington disappeared from public view after giving an interview to Barbara Walters within days after Tyson’s conviction. A Newsday article (Gelman, 1995) reported on Desiree’s life still being shattered nearly four years after the rape occurred. This portrayal was in sharp contrast to Tyson, who was picked up by a chauffeur-

driven limousine on the day he was released from prison and announced to the press that he had just signed a contract with MGM Grand in Las Vegas which would potentially mean earnings of up to \$50 million for his first post-prison professional fight. Before the rape, Desiree was ‘always at the center of attention’ (Gelman, 1995, p. 14), but after the rape, she shunned the spotlight. Her family broke up soon after the sentencing, and the happy home in which Desiree grew up had to be sold so that Desiree’s father and younger sister could escape constant harassment by Tyson supporters (Gelman, 1995). This destruction of the family home parallels the defilement of Athena’s temple.

In 2017, 26 years after the rape, the first 17 hits from a Google search of ‘Desiree Washington’ prominently display the name of Mike Tyson. Not only has Desiree Washington disappeared from the public eye (a virtual exile), but her once independent identity appears to have been obliterated because she no longer exists on-line at all except in relation to her rapist. While Tyson’s international fame might explain his prominent online presence, it does not explain the complete absence of any updated online information about Desiree Washington individually. This obliteration represents Desiree’s symbolic beheading by the Athena-like public.

Mythological Account: Leda & Zeus

A well-known myth in the Middle Ages, the horror of the rape of Leda, was not really addressed until 1928 in the William Butler Yeats sonnet and in fact was even romanticized during the Italian Renaissance (Norfolk, 2010). Zeus, ‘father and ruler of all the gods of Ancient Greece’ (Norfolk, 2010, p. 5) and controller of lightning, saw the very young mortal maiden, Leda, by a lake and desired her. When Leda fled, Zeus ‘transforms himself into the shape of a swan and proceeds to sneak up on Leda and rape her’ (History of rape culture, n.d., p. 3). The following is the first stanza from a sonnet written by William Butler Yeats (1928) describing the violent act: “A sudden blow; the great wings beating still above the staggering girl, her thighs caressed by the dark webs, her nape caught in his bill. He holds her helpless breast upon his breast” (p. 33). In this sonnet, the act is ‘an unambiguously brutal rape after which the victim is indifferently discarded’ (Norfolk, 2010, p. 7).

Modern Account: Samantha Geimer & Roman Polanski

Leda’s assault is directly contrasted with the rape of Samantha Geimer. In 1977, Samantha was a 13-year-old child who was desired by wealthy, award-winning Hollywood director, Roman Polanski. In order to get Samantha to accompany him alone and unchaperoned, Polanski tricked both Samantha and her mother into believing that he was taking Samantha to model for a Vogue photo shoot. This was similar to Zeus disguising himself as a swan in order to trick Leda. Instead, of taking her to a photo shoot, Polanski took Samantha to a fellow celebrity’s house where it is undisputed that she was drugged and sexually assaulted. Polanski pled guilty to unlawful sexual intercourse with a minor and expected to be sentenced to the 42 days in jail already served months earlier. The night before the sentencing hearing, however, Polanski learned that the judge was likely not going to agree to the plea deal negotiated by his defense attorney and the prosecutor, and so he fled America (Toobin, 2009). Polanski has maintained dual citizenship in France and Poland, and both countries have refused all requests to extradite him (Doezema, 2018; Kolanko and Cieply, 2015). In 2013, Polanski received the Lifetime Achievement Award at the Zurich Film Festival (Serisier, 2017). It was only last year that Polanski (along with Bill Cosby) was expelled from membership of the Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Sciences (Melas and France, 2018). In Los Angeles County, an arrest warrant issued in 1978 remains outstanding for Polanski (Oehling and Cummins, 2017).

Despite no dispute over the facts – a 40-some year-old man drugging and sexually assaulting a 13-year-old girl – there was support from the public for Polanski being allowed to return to the United States, and legal petitions were filed, requesting all charges be dismissed (Toobin, 2009). *The View* co-host Whoopi Goldberg minimized the crime by stating on national television that ‘it wasn’t rape-rape’ (Keegan, 2013, p. 2), which is similar to how Leda’s mythological rape is sometimes seen as a seduction.

Mythological Account: Aura & Dionysus

The rape of Aura by Dionysus, son of Zeus, is recounted in the epic poem *Dionysiaca* (Nonnus, 1940). Dionysus is also the god credited with granting King Midas the power to turn everything he touched into gold (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2018b). Aura was a young and beautiful virgin huntress who offended the goddess Artemis, daughter of Zeus, by questioning her virginity. In retaliation, Artemis sought revenge by having Aura sexually assaulted by Dionysus, the god of wine (Spanoudakis, 2014). Dionysus saw Aura, desired her, and so deliberately got her drunk. Once she passed out, he raped her (Lightfoot, 2000). When Aura awakened, ‘she saw with surprise her breasts bare of the modest bodice, the cleft of her thighs uncovered, her dress marked with the drops of wedlock that told of a maidenhood ravished... She was maddened by what she saw’ (Nonnus, 2015, Book XLVIII, p. 652). In contrast, Dionysus became revered for bestowing the gift of wine to mankind, and for centuries he inspired a cult following (Cartwright, 2012).

Modern Account: Emily Doe & Brock Turner

Significant parallels are present when examining the case of Aura alongside the sexual assault of Emily Doe. Two witnesses came upon Brock Turner, a Stanford University student, sexually assaulting Emily Doe on campus grounds while she was unconscious. Turner claimed he received verbal consent before ‘Emily’ had passed out. The media made much of the fact that Turner was an aspiring Olympic swimmer, and in some accounts the assault was described almost as if it were merely a drunken indiscretion on Turner’s part. Turner was convicted of three counts of felony sexual assault: (1) assault with intent to commit rape of an intoxicated or unconscious person, (2) penetrating an intoxicated person with a foreign object; and (3) penetrating an unconscious person with a foreign object (James, 2018). He was sentenced to six months in jail followed by three years of probation with the condition that he register as a sex offender and complete a treatment program. He was released in three months (Grinberg and Shoichet, 2016). Emily’s real name was never made public, and her image was never broadcast. She did, however, give a victim-impact statement at the criminal court hearing which went viral on social media. In the statement, she addressed Turner directly, “You don’t know me, but you’ve been inside me, and that’s why we’re here today” (Bever, 2016, p. 10). She described how she came to while on a gurney in a hallway and how, after a few hours of being poked and prodded by medical personnel and having all her scratches and abrasions photographed, she was finally allowed to shower. She stated how she felt as she looked down at her own body:

I stood there examining my body beneath the stream of water and decided, I don’t want my body any more. I was terrified of it. I didn’t know what had been in it, if it had been contaminated, who had touched it. I wanted to take off my body like a jacket and leave it at the hospital with everything else (Bever, 2016, p. 15).

Like Aura, she was maddened, as she told her attacker: “If you are hoping that one of my organs will implode from anger and I will die, I’m almost there. You are very close” (Bever, 2016, p. 46). She responded to some of the comments contained in the defendant’s written statement that was proffered to the court, such as his assertions that he was establishing a program where he will go to high schools and colleges to ‘speak out against the college campus drinking culture and the sexual promiscuity that goes along with that’ because he wants to ‘show people that one night of drinking can ruin a life.’ Here was her response:

A life, one life, yours. You forgot about mine. Let me rephrase for you. I want to show people that one night of drinking can ruin two lives. You and me. You are the cause. I am the effect. You have dragged me through this hell with you, dipped me back into that night again and again. You knocked down both our towers. I collapsed at the same time you did. If you think I was spared, came out unscathed, that today I ride off into sunset while you suffer the greatest blow, you are mistaken. Nobody wins. We have all been devastated. We have all been trying to find some meaning in all of this suffering. Your damage was concrete; stripped of titles, degrees, enrollment. My damage was internal, unseen. I carry it with me. You took away my worth, my privacy, my energy, my time, my safety, my intimacy, my confidence, my own voice, until today. See one thing we have in common is that we were both unable to get up in the morning. I am no stranger to suffering. You made me a victim. In newspapers my name was “unconscious intoxicated woman,” ten syllables, and nothing more than that. For a while, I believed that that was all I was. I had to force myself to relearn my real name, my identity. To relearn that this is not all that I am. That I am not just a drunk victim at a frat party found behind a dumpster, while you are the All American swimmer at a top university, innocent until proven guilty, with so much at stake. I am a human being who has been irreversibly hurt, my life was put on hold for over a year, waiting to figure out if I was worth something (Bever, 2016, p. 61).

DISCUSSION**Summary of Parallels between Myths and Modern Cases**

It is interesting to realize that the only modern sexual assault survivor who was not vilified or devalued by the public and who enjoyed support from the media was the one who kept her identity private and never allowed her face and form to be publicized. This ‘invisibility’ might have protected Emily Doe from being ‘mortalized’ (knocked down from a ‘virgin goddess’ status) and kept her from being an easy target for either the media or the public. Brock Turner also was not officially a celebrity (or modern ‘god’), even though there was testimony and media reports about his privileged status (i.e., Stanford University student and swimming star).

Rape myths, as well as Greek myths, provide simplistic narratives. It is human nature to prefer simplicity over complexity (Baker, 2016), and science itself requires parsimony in theory-making (Sober, 1981; Swinburne, 1997). The Greek myths contain viscerally potent images, or archetypes, that may become imbedded in the subconscious

and allow patriarchal patterns to persist (Jung, 1969). This may occur through the process of heuristic reasoning (Chaiken and Trope, 1999; Kahneman, 2003; Stanovich, West, and Toplak, 2011), in which people come to conclusions based on unconsciously retained memory fragments rather than on conscious, reflective, systematic reasoning. The all-powerful male gods have been transformed in modern times to be our sports heroes or celebrities whose privilege protects them. The overly simplistic narratives of rape myths also provide support for the belief that the world is inherently fair (see just-world hypothesis, such as Lerner and Simmons, 1966; Rubin and Peplau, 1975); that bad things only happen for a victim-based reason; that, as long as a victim can be blamed, no one else needs to fear being violated.

“[T]he exercise of power, in modern society, is increasingly achieved through ideology, and more particularly through the ideological workings of language” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 3). By focusing on language, Fairclough (2001) believes it is possible to change embedded ideologies which create domination and oppression in modern society. Looking at language, which puts symbolism in words, helps to uncover powerful parallels between antiquity and today. In the Greek myth, when Medusa cast her gaze on people, they were turned to stone. In Desiree Washington’s case, when she succeeded in getting Tyson convicted, the majority of the public became stone-cold and unsympathetic toward her. Medusa’s beheading revealed the power of patriarchy to deny her existence as a whole person and have her exist only as a body. Desiree’s personhood (or identity) was publicly erased by the media, which was evidenced by the Googling of her name not producing results separate and apart from the name of her rapist, whose world fame allowed him to attain (and retain) god-like status. Both Medusa and Desiree were *doubly wronged* by being violated and then by being seen as complicit in their own violations (DeLong, 2012).

In Samantha Geimer’s rape, the public’s persistent unwillingness to censure Roman Polanski may be attributed to some remnant of sympathy toward him because of the horrific murder of his wife, Sharon Tate, and their unborn child (Bugliosi and Gentry, 2001). Polanski’s own victimhood may have allowed him to be publicly viewed less like the predatory eagle from Greek mythology and more like the harmless swan. However, it was his stature as a Hollywood elite that enabled him to disguise his dark side to both Samantha Geimer and her mother and to exploit their innocence and gullibility. Some accounts of the Leda-Zeus encounter describe the rape as a seduction (GreekMythology.com); similarly, media accounts of Samantha Geimer’s sexual assault minimized the violation, some reporting it as a consensual act despite the fact that Samantha Geimer was 13 years old while Polanski was 43. The legal system allowed Polanski to plead guilty to the lesser charge of Unlawful Sexual Intercourse with a Minor (Keegan, 2013), and the press persists even today in portraying Polanski’s predation in a swanlike manner.

The sole sexual assault survivor in this analysis who retained her voice in a public forum was Emily Doe, a pseudonym which effectively hid her true identity. While it would be gratifying to believe that it is *evolving standards of decency* in a progressive society that engendered media and subsequent public support for her, it is just as likely that Emily Doe’s hidden identity is what kept her from being the recipient of media scorn and victim blaming. Her invisibility made it difficult to be disparaging of her appearance, her demeanor, or her body language. Instead, she could only be judged by the facts of the case, making it easier for others to place themselves in her position (see Defensive Attribution Hypothesis; i.e., Cann et al., 1979; Kanekar and Vaz, 1983; Muller et al., 1994; Shaver, 1970; Thornton et al., 1982) and defer knee-jerk defensiveness for an attacker who was only a potential celebrity or sports star.

Besides being known as the god of wine, Dionysus is also known as the god of ecstasy. In modern society, we persist in using euphemisms and providing god status to a mythological male entity known for raping women after they were deliberately rendered unconscious from alcohol ingestion. One of the ‘She asked for it’ items in a typical rape myth acceptance scale is: *If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control* (Payne et al., 1999; McMahan and Farmer, 2011). Alcohol remains the drug of choice for would-be rapists to incapacitate their victims (Grubb and Turner, 2012). Despite this premeditated, predatory strategy on the part of rapists, more blame is often attributed to victims who have consumed alcohol prior to the attack (Richardson and Campbell, 1982; Scronce and Corcoran, 1991; Simms et al., 2007; Wild et al., 1998).

CONCLUSION

While this article’s focus is male-on-female rape and examines gender roles, the researchers recognize the seriousness of male victims of sexual assault, same-gender victimization, and the changing ideation of gender in modern society. The primary purpose of this research was to determine if parallels existed between ancient myths and modern media-reported cases and, more importantly, to explore a Jungian explanation for those parallels. Patriarchy has been defined as a deliberate power control strategy, and such definition divides and polarizes the population. Our analysis makes it clear that, even though we may not have progressed past patriarchal patterns present in ancient myths, there may be an alternative reason, one not wholly hegemonically driven, for the persistence of these patterns. Powerful primordial forces may be influencing people on an unconscious level. We posit that these patriarchal patterns may persist because of archetypal images imbedded within a Jungian collective

unconscious rather than because of consciously constructed patriarchal power. Our examination of archetypes as an alternative explanation for these persistent patriarchal patterns has not been offered to excuse wrong-doing, and it is not meant to minimize the harm caused. Instead, in the wake of emergent science across research fields (i.e., analytic psychology, behavioral psychology, evolutionary biology, and neuropsychology), Jung's theory of archetypes is now being recognized as relevant; and, as such, it has the potential to provide a practical way to root out ancient attitudes and create a safer society. The archetype explanation is offered as the means by which disparate disciplines, and even opposing ideological groups, might collaboratively come together to finally find solutions to a serious societal problem.

It was surprisingly easy to search out and select modern cases that paralleled mythological rapes. The three modern cases chosen were in our first group of four found by a simple Google search conducted on December 13, 2016: 'Celebrities convicted of rape.' We had to discard one case because we could not find an official disposition, and it appeared that the case may have been settled out of court. For the three cases selected, we found the parallels rather astounding, given the historical gap of thousands of years. We, as a society, need to be more fully cognizant of innate biases; we need to hold our heroes to a higher standard than the Greek gods; and we need to be much more mindful of the language being used by the media (and by ourselves) so as to alter behavioral patterns and progress past myths, both Greek-based and rape-based. Unless we become more reflective and less reactive, the light of reason may not uncover ancient stereotypes hidden deeply within the shadows.

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Territories of Contested Womanhood: Pussyhats, the Pachamama, and Embodying Resistance in the Era of Hashtag Feminism

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ABSTRACT

In response to a recent surge of openly misogynistic political discourses at the highest levels of government, a vibrant wave of hashtag feminism across the Americas evidences women's widespread concerns over their bodily and territorial rights. Engaging Twitter and Facebook as digital archives-of-the-present, in conjunction with ethnographic interviews and surveys conducted in Peru and in the United States, we analyze protest symbols in two high-profile women's rights movements: the United States #WomensMarch and the Peruvian #NiUnaMenos March. For Native women in both movements, the land grabs perpetrated by state and corporate actors factored as heavily into their resistance motivations as did their concerns over bodily rights and reproductive justice, which were the central concerns of non-Native women respondents. In the United States, the majority of protesters used the pussyhat as an organizing principle to react against politicians' allusions to the physical abuse of women and their policy-driven threats to reproductive choice; meanwhile, some Native women donned the warbonnet scarf to recognize their intersectional oppressions under Donald Trump. In the Peruvian context, women across the nation took to city streets with blood red paint dripping down their thighs to provoke social memory of a recent era of forced sterilizations under Alberto Fujimori. In the Andean highlands, Aymara and Quechua women invoked the *Pachamama*, or Earth Mother, as a vibrant ally to aid in their battle against threats to their bodily sovereignty and the ongoing destruction of indigenous landscapes. Within these two hashtag movements, we find a pattern of mainstream communications that emphasize body as territory, while indigenous protest symbols focus not only on *who* is being grabbed—but *where*.

Keywords: gender, media ecology, indigeneity, reproductive justice, land rights

INTRODUCTION

Over the past three years, a surge of openly misogynistic political discourses has reverberated through various media platforms across the Americas, with recent notorious controversies including the battle over the nomination of now Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh, the hotly contested election of Brazil's new President Jair Bolsonaro, and the continued effects of the 2016 presidential campaigns of Donald Trump in the United States and Keiko Fujimori in Peru. Hashtags have multiplied in the wake of these events, their pithiness cutting to the heart of widespread outrage: #BelieveWomen; #MyPussyGrabsBack; #WomensMarch; #NiUnaMenos; #StopKavanaugh; #EleNão; #MeToo.

Ours is a multi-sited comparison of two case studies examining high profile women's marches that organized under the hashtag movements #WomensMarch and #NiUnaMenos. In the United States context, surrounding the #WomensMarch, the majority of protesters used the pussyhat as an organizing principle to react against politicians' allusions to the physical abuse of women and their policy-driven threats to reproductive choice; meanwhile, some Native women donned what was called the warbonnet scarf to recognize their intersectional oppressions under Donald Trump as both their bodies and their lands were put up for 'grabs.' In the Peruvian context, during the #NiUnaMenos March, women across the nation took to city streets with blood red paint dripping down their thighs to provoke social memory of a recent era of forced sterilizations under Alberto Fujimori, in a visceral protest against the (later unsuccessful) presidential bid of his daughter, Keiko Fujimori. In the Andean highlands, Aymara and Quechua women invoked the *Pachamama*, a sentient earth goddess, as a vibrant ally to aid in their battle against threats to their bodily sovereignty and the ongoing destruction of indigenous landscapes that is exacerbated by state policy.

Within these two case studies, we find a pattern of protest communications that emphasize *body* as territory for both Native and non-Native-identifying women, with Native women waging a two-front defense of their territorial or ancestral lands, as well. We find that for Native women across movements, the land grabs perpetrated by state and corporate actors factored as heavily into their hashtag feminism as did their concerns over bodily rights and reproductive justice, which were the two central concerns of white women respondents. The two-front war being fought by Native women was expressed in their particular choices of protest symbols, which conveyed dual meanings about Native women's racialized and gendered social positioning.

Shenton analyzed the United States context, considering both the warbonnet scarf and the pussyhat, one of the more prominent symbols of the Women's March 2017, by scouring online newspapers and blogs as well as social media for coverage of the pussyhat, while paying close attention to Native women's experience of the Women's March. She also administered an open-ended online survey using a general call through social media; there were 78 respondents, most of whom self-identified as white.

Cavagnaro conducted the Peruvian case study, combining her participant observation at #NiUnaMenos protests in Puno, Peru with semi-structured interviewing of a dozen Aymara feminists and media activists in the field, followed by analysis of localized social media communications related to the #NiUnaMenos hashtag movement at multiple sites of the multi-city march, with a focus on Puno, Lima and Arequipa.

We find that while women across ethnicities emphasized their body as territory, the resistance efforts of Native women, in particular, and regardless of their cultural context or urban/rural residency, communicated an embodied relation to the landscape that emphasized their interrelation of these two forms of sovereignty—land rights and bodily sovereignty.

THEORIZING BODY AS TERRITORY

Scholars have noted the striking connection between violence against bodies and violence against lands with the link often being a gendered one. Political scientist Jocelyn Boryczka (2017) describes the colonized vagina as the claiming, occupation, and/or brutalization of the vagina by all manner of forces. The phrase 'colonized vagina' enfolds discourses of power and embodiment and asks us to consider at once the appropriation, control, and possession of an intimate space by those other than the person with the vagina. Indigenous peoples, like Native women in the United States, have had to deal with such appropriation, control, and possession of their lands and bodies across generations of kinship and social memory:

The colonized vagina (...) links pussy grabs to land grabs of indigenous people's property occurring from colonial to neocolonial times. [Boryczka 2017:37]

Boryczka's framing is relevant for the case studies at hand because it draws our attention to why indigenous women's strategies and symbols deliberately overlap gendered and environmental concerns. Andrea Smith calls for academics to consider the racialized and environmental aspects of gendered oppressions affecting Native women, in order to reveal the structural and neocolonial aspects of present-day patriarchal governments. Smith writes,

An examination of how sexual violence serves the goals of colonialism forces us to reconsider how we define sexual violence (...) as not simply a tool of patriarchal control, but (...) a tool of racism and colonialism (...) Putting Native women at center of analysis compels us to look at the role of the state in perpetrating both race-based and gender-based violence. [Smith 2005:2]

As indigenous citizens increasingly communicate their resistance through social media, we respond to Smith's call to consider Native women's experiences in order to better understand the actions of the State. Media anthropologists have extensively documented the struggles of indigenous communities to overturn the power

imbalance reflected in state and mass media representations of their activities (Ginsburg Abu-Lughod and Larkin 2002, Wilson and Stewart 2008). Indigenous media networks engage emerging digital social platforms in novel and strategic ways to reclaim their rights within social media public discourses (Alia 2010). David Gaertner (2016) articulates these tactical distance communications as a form of “landless territory” defense.

THE PUSSYHAT AND TERRITORIES OF CONTESTED WOMANHOOD IN THE UNITED STATES

There has been much to march for and against in the United States since 2016. The 45th president of the United States was inaugurated amidst one of the most contentious election seasons in recent history, one rife with ‘pussy’ references, and ‘punctuated by penises’ (Burleigh 2016). As of the spring 2017, the Congressional GOP, under Trump, was working hard to repeal the Affordable Care Act; efforts to this end continued through the fall 2017. Affordable Care Act repeal efforts threatened to make pregnancy a pre-existing condition and to remove other protections, including coverage for domestic violence screening. American senators Elizabeth Warren and Kamala Harris made headlines just months apart when both women were publicly hushed by male colleagues—and persisted, unsilenced. In September 2017, US Secretary of Education, Betsy DeVos, placed Title IX¹ guidance for campus sexual assault under review, and in September 2018, the legitimacy of the Supreme Court was called into question by Brett Kavanaugh’s problematic testimony regarding allegations of his committing sexual assault. Over the course of the last year in the United States, women have been openly defined by those in power as shushable, grabbable, expendable and conditionally pre-existent. ‘Vaginas Make America’, ‘Pussy Power’, ‘Shed Walls: Don’t Build Them’, and ‘Balls are Weak. Grow a Vagina’ were but a few of the signs on parade among the thousands of folks in Washington, D.C. who participated in the #WomensMarch in the wake of the inauguration of Donald Trump. Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook were filled with images from the protest. While it is true that gender discrimination is not new, it is equally true that our present moment is one in which women feel compelled to wear pussies on their heads, in the form of a pussyhat, as a visible and unmistakable reminder that it is not acceptable to make women’s oppression a policy recommendation.

The pussyhat was conceived of by Jayna Zweiman (a Jewish artist) and Krista Suh (a Korean- and Chinese-American screenwriter) in 2016 as a visual symbol of protest against Candidate Trump’s ‘grab ‘em by the pussy’ remarks through a visual reclamation of the word and image. As someone recovering from a serious physical injury, Zweiman also wanted to create a project that participants, regardless of their ability to attend a March or if facing certain physical limitations themselves, could carry out, too. The pussyhat garnered quick and sizeable popularity with hats produced, swapped, and worn by the tens of thousands.

The pussyhat was not the only symbol of resistance during the Women’s March 2017. On the streets of Washington, D.C. that day, Native North American women sang, danced, and wore special garments designed to draw attention to the challenges specifically facing Native women in the United States. For the Women’s March, the Indigenous Women Rise group commissioned Designer Bethany Yellowtail (Northern Cheyenne and Crow) to design a scarf (Fairbanks 2017), which she crafted in a beautiful shade of turquoise and featured a women’s warbonnet dance. The warbonnet dance ceremony, explains Yellowtail on her website, is the only sacred occasion during which women can don the warbonnet. Others invoked #NoDAPL, a hashtag movement protesting construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline through tribal water sources. In doing so, these Native American women made an explicit connection between the pollution of their bodies and the pollution of their lands. To grab one, was to grab the other. To reclaim one, was to reclaim the other. And, in order to reclaim both, they might need to be ‘grabbed back.’

The pussyhat is often interpreted to be a wearable way of women’s ‘grabbing back’ control over women’s bodies. To explore what reclaiming meant for wearers, just before the one-year anniversary of the Women’s March, Shenton sent out an online survey via social media to ask anyone who was willing to provide their thoughts about the pussyhat. In addition, she emailed seven organizations dedicated to issues related to gender and social justice, including organizations dedicated specifically to Muslim women, transwomen, Native American women, and Black women, and asked them to share it with their constituents. Out of 78 survey respondents, about 85% identified as cisgender women (‘cisgender’ refers to the alignment of someone’s gender identity with sex assigned at birth). Just over 75% identified as straight while the rest identified as asexual, bisexual, gay, lesbian or queer. Just over 90% identified as white, and 64% were under the age of 50. About 78% currently reside in Southern states. Most did not wear the hat, regardless of gender identity, sexual identity, ethno-racial identity, age, or location; social identity was not a reliable predictor of whether someone did or did not wear the hat. This may come as a surprise to many given the prominent, near contentious, place the pussyhat enjoyed in coverage of the Women’s March.

¹ A US federal law that prohibits sex discrimination educational programs receiving federal funds.

One question asked respondents to provide three words they most associate with the hat. Coding revealed that, by far, the most common descriptor for the pussyhat was something to do with power, empowerment, strength, or rising up. But opinions on this matter were not uniform. Some respondents observed the impossibility, in their view, of a hat that references genitalia, particularly one called the ‘pussyhat,’ as an effective tool to dismantle the broader societal tendency to equate women with their genitalia or to define them in terms of their reproductive roles. One 31-year-old cisgender, straight, white woman in Massachusetts said, ‘The women’s march was about more than just women and also tying women to their genitalia is not the best way to empower them.’ A 44-year-old cisgender, straight, Latino man in Kentucky remarked that the hat does little to counteract how ‘our culture (...) teach[es] people to see women as the sum total of the uses of a *pussy*.’ A 39-year-old self-identified cisgender, straight, Native woman in Kentucky put it plainly, ‘...I wish it was something different that would have not been about vaginas.’ Still, not everyone saw the reductionism of the hat as ignorance. Many saw it as purposeful, as did this 58-year-old cisgender, straight, white woman in Tennessee: ‘Its [sic] like saying if you only respect me because I am a baby machine, then let’s put it all out there for everyone to see.’

In addition to the hat’s reductionism as limiting women’s empowerment, objectification and frivolity were common critiques of the hat’s messaging. One 30-year-old cisgender, straight, white man in Kentucky, for example, ‘appreciated it’s [sic] identity as a symbol of female power within a society that often seems afraid of that power, but (...) wondered if it trivialized the importance of the statement.’ A 44-year-old cisgender, straight, Latino man in Kentucky put it more plainly,

Women complain a lot that they are objectified. (...) [I]t may have turned off women that might have participated. In a way I found it limiting. Not in a shameful way at all, but some women do object to pet names for their vagina. Both conservative and liberal.

While both of these critical respondents were men, women, too, expressed concern about the hat’s frivolity: ‘I thought they [the hats] were a little silly and I didn’t want to be so closely associated with the word pussy’ (cisgender, straight, white woman in Washington, D.C., 31). Lastly, one respondent was angered by the mere necessity of having to locate a symbol to protest a president who clearly does not value women and instead perceives them as objects: ‘I felt angry that thousands of women had to put a symbolic vagina on their head to protest someone who was suppose [sic] to represent us. All of us’ (cisgender, bisexual, white woman in OR, 42). Finally, and most importantly for this case study, reclamation or ‘grabbing back’ was also the second most popular reason given by self-identified cis white women for wearing the hat:

I think it is a perfectly acceptable symbol for the march. It is meaningful and cheeky, with a feminist message. It also empowers women by ‘taking back’ the pussy that have been grabbing (cis, straight, white woman in KY, 34).

One 43-year-old cisgender, straight, white woman in Tennessee felt similarly: “At first it made me uneasy the double entendre with pussy, but the more I thought about it I thought it was empowering.” She went on later,

At first I wasn’t supportive. I had an instinctive reaction of revulsion to the word ‘pussy’ but using it helped me reclaim control of the word. I imagine it’s a lot like how some people respond to the word ‘moist.’ It’s not a word that bothers me but drives other people I know nuts.

However, a 51-year-old cisgender, straight, white woman in Massachusetts has little time for anyone who would criticize the pussyhat for ‘vulgarity’:

I find sexual abuse and sexual assault much more unacceptable than the use of the word ‘pussy.’ I wanted to reclaim my power and disempower any man or woman for that matter who chose to use that particular word in a derogatory sense to do harm to another female.

The project of reclaiming ‘the feminine’ has been a longstanding one for feminists, one that has involved ‘grabbing back’ what was taken by those in power; sometimes this reappropriation must embrace the damaging or simplistic portrayals of the feminine in order to destigmatize it.

Yet, feminists have been critical of a focus on biology as risking a too close association of women with nature (Ortner 1974) or fueling the social construction of women as determined by or beholden to the ‘weaknesses’ of their bodies. Still, a strategy of some feminists, including those within the ecofeminist movement, was to redefine the materiality of womanhood in productive terms so as to not give ‘the patriarchy’ the power to control interpretations of women’s bodies and by extension, possibly, women’s bodies themselves:

(...) early radical feminism's close attention to the material, physical dimensions of power exercised through the female body (...) involved efforts to retrieve the vagina from patriarchy's definitional grasp. [Boryczka 2017:37]

This 'retrieval of the [colonized] vagina from patriarchy's definition grasp' is relevant to the experience of many of the survey respondents. Reclamation of the 'pussy' leaves unexplored other 'colonizations' faced by women whose voices were not widespread among survey respondents: Native women.

Native North American Women, Bodies, and Land

To be sure, Native American women faced specific suffering that was not encapsulated by the pussyhat. Their trauma includes the sterilization of thousands of Native women—at least 25 percent of Native women between the ages of 15 and 44—during the 1970s (Lawrence 2000:400). Their trauma includes the targeting of Native women for reproductive surveillance through family planning initiatives by Indian Health Services in order to reduce the Native birth rate:

The average for white women was 2.42 children in 1970 and that number lowered to 2.14 in 1980; a difference of .28 children in the ten-year span compared to 1.99 for the Native American community. [Lawrence 2000:402]

Their trauma includes the exceedingly high rates of sexual violence endured by Native women as a form of 'conquest' past and present. Increasingly, their trauma includes the ongoing environmental racism that renders Native lands toxic as a consequence of fracking, oil pipelines, waste, and abandoned mines (Hult 2017; Lewis, et al. 2017), all of which harm maternal and infant health (Lewis, et al. 2017). Questions of sexual violence and reproductive injustice demonstrate just how interlocking body grabs and land grabs are, as Boryczka (2017) might say.

Disputes over oil pipelines cutting through Native American land—threatening the integrity of tribal burial grounds as well as posing hazards to the water supply—have drawn international attention; and 'virtually all uranium production takes place on or near Indian land' (Smith 2005:58). Ani Begay (Navajo) expressed state-sanctioned environmental racism against Native communities in this way:

They [Trump and Pruitt] have no regard for sanctity of the land. It is only about dollar bills to them. I marched for our Mother Earth, for Native treaties and sovereignty and rights. I Marched for my children and for seven generations out. [Farris 2017]

Beyond environmental racism, for Native women, bodily and territorial sovereignty overlap in other ways:

'[N]on-Indians (...) reportedly commit the vast majority (96%) of sexual violence against Native women. (...) [N]on-Indians now comprise 76% of the population on tribal lands and 68% of the population in Alaska Native villages' (Indian Law Resource Center).

Sarah Deer (Muscogee [Creek]), scholar of tribal and federal laws as they relate to rape and other forms of violence perpetrated against Native women, reveals the stark reality of the vastly underrecognized topic of sexual assault against Native women who experience some of the highest rates of rape in the country (Deer 2015). High rates of sexual violence on tribal lands in conjunction with dismal track records of governmental prioritization often spell catastrophe for Native American women in the aftermath of assault (Asetoyer, et al. 2015). These women often seek medical attention in Indian Health Services clinics, and many of these clinics have a history of suboptimal care ranging from long waits to denial of services like emergency contraception (Asetoyer 2015; Asetoyer, et al. 2015). In other words, reproductive justice groups often focus on choice, but not all choices take place under similar circumstances (see Smith 2005:99-100).

From the words of Shenton's survey respondents, it is clear that the pussyhat did not fit every marcher's goals, experiences, or grievances. Sydne Rain (Muscogee [Creek]), co-founder of University of Oklahoma's Indigenize OU, commented on her Twitter feed various moments when she felt excluded, ignored, offended, and discriminated against. Journalist Tatiana Tenreiro (2017) was able to capture Sydne Rain's discontent with her experiences that day with screenshots of Rain's tweets in real-time. Here are a few striking examples:

hokte@sydnerain: Ashley and I started a chant, 'You're on stolen land.' WW shot us ugly looks. One shouted in her face, 'We know but it isn't our fault'

hokte@sydnerain: I always try to think about my connection to the land. Think about whose ancestors I'm standing on. And these WW ask me if I am a real human.

hokte@sydnerain: We were visible. They took pictures then refused to take our fliers on pipelines, fracking, and #MMIW in Oklahumma.

Here we see the importance for Rain of her connection to the land and her frustration that more of the marchers did not see it as worth marching for; here we see references to Native land stolen hundreds of years ago by white colonizers and for generations thereafter; here we see the continued delegitimation of Native American ancestry along with neo-colonial threats of fracking and pipelines. Hashtag feminism serves as a means to publicly reclaim women's bodies and lands via social media when the broader society needs to be reminded of the many, multi-sited territories of contested womanhood.

THE PACHAMAMA AND TERRITORIES OF CONTESTED WOMANHOOD IN THE ANDES

From Standing Rock, North Dakota, to the Andean altiplano, fracking and mega-mining projects increasingly threaten indigenous territories. While they constitute only 6% of the global population, indigenous people represent nearly one-third of the rural and extremely poor, and these rural communities are facing accelerating rates of land dispossession associated with mining and resource extraction. Across the Andes, and increasingly in the United States, local leaders are risking incarceration with the increased criminalization of protest (UN 2010). Indigenous activists are overwhelming turning to global communications systems to direct international media attention toward their plight.

The Andean women in this case study who invoke the Pachamama against mountaintop removal and groundwater contamination are claiming an essential connection to the landscape that emphasizes their relation to nature (Haraway 1991), and biological role as mothers (Ortner 1972). Generations of scholars have debated whether women's association as 'closer to nature' hinders or helps women's empowerment² (Shiva 1989, Hildebeitel & Erndl 2000, Orozco Mendoza 2016). This case considers Aymara women's self-portrayal on social media as inherent defenders of nature, analyzing their political identification with Pachamama within #NiUnaMenos demonstrations in highland Peru.

In recent years, Andean state leaders, including Bolivian President Evo Morales and former Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa, publicly declared their respect for Pachamama within the context of announcing extensive extraction projects so that the mother earth could 'provide for her people.' This *Pachamamismo* is a rhetorical platform that pulls Andean cosmology into policy discourse, emphasizing a moral obligation to defend and protect the Pachamama that is ironic compared to state practice. Indeed, despite this moral ethos, extraction is moving to a more destructive model that violates clearly stated ethical responsibilities toward Pachamama while wreaking havoc on public health (Li 2015). Against pro-mining rhetoric, many Aymara reclaim Pachamama as a political rallying cry; one recent Facebook post circulated among UMA activists was a blazing green sign that read: 'Pachamama, Si! *Pachamamismo*, No!'— in other words, 'Mother Earth, Yes! *Poorly-disguised Extraction*, No!'

On August 13, 2016, hundreds of thousands of women gathered in Lima and in cities across Peru to protest femicide and intimate partner violence, in the largest march in the nation's history.³ The multi-sited march against gendered abuse involved a panoply of symbolic representations: urban women strode through cosmopolitan Lima in cut-offs with blood red paint dripping down their thighs, in a visceral reference to forced sterilizations. In the largely white colonial city of Arequipa, men supported the movement carrying signs that read: 'careful, *machismo* kills'. In the indigenous Puno region of Peru, Aymara women marched with banners that operationalized their relationship to Pachamama, an Andean deity, emphasizing an explicit connection between bodily sovereignty and land sovereignty [Figure 1]. 'No More Silence!' 'Not One More Death!' and 'My Body, My Territory!' were the key phrases shouted by thousands of Peruvian women as they marched through the streets of cities across Peru. Baring images of a bloody hand with a heart etched in the center, some with bright red paint like blood dripping down their thighs, protesters pushed banners that said, 'Ni Una Menos', Not One Less, declaring that "To touch one of us is to touch all of us." Images of women's bodies lacerated by intimate partner violence were deployed across the country in a multi-city march on August 13, 2016. The #NiUnaMenos hashtag movement, which had begun in Argentina the year before, sparked in Peru in reaction to multiple high-profile incidents of intimate partner violence. Peruvians had just endured a presidential election wherein one candidate, the daughter of former

² *Ecofeminism* is a theoretical framework which traces the subordination of women and the environment through patriarchal development, analyzing how women are simultaneously subject to multiple forms of domination through the parallel control of land and women's bodies. Ecofeminism, however, leans into the idea that women are closer to "nature", and has been widely critiqued for its *essentialism*— the claim that groups have an inherent set of characteristics that make them who they are, as opposed to having culturally constructed identity.

³ As reported by Peruvian news outlets, see for example *La República* (in Spanish), August 14, 2016, "[La más grande de la historia](#)".



Figure 1. A banner emphasizing an explicit connection between bodily sovereignty and land sovereignty

president Alberto Fujimori, had ignited social memory of her father's era of forced sterilizations, which were largely perpetrated against indigenous communities. In a speech at Harvard University, Keiko Fujimori blamed the cruel surgeries on doctors, despite the fact that medical professionals had been compelled by the national health ministry quotas set by her father's administration. Nationwide, women took to the streets to protest against the visceral realities facing women in Peru.

2018 marks the 70-year anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN General Assembly 1948), yet violence against women remains among the most egregious humanitarian issues worldwide. In Latin America, 40% of women experience physical violence over the course of their lives; in Peru, among rural and indigenous women of the Puno region, more than 75% suffer some form of violence (Human and Environmental Rights Puno 2017). The adverse impacts of increased mineral extraction in the region, and the corresponding loss of resources and rights to self-determination, appear to be compounding rates of interpersonal abuse in indigenous communities (Jenkins 2014). These industries are destroying the animate landscape that the Aymara consider to be sacred. They call her Pachamama, or Mother Earth. For rural indigenous women in this Andean context, the violent plunder of a goddess-imbued landscape intersects with women's experiences of violence at the hands of men, medics, and the state. Cases of violence against women increased by 18% from 2015; femicides increased by a third from 2015 (Human and Environmental Rights Puno 2017). In July of that same year, Alberto Fujimori and his ministers of health were exonerated of criminal responsibility for the wave of forced sterilizations in the 1990s that targeted poor, rural women. The ruling stated that 'the reproductive health and family planning program had not violated human rights as part of a state policy.' Over the course of the last two years in Peru, women have been openly defined by those in power as rapeable, sterilizable, sub-human beings. The #NiUnaMenos movement, which has reemerged each year since its beginning—digitally incubating as a social media hashtag in between manifestations—evidences the need for renewed consideration of essentialism in studies of social protest.

Feminist analyses of the resistance efforts and tactics of those at intersecting power disadvantages have been instrumental to understanding social change. Cavagnaro examined Andean women's efforts to decolonize womanhood at scales ranging from the interpersonal (the body) to the ecopolitical (the landscape). Based on fieldwork conducted in 2016 and 2017 in the Puno region, Cavagnaro analyzes the #NiUnaMenos march through on-site fieldwork involving participant observation, interviews, focus groups, as well as post-event social media analyses.

In 2016, while running for president, Peruvian candidate Keiko Fujimori refused to acknowledge her father's administration's responsibility for establishing coercive long-term birth control quotas in the 1990s, which targeted citizens in poor and rural regions for forced sterilization. The younger Fujimori insisted that administration of birth control had been in the hands of individual medics, thus obscuring the structural and racial dimensions of these programs. These quotas, in turn, were influenced by broader global financial regimes—including the World Bank, which, since the 1970s, as Eduardo Galeano writes, has been giving 'priority in its loans to countries that

implement birth control plans' (Galeano 1979)—plans which are directed at racialized population control. Highland Andean bodies thus became sites for neocolonial Malthusian praxis, and the politics of birth control rhetoric took on vastly different implications for indigenous citizens than for their non-indigenous compatriots.

In Peru, the Fujimori administration's programs were advertised as a way of reducing poverty through population control. To appreciate why centering birth *control* as the unifying cause for a broad-based women's mobilization is problematic, it is important to understand the neocolonial eugenics of many state reproduction mandates affecting indigenous communities across the globe. Smith quotes Professor Inés Hernández-Avila (Nez Perce/Tejana), who notes,

it is because of a Native American woman's sex that she is hunted down and slaughtered, in fact, singled out, because she has the potential through childbirth to assure the continuance of the people. [Smith 2005:79]

Indigenous women in the Puno region of Peru are continuously at work to decolonize their bodies amid radical attempts at recolonization by political and corporate entities, who develop indigenous land without consent in the present (Jenkins 2014), and work to reduce indigenous populations without consent in the long-term.

In Peru, women in the #NiUnaMenos March in Lima symbolically leveraged the bloodied uterus to react against the forced sterilization of women and the threat to their reproductive freedoms. But what this does symbolize to women in Peru who have been written out of heteronormative women's rights conversations by virtue of their sexual identities? In the Peruvian Andes, Aymara and Quechua women in the #NiUnaMenos March invoked the Earth Mother, Pachamama, operationalizing the trope that 'women are to nature as men are to culture' (Ortner 1972), where 'nature' is the fecund body or landscape under attack, and 'culture' is the Western medic performing surgery, or the mining corporation. Thus, as Andean women continue to face threats to their bodies on a broad scale, one feminist concern is that their strategies deploy reductive gender stereotypes that may further marginalize the most vulnerable: women who love other women in rural indigenous communities, and are socially targeted or shunned for violating the 'gender complementarity' of Andean Cosmopolitics (De La Cadena 2015). So, what do we do when the symbols that make the strongest statement are at the same time reductionist, conforming to, and perhaps even serving to reinforce, the damaging gender stereotypes that define women by their genitalia, the relationality of that genitalia to a male "counterpart," and the social reproduction their genitalia promise?

Aymara and Quechua Women, Bodies, and Land

Study participants in the Puno region, Aymara and Quechua of the Andean highlands, ranged in age from 21 to 67. Cavagnaro interviewed 12 activists associated with the organization *UMA del Abya Yala*, the Union of Aymara Women Spokespeople (UMA), about their participation in the march. UMA hosts a feminist talk radio station in the Puno Region, which airs internationally across Lake Titicaca, reaching the Bolivian shores and connecting highland Aymara and Quechua women of both nations. In addition to their radio programming, UMA functions as a women's rights organization, holding gender rights workshops in Aymara communities south of Puno.

During the 2016 March, UMA activists struggled against neo-colonizing mass media narratives aimed to 'gaslight' indigenous social memory. As one Aymara respondent recounted:

I had always heard that there were so many cases of forced sterilization, but since I didn't know anyone this had happened to (...) I thought, it seemed far away. I was wrong. The idea, the cultural idea here, was that the women that this had happened to, they must have been 'easy' women. This is what so many of the women victims [later] told (...) that they had been treated in this way by their families. So, they decided to shut up and to abandon the [legal] process (...) But on the news they are not talking about this very much and so the youth doesn't know very much about it, and it seems like it doesn't interest us, because we didn't live it.

The Aymara and Quechua the *altiplano*, or Andean high plains, inhabit landscapes which are *redundantly* claimed, occupied, and brutalized by mining companies, development firms and mountaintop removal, leaving them scarred with open-pit mines and poisoned with cyanide. The adult Quechua and Aymara women who live within these landscapes suffered the worst extents of oppressive state health programs. Through enactment of Fujimori-era eugenics policy, these women's reproductive rights were claimed, their bodies colonized, and their uteruses brutalized by coercive state health ministries tasked with numbers of sterilizations to perform, leaving them barren, socially marked, physically scarred and psychologically afflicted. These women are engaged in an ongoing battle to decolonize self and community. And yet, a further daunting challenge afflicts their resistance efforts: the

need to first decolonize the broad propagandist narratives that claim to work towards population control in the hopes of reducing 'rural poverty'.

This strawman population argument has served to disunite generations of indigenous women. Intracommunity women's radio programming and gender rights training workshops are helping to counteract these patriarchal narratives. A young Aymara woman from a rural community who went to school in Puno recalled:

Before I went and I listened at the reunions, I was convinced that the sterilizations were a good thing. Because, I thought, there are so many children. And the parents don't have the economic means to care for them. I thought that it would be good for the birth rates in Peru. When I went to the meetings, I was so surprised that it was such a negative process for the men as well as the women. (...) Later, we learned that those medical professionals who performed more sterilizations actually earned more money.

Rural women's language barriers, educational differentials and economic limitations made these highlanders soft targets for state workers who were threatened with unemployment if they did not fill their quotas. However, their intersectional experience of violence as rural Aymara women means that state campaigns aimed at reducing indigenous populations not only colonize women's bodies to facilitate the future colonization of their territories, they also exacerbate women's experience of violence *within* their communities by triggering cultural conflict rooted in Aymara notions of womanhood and manhood. Another young UMA activist recalled:

ONAMIAP [The National Organization of Andean and Amazonian Indigenous Women of Peru], they held meetings for survivors of this, and we heard about it from men and women who went through it. One man -- he was talking about what they did to him, the vasectomy -- and he said that he is now 'not like a man' (...) He said this, and said others talk this way about [the procedure] (...) that it stops what makes you a man. And now he can't work. He is dark (...) and the women, too, now they can't work, they feel so heavy and burdened all the time, depressed.

Centuries of racism and neocolonial governance disempowered indigenous Andeans' sense of resistance against the medical staff, who the intimidated rural men and women recognized as 'educated', *mestizo* agents of the state. A young Quechua man, the only current male member of UMA, in whose community dozens of women were targeted, reflects with a hoarse whisper:

There were so many Quechua women from this area that had this happen to them and didn't even know it was happening, and also to the Aymara in Puno region but more so to the Quechua. They would go to the Health Centers for some reason, for some malady, and the nurses would ask them things like, "You, how many children do you have?" And they would answer, 'Oh, I have five', or 'I have three', or 'I have four' (...) and the nurses would say, "Oh, but this is so many, it is for this reason that you are feeling like this, that you are sick this way. You should not have any more children." And the women would stay quiet. They would not speak back to the medical professional. They were timid, and then the doctor or the nurse would say, "Here, come on up on the table, we will examine you, to see what is wrong," and so on. And it was there that they would put things in them, or sterilize them; there were different methods: a *cobre* [copper-T IUD], or *ligadora* [colloquial reference to tubal ligation] (...) They did these things to men, too, the vasectomies. They didn't tell them why.

In post-march interviews, many Aymara and Quechua women in the highlands reported their motivations for participating as a simultaneous resistance against the patriarchal colonization of their beings and the neocolonial destruction of their landscapes by mega-mining projects. Likening her body to the body of Pachamama, and her roles as mother, nurturer and tender of the soil to Pachamama's function as material provider for the people, one Aymara leader reflected:

It is us, as women, who are closer to her, who understand what is happening to her. We lead in defending the Pachamama because she suffers as we do.

Western academics call this strategically associative closeness of 'woman' to 'nature' *ecofeminism*. In its analysis of parallels between the patriarchal treatment of women and the consumerist development of landscapes, ecofeminism is inherently gender essentialist, rooting 'womanhood' in the physicality of the body and what the body can produce. The downside to ecofeminist discourse is its biological determinism, and in particular for Andeans, the cis-gendered, heteronormativity of the 'gender complementarity', as described by *chachawarmi*, the Andean gender concept informing invocations of Pachamama. Across cultural frameworks and national borders, for decades, women have been discussed as more environmentalist and 'closer to nature' (Shiva 1989, Haraway 1991, Gaard 2015).

Regardless of veracity, Western ideologies associating both women and the indigenous as closer to ‘nature’ are engaged by indigenous movements seeking autonomy and resources, both at local and international scales. The importance of such rhetoric cannot be overstated; Andrew Canessa (2012:2-4) notes the distinct global currency of *indigenity* with the UN and other major funding bodies. Andean state leaders now grant citizenship rights to Pachamama in Ecuador and in Bolivia, while engaging tropes of sacred feminine landscapes (Cochrane 2014) and appealing to UN funding foci on climate change and women, despite their extraction-dependent economies and continuous, broad-scale open-pit mining.

Andean women’s relationality to Pachamama, on the other hand, serves to bring indigenous women and their allies together and provide an organizing principle rooted in Andean cosmology that helps to rhetorically shape and promote their defense of the landscape. An expanding feminist talk radio network in the region supports this effort. Referring to her radio activism on Radio Pachamama, in Puno, one UMA activist noted:

Everybody listens to our participation and our words. Our sons and daughters also listen.

We tell them about the situation of Mother Earth.

As communities of Aymara women came together for the march, they shared experiences across generations that decolonized the younger women’s understanding of the state’s claim that Fujimori-era sterilizations were geared towards a pro-environmental, anti-poverty program, helping the younger generation toward the realization that these policies were neocolonial acts of gender violence propagated by the state. Identification with the Pachamama revalorizes women’s roles in Andean society—though in doing so, thus far fails to deconstruct the reductive gender norms that contribute the erasure of women who love women in these communities. When asked about Aymara women who love other women, one respondent illustrated:

Aymara culture is still so repressed about sexuality. If women love women, they hide it -- they have children anyway, or they move to Lima (...) It brings shame on their family; sometimes the family is accused of wrongdoings or evil.

To wrest their rights to self-definition back from mass media stereotypes that portray sterilized women as having been sexually overactive over-populators, Andean activists’ leveraging of essentialized symbolic connections serves to lay claim to women’s forms of power and authority, toward the defense of their bodies and territories. Once brought together by these shared symbolic affinities, these women shared testimonies that helped to decolonize their understandings of social memory, which had been polluted by state propaganda. Hitherto, in the altiplano, this tactic has broken down for women who love women, as there is no, pre-state Aymara concept for same sex rights. But is this changing in the era of hashtag feminism, as women’s cultures, symbols and political agendas converge in this new realm of digital grievance. When Pachamama goes global, leveraged by Andean activists on the radio, social media, and in the streets blockading, perhaps she does so as a single woman, leaving behind her implicit male counterpart who is rooted in the intimate binaries implicit in *chachawarmi*, or gender complementarity. However, in the everyday lived experiences of women in the Andes, heteronormative gender ideals erase the experience of same-sex love in rural indigenous communities, where individuals who stray from the heterosexual binary expected by community social norms are punished through ostracism and physical and verbal abuse that often extends to their families.

***#TheFutureIsFemale?* HASHTAG FEMINISM AS COMPLAINT DISCOURSE**

Cavagnaro is appropriately haunted by a reading she once did for a gender theory class, during a lesson on expressions of the subaltern voice; she’ll do her best to frame it here: There was a group of houses close together in a community, and it came to be that a young woman was being brutally beaten by her spouse. At night, others in the surrounding homes heard her sounds of pain but the social contract left her silent, and legal recourse, impossible. Unable to physically stop the abuse, the women of the community finally took up their drums and surrounded the house of the abuser. They drummed and they drummed, the constant, increasing rhythm growing louder as more and more women from the community left their homes to join in.

This is the power of complaint discourse⁴, with social media emerging as a beating drum. In the 21st century, what imbues complaint discourse with such notable potential is the ability of social media platforms to scale up the level of conversation and instantaneously connect those who share a cause with those who might influence policy and public opinion. This is what happened when activist Ana Maria Archila and college graduate Maria

⁴ For community studies of complaint discourse in anthropology, see Lorna Marshall, 1976 and 1999; Richard B. Lee, 2003; Harriet Rosenberg, 1993.

Gallagher accosted Republican Senator Jeff Flake during the Kavanaugh hearings, beseeching him to recognize that a vote in favor of the embroiled nominee was a vote telling women they do not matter.

Among the Aymara, women's grassroots political activism increasingly reaches a pan-indigenous and international audience of sympathizers. They tweet and retweet, their consistent, quasi-repetitive messaging reaching broader and broader media sources until, as was the case during the 2011 *El Aymaraço* uprising in Puno district, they're the subjects of punditry on Al Jazeera, CNN and Fox News. Their multimedia ecofeminism, in addressing relationships between capitalist domination of nature and men's domination of women, has been a useful communication strategy for Aymara women leveraging the Pachamama to simultaneously address multiple forms of male domination in their communities. At present, a grassroots media commentary by Andean women circulates on Facebook, captioned '*Pachamama Si, Pachamamismo No!*' evidencing women's dissent against the neo-extractive policies of plurinational Ecuador and Bolivia. In the Amazon, the Women against TIPNIS are protesting the construction of a superhighway through vast expanses of rainforest. Global media strategies meet localized media ecologies to combat the 'menace of multiculturalism' (Hale 2002), as grassroots movements lean into their place-basedness to establish visibility and presence schemas focused heavily on globalized complaint discourse and localized actions (Jeffries 2010). Meanwhile, this scaling-up of protest is increasingly necessary as a surge of far-right state regimes rolls back on gender rights and territory agreements across the Americas.

We would be remiss not to observe that the gender essentialism of women's hashtag feminism in the case studies presented has been in active response to a gendered pattern of affronts. As myriad, macho politicians speak to mainstream media in misogynistic ways, all the while holding the keys to the highest levels of power and government, women take to social media to engage in one of the most tried and tested forms of subaltern resistance: complaint discourse.

In the United States, a focus on the experiences of Native women in demonstrations on Washington shows that often, pro-woman discourses obscure the history of erasure that has affected Native women's access to a variety of societal resources; this includes pro-choice platforms' lack of concern for the specifics of indigenous women's reproductive rights and a failure to be attentive to how this involves their homes and lands. The echoes of a national disruption caused by the US Women's March can be seen in the ongoing wave of sex-abuse revelations and inquiries now directed at some of the highest-level public faces in the country.

Hashtag-incubated via social media between public manifestations, the #NiUnaMenos movement continues and has held a march in Peru each year since 2016. On June 2, 2018, protesters lined the streets outside the Palace of Justice in Lima with signs that read 'No more immunity, the murder must pay!' in reference to Peruvian President Martin Vizcarra's comments about a woman recently burned to death by her stalker on a public bus: 'Sometimes that's how life is and we have to accept it.'⁵ Meanwhile, in the United States, Trump nominee Brett Kavanaugh ascended to the Supreme Court after dodging Senate Judiciary questions regarding multiple, detailed accounts of sexual assault from women in his former communities, the most prominent of whom has testified before the US Senate and submitted to polygraph testing, which she passed. Women have taken to social media with the hashtags #BelieveWomen and #StopKavanaugh to protest the senate majority's attempts to proceed with Kavanaugh's nomination. This highly publicized resistance served to compound gender divides between American voters, as Marist polls suggest that Kavanaugh's hearings, and the gendered reaction thereto, galvanized conservative males to vote in the November 2018 elections.⁶

Meanwhile, in Brazil, hundreds of thousands took to the streets of multiple cities nationwide to protest far-right presidential candidate Jair Bolsonaro, under the hashtag movement #EleNãO, 'Not Him'. Bolsonaro's misogyny has been widely publicized: in 2014 he told a Brazilian congresswoman that he wouldn't specifically rape *her* because she didn't 'deserve it', and in 2017 was quoted as suggesting that a man's siring of a daughter demonstrated 'weakness.'⁷ Anti-Bolsonaro supporters of the #EleNãO movement, as covered by global media outlets, are already expressing biologically deterministic ideals about women and gender, even as they attempt to support women's rights. A female university professor from Rio told Al Jazeera,

Bolsonaro is the expression of masculinity, and cannot handle the feminine, which is the most beautiful aspect of women... Women, in contrast to men, aren't born with the illusion that we have a gun between our legs. [Child and Soares 2018]

As the unfortunate surge of far-right, gender oppressing state leadership continues, social scientists who analyze culture change should pay careful attention to how marginalized groups are using media to bypass increasingly misogynistic institutions, and consider the multiple fronts of conflict expressed in their protest symbolism.

⁵ See Dan Collyns' article in *The Guardian*, "Fury over Peru president's reaction to woman's murder by stalker", June 5, 2018.

⁶ September 2018 Marist poll, National Public Radio, *All Things Considered* October 3, 2018.

⁷ *Al Jazeera*, "Brazil: Thousands of women rally against Bolsonaro", September 29, 2018.

Somewhere there needs to emerge a focus on (alter)Native views that centers the experiences of ‘non-normative’ womanhood, following women who lead in warbonnet scarves or bowler hats, as they defend womanhood in some cases, deconstruct it in others, and continue to decolonize their bodies and their lands. From the collective beating of drums to the rapid-fire retweets of #TimesUp, these battle-forged tactics surface in times of increased, hegemonic gender conflict.

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Wisdom in Mournful Tunes: Exploring the Major Themes of Igbo Oral Funeral Songs

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ABSTRACT

Death often engenders emotional outbursts in the form of chants, songs and recitations. In most parts of Africa, the death of an adult member of the society goes with the rendition of some peculiar songs in honour of the deceased and to contemplate on death as a natural phenomenon. Among the Igbo of South-eastern Nigeria, it is anathema to intone a funeral song at a moment or location where there is no bereavement. Such acts attract severe verbal sanctions because oral funeral songs are special performances rendered during burial and funeral ceremonies. This implies that they are not merely ordinary songs rendered for non-justifiable reasons but ones which have recognizable motives behind their rendition. The focus of this paper is to identify some strands of meaning which most Igbo oral funeral songs convey. It highlights their basic thematic constructs or the 'artistic representations' espoused in most of them. Applying Contextual Analysis as the conceptual theoretical framework, the paper analyzes the content of selected Igbo oral funeral songs and concludes that they have clear identifiable preoccupations because they express multifaceted shades of grief and serve valuable purposes in the various communities where they are rendered.

Keywords: thematic imports, oral funeral songs, Igbo, contextual analysis

INTRODUCTION

In a recent essay, one of the leading scholars of African oral literature, Ruth Finnegan acknowledges that the diversities and dimensions of African traditional verbal arts are continuously improving and expanding. As she puts it, "the study of African oral literature has in many ways been transformed" while the literature itself now includes "narratives, songs, epics, multi-media productions, broadcasts, political propaganda, oral-written intersections...the field is expanding to encompass changing and emerging genres as well as the once dubbed 'traditional'" (Finnegan, 2010, p. 25). In the lines above, she highlights the forms of African oral literature which have engaged the attention of scholars since she pioneered an elaborate and extensive study in the field; a venture which yielded the famous book *Oral Literature in Africa*, published in 1970.¹ But having said that, she also points out that in spite of the bountiful leaps which the study of African oral literature has made, "there is still so much to do—to study, to collect, to store, to win appreciation for, to remain responsive to the changing and diverse wonder of African oral literary forms" (Finnegan 2010, p.25). She therefore calls for more vigorous analytical forays into African oral literature. This paper is conceived in response to this call; to re-evaluate the underlining thematic thrusts of Igbo elegiac performances with specific attention to oral funeral songs.

IGBO CONCEPT OF DEATH

Death is marked by the cessation of breath which stops the functioning of the heart thus bringing the activities of all body organs and systems to an end. The death of any human being ignites pain in the heart of those whom the deceased has left behind. Death also elicits sorrow and sympathy for those who are closely affiliated to the deceased. Death generally is “an inescapable fact of life...the logical end of birth which in itself is the beginning of life as we know it in this world” (Opata 1988, p. 172). Death as explained above is a phenomenon that is inevitable for anything that has life or that which comes to life through birth. It is important to note that the interest of this study is on funeral songs rendered during incidences of deaths; that is, the death of a man or a woman, a son or a daughter, wife or husband, cousin or aunt, brother or sister, nephew or niece in Igboland.

The Igbo occupy an area in South-Eastern Nigeria. They are one of the most widely dispersed ethnic groups in Africa and “perhaps the ethnic group found abroad more in large numbers than any group in all Africa. There is perhaps no sphere where their influence is not felt, and no region where their fame has not been spread. There are no borders they have not crossed and no nations, however distant they [sic] are not found.” (Onanuga *et al* 2012, p. 23) However, in Igboland and in other parts of Africa, there are three forms of death: “the first one is natural death, which comes as a result of ageing. Death can be caused by an individual through self-abuse like over-indulgence in drinking, eating or the contraction of a disease. Malevolent spirits could also cause a person’s death. These spirits could either be sent to the person in forms of witches/wizards, magic and charm or could visit the person in revenge for a wrong done them by the person” (Nwosu 2009, p. 143). A person’s life can expire and wither just as a tree or plant does when its body can no longer sustain or regenerate itself; that is the result of ageing. Apart from this, one can suddenly die without any physically explainable cause even when the body organs and tissues are in good health condition. Such deaths, though natural, are in Igboland partly attributable to the *ogbanje* spirit. The *ogbanje* “are part human and part spirit beings whose lives are confounded by the added loyalty which they owe to spirit deities. A ‘normal’ individual is born owing his loyalty to his ‘chi’. But an ‘ogbanje’s’ life is complicated by being mixed up with the demands of paranormal deities. The most notable of these demands is that the ‘ogbanje’ will not be allowed to enjoy a full life cycle” (Achebe 1986, p 27).² *Ogbanje* can cause such mysterious and incomprehensible death but that apart, one can do great harm to oneself and one’s body by living a reckless life and the ultimate result is the destruction of body organs and ultimate death while some bad spirits or even humans who are known as *akara ogiri* – malevolent human and spiritual enemies in Igboland, can cause someone’s death by inflicting a terrible terminal illness or disease on the person.

As an integral part of African society, funeral ceremonies in Igbo communities are hardly observed without singing, chanting and recitations. This is because “among the Igbo, the death of any member of a community, particularly the prominent or accomplished members of the community attracts the rendition of music and in some cases singing in honour of the deceased” (Onyeji 2004, p. 92). This expression of grief through singing and musical performances is uniquely peculiar to each community because it is spontaneous because “there is no common pool of funeral songs in Igbo as there is in the Christian religion ... Each area has its stock of funeral songs, which are sung according to the status, family links, and achievement of the deceased” (Chukwuma 1994, p.32). Such songs elicit emotional feelings that range from “anger to sorrow; anger at deprivation through death, and the hopelessness of amelioration.”³

IGBO ORAL FUNERAL SONGS

Singing is synonymous with humanity as “man is ontologically an expressive being ...” (Avorgbedor 1990, p. 208). A song is a vocal melodious tune that is individually or communally rendered. Most times it is accompanied by instruments which add much impetus to its musicality. Humans carry out many expressive acts but it is “in the song, however, [that] we reach the highest level of vocal manipulation...it is in the areas of instrumental accompaniment and audience participation that the song demonstrates its superiority to the other modes of performance.” (Okpewho 1992, p.132). Distinguishing a song from other modes of poetic performance like chant and recitation, Okpewho maintains that “chanting, or recitation, is a technique of oral performance that stands halfway between normal speech and song ... [but] the performance of a song is also usually accompanied by music and dance in accordance with steps that are either culturally familiar or else related to the particular style dictated by the song” (Okpewho 1992, p. 133). He further maintains that “apart from having superior musical patterns a song can be performed by an individual or by a group but most times, people prefer group singing where they can participate in the singing, clapping and dancing as opposed to listening to solo performance by an individual artist.”

Significantly, there is hardly any occasion in African traditional society that goes without singing and dancing. Africans, the Igbo inclusive, sing a lot because “for members of several traditional African communities, virtually every occasion necessitates singing ... Because songs permeate every aspect of African life and culture, they commonly derive their names from the different occasions on which they are performed or from which they are

derived” (Okoh 2002, p. 156). The Igbo sing on every occasion and one of such occasions is the funeral ceremony which is associated with death, a phenomenon recognised as one of the major rites of passage. “Birth, marriage, and death constitute the rites of passage and as important landmarks in the life of an individual, they provoke great poetry” (Uzochukwu 2012, p. 273). Igbo funeral songs include sober and reflective singing and dancing carried out by members of an Igbo community during the funeral or memorial occasions slated to mourn a departed member, relation or friend of the community. The underlining factor is that singing and dancing are done in groups in such situations. This is one of the remarkable features of Igbo funeral song. It is performed by groups or in groups. The singing and dancing carried out by groups during burial and funeral rites to alleviate the pangs of bereavement and meditate on the phenomena of life and death in Igbo land are oral performances. The mournful situation that necessitates the rendition of Igbo funeral song gives meaning and credence to them and determines their actual mode of performance.

Performance is the live wire of oral literature. It is the main action that gives life to the dormant memorized oral text. However, “the term ‘performance’ has become extremely popular in recent years in a wide range of activities in the arts, in literature, and in the social sciences” (Carlson 1996, p. 4). According to Schechner (2002, p. 28), ‘in the arts, ‘to perform’ is to put on a show, a play, a dance, an account.” These are all observable physical acts, and commenting on the meaning of performance, he quotes Goffman (1959, pp-15-16) to have defined it as “all the activity of any given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants ...”. By this, the Igbo oral funeral songs to be discussed in this paper are collected as forms of various physical and verbal actions exhibited by people at funeral occasions. It involves “the live presence of the performers and those witnessing it ... [and there is] some intentionality on the part of the performer or witness or both...” (McAuley 2009, p. 45). In Igboland, men, women and youth make up the sympathizers—kinsmen and women, relatives, in-laws, colleagues, age-mates, friends and well wishers who perform oral funeral songs. They constitute the ‘live audience’ who chant, sing and dance in honour of the dead.

There are procedures to announce death especially in most Igbo rural communities where many people die in their homes because hospitals are not easily reachable. Whether the deceased is a man, woman, youth or a child, members of the immediate family are instantly informed and the elders among them will go and check the deceased’s pulse. When it is evident that the person has died, women and children in the house are urged to raise cries and wailings. If the deceased is a child or an adult who is not yet married, arrangements are made for the corpse to be buried within a few hours of the death. But if the deceased is an adult or a man or woman married into the community elaborate funeral arrangements are made. The deceased will lie in state overnight during which a wake is observed. Within this time, various groups made up of men, women and youth take turns to chant, sing and dance. Most times, they sing and dance round the corpse as it lies in state. Funeral performances also continue the next day after the corpse has been interred.

A brief survey of the scholarship of Igbo oral funeral poetry reveals that the first work in the field is *Poetic Heritage: Igbo Traditional Verse* (1971) an anthology compiled by Romanus N. Egudu and Donatus I. Nwoga. As a collection of Igbo oral poetry with contributions from various parts of Igboland, the last section of the collection is entitled “Lamentation Poems.” Under this section are four Igbo oral elegiacs with the titles: “Saviour”, “Sorrows”, “My Sister Lolo” and “Death has Crushed my Heart.” Each of these oral elegiacs is written on the left page in Igbo language and translated into English on the right page. The Igbo version is dialectical while the translated version tries its utmost to capture the exact meaning. The only problem with the presentation is that no explanation or analysis is carried out to aid reading or appreciating the poems.

The second effort is by F. Chidozie Ogbalu who in 1974 published another collection of Igbo oral poems with a section named “*Egwu Maka Onwu* (Death Songs).” The only sore tooth in the collection is the absence of translated versions of all the oral poems including the death songs. This limits its scope of reach and understanding especially among non-speakers of Igbo language. Also, in her study of Igbo oral literature Helen Chukwuma made some prefatory remarks about “*Abu-ozu*” funeral songs which she says are sung notably during funeral ceremonies or memorials. She argues that each community in Igbo land has their own “stock of funeral songs which are sung according to the status, family links and achievements of the deceased” (Chukwuma 1994, p. 38). Iroha Ebe Udeh also carried out a doctoral study entitled “Arts and Culture in the Elegiac Lore of Abiriba Igbo.” As higher degree research that has oral funeral poetry as its focus, Udeh’s study after investigating the themes that are explored in Abiriba Igbo oral elegy arrived at three. These are the “themes of sorrow and loneliness, philosophical reflections and social ethics” (Udeh 2000, p. 149).⁴

However Sam Uzochukwu pioneered the critical study of Igbo oral funeral poetry in his doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Lagos in 1981. In the work he classifies Igbo funeral poetry into two main types in terms of content: *dirge* and *lament* and explained each of them by vividly outlining their characteristics.⁵ He further developed the core ideas he derived from that study into a book entitled *Traditional Funeral Poetry of the Igbo* (published in 2001). Though the discussions in the book are extensive, there are some themes that manifest in Igbo traditional funeral poetry which are not discussed. Apart from the book, Uzochukwu has written an article

“Traditional Poetry as a Mirror of Cultural Values: The Case of Igbo Funeral Chants” where he infers the Igbo belief system, culture, norms and values from some chants which are performed during funerals. However, as a scholar with enormous passion for the expansion of the scope and intensity of Igbo oral funeral forms, he recognises the lapses in his method and calls on Igbo scholars to undertake separate studies of each of these delivery modes of Igbo oral funeral poetry: “Clearly, there is ample room for further investigations into Igbo traditional funeral poetry through specific research projects on each of the three modes: the chant, the song, and the recitation (Uzochukwu 2001, p. 116).

Theoretical Framework

Discussions in this paper focus on some Igbo oral funeral songs that I collected from fieldwork and observations I carried out for my doctoral dissertation which I defended at the University of Abuja, Nigeria in 2017. In the course of the research, I recorded numerous oral funeral songs from Umuawuchi—a rural Igbo community. These songs were transcribed and also translated into English. They constitute the main texts which this article examines to unravel their thematic thrusts. The conceptual literary framework employed in the analysis of the Igbo oral funeral songs is contextual analysis. On the meaning of this method, “contextual theories of meaning assert that concepts precede precepts;... the range of contexts within which utterances occur extends from the narrowly linguistic (phonetic or morphological) to the broadly philosophical, and the task of literary criticism can be seen, in part, as the need to relate words, phrases, sentences and other parts of literary works to their linguistic contexts” (Childs and Fowler 2006, p. 38). A contextual analysis then involves an appraisal of the manner in which words that make up a literary piece are arranged or the way they associate with each other as well as relating the meaning of the words to the surrounding socio-historical and psychological events that gave rise to the work.

For the Igbo oral funeral songs to be discussed in this paper, death offers the ambience that gives rise to their rendition; so, their meanings are better inferred from this framework. Looked at from another angle, contextual analysis is “simply an analysis of a text...that helps us to assess that text within the context of its historical and cultural setting, but also in terms of its textuality- or the qualities that characterize the text....a contextual analysis combines features of formal analysis ...and aesthetic conditions that were...in place at the time and place when the text was created” (Behrendt 2008, p. 1). As a method, it makes use of some conventional literary techniques that dwell on the thematic and stylistic imports of a literary text while complementing it with additional investigation into the events and activities that give vent to the piece. Acknowledging that these Igbo oral funeral songs are products of grief, this article evaluates their literary values in terms of the meanings they bear and the subject matter that is projected through them.

THEMES IN IGBO ORAL FUNERAL SONGS

The significant character of any literary piece of art is that it has a meaning which it communicates or a sense which is decipherable from it. This is popularly called the theme, the message or the subject matter. This is “any representation of reality by the use of words done through character, action, situation, setting and belief” (Udeh 2000, p. 240). Such representations generate or elicit meanings which are passed across to both the audience and connoisseurs by literary producers through their actions in a given situation. They offer a “picture of reality in a literary composition, which may be based on character, action, situation or setting, time and place” (Mbah and Mbah 2007, p. 249). The theme of a literary work therefore includes the major issues, topics and ideas which it contains and transmits to people. As a kind of literature, “oral literary forms not only treat but also shed valuable insights into human nature and the universal themes of life, death, marriage, greed, jealousy, corruption and the problem of good and evil” (Akporobaro 2004, p. 16). Death is one of the themes enumerated above and this is best captured in the traditional elegies which most times are in form of chants, recitations and songs. Of utmost interest to us in this paper are oral funeral songs, for in Africa, “at the death of the individual, some songs lament the loss of the physical life while other songs give consolation for a life well lived and usher the deceased into a glorious company of the ancestors” (Okpewho 1992, p. 132). Commenting in a similar vein, Emezue (2001, p. 24) argues that a few themes dominate African dirge and highlighting them she posits that “the preoccupation of most dirges is that of loss and separation while the mood is filled with sorrow and sadness. At times [such] feelings progress into deep-seated frustration and helplessness.”

Most Igbo oral funeral songs are short and in most instances pursue a single theme. This is a characteristic that they share with Efik song text which “deals with a single theme and treats it as briefly as possible” (Erim 1990, p. 56). The reason for this is not far-fetched because as mourning and sorrow-laden songs, Igbo oral funeral songs deserve to be short and have meanings that are uncluttered so as to make for easy understanding, memorization and singing. Their terse and concise features facilitate easy comprehension and their composers take into account the unsteady mood of the bereaved for whom the songs are most times rendered to console. The songs are precise

because the performers are careful not to belabour the audience with obscure expressions or subject matter. Below are the basic themes explored in most Igbo oral funeral songs:

Anger, Sorrow and Sadness

Whenever death occurs in Igbo communities, it causes anger, sorrow and sadness. These feelings are vividly expressed in most Igbo oral funeral songs. The songs are not only deployed by the performers to mourn the dead but their rendition helps to express pent-up emotional feelings and release grief. In the song below, some youths express their anger and sorrow over the death of a young man. Within the few lines, the young people show their grief over the untimely departure of a promising young man:

S: *Umunta Awuchi lee lee nuo!*

Ch: *Iwe!*

S: *Lee lee nuo!*

Ch: *Iwe!*

S: *Hee oo hee ooo!*

Ch: *Iwe!*

All: *Ibe Ọmụ mere anyi o*

Wu iwe! (A1)

S: Youths of Awuchi, see!

Ch: Anger!

S: Look and see!

Ch: Anger!

S: Hee oo hee ooo!

Ch: Anger!

All: What death has made us

Is that we are angry! (1B)

The persistent repetition of “anger” helps to register their disapproval of the death as well as their sorrow. But at the end of the song, they reveal the reason for their anger. In another instance, the performers take the role of complainants who are reporting that they are unhappy because of a valuable possession that death has snatched away from them. So while sounding consolatory they are expressing their profound unhappiness:

Umu ibe ndo, umu ibe ndo

Umu ibe ndo, umu ibe ndo

Nkwu chara acha egbe biara buru

Ebe o buru ya

Obi adigbi anyi mma. (A2)

My people sorry, my people take heart

My people sorry, my people take heart

This ripe palm-fruit

That's whisked away by a kite

As it carried it, we are not happy. (B2)

It is said that whatever could not be overcome should be borne with equanimity. So, aware that it would amount to a futile attempt to run after the “kite” which has “whisked away a ripe palm-fruit,” the performers (mourners) express their grief over the loss by stating that they are not happy but that they should take heart. From the way the song is structured, the heavier part of the theme tilts towards an expression of sadness over the nefarious activities of death.

Loss and Frustration

Apart from expressing anger, sorrow and sadness, most Igbo oral funeral songs explore the themes of loss, loneliness and frustration occasioned by the death of a beloved relation or friend. In the song below performed mostly by women, the major thrust is the unforgettable nature of the death of one's parent. Such death is seen not only as a heavy loss but an occurrence that is indeed definitely hard to forget and overcome:

S: *Onye nna ya mụrụ?*

Ch: *Ọ na agba nchebu*

S: *Onye nne ya mụrụ*

Ch: *Ọ na agba nchebu?*

All: *Ọ na agba nchebuo ooo*

Ọ na agba nchebu!

Metumaraibe!

Ọ na agba nchebu!

Chianwalamoke!
O na agba nchebu! (A3)

S: One whose father dies
Ch: Does he forget it?
S: One who loses his mother
Ch: Does he forget it?
All: Does he forget it?
Is it easily forgotten?
S: (calls) Metumaraibe!
Ch: Is it easily forgotten?
S: Chiawolamoke!
Ch: Is it easily forgotten? (B3)

In Igbo language, the use of rhetorical questions like the one we have in the song above is also an affirmative statement which is as good as stating the obvious. Though most lines in the song are interrogative, the performers are merely stating the fact that such death hardly goes out of one's mind. This can be compared with the dirge below which portrays the mournful cries of a widow whose husband's death has rendered her lonely and vulnerable:

Dim lee I hara m gawa
Mu na ony ga ebi?
Ewooo! I hara m gawa
Mu na onye ga ebi? (A4)

Oh my husband you left me and departed
Whom will I live with?
Ewooo! You left me and departed
Whom will I live with? (B4)

The death of the woman's husband in the above song has made her dread the loneliness she is going to face and as such she weaves her frustration into a song.

Empathy and Consolation

However, in spite of the feelings of anger, sorrow and frustration which the occurrence of death spurs, Igbo oral performers use songs to also perform the important role of empathizing with the bereaved family by exhorting them to take heart since death is an unavoidable misfortune. In the song below performed at the funeral of an old woman who died at a ripe old age, her death is regarded not as a heart-breaking occurrence but that which occurred at its own time—at a very ripe old age. The bereaved through the song are consoled to take heart and 'clean their eyes':

S: *Oge e zuwo!*
Oge e zuwo!
Cb: *Hichaa anya mmiri gi*
Na oge e zuwo!
S: *I were ututu kwaba akwa*
O gaghi azo gi
Cb: *Hichaa anya mmiri gi*
Na oge e zuwo! (A5)

S: It is time!
It's the time!
Ch: Clean your tears
For it's the time!
S: If you cry from morning till night
It won't help you
Ch: Clean your tears
For it's the time! (B5)

The tone of the song is completely generic as no particular person is mentioned but rather it could be addressed to anyone who is mourning the loss of a departed one. The reason for the humble request "clean your tears" which also implies "cease crying" or "reduce your grief" is that the death is perceived to have occurred at the appointed time and as such it is irreversible. It also shows the people's attitude towards death; death is not taken with so much grief since it is an unavoidable occurrence.

Similarly, another Igbo oral funeral song encourages those befallen by certain misfortunes like death to take heart and bear it with great fortitude. This is the theme of a song performed by both women and youth during the

funeral of a young lady in an Igbo community. With the song, the performers empathize with the parents and encourage them to endure the irreparable loss:

*Dibe dibe dibe
Ndidi ka mma
Onye ibe mere ya diwe ya
Ndidi ka mma! (A6)*

Endure, endure, endure
Endurance is the best
One whom misfortune befalls
Should endure it!
Endurance is the best! (B6)

This is almost in line with the mantra “endurance is the best policy” and going by the manner in which it is used in the poem, endurance incorporates perseverance, fortitude, patience and forbearance; and the poet-speaker in the song solicits that whoever encounters any misfortune (death being the most painful) should brace up and endure it. Another song specifically pleads that anyone experiencing the vicissitudes of life such as death should refrain from crying for such an approach does not solve any problem. This is the theme of the song below which is performed by women at the funeral of an old woman:

*S: Onye ibe mere kwụwa ọnụ o
Una e bighi n'akwa
Ch: Onye ibe mere kwụwa ọnụ ya
Una e bighi n'akwa! (A7)*

S: One befallen by misfortune should keep quiet
For crying does not solve earthly problems
Ch: One befallen by misfortune shouldn't cry
For crying would not end the world's problem! (B7)

Theme of Camaraderie

The term camaraderie refers to a spirit of good friendship and loyalty among members of a group. It is this spirit of togetherness, a kind of brotherly or sisterly bond which unites people not related by blood links as if they are relatives. People in such a group bond together, bear burdens together and socialize, mingle and interact with one another. Where there is such spirit, a misfortune that befalls any member is seen to have befallen the whole group while solidarity is shared with a member up to the point of death. During the funeral ceremony of an old woman in Umuawuchi, the study community, a group of women under the aegis of *Ezịinne* (Good Mothers' Group) performed a funeral song which vividly illustrates this theme:

*Ọ nọ n a otu anyi jiri biawa
Ọ nọ na otu
O kwuzuru akwuzuru anyi jiri biawa
O kwuzuru
Anyi ga ekwonu na ọnwuru
Anyi agonaba ya
N'ọdighi mma! (A8)*

She belongs to our group, that's why we are here
She belongs to a group!
She is a staunch member, that's why we are here
She is a staunch member!
We won't deny her
Because she is dead
For that won't be good! (B8)

Together and in one accord, the women express their unalloyed solidarity with their deceased member and with that they profess a kind of communal bond which ties them together. The woman's death has afforded them the opportunity to reveal their motive and mission; and because she is a staunch member of the 'Good Mothers' group, that is why they are gathered to pay their respects. This is an indirect way of encouraging people who belong to any group or association to take their membership of such groups seriously. They also encourage organisations, in turn, to honour their members who answer the irresistible call of death. In most Igbo communities, the presence of a large number of relatives, sympathizers and mourners at any funeral serves as a balm to the grief of the bereaved. Such convivial presence ameliorates grief, brightens the mood and helps to allay the pains and sorrows ignited by death.

Reincarnation

Death in Igbo land does not mean the end of life but a transition to another realm- the land of the spirit, where the dead assume a position alongside other departed members of the community, the ancestors. That apart, the Igbo also believe that life comes in cycles, meaning that even after death, an ancestor can come back to live another round of life among the living and the process continues unendingly so long as the being lives a good life and is accorded proper funeral rites at death. Explaining this Igbo philosophical principle, Opatá (1988) states that “*ilua-uwa*- reincarnation is some type of re-embodied existence after death”. Commenting on the belief, he affirms that reincarnation:

is looked upon as a desirable thing, as a favour an older ancestor bequeaths to his or her progeny, especially the ones coming immediately after. This re-embodiment is a beneficent one, being a blessing on the person to whom it comes ... It is generally believed that only people who lived and died well are the only persons entitled to re-embodiment in a beneficent manner. In this context, the *ilua uwa* principle becomes some sort of transcendence of boundaries, some transformative ability, and some type of summation of a life of excellence, a life worthy of being restaged and relived ... The belief in this is so deep among the Igbo, and this belief transcends pure reason (Opatá 1988, p. 195).

In the course of the fieldwork carried out in respect of this study, a particular Igbo oral funeral song is discovered to be directly alluding to reincarnation. Performed during the funeral of a young lady who died in midlife, the song unequivocally expresses the strong belief of the people in reincarnation by pleading that the deceased should live a longer life in her next life or re-embodiment:

Mgbe ! ga abia uma mgbe Ọ̀ꞇ ọ
Mgbe ! ga abia uma mgbe Ọ̀ꞇ ọ
Ogologo ndu! (A9)

When coming to the world next time
 When reincarnating and re-embodiment next time
 Long life! (B9)

Within these three lines, the performers express a notable aspect of their worldview which is their unflinching belief in reincarnation. There is a tone of certainty in such belief signified by the choice of their diction. The use of the word “*mgbe*” (when), not “*owuru na*” (if), clearly depicts this. To them, the young lady is bound to be reincarnated, having lived a good life and being accorded a befitting burial rite. However, they are unhappy that she left in the noon of her life and therefore pray and request that she is reincarnated with a different *eke-chi* (destiny) that will enable her to live a long and fulfilled life.

Death as a Havoc Wrecker

Apart from carrying some of the key beliefs of Igbo people, through some funeral songs, people talk back to death and reveal some of its unsavoury manifestations. In some other Igbo oral funeral songs, death is pictured as a havoc wrecker which destroys life and most things that are valuable, sublime and good. This is the thematic thrust of **Song, Number 10** below which was performed by women at the burial of a young beautiful lady. In the song the weight of their dirge leans more on the beauty of the young lady which death has destroyed. This is best showcased in the first stanza:

Mma ee, mma a ruỌla
Mma ee, mma a ruỌla
Mma ee ee ee, mma a ruỌla
Ebe nwa di mma dỌrỌ n'igbe
Mma ya a ruola!... (A10)

Beauty, beauty has lost its appeal
 Beauty, beauty has lost value
 Beauty, beauty has been spurned
 That a beautiful fellow is lying still in a coffin
 Her beauty is vitiated!... (B10)

In the song above, beauty represents the deceased’s alluring and scintillating physical appearance, her respectful, resourceful and respectable character, not forgetting her delectable countenance and mien (for the deceased was not only a paragon of beauty but a doyen of good conduct). But by rendering her lifeless and her body being laid in a coffin, ready for interment, death (according to the performers) has maliciously brought all these highly treasured human qualities to nothingness.

In the same vein, during the fieldwork carried out in the course of this study, a group of women – who were later joined by a man – sang an Igbo funeral song which portrays death as a great havoc wrecker. Below is the song:

All: *Hiararam! Hiararam! Hiararam!*
Isi akpara akpa,
Onye kuru ya n'ala?
Hiararam!

S: *Ọ nụ Ọnnụ oooo! (A11)*

S: Chaa Umuebonu women its time o!
 All: *Hiararam! Hiararam! Hiararam!*
A well plaited head
Who rubbed it on the floor?
Hiararam! Hiararam!

S: It is death o! (B11)

In the song, the women set off with a repeated rendition of an idiophone and chant “*Hiararam!*” to set a musical pitch for their funeral performance. Then appropriating the metaphorical image of “*isi akpara akpa* (a plaited head), they asked a question: “who rubbed it on the ground?” Quickly providing the answer, the song leader says that it is death. Thus, death is revealed as a destroyer of valuable things. In using the image of plaited-head, the women put into account the fact that women cherish fine plaited hair. Not only that, it takes so much time, labour and resources to plait the hair. For death to rub this treasured human creation on the ground means that it is not only heedless of valuable things but can wreak great havoc by destroying them too.

Theme of Death’s Inimitability

The theme of death’s inimitability is also prominent. Covered under this umbrella is the ubiquitous and omnipresent nature of death as exemplified in the Igbo funeral song below:

S: *O mvere ebe Ọnnụ na aso nsọ?*
 Ch: *Ka anyi ga lere*
 S: *O mvere ebe Ọnnụ na anaghi eru?*
 Ch: *Ka anyi ga lere! (A12)*

S: Is there a place that death abhors?
 Ch: Let’s go and see!
 S: Is there a place that death doesn’t reach?
 Ch: Let’s go and see! (B12)

In rhetorical parlance, the performers wonder whether there is a place that death’s life-destroying reach cannot extend to. From the way the song is structured, they are merely stating the markedly obvious- that death has no barrier and it abhors no land but reaches to all ends of the earth where it carries out its dastardly activity of reaping lives. Compare the above song with this one which portrays death as an impregnable and indestructible phenomenon that builds its house atop a boulder and does not discriminate or show any preference in its mode of attack:

S: *Ọnnụ e, O lee ebe I wuru ulo biri?*
 Ch: *Ọnnụ wuru ulo n’elu nkume!*
 All: *Ọnnu dikwara gi, Ọnnu dikwara mu*
Ọnnu dikwara gi, dikwara mu, dikwara gi
Ọnnu dikwara gi, ọnnu dikwara mu
Ọnnu wuru ulo n’elu nkume! (A13)

S: Death! Where is your abode?
 Ch: Death built its house on top of a rock!
 S: Ehhhh!
 All: Death is for me, death is for you
 Death awaits me, it awaits you and awaits me
 Death is for me, it is for you
 Death built its house atop a rock! (B13)

Death in the song above is depicted as an impregnable entity that builds its house atop a rock where nobody and no one can reach to talk to it or destroy it, so it goes about proudly preying on humans and has no preference for the kind of people it destroys.

Mysteriousness, Inevitability and Heartlessness of Death

Some Igbo funeral songs portray the mysteriousness of death. In such songs death is presented as an entity that is not only mystical but is also invincible. This is the underlying current of **Song Number 14** below:

*Uwa m lee uwa lee, uwa wu obughara
Onye ma onye o ga awunu echi
O lakpuru ga bewe
Hee hee! E hee hee hee!
Onye ma onye O ga awunu echi
O lakpuru ga bewe! (A14)*

My world, this world is a twisting and turning world;
Who knows whose turn it will be tomorrow
Will remain indoors and keep crying.
Hee hee! E hee hee hee!
Who know whose turn it will be tomorrow
Will remain indoors and keep crying. (B14)

In the song, the world is presented as an unsteady ever-turning and twisting setting while death's movements are hidden from sight. Because it is difficult to completely grasp the nature of death or even pinpoint the time or the next person it will take away, the song explains that humankind is relieved of the gloomy atmosphere which might otherwise pervade the earth. As the song puts it, whoever knows whose turn it would be to die the next day will be condemned to perpetual brooding and contemplation. But the good thing is that Nature in its infinite wisdom denies mortals access to such knowledge. So human beings are allowed the freewill to play around and only succumb to death whenever it chooses to suddenly strike. Another Igbo oral funeral song, **Song Number 15**, also plays on the fact that death is inevitable and its call is not only irresistible but impossible to delay:

*Gwuzoro m adighi ya
Chere m adighi ya
Gwuzoro m adighi n'onwu ee!
Nri ahu m shiwere
Ka m rie ya ma gawa
Chere m adighi n'onwu ee! (A15)*

Wait for me isn't in it.
Tarry a while for me isn't there too
There is no excuse when death calls!
That food I put on fire
Let me eat it before going
Death doesn't take any excuse! (B15)

Performed by women during the burial ceremony of an old woman in the study community, the song uses the scenario of death not even harkening to the plea of the hungry, to remark that it takes no excuses nor is deceived by any gimmick or trick. Death in this regard is depicted as a heartless and ruthless entity.

Death's Friendlessness and Stoicism

Igbo oral funeral performers in **Song Number 16** highlight death as an entity that is friendless:

*S: Onye wu enyi onwu?
Ch: Onwu enweghi enyi!
S: Onye wu enyi onwu?
Ch: Onwu enweghi enyi
S: Papa anyi O wu enyi onwu?
Ch: Onwu enweghi enyi!
S: Papa anyi O wu enyi onwu?
Ch: Onwu enweghi enyi
S: Onye wu enyi onwu?
All: Onwu enweghi enyi ma nchaa!
Nchaaa nchaa nchaa! (A16)*

S: Who is death's friend?
Ch: Death has no friend!
S: Who is death's friend?
Ch: Death has no friend!
S: Is our Papa death's friend?
Ch: Death has no friend!
S: Is our Papa death's friend?
Ch: Death has no friend
S: Who is death's friend?

All: Death has no friend at all!
At all! At all! (B16)

The song explains that no one is death's friend and to underscore this point, the last two lines emphasize that death has no friend "at all!" Compare the above with **Song Number 17** which dwells on the stoicism, boldness and affable spirit developed in response to death's repeated and persistent incursions. Because of its regular "attacks and exploits" which ultimately decimate their population, Igbo people are beginning to develop an adamant and carefree attitude towards death. They are no more afraid of death because they are sure that it will definitely come when it will but their fear now is more on the kind of illness or disease that will result in their death. This is expressed in **Song 17** below:

Egwu na atunu m
Ọ wu egwu kee e?
Egwu na atunu m
Ihe na atu m egwu
Bu ihe m ga aria anwu
Egwu na atunu m
Ọ wu egwu kee e? (A17)

Which fear do I entertain?
Which fear do I have?
The only fear I have
Is the kind of illness/disease
That will lead to my death
Which fear do I have? (B17)

The first two lines of the song which are also repeated in the latter part carry an inverted question which in the typical Igbo understanding is also an affirmation which means "I have no fear or I am not afraid." In the song, there is the heightened note of talking-down to or belittling death. Yet, more concern is shown towards that which will make one vulnerable to death.

Philosophical Themes

One significant feature of Igbo oral funeral songs is that they carry some values, norms and philosophies of the people. As lachrymal expressions, they bear the pulse, thoughts and concerns of Igbo people. These include their communal principles, beliefs and attitude to life and death. In most parts of Igbo land, two events are exceedingly remarkable in a person's life; these are a person's time of birth and death. The community holds these events in high esteem and that is why elaborate ceremonies go along with them. These events constitute the central thought of **Song Number 18**:

S: *Abali abụọ!*
Ch: *Abali abụọ ka mmadu nwere n'uwa*
Ubochi ọmụmụ, n'ubochi ọnwụ ya! (A18)

S: Two days!
Ch: Only two remarkable days does one have in this world
The day of birth and that of his death! (B18)

Because of the importance that the Igbo attached to these two events, the funeral song hyperbolically sums up all the days a human being has in his or her lifetime on earth to be equal to just only two days- "the day of birth and that of his death." These days are strikingly noteworthy in the life of any individual in the community and as such they stand out among what the Igbo call 'the rites of passage' which are remarkable events in a person's life.

Another belief of the Igbo that is clearly buttressed in their funeral song is their penchant for sagacious reasoning and the desire that the young should outlive the elderly:

Ọ kacha mma nwa lie nne ya
Ọ kacha mma nwa lie nne ya
Nwa mara ihe ya lie nne ya
Ọ kacha mma nwa lie nne ya
Mge nne ya kara nka! (A19)

It's good for a child to bury the mother
It's good for a child to bury the mother
A sensible child to bury the mother!
It's good for a child to bury the mother
When the mother has grown old! (B19)

The same thought in the song applies to a father. A lineage is said to be on the path of perpetuity when the children in such a family are wise and not foolish, for as the Igbo people would say "*amaghi-ibe nu ihe na esbi ama ọ*

bughi iberibe -foolishness and not waywardness is the character that can lead a lineage into extinction.” In Igbo parlance, ‘foolishness’ is called ‘*amaghi ibe*’- lack of knowledge, while ‘waywardness’-- ‘*iberibe*’ is a kind of misdemeanour. The foolish son would waste his parents’ resources and even his own life or even disappear and never to return home but the wayward son may along the line impregnate a woman, marry and bear children whom he would in the end (after so many years) bring home, and so perpetuate his lineage. The caveat embedded in the song “a sensible child” is a tacit call for children to be wise and a reminder that not all children are capable of befittingly burying their parents, but only the wise ones can. Also, “burying one’s mother” carries the sense of growing up sensibly and becoming someone who can take care of the mother, make her happy by giving her grandchildren and give her a befitting burial when she dies. However, when the children are not wise, the parents will live to bury them and this casts doubt on the ability of the lineage to be regenerated.

Exhortations on Life and Death

Among the Igbo, some elegiac songs make certain pronouncements about death while others advise the living. Song Number 20 below, for instance, is a heart-rending request, a passionate appeal that death should have taken money instead of the life of a colleague which it wickedly snuffed out:

Onwụ I mara were ego
Hapuru anyi nwanne anyi o!
Onwụ I maara buru ego
Hapuru anyi onye otu anyi o! (A20)

Death, you should have taken money
 And leave our brother for us!
 Death you would have carried money
 And leave our colleague for us! (B20)

But as if death is deaf and heartless too, it does not lend an ear to such heartfelt prayer, for daily it swoops on many Igbo people leaving trails of pain, sorrow and loss. In some instances, the performers are sarcastic and intone highly satiric but jocular songs. They caricature the day they will die saying that on that fateful day, while some people will be crying and grieving, others will be laughing and rejoicing:

S: *Mu a rarawa ndu a maghi m ezi o wu*
 Ch: *Mu a rarawa ndu a maghi m ezi o wu*
 S: *Mu a rarawa ndu a maghi m ezi o wu*
 Ch: *Mu a rarawa ndu a maghi m ezi o wu*
 S: *Ezi O ga wu!*
 Ch: *Ndi n’ochi, ndi n’akwa!*
 S: *Ezi O ga wu!*
 Ch: *Ndi n’ochi, ndi n’akwa! (A21)*

S: Let me enjoy life for I don’t know when it will be;
 Ch: Let me enjoy life for I don’t know when it will be.
 S: Let me enjoy life for I don’t know when it will be;
 Ch: Let me enjoy life for I don’t know when it will be.
 S: For on that fateful day!
 Ch: Some will be laughing; some crying!
 S: For on that fateful day
 Ch: Some will be laughing; some crying! (B21)

Through the funeral song, the performers make a subtle comment that no one is totally loved or hated in the world and more so, death is an inescapable price which every living being must pay. So, it is better for one to live life to the fullest by being happy and joyful. They wittingly exhort people to seize every moment and enjoy it because death always lurks at the corner. Such an oral funeral song counsels the living just like the next one which advises them not to be miserly or have an inconsiderate lifestyle:

S: *O kpa aku eri eri*
 Ch: *I hula otu onu di ndi nwuru anwu*
 S: *Onye na akpa aku, ata aku*
 S: *Lee nu otu onu di onye nwuru anwu*
 S: *Omegbu nwa ogbenye*
 Ch: *Biko kpachara nu anya gi*
 S: *Omegbu nwanyi isi mkpe*
 Ch: *I kpọ nke gi ala mmụọ? (A22)*

S: He who gathers wealth without enjoying it
 Ch: Have you seen how the mouth of the dead looks?

- S: He who accumulates wealth but eats palm kernel
 S: Watch how the mouth of the dead looks!
 S: One who maltreats a poor fellow
 Ch: Please be very careful;
 S: One who maltreats the widow
 Ch: Are you taking your wife
 Along with you to the land of the spirits? (B22)

Taking a satirical stance, the funeral song warns the miserly to desist from “*ikepa aken, na ata aken*—’accumulating wealth but chewing only palm kernel.’ That is the apogee of self-hatred and neglect! The song warns anyone who is accumulating wealth to also enjoy the wealth and not be miserly. Moving away from misers, the song engages those who harass and subjugate the poor and the widows, exhorting them to be careful of their acts, for they will surely die one day and those they leave behind will equally be maltreated. The warning to the miserly (that they should look at the mouth of the dead) can best be understood in the days gone by, when the mouth of a corpse would usually firmly be tied with a white cloth, meaning that nothing can go inside it again. So, the people are enjoined to enjoy their wealth while alive. Many other moral lessons are put forward for the living in many other Igbo oral funeral songs, for as the Igbo would say *onye na akwa onye nwuru amwu, na akwa omwe ya*—one who mourns the dead is as well mourning oneself.

Igbo Oral Funeral Songs: Modern and Christian Influence

In a monograph entitled *An Outline of Igbo History*, a notable Igbo scholar, Adiele Afigbo (1975, p. 19) observes that the influx of Christian ideology in Igboland has somehow ruffled the traditional systems of belief and practice. “In sum therefore, this new society emerging as a result of the conflict between Igbo *thesis* and the colonial *antithesis* is one in which elements of both still jostle for supremacy.” However, quoting Sylvia Leith-Ross, he paints a picture of the kind of scenario created by this trend which has produced an Igbo society that is a melange of the traditional and Christian order:

...with no strain nor conflict ‘the modern Igbo’ can attend communion and believe in ‘medicine’, keep, until he is found out, a ‘church’ wife and several native marriage wives, tie up preciously in the same corner of a handkerchief his rosary and the shaped bit of ‘iron for juju’ made for him by an Awka blacksmith, plant side by side in the garden round his new cement and pan-roofed house the hibiscus of ‘civilization’ and the ogirisi tree of pagan family rites. (Afigbo 1975, p. 19)

The excerpt above points to the Igbo proclivity to merge Western ideals with the traditional thus creating a kind of *religious syncretism*. Such predisposition to equally commit oneself to both traditional and Christian religions which were observed in the early years of colonial rule has remained till the present moment. In various parts of Igboland, members of some new Christian Pentecostal churches (Believers’ Gospel Mission, Assemblies of God, Deeper Life, The Lord’s Chosen, The Redeemed, Living Faith etc.) adhere strictly to Biblical injunctions and hardly participate in any form of traditional engagement. However, there is a large number of Orthodox Christians (Catholics, Anglicans, Abosso Apostolic Faith, Nation Builders, Presbyterian, Methodist etc.) who though they are Christians, actively participate in traditional activities like rendering oral funeral song during burial ceremonies. With such composition, funeral observances in most Igbo communities take two different dimensions. While the burial of a professed Pentecostal Christian takes a pure Christian outlook, that of an Orthodox Christian is a blend of Christian and traditional observances.

In the course of this study, efforts during the fieldwork were concentrated on the funeral ceremonies of some orthodox Christians where it was observed that there was a smooth interplay between Christian obsequies and traditional funeral proceedings. Such a phenomenon is neither new nor peculiar to Igbo land; it is also noticeable in some other African communities. For instance, Gbolo Sanka (2010:195) in his study of the dirge of Sisaala people of Ghana observes as follows:

The reality is that the two religions [Christianity and Moslems] as well as Western education have come to meet the culture of the people. And though the majority of local people have joined either of the two religions, they still find no problem in mourning the dead in the traditional way alongside Christian and Moslem practices. The new development is that it is the followers of the two religions who prepare, handle, and bury the corpse in the Christian or Moslem context. Dirge performance is however done the traditional way with the whole community participating in the rendering of such pieces.

The same scenario is noticeable in various Igbo communities where the practice of rendering Christian hymns/choruses and oral funeral songs during wakes and funeral ceremonies is observed. Some Christian hymns and choruses have even been translated into Igbo language while some are entirely formulated and composed in Igbo. However, due to constancy and consistency of rendition during funeral ceremonies in some Igbo

communities, some Christian hymns have been memorised by the natives who now render them as part of their oral funeral lore. In moments of bereavement for instance, such Christian Hymns and choruses are rendered side by side the traditional funeral songs. Sometimes, Church choirs are also invited to participate in burial ceremonies that have traditional rites. To this Uzochukwu (2001: 117) remarks that the joint rendition of both Christian and traditional funeral songs in a burial in Igbo land is as a result of some awareness of the fact that the object of both Christian and traditional performances is to accord the deceased an honourable burial and facilitate his/her rest in the world beyond. "There is now a growing awareness in some areas of Igboland that the traditional mode of funeral celebration is not inherently a fetish nor is it necessarily at variance with the Christian mode, for both aim at giving the deceased a befitting funeral which will guarantee for him some form of life after death." Owing to this, some popular English Christian hymns which have been translated into Igbo have found a place in the Igbo oral funeral song 'bank.' Once the choir intones any such translated hymn versions during burial ceremonies, the majority of the people (whether Christians or non-Christians) who are present at the funeral ceremony will sing all the stanzas. Below is one of the stanzas of a popular Christian funeral hymn "Rock of Ages". Its Igbo translation has become widely accepted as an Igbo oral funeral song. In the song, man in death is portrayed to be at his weakest point pleading to God (The Rock of Ages) to shield him from the destructive vicissitudes of life.

.....
Ebem n'ekume ndu nka
Mgbe m'mechiri'anyam n'onwu,
Mgbe m'gala n'uwa ozo
Hu Gi n'oche-ikpe Gi
Nkume nke ebighi-ebi
Kwe ka m'zoro n'ime Gi
(Ekpere na Abu p. 28)

.....
 While I draw this fleeting breath
 When my eyes shall close in death
 When I soar through worlds unknown
 See Thee on Thy judgement throne
 Rock of Ages cleft for me
 Let me hide myself in Thee.
 (www.hymnal.net/en/hymn/h/1058)

Similar to this is a prayerful Igbo oral funeral song requesting that a deceased should go in peace; rest in perfect peace. But in doing this, there is the aura of mournful regret because the singers face the realisation that they will not see the deceased again in his/her physical form:

S. *Laa n'udo,*
 Ch. *Laa nke oma*
 S. *Gaa n'udo,*
 Ch. *Gaa nke oma*
 All *Nwanne m nke m huru n'anya*
Olee mgbe m ga ahu ya ozo
Laa n'udo!

S. Go in peace,
 Ch. Go safely
 S. Go in peace,
 Ch. Go safely
 All. Oh our relative who we so much love
 When shall we see you again?
 Go safely!

The song is hymn-like and has a sombre lyric. It is usually rendered without any instrumental accompaniment at the peak of the funeral ceremony when the corpse has been lowered and grave-diggers are shovelling sand into the grave to cover it. It brings mourners and sympathizers to the grim realisation that the deceased will not be physically seen again.

Furthermore, to buttress the level of interplay between Christian ideals and traditional tenets, some Igbo oral funeral songs are steeped in Christian teachings yet they are performed by native people, some of whom are not Christians. For instance, in the song below, there is an allusion to the creation story in the first book of the Bible, Genesis, where it is said that God moulded the first man with sand after which he breathed into him, the breath of life:

Aja ka anyi bu
Aja ka anyi ga algahachi

Chukwu kere uwa
Onwu siri na mmehie bia

Sand we are
 Sand we shall return back to;
 Oh God creator of the world
 Death came through sin

The last two lines of the song equally allude to the origin of death which is biblically traced to the sinful disobedience of Adam and Eve. In another song, the allusion is to Job's popular saying in the Bible that he came to the world empty handed and he will go back the same way:

Agbara m aka bia n'uwa
Agba m aka ala
Ihe n'ile m nwere n'uwa
Onweghi nke m ji ala!

I came into the world empty-handed
 I will leave empty-handed
 All that I have in the world
 There is none I will take along!

This song aims at dissuading people from placing so much emphasis on the acquisition of earthly riches and wealth. Incidentally, the song was encountered at the burial ceremony of a wealthy young man whose corpse was repatriated from Lagos to his community, Umuawuchi in Imo State, South-eastern Nigeria for interment in September 3, 2013. The event was extremely painful because he was yet to marry, though he was very rich and possessed one of the magnificent buildings in the community. He rarely identified with any Christian sect while alive, yet, a Pentecostal Christian pastor was hired to officiate in his funeral proceedings. The gathering during his funeral was made up of Christians and traditionalists, hence why this native song with some Christian leanings was rendered.

During the course of this study, it was discovered that in recent times, funeral ceremonies in most parts of Igboland hardly go without the hiring of modern musical electronic equipment called *obe akwa uwa* 'that which cries for the world.' They are operated by individuals who are popularly called 'DJs', and the inability of a family to hire such equipment is seen as a mark of poverty. The basic electronic musical instruments that make up a set of *obe akwa uwa* include: a deck or sound mixer, an amplifier, a cassette or compact disc player, or these days a laptop, high calibre speakers with a horn speaker, microphone and an electrical generating set. The operator or DJ is sometimes hired to play recorded music throughout the funeral period. In addition, some wealthy families go to the extent of hiring live (musical) bands to play and perform during funeral ceremonies. The key instruments for the live bands include among others, a set of guitars, a set of modern musical drums and cymbals, musical organ, microphones, tape-deck, amplifiers, speakers and an electrical generating set. The use of these forms of electronic musical entertainment during moments of bereavement is fast gaining ground as it also helps the bereaved and other sympathizers to mourn the dead.

The emergence of DJs and live bands pose serious threats to the rendition and perpetuation of oral funeral songs. In one funeral ceremony that I attended during the last days of 2015, most sympathizers who would have performed some oral funeral songs during the occasion preferred to sing along and dance to the tunes of the DJ. With attention now shifting to the music played from electronic musical instruments or by live bands at the expense of communal rendition of oral funeral songs, the future and survival of live performances of oral funeral songs in most Igbo communities is uncertain. On the basis of my research findings, it appears that the interest of people in the performance of Igbo oral funeral songs is fast declining.

CONCLUSION

From all the discussions so far, it is evident that oral funeral songs are important instruments deployed by the Igbo to mourn the dead and educate the living. The paper also reveals that Igbo elegiac songs are not bereft of artistic preoccupations as they explore themes including anger, sorrow, sadness, loss, frustration, empathy, camaraderie and reincarnation. It is also observed that in some Igbo oral funeral songs, death is portrayed as an inimitable, friendless, inevitable and mysterious entity that is also a heartbreaker and a havoc-wrecker. Also, some of the elegiac songs are imbued with dynamic philosophical tropes through which the people attempt to unravel the mystery surrounding the meaning and characteristics of death as well as its incomprehensible *modus operandi*. In all, it is clear that the living gain knowledge, wisdom and understanding through the performance of oral funeral songs during the burial and funeral ceremonies that they carry out in honour of fallen members of the Igbo society.

NOTES

1. Ruth Finnegan's book is a *magnum opus* of a kind as it has remained an important reference text on African oral literature. She has continued to champion other studies that explore and expand folklore studies in Africa.
2. Chinwe Achebe carried out a detailed and methodical investigation into the nature and world of the Igbo metaphysical phenomenon of *Ogbanje* and her book on it is revealing and insightful as she discusses its characteristics, diagnosis and some traditional intervention strategies that can be deployed to treat it.
3. These three main points are highlighted as the major themes of Igbo oral funeral poetry which covers chants, songs and recitations. However, the discussions on them are not detailed.
4. The PhD dissertation was successfully defended in the University of Nigeria Nsukka, Nigeria in 2000. In the study, Udeh discusses what he calls the four basic themes of Igbo elegiac lore.
5. He classified Igbo traditional funeral poetry into lament and dirge. To explain their different meanings, he draws on Finnegan's (1970, p. 147) citing of J. H. Kwabena Nketia. Here, dirge refers to the deceased while lament refers to death in general. See Uzochukwu (2001, pp.24-26) and J. H. Nketia's *Funeral Dirges of the Akan People* (1955, pp. 27-28).

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Book Review

The Anxiety of Ascent: Middle-Class Narratives in Germany and America

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Doidge, S. (2019). *The Anxiety of Ascent: Middle-Class Narratives in Germany and America*. London and New York: Routledge.

Sociologists and social commentators have long debated a question of what might be called the ethical ‘validity claim’ of middle-class culture and ideas in the formation of Western advanced industrial societies. Are middle-class worldviews to be seen, with Marx, as essentially relative phenomena, essentially class-conditioned and ideological? Or are they to be seen, with Max Weber, as in some way ethical value-systems *sui generis*, with a potentially more generalizable, more ‘universal’ normative status in global cultural-historical investigation? Are middle-class attitudes to work, family life, politics and individual self-fulfilment to be seen as suggesting an in some sense ‘anthropological’ structure of moral leadership in life – of directive ‘conduct of life’ in Weber’s sense? Scott Doidge’s *The Anxiety of Ascent* explores the second of these two idioms of response, tracing the rise, influence and vicissitudes of middle-class narratives of life in late nineteenth century Germany and twentieth century post-war America. At the forefront are four intensive vignettes of middle-class mentality in the Western literary imagination, beginning with the nineteenth century significance in Germany of the novel *Debt and Credit* by Gustav Freytag (1855), then turning to Thomas Mann’s well-known *Buddenbrooks* of 1901, then moving to the case of the US domestic comedy TV series *Father Knows Best*, broadcast in America between 1954 and 1960, and concluding with the contemporary cable series *Mad Men*, set in 1960s New York. In each case, Doidge traces how a particular repertoire of moral norms and attitudes to work and money, to love, sex and family life, and to friends, business colleagues and rivals, responds and adapts to challenges, dilemmas and situations of shame or moral compromise. And as Doidge shows, these same attitudes enter into states of deep structural crisis and uncertainty at periodic moments. Paradigmatically, we see this in the story of the decline and fall of Mann’s North-German Protestant business family, with clear echoes a century later in the travails of the characters of *Mad Men* (notably, Peggy Lee’s 1969 hit ‘Is That All There Is?’, played as a backing track in the series, takes its lead from Mann’s short story of 1896, ‘Disillusionment’) – and yet the relevant habits of life still persist and resolve themselves at some level as enduring, if fragmented, cores of meaning. Mann’s sociological worldview has long been of concern to scholars from Wolf Lepenies to Harvey Goldman, but Dodge enriches our understanding of *Buddenbrooks* and connects it both to earlier German antecedents and to the multi-layered panorama of American post-war suburban social commentary, particularly as this plays out in the work of figures from C. Wright Mills and David Riesman to William Whyte and others.

This is a beautifully written study, replete with many fine close readings of key scenes and character relationships in the literary and fictional examination of modern Western middle-class social life. Yet one loose cluster of questions perhaps lingers at the end. Rather absent from the book is any sense that the constellations so intricately described in the study might essentially be a thing of the past – that these so classically White Anglo-Saxon Protestant figurations, once the backbone of the flourishing and broadly socially equitable economies of countries

such as post-war America, might no longer stand today in any unproblematic way as the salient central descriptors, either of 'middle class life' or of 'work' or of any current 'work ethic'. In a couple of somewhat cursory paragraphs in the concluding pages of the book, Doidge suggests that the arguments of figures such as Bauman, Beck, Sennett and others concerning the new circumstances of insecure employment following the neoliberal turn of Western economies since the 1980s might not be 'new arguments'. Yet these surely are not merely 'arguments'; they are, in all fairness, statements of fact – and they surely *do* point in an important sense to conditions of life that *are* genuinely new. The largely ethnically homogenous and nationally contained position of the German and American middle classes in 1900 and 1960 is not directly comparable to the situation of mobile middle-class actors today on the global transnational plane. That Weber's Protestant ethic has today been replaced by a distinctively 'new spirit of capitalism' (in the sense of Boltanski and Chiapello), that work has become for vast sections of society today quite deeply 'precarious', that wealth and income differentials have increased exponentially over the past four decades, and that structures and institutions of social solidarity are today but a pale shadow of the conditions of Western post-war social-market economies – all of these states of affairs are rather conspicuously absent from the frame of this book. Though it is clear that some kind of world-historically significant 'image of man' remains in the portraits of life painted by the writers discussed in the study, it seems important that this rather distinctively Western historic *Weltanschauung* is addressed today within a sense of the global distance and relativity that is its due.

Book Review

Manet: A Symbolic Revolution and Classification Struggles: General Sociology, Volume 1 Lectures at the Collège de France

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Bourdieu, P. (2017). *Manet: A Symbolic Revolution*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2018). *Classification Struggles: General Sociology, Volume 1 Lectures at the Collège de France, 1981 - 1982*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Pierre Bourdieu died in 2003. Or, at least as far as I was concerned he did. It was in the summer of 2003 that I found out that Bourdieu had in fact died the year before, in January, 2002. Even now, looking back, quite how I missed that one I am still not entirely sure. Still, as it transpires in one sense it doesn't really matter when Bourdieu died; his death has not signalled anything like the final word on his otherwise already prodigious intellectual output. It is no small irony, if not an entirely predictable one, that a thinker who went to such great pains to demonstrate how the spread of market principles kills off the social conditions for great cultural works, has been brought back to life on numerous occasions since his death in the service of those very principles. This review passes comment on two (more) works by Bourdieu. Like those before them, both are based on transcriptions of lectures delivered at the Collège de France.

The first of these entitled *Manet: A Symbolic Revolution* was published in 2017. Given the exalted place occupied by Manet within the pantheon of great French artists, coupled with Bourdieu's love of debunking myths in general but myths about art(-ists) in particular, a book on Edouard Manet (1832 – 1883) was an historical inevitability. That and the fact that positioning oneself in relation to Manet and his painterly legacy constitutes something of a rite of passage among the doyens of French literary and intellectual life. In taking up the mantle of 'explaining' Manet, Bourdieu was following in the footsteps of the likes of Bataille and his contemporary and good friend, Michel Foucault. Needless to say, Bourdieu deploys his own conceptual machinery in order to (re-)state the truth about an icon of French culture.

Manet runs to a sizeable 586 pages and comprises three main parts. These are divided as follows: one, edited transcripts of 18 previously unpublished lectures on the subject of Manet and his work delivered between January 1999 and March 2000 (pp. 1 – 350); two, a text by Christophe Charle entitled, *Opus Infinitum*, which explicates links between the lectures, the unfinished manuscript, and Bourdieu's oeuvre more broadly (pp. 351 – 362); three, an unfinished manuscript researched and written in collaboration with Bourdieu's ex-wife, Marie-Claire, and which the editors elected to title, *Manet the Heresiarch: Genesis of the Artistic and Critical Fields* (pp. 363 – 489). Various appendices substantiate the remaining pages.

Both the lectures and the unfinished manuscript reconstruct Manet through the organising concept of 'symbolic revolution'. Similar to the *Rules of Art*, published in French in 1992 at around the time *Manet* was being drafted, Bourdieu puts to work the concept of field (*champs*) to shatter the illu(sio)-n of internalist accounts of the 'uncreated creator' on the one hand, and externalist accounts of Manet and his milieu on the other. Doing so allows him to

explicate the conditions under which Manet, partially knowingly but largely unknowingly, brought about a painterly revolution, one which would set the course of French and Western European painting on a radically different direction. The lectures tell this story in rich and vivid detail; the unfinished manuscript does so also, albeit in a manner that lacks the vitality and panache offered up by Bourdieu the orator.

As an historical study, *Manet* demonstrates characteristically vast amounts of knowledge on the part of the author(s). The account of the salons where Manet garnered and consolidated his share of social capital are rich in detail, as is the commentary on the paintings featured in the final lecture. Bourdieu's airing at various stages throughout the lectures of his anxiety at having bitten off more than he could chew in taking on the subject of Manet and his impact on French painting, provides a welcome glimpse of the clay feet of a man who otherwise comes across at times in his writing as omniscient. I should say too that I thoroughly enjoyed those occasions during the lectures where Bourdieu comes off-piste in that way that he was inclined to do in order to deliver some deft existential-sociological insight. The insight featured on page 307 which begins with the line, 'Sociology can give cynical overtones to just about anything' and which ends in Weber being chastised for not pushing his explication of 'charisma' far enough, is one example of just such an insight. I heartily recommend it.

Finally, it is worth noting that as a material artefact *Manet* constitutes a very regal addition to the book shelf. It includes an inset of forty two high-resolution images of works done by Manet and the artists whose influence he felt most keenly. As an objectified piece of cultural capital, then, this book speaks of the kind of haute-bourgeois habitus that so much of Bourdieu's work was intended to deconstruct. All of which only adds to the ironic charm of holding in one's hands one of but not the most recent, or indeed the last, works of an author who died some 16 or 17 years ago now.

Published in 2018, *Classification Struggles* (henceforth, *CS*) is the most recent work by Bourdieu. 'Taste classifies and it classifies the classifier'. Thus goes the oft-cited line from *Distinction*, which has become something of a paradigmatic principle around which so much sociological work on cultural taste has subsequently been organised. *CS* was recommended to me by a friend and colleague who knew me to be using the concept as part of the research I am currently undertaking. I confess, then, that my expectations for this book were strongly rooted in the particular interests around which my current research is organised. My hope was that it would cast some more light on the development and intellectual genealogy of the concept of classification struggles, illuminating in greater detail its clear debt to the work of Durkheim and Mauss on primitive classifications, Weber on the symbolic dimensions of class stratification, and Marx on class struggle as a motor of historical change. This was not to be the case, however.

CS comprises a transcription of eight one-hour lectures delivered between April and June 1982, and a twenty-one page postscript written by Patrick Champagne and Julien Duval. Early on in the first lecture, Bourdieu (2018: 3) notes that so much of 'French-style teaching' is happy to gloss over important (social) truths in the name of a 'cosy feeling of shared intelligence and an equal intellect'. There was little that could be plausibly described as 'cosy' about reading *CS*. This text is an exercise in technical exposition. The first four lectures are abstract, theoretical and frankly require quite a bit of work for relatively little reward (particularly, say, if you have read the likes of *Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (1992), *Sociology in Question* (1993), *Pascalian Meditations* (2000), etc.).

The remaining four lectures comprise a more palatable mixture of theory and applied examples, spanning a range of themes including: reality and representation; symbolic capital; symbolic capital and classification struggles; and symbolic boundaries and classifications. Notwithstanding this, I found *CS* to be a fairly dry series of relatively inchoate and overly ornate theoretical sketches on a range of topics which are covered more succinctly and successfully elsewhere. Of course, the ideas contained within *CS* were formulated within the mind of Pierre Bourdieu and for that reason alone, arguably, one should make the effort to read the book. That said, as an undergraduate these are not the kinds of lectures I would have enjoyed, because the rambling would have irritated me; as a lecturer, these are not the kinds of lectures I aspire to deliver.

In summary, how these latest works 'by' Bourdieu, along with three more years' worth of transcriptions of lectures due for publication over the course of the next few years, will be received, is a site for observing many of the social and cultural dynamics they themselves were intended to cast light upon and capture. Whereas *Manet*, I suspect, will be of interest to a wider, inter-disciplinary audience on account of its subject matter, *Classification Struggles* will appeal more to a restricted audience and Bourdieu aficionados. In the meantime, knowing there is yet more to come from a thinker capable of such searing sociological and existential insights, interspersed with no end of esoteric bon mots, provides me with a genuine sense of pleasure and anticipation in equal measure.

Book Review

Theologically Engaged Anthropology

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Lemons, J. Derrick, ed. (2018). *Theologically Engaged Anthropology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

An irony of the advance of secularisation in Western society is that religion has not so much disappeared as it has been detached from its theological moorings and been placed in the centre of debates on rights in the context of identity politics. This shift reflects a response to the rise of Islam in Western Europe and the intractable issue it poses of whether to be treated as an ethnic or racial group or as a form of belief. An additional complication is that a multiplicity of forms of religion present themselves to the state for recognition in terms of charitable status, schooling and rights of conscience. Some of these, as with the Jedi, have been rejected, as in the case of the U.K. Charity Commissioners, which refused to treat it as a cogent and distinct religion. Others based their claims to be a religion on the basis of their philosophical beliefs, Ethical Vegans being an example, who sought the protection of the UK Equality Act, 2010. A further complication is that religion has become a term denoting the ultimate and the sacred, which has been expropriated into marketing and brand names, for instance in the case of the retail chain, *True Religion Clothing* set to cater for all fashion needs.

The outcome is that sociology and anthropology have been forced to take an increased interest in religion as a critical facet of culture. This expansion in significance is reflected in the interest centred on postsecularism which draws attention to the return of religion. This collection edited by Lemons, presents a timely reflection on how the axis of theology and anthropology is shifting in ways that adjust how the two disciplines are to come to understand each other. Whereas sociology seems still immune to a dialogue with theology, ethnographic interests in Islam, Pentecostalism and other forms of religion have brought prospects of penetration into anthropology closer. This rich collection of essays of remarkable range opens out many vistas for both disciplines so to that degree what is supplied is an important bench marker which illustrates the way each can enrich the other.

The collection emerges from two mini-conferences held in Atlanta, U.S.A. in September 2015 and at Cambridge, U.K. in February 2016, both being funded by the Templeton Foundation. The latter location reflects the importance of two essays by Robbins (2006; 2013) on the tensions generated by a dialogue between anthropology and theology. He supplies his own chapter 13 on the state of this exchange and also a concluding response to the collection as a whole. Not surprisingly, given its lineage in dealing with theology, the vast majority of the 20 specially commissioned essays are Christian in orientation. All the essays are generous in documentation; each is given a useful abstract in the helpful introduction by Lemons; and each has extensive footnotes which, with a valuable bibliography at the end of the collection, provide material for further reflection on future developments. Leaving aside the interregnum properties of the collection there is a nagging sense that it does not quite make the splash it deserves.

First, the collection reads like a tract in seduction addressed to anthropologists who spurn the prospect of entering the theological domain. The difficulty which emerges is that anthropology might well envisage interest in the ethnographic concerns of the collection but not in ways that require attendance on theological matters. Secondly, that hesitation is legitimised by the way the interests of the collection are much devoted to ethnographic

theology which emerges as something lying between the concerns of the sociology of religion and the conventions of religious studies. Thirdly, although nascent, there are more advances by sociology into theology than are recognised in the collection. These might indicate what anthropology ought to take into account in the expectations it presents to theology. Peculiarly, Bourdieu is treated as an anthropologist rather than a sociologist. Lastly, despite the photograph on the cover portraying the reception of communion, only the briefest of references are made to Catholicism, so neglecting attendance on the contributions made by Douglas, Evans-Pritchard and Turner to the deployment of theology in anthropology. Their contributions have been well explored by Larsen (2014), a joint contributor with King, who, in chapter 3, supplies one of the better essays in the collection.

Too often, the contributions veer into philosophy and away from hard anthropological issues, such as ritual and symbol, which are laden with theological implication. This neglect might reflect the liberal Protestant bias of the collection towards ethnographic theology. The outcome suggests an odd replication of the bias of the sociology of religion in the 1980s to treat new religious movements (or sects and cults to use their less euphemistic designation) as of exemplary concern simply because they were small in scale and their belief systems could be contained within them. Such studies of belief in all its diversity mask an issue (which the collection does consider in chapters 2, 5 and 20) as to which theology is to be the dialogue partner of anthropology and even more notably which religious form is most beneficial to its reflections. The result is a sense of incompleteness in the theology presented, a point the Anglican theologian, Sarah Coakley picks up on in her response to the collection at the end (pp. 367-375).

In the applied chapters, 14-18, three superb essays stand out, though in each case the topics deal with atypical issues and very particular theological dilemmas. Cannell's account of Mormonism (or the Latter-Day Saints) and female ordination is an astute piece of ethnography and links well to the theological complications so generated (chapter 14). Likewise, in chapter 15, Haynes' account of Pentecostalism in the Zambian Copperbelt is convincing in showing how a linkage could be made between theology and anthropology. Clooney's contribution in chapter 16 on comparative theology (Catholicism) with his call for inter-religious dialogue with Hinduism is unlikely to entice meaningful responses from anthropologists. Percy, as a prominent Anglican theologian writes on mood and his religion in chapter 17, one that is as scrappy as it is portentous. It makes an invidious comparison with an artful essay by Webster (chapter 18) on the Exclusive Brethren and their doctrine of separation in Belfast. Webster presents a very subtle account of fieldwork undertaken in hazardous circumstances of gaining access. A solid case for taking theological considerations into anthropological is tellingly supplied here.

In his introduction, Lemons does indicate that the collection is to be treated as preliminary in its explorations. The issue of the types of theology to emerge in anthropological fieldwork is explored well by Howell in chapter 2. Uncovering the *hājibs* of anthropology that partition contacts with theology, Furani provides an imaginative account in chapter 4 of the possibilities that could arise with the use of what he terms ethnographic immersion in belief systems. The dialogue between ethnographic theology, formulated as a response to cultural and social theory in the 1980s in relation to anthropology is well explored by Bielo in chapter 8. More directly, theological matters in relation to anthropology are given scrutiny by Davies in chapter 11.

As to be hoped and expected, the pivotal essay in the collection is chapter 13 by Robbins. It really does break new ground. He indicates that prior to the 1990s, an anthropology of Christianity was non-existent. Now he claims this has become a major trend in anthropology, though what he has in mind is the emergence of Pentecostalism and Prosperity Gospel. The difficulty is that these can be contained within conventional understandings of sociology and anthropology without reference to the disruptive effects of a theology which demands understanding of Divinity, salvation and the intractable issues of death which theodicy explores and to which Davies has drawn attention in his contribution in chapter 11. Again, as with other contributions, there is a feeling of being on some frontier difficult to discern but whose future direction might unsettle anthropology.

Seeman's essay in chapter 19, aptly titled 'Divinity Inhabits the Social: Ethnography in a Phenomenological Key', illustrates such possible unsettlements. Writing from a Jewish perspective, he points to an unfamiliar and peculiarly unrecognised difficulty with the proposed dialogue with theology that Jewish and Islamic thinkers do not conceive of it in ways that reflect Christian formulations which at present control the index of what counts. This opens out a new area of interest in exploring the nature of the theologies of non-Christian religions and how these might illuminate dialogues with both sociology and anthropology. As with others in the collection, Seeman notes that anthropologists have been remarkably tepid in their responses to the emergence of ethnographic theology. Some of these themes arise also in Chapter 3, where Larsen and King reflect on the contributions of Classic Christian theological anthropology to understanding the unity of the human race. Much archival work is explored on these nineteenth century debates so central to the development of social anthropology which that discipline now discounts.

In his generously constructed response to the collection, Robbins indicates that he is seeking not so much the exploration of folk forms of belief as the generation of formulations derived from theological reflection. This aspiration reflects a certain degree of wistful thinking percolating through the collection. It denotes a curious

orphan-like property to the collection, as it navigates without parentage bestowed by either anthropology or theology. Even though the collection does not offer a coherent way forward for a dialogue between both which is increasingly necessary with prevailing shifts in cultural understanding, nevertheless what appears is stimulating, well worthy of reflection and a sound marker of preliminary possibilities.

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