Crossing Conceptual Boundaries VIII

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Articles

We were like sisters:
Collective beauty rituals and fictitious sisterhood

Elena Fejdiova

Abstract

In this paper I present the results of an ethnographic study of collective cosmetic rituals among women in Slovakia. I focus on the internal relationships and dynamics that developed within small collectives of women through shared ritualized consumption of direct sales cosmetics. The analysis of the data is theoretically informed by sexual selection theory and Darwinian signalling theory. On one hand the researched women used their beautification practices to be appealing to men. On the other hand, however, when launching their cosmetic rituals women used their beauty knowledge and cosmetic resources to form strong intimate bonds amongst each other. Through expected sharing of intimate bodily information constructed as secret and by carefully monitoring their ritual behaviour and commitment to the collective women showed to each other in a reliable way their cooperative intentions. By regular participation in these rituals women learnt what seems to be a transferable ritual template that enabled them to enter the wider cooperative networks of women across all regions of Slovakia. Whereas some theoretical approaches argue that women would use their attractiveness to compete with each other for men and resources I show that in the observed cosmetic rituals women created ties of intimacy, solidarity and cooperation through beauty that extended beyond the ritual context to other areas of their lives. Cosmetics and its obligatory collective manipulation served as markers of their reciprocal cooperative relations. Researched women also reversed the competitive dynamics of the cosmetic companies that focused on highest profits and competition through beauty and favoured the group levelling ritual processes instead.

Key words: women, cosmetics, collective rituals, solidarity, cooperation

Introduction

The direction of this research grew out of my interest in the relationship between women, cosmetics and beautification practices and in what became clear to me was a gap in the literature on women and attractiveness.

When reviewing the literature on the topics I realized that many feminist and gender studies scholars tend to see women as striving for perfect bodies with the consequence of objectifying, sexualizing and commodifying themselves (Bordo, 2003; Grosz, 1994). Women are seen as objects of male desire, displaying for their enjoyment and controlled by their gaze and agency (Bartky, 1990; Bordo, 2003; Mulvey, 1989). In line with this understanding women would learn how to be feminine through images transmitted through the mass media that tell them what clothes, body shape, facial expression, movements and behaviours are desirable (Bordo, 2003). The beauty ideals are seen as arbitrary and culturally constructed. These scholars further argue that women would individualistically show-off their attractiveness to men and compete with each other through beauty (Wolf, 1990). Accordingly, women would pursue their beautification practices in privacy and isolation from other women which would then foster divisions amongst them (Wolf, 1990). If beauty forms the basis of women's identity, this makes them vulnerable not only to the approval of men but to the critical appraisal of other women, too. However this idea is based on theorizing representations instead of looking at everyday practices. Contrary to this view are authors who often base their arguments on qualitative studies of concrete women. In their view women can use their beautification practices as a way towards achieving agency, empowerment and pleasure (Beausoleil, 1994; Davis, 1995, Gimlin, 1996; Weitz, 2001). The findings of some of these scholars might suggest that there could be some collective aspects to the beauty experience that are shared amongst women (Dellinger, Williams, 1997; Masi de Casanova, 2004). Another corpus of theoretical approaches to beauty comes from the evolutionary psychology. These authors, contrary to the feminist and gender studies theorist, understand that although some beauty standards may indeed vary across cultures and can therefore be culturally constructed (Jones, 1996), there are some bodily features that are universally and cross-culturally seen as attractive and therefore cannot be an outcome of social construction (Buss, 1989; Buss, 1994). According to evolutionary psychology, female attractiveness is the main feature that men seek in women and women should therefore accentuate signals such as slim waists or symmetrical features (Buss, 1989). These signals are proxies for the future reproductive potential that men would look for in their future long-term partners. According to this view, and consistent with the feminist argument, women would use their attractiveness to compete with each other through enhancing their physical appearance through cultural means such as clothing, make-up and other forms of bodily adornments (Buss, 1994; Etcoff, Stock, Haley, Vickery, House, 2011; Low, 1979, 2001). If the competition through beauty argument is correct we would expect individualistic use of cosmetics by single, isolated women. Women would also hide their beautification knowledge and cosmetic resources from each other in order to gain advantage over other women.

But when we look at concrete descriptions found in the anthropological literature on the use of cosmetics in ritual contexts it is surprising how these differ from the above mentioned theorizing about women and pursuing their beautification practices in isolation. Women anthropologists in particular refer to *collectives* of women who were involved in the beautification of initiated girls. This collective use of cosmetics amongst women in ritual contexts is often interpreted as marking off reciprocal cooperative networks of affiliation of their users. For example, among the African Ndembu during the female initiation ritual Edith Turner points out that a collective of women

were involved in decorating the girl's body and hair with red ochre. She comments on the *'strong camaraderie'* that developed behind the scenes among the women who beautified the initiated girl (Turner, 1987). Another example comes from among the African Bemba where *'a form of beauty magic'* a purification ritual called whitening magic was held at the end of menstruation of the initiated girls. With the presence of women from the village, the girls were washed, dried and whitewash was applied all over their bodies and faces to make them beautiful (Richards, 1956). Among the Muslim Hausa there exists a special institution of bond friendship *kawaye* among the young girls that was initiated and confirmed by the exchange of oil and henna. One of the girl friends provided oil, perfume and henna and brought it to the other, so she could dress her hair (Smith, 1954). Amongst the women under colonial rule in Mozambique tattoos provided access to networks of reciprocal alliances among the tattooed women that were used as resources in times of need. The desire to be attractive to men certainly mattered but the tattooed women represented it as a side effect. As women moved across the country tattoos were a way to create new networks of female *'fellowship'* (Gengenbach, 2003).

The above mentioned girls' initiation rituals were costly, lengthy and often traumatic. They were crucial in mate choice: the girls who failed to undergo initiation were seen as unmarriageable. But much of the cosmetic display occurred in secrecy and could not be directly seen neither by the members of the opposite sex nor by the members of the same sex who were the possible competitors (Power, 1999). So what was actually being advertised in these rituals and to whom?

My own observations of everyday practices centring on direct sales cosmetics amongst my female family members and girl friends suggested too sharing and commitment to the collective within small circles of women rather than beauty rites carried out in isolation by individual women competing with each other through beauty. I became intrigued to investigate this contradiction between theoretical understanding of relationships between women, beautification and cosmetics and the actual everyday practices that reflect this relationship. I wanted to understand the processes that were at play amongst the women who shared the beauty experience together. What was going on amongst them and why did they share it?

This article presents the interpretation of some of the key findings of my PhD research.
It shows that the ritualized consumption of cosmetics encouraged bonding and solidarity among the participating women as a result of taking part in the collective cosmetic rituals. To interpret the data I use an alternative Darwinian model of female cosmetic coalitions (Power, 1999, 2009) that while acknowledging Darwinian female-female competition stresses female strategies of using cosmetics with ritual intent to create cooperating alliances and coalitions.

My analysis is based on ethnographic research of small collectives of women in urban environment of Slovakia's capital who were selling, buying and using Avon and Oriflame direct sales cosmetics. My focus was on sales representatives and their buyers. I worked with 42 women from 15 different small collectives aged 18 to 60. I conducted the research mainly at the work places of the researched women. At times I worked with the research participants in cafes or at their homes. The professions of the researched women varied from primary and secondary school teachers, headmasters, administrative workers, public services workers, researchers, waitresses, a journalist, to Civil Service employees and sale executives. Out of 42 studied women 16 were representatives of one of the researched cosmetic company and the other 26 women were their customers. For the period of research I myself became an Oriflame seller and through

this a member of such a collective. I conducted an ethnographic study using Spradley's ethnographic method (Spradley, 1979, 1980).

Unlike in the UK where the Avon cosmetics is sold through Avon parties organized from above by the cosmetic company itself, in Slovakia the shopping procedure as encouraged by both studied cosmetic companies is a one-to-one encounter between a company representative and her client. Both companies recommend to their representatives to go through the catalogue with her client who would ask questions about cosmetics. Then the catalogue would be left with the client and collected ideally the next day together with the order. On the agreed date the representative would bring in the ordered cosmetics, give it to her client and collect the money. The client would inspect the cosmetics to check its quality such as packaging or colour and possibly address questions to her representative. Then the selling procedure and distribution of cosmetics would be considered completed. The aim of these optimized and instrumental selling and buying behaviours is to make the highest profit possible and to make the best (often by both parties represented as the best bargain) buy possible. Such behaviour demands and encourages competition between representatives who should aim at the highest achievable profit. It also fosters competition between the clients through the best individual buys.

But these formally optimized profit and advantage generating selling procedures represented the opposite of the observed spontaneous non-instrumental ways women themselves organized around the cosmetic practices into small bonded collectives. The shopping events I observed were collective gatherings of several women (usually three to four but at times five to six or more) where the representative could but did not have to be present. The collective decisions of all the participating women often led to overspending for the clients and loss of profit for the representative. She sold cosmetics to the researched women for the cost price effectively giving up the override that would represent her gain. The observed collective practices that generated ritualized female sociality, bonding and commitment to the group had strong preference and precedence subverting the cosmetic companies' interests in maximising profit.

Attractiveness

On one hand, women I worked with were all very aware of the fact that men pay attention to female attractiveness and they enhanced it through cosmetics. In both following examples they acknowledge the advantages they could potentially or actually gain from their enhanced appearance that was aimed at men in general such as better work position or tips from male clients:

"(...) So every one of us presents herself (...), she wants to look well, well groomed. Especially male clients very much take on board how one looks (...). So maybe each of us will buy it [cosmetics] because she has a feeling that it will make her look more attractive (…)" (Research participant Nr.5, age 22, coffee shop team manager and university student)

"At my previous jobs the more attractive she looked the better position she had (…) really, the more attractive the better position she had." (Research participant Nr.12. age 26, team coordinator)

But there seems to be collective as well as cooperative dimensions to such beauty enhancement. In the following description of the later situation from above the researched women incite each other to engage with beautification at work place:

"(…) [in my previous job] one of [my colleagues wore make up] and we drew the other in to make her wear it, too. We, actually, we used to have our hair done up every day, we used to be nicely made up. Yes, all kinds of eye shadows, four colours I used to wear. (…) we were close to each other (…) we were a good team, and each of us came in made up, one prettier than the other, that's how it worked there." (Research participant Nr.13, 26, team coordinator)

Here, the collective of women is marked through wearing make-up and to join in equals to start wearing it. But despite the fact that the result of wearing make up is the boost in attractiveness of the participating women so that '*one was prettier than the other*' they are still '*close to each other*' and '*a good team*'. This closeness and ability to create and maintain good team relations can be interpreted as manifestation of the cooperative internal relations of the researched women that developed and are maintained amongst them through shared and collectivized wearing of cosmetics. In this female collective the incentive for using make-up to enhance one's attractiveness is strong. The women encourage each other to put on make-up to achieve the best results, to be as attractive as possible. The strength and cohesion amongst them can be seen in the power they have to '*draw the other in to make her wear [make up]*' and through this make her part of their collective.

On the other hand the women I worked with wanted to be attractive for their current sexual partners: *"... they want to make themselves up, to be more attractive for their boyfriends, and for example, [I'm thinking] when my boyfriend will smell this on me, he will surely like it, or when he will notice this, I want to know his view on it."* (Research participant Nr.6, age 21, Oriflame representative, coffee shop waitress and university student)

The sensual experience of their partners is important for my research participants. Smell, colour, touch and texture are all used to engage their boyfriends in noticing and acknowledging their attractiveness. So the women often choose cosmetics with regard to their partners: *"[my mum] asks my father for his opinion about what colour a lipstick she should get or what fragrance, because she wants that he will like it, because he will be smelling it."* (Research participant Nr.21, age 21, Oriflame representative, university student)

An important part of engaging their current sexual partners in noticing their attractiveness was the regular display of the direct sales cosmetics bought with their girl-friends:

"(…) I show it to my boyfriend. 'See what a beautiful woman you've got?!' And I spread it all out on the kitchen table, everything." (Research participant Nr.13, 26, team coordinator)

"It's not something [cosmetics] that you buy [in a store] and chuck it in your bag but it's something that 'look what I've ordered' and you can show off with it. You come home and you can show what you have ordered. At least I always do it. I show it to my boyfriend." (Research participant Nr.5, age 22, coffee shop manager and university student)

Here 'look what I've ordered' translates 'look what I've ordered with my girl-friends' and functions as a reliable signal of my research participant's attractiveness. This attractiveness does not come just from the beauty knowledge and cosmetic resources she can employ to enhance it. Because there is a collective dimension to it, namely the coalition of women with whom she shares the cosmetic experience, the attractiveness equally stems from being part of such a bonded female collective.

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Ritualized consumption

But being appealing to men was not the only reason the researched women would get together to share the direct sales cosmetics experience. An essential component of these practices was setting up a safe space where they created specific form of female sociality that centred on mutual trust, closeness and bonding. An inevitable condition for such sociality to evolve and thrive was the establishing, marking and confirmation of reciprocal cooperative relationships within the researched circles of women through collective ritual practices.

I studied two different types of ritual practices centring on sales and purchases of cosmetics in the researched direct sales companies settings. On one hand, there were big formal institutional rituals of *'recognition'* called *'conferences'* organized at the national level for the sales representatives. Only representatives who have made a profit high enough could attend such events. The guidelines for the height of profits were set beforehand in the companies´ newsletters. These *'conferences'* were organized and orchestrated by the cosmetic companies themselves and stressed not only the hierarchies within the company itself but among the representatives as well. At these events the best selling representatives called *'leaders'* were publicly *'recognized'*. They were rewarded for their sales achievements by being called up on the stage, applauded by the audience, at times with standing ovations, and they received achievements awards from the company leaders. These awards were represented by various certificates, by *'winning'* the right to attend the next year *'conference'*, *'winning'* the family holiday or *'winning'* the right to use the company car for the next year. The competitiveness and the hierarchical organization of the companies and of the whole selling process were clearly discernible in these rituals. The whole institutional ritual centred on *'winning'* awards for the best selling representatives. It also aimed at motivating the *'conference'* participants to the highest profits achievable. These *'recognition'* rituals had a very clear formalized structure. The participants sometimes experienced heightened emotional states that were manifest during applauses, through exclamations in the audience or tears on the stage when moved representatives shared their success stories.

On the other hand and in stark contrast to these big highly formalized events, were the group levelling collective rituals organized from below by the researched women themselves. These group levelling rituals usually took place at work places, cafes or at the research participants' homes. They were small scale including up to five or six women. With comparison to the above described highly formalized corporate ceremonies, these rituals lacked an elaborate formal structure and were often improvised. During these rituals the work hierarchies were relaxed and the participating women became one collective. The observed ritual behaviours were often temporally restricted and lasted between ten to thirty minutes. However, I also observed cosmetic rituals that lasted as long as two hours. Essential components of these rituals were collective emotional high created by the ritual participants, collective assertive loudness, uproarious laughter and exaggerated feminine behaviour (Sanders, 2000):

"(…) one [of the women] was sitting and browsing it [the catalogue] and three others were standing above her, sometimes four, depending on whether there was someone with the authority to dissipate them or not (laughs). (...) And it worked like this, the person [a female colleague] came to work and maybe it was strait at the first morning coffee or after the lunch break, that she took it [the catalogue] out and "oh, I have a new Avon catalogue!" and now they all swarmed together (laughs) and "Show me, show me!" and they started to leaf through it and now, I

don't know, "oh, what a lipstick!", "Look, this would suit me!", "oh no, it wouldn't suit you" and a similar hen gabble (laugh)."(Research participant Nr. 9, age 35, sales executive)

The cosmetic ritual starts with the recognized shibboleth *'I have a new Avon catalogue!'* followed by all the present women dashing towards the woman who pronounced it. One of them is sitting and turning the pages the others are looking at them while standing above her talking and shouting often at the same time. This is all happening without the presence of the companies' representative. It is launched entirely by the women themselves. All the women are expected to join in, and they do. The emotional input of the participating women is strong. They all shout and laugh loudly. They are all energized and they show it to each other through their bodily engagement in exalted, exaggerated movements. During such performance purchasing is decided collectively: *„One persuades the others and then we just all agree on who will order what."* As a result women often overspend because they feel obliged to buy cosmetics recommended by their girl-friends or they all buy the same cosmetics, e.g. same fragrances, lipsticks, nail varnishes etc. Women taking part in such rituals endure costs of time and energy in engaging in collective emotional high and of the money spent on cosmetics (Zahavi, Zahavi, 1997). Shared and reciprocal circulation of beauty knowledge forms an obligatory part of these rituals. Women refer to it as *'giving advice'* that often follows the act of revealing of beauty flaws. Such disclosure is expected by all the women taking part in the ritual despite the fact that it is seen by them as potentially risky:

"There must be a certain degree of trust. It´s as if you confined it to someone, that even though it´s just cosmetics, it´s something intimate. And I wouldn´t want to risk, that someone would judge me, to tell the truth. [It´s intimate] in that it´s essentially about the body. You know, as if you confessed to someone, that you beautify yourself, that in reality you´re not that beautiful, but that you beautify yourself to be it, maybe that´s it. Such a confession (...) maybe because it´s about the body and (...) because that´s mine, it´s closely interrelated with my person. (...) To those other women I usually don´t talk about cosmetics, so I tell them, I don´t know, that 'you look good´ but I don´t ask them any further 'what do you use´ or so. As if I distinguished between people, it´s not about that I wouldn´t want to know, but it´s something intimate. I´d probably have a feeling that they would expect from me, that, I don´t know. I wouldn´t ask a person I don´t trust. (...) I associate the world of cosmetics with people who are closest to me, because it´s about beauty, that´s closest to my person and maybe if I were a top model who looks great, then maybe I wouldn´t have problems to talk about it, the more because I have complexes or I can see my imperfections that I´m aware of, the more I´m sensitive about what concerns myself as much as cosmetics. That´s why I talk about it only with certain people (...)." (Research participant Nr.2, age 26, admin manager).

In the above statement the research participant stresses that for her to disclose the information concerning her attractiveness to the other women the essential condition of trust must be met. She understands cosmetics as an intimate matter concerning her body. To reveal this kind of information to someone else represents a risky confession that shows that she actually might not *'be as beautiful´.* So even though it is *'just cosmetics´* her description gives evidence about something very important concerning the relevance of beauty and its enhancement. Her *'imperfections´* make her vulnerable to others. They are therefore understood as secrets and revealing them is done only to the women she trusts. The *'world of cosmetics´* is kept exclusively for those people who *'are closest´* to her. By this she means her girl-friends with whom she shares the same direct sales cosmetics. Cosmetics are seen by this woman as the most intimate concern. They literary touch the body proper, something that she inherently sees as hers. When she speaks about her flaws she is sharing information that could be manipulated by other women. Sharing such information carries with it potential risk because it can harm her reputation (Buss, 1994; Hess, Hagen, 2002) where attractiveness is understood as one of its most important components (Rucas et al., 2006).

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Therefore a misuse of such information can put a woman into a disadvantaged position in relation to other women with whom she would possibly compete. For the disclosure to occur there must be real trust amongst the women who share it. Under the circumstances of female competitiveness (Buss, 1994; Campbell, 2004) women would not talk about it outside the bonded and trusted circle of their girl-friends. Thus for the *´other women´* she only reserves the type of conversations that do not require any exposing and sharing of such intimate information. If the disclosure of beauty flaws occurs it is expected from the present women to reciprocate with the best advice possible. Because of the implied vulnerability of reputation of the disclosing women such intimate bodily knowledge, flaws and advice alike, is amongst the researched female collectives constructed as secret. It is reserved only for the closed circle of the trusted group of fellow-women. By exposing one´s vulnerability to the group and by giving the best advice they could the women in the coalition send a reliable message to each other that among themselves it is safe to do so.

The outcomes of the collective cosmetic ritual performance shared within the trusted circle of women is felt as intimate closeness and bonding that some of the women I worked with compared to sisterhood:

" (...) and then I felt we were on the same wave length, that doesn't have to happen at each gathering, when we meet up like this [to hand out cosmetics], but then I really had the feeling that we were as if sisters or something like that, you know (...). That was great, when the woman left, then Anika had for us those small samples and it all gathered around the bed and we were either sitting on the bed or kneeling around it as if around a fire pit. And that was great and I remember such an emotion that we all smelled each others´ perfumes and it was very spontaneous and pretty mad. (...) And we were so happy about it that, what a fragrance and what a sample. That was great. I really enjoyed it very much. And it was fun (...) like Anika was giving away those things [cosmetics] and we were squealing and I think we all knew, that, wow, what are we doing, you know, but we really enjoyed it very much. It was a very liberating feeling that maybe the world looks at women stereotypically, that a woman and cosmetics that's like, but there we could really express it because we were among us and all of us knew that is was important for us. Thus I wasn't scared to do ´uaaa, what a fragrance!´ and open it straight away and ´smell it!´ and ´what cream is this?!´ and so on. It was very familial and so maybe bonding. Also that we were joking together and that we were laughing together. Well, during that evening that group, who we were there, was very bonded, I think." (Research participant Nr. 2, age 26, admin manager)

When the ritual starts women mutually attune and synchronize their emotions to the point that they feel it as *´being on the same wave length´*. Through the shared emotions they create a space where they can experience fictitious sisterhood. Here they are *´as if sisters´*. Around the double bed in the middle of the room they form an "all-embracing circle" that does not allow any hierarchy nor external control. It creates its own internally referential space where the ritual participants address to themselves, not to the external audience (James, 2003: 83). The bed is their focal point, their *´fire pit´* around which they sit or kneel with their own representative, who is one of them. With her they start to play a ´throw and catch´ game: she is throwing cosmetics at the women and they are snatching it with squeals. In their own emotionally centralizing space created by themselves for themselves they go *´pretty mad´*. It is this madness that sets the whole event apart from everyday ordinary behaviour. Here behaving *´pretty mad´* means to be loud, unbound, wild and free because they know they can feel equal and therefore they can dare to ´behave badly´ and they enjoy it. These women stop being cautious about how they are seen by others because they know they are safe amongst each other and what they do is important to all of them. Then they can *´really express´* all the joy and have fun. They are squealing, yelling, shouting, laughing and joking in the familiarity of the close and known bodies that are moving in synchrony around the imaginary but felt *´fire pit´*. Women themselves reflect that what they are doing is not ordinary

behaviour. They all know that *´wow, what are we doing´* but they keep doing it and they *´really enjoy it very much´*. With exaggerated gestures accompanied by amplified communication of screams and squeals women grab the thrown cosmetics, open them, smell them and try them on, even mutually: one smears the other. They all make sure, however, that all of them are in the circle and all of them do the same. They smell each others´ samples and they snatch them from each others´ hands. *´What a fragrance!´* they scream. They open it straight away and they yell again at each other *´Smell it!´* and they do. Although *´it doesn't have to happen at each gathering´* during that evening as an outcome of such collectively performed joy the group is *´very bonded´*.

The observed cosmetic rituals followed their own order which was similar in all the observed groups. Its elements were collective browsing through catalogues, use of specific coded language referring to cosmetics and beautification, collective decisions what to order, accentuated sensory experiences centring on the body such as mutual touching, smelling of cosmetics and putting it on, and exalted emotional states of the participating women. These structural elements showed a tendency towards stylization, repetition, redundancy and stereotyping, all obvious aspects of ritual (Rappaport, 1999). The cosmetic rituals usually took place in spaces where the participating women felt they would not be disturbed, such as the back office of the coffee shop or in teachers´ room. The women I studied referred to these places as *´our office´* or *´our lobby´*. The rituals were launched at fixed times usually every three weeks with each new catalogue and under special circumstances, for example, when the boss was not present. These gatherings had marked beginnings and endings, often starting with the formula *´I've got the new catalogue!´* or *´Have you got the new catalogue?´* or *´I've got the cosmetics´* and finishing with the closing of the catalogue or putting the new cosmetics aside. All the women present in such a space were expected to join in the collective behaviour. The observed women engaging in cosmetic rituals performed for each other. With the exclusion of men they signalled their cooperative intentions and trustworthiness to each other in a costly and therefore reliable way. In *´their lobby´* or in *´the back room´* the cosmetic ritual was seized by the women only. The competitive gender relations between women remained on the other side of the closed door.

The observed collective gatherings varied in their length, size and intensity but their content and form were identical across Slovakia. By regular participation in these rituals women learnt what seems to be a transferable ritual template that, similarly to the ethnographic examples mentioned above, enabled them to enter the wider cooperative networks of women across all regions of Slovakia that formed in the context of direct sales cosmetics. These networks provided their female members with benefits that extended beyond the actual ritual context. The research women supported each other at work, often through spreading important information amongst them or covering up for each other as well as in their personal lives, in their relationships with their current sexual partners, sometimes even helping out with childcare.

Monitoring behaviour

An intrinsic part of the observed cosmetic rituals was careful monitoring of the behaviour of the participating women. On one hand, women were extremely interested in the other women's purchases: *"We always look at each other's purchased cosmetics. We are curious. (…) and we peek into the others´ bags, to see what the others got, because then you're very interested in that. (...) it's about watching."* The result of such careful and repeated *'watching'* was detailed knowledge about who ordered what cosmetics amongst the participating women effectively tracking down the commitment to the collective that was manifest through regular purchasing of the respective direct sales cosmetics. It

was expected that women will allow others to look at the bought cosmetics and, reciprocally, that they themselves will show off with what they purchased. These women regularly displayed the ordered cosmetics to each other. But only the direct sales cosmetics that was bought together with the other fellow-women was seen as clearly demarcating the extent of the female bonded collective: *"Only if I have cosmetics, that also the other women ordered from Avon, just then we show it to each other, but otherwise, that I bought another brand of cosmetics and would come to work and say, I bought this, I don't do that." (Informant Nr.26, age 34, Avon representative, Civil Service employee)*

Not only women watched the purchases made by others, they assessed themselves within their collective, too. They made sure their orders were high enough to match up to the commitment to the group but not too high in order not to be seen as overdoing it or showing off: *"When I got the ordered cosmetic I checked who ordered what among the other girls and whether I'm in the upper or the lower line [in terms of amount of ordered products]." (Research participant Nr.19, age 22, university student)*

Women I worked with regularly assessed each others attractiveness, too. But again, there were collective as well as cooperative aspects to it. This assessing of beauty was expressed in the act of *´noticing´* the way women within a respective collective looked and again it was linked to the use of the collectively purchased direct sales cosmetics. Women expected it and encouraged it: *" (…) when I come to work and I stop here [at the counter], they are very attentive so they'll notice for sure, for example, I had new eye shadows, and they went ´show us, which ones you've got?´ so I would close my eyes to let them see them and they look at them immediately and then they talked about it, how long they last, what are they like, whether the colour suits me or not, so. It's always like that here." (Research participant Nr.7, age 23, waitress)*

The same situation from above is in the following statement described by another coalition member: *"(...) one of our colleagues had a new eye liner, she bought it in Oriflame and she came in the morning and we noticed it instantly, that she had something new and that it suited her. So we complimented her and she was pleased and maybe it persuaded her to use it and, we notice, we notice such details, those, you do notice, (…) and the other colleague tells her ´cool, it suits you, you look different´ and she will continue using it. And on the contrary, if someone comes in and we'll say ´oh, not this´ then she won't use it." (Research participant Nr.5, age 22, coffee shop team manager and university student)*

On one hand, this *´noticing´* fulfilled the function of displaying the use of the collectively bought cosmetics. As seen in the second example, it was always accompanied by giving honest advice about the observed looks leading to the improvement of looks of the displaying women. On the other hand, it levelled the attractiveness distinctions within the observed female collectives. Here, it was expected that the information about the desired feminine looks would be shared and reciprocated.

An inseparable component of the observed ritualized cosmetic purchases was the use of formalized coded language that represented yet another form of testing for group membership. These were obligatory linguistic formulae expected at both ritual occasions of catalogue browsing as well as distribution of cosmetics. They came in a matching question and answer (call and response) format and they were taught and used in the collective cosmetic rituals and only the insiders knew how and when to use them. They effectively represented the secret knowledge that belonged to the bonded and trusted female collective. The researched women carefully listened for these formulae and always responded with matching questions or answers. There are ethnographic parallels of use of secret language in ritual contexts of girls' initiations such as *chisungu* among Bemba and *vusha/domba* cycles among Venda (Blacking, 1961; Power, 2000; Richards, 1956). In the initiation rituals the girls learnt a secret language of rhymes and riddles,

that served as proof of passing the rite and opened up the entry into the female reciprocity networks. The use of secret language demonstrated and maintained the boundaries of a ritually established trusting „gossiping community" (Power, 2000). Similarly, the use of the formalized coded language amongst the studied women clearly demarcated and sustained the trusted circle of girl-friends. The researched women knew exactly who was taking part in the collective cosmetic rituals by listening for these obligatory formulae:

"(...) the one who doesn't order [cosmetics] (...) she doesn't ask for my opinion, ´tell me, what does it smell like?´, right, or ´what's it like?´, ´for how many uses?´ or so, she only goes through it [the catalogue] and nothing. The one who does buy it and spots, I don't know, something new in the catalogue, she asks me straight away ´what's it like?´ (...) so that's the difference (...) the one who buys it always asks for my opinion, or what it's like or whether I liked it or whether I have tried it on, so." (Research participant Nr.6, age 21, Oriflame representative, waitress and university student)

Against the everyday habitus

James points out that ritual derives its power "partly from speaking against and ironically with ´ordinary´ habitus" (James, 2003: 79). During the ritual performance the studied women established a temporal counter-culture of opposition to and exaggeration of the expectations of everyday femininity. Collectively they created a form of hyper-femininity - a type of femininity that inflated and exaggerated the components of the expected normative everyday practice associated with work environment and personal gender relations with men and they opposed it. When engaging in mutual grooming women's gestures were exaggerated, their talk and laughter were amplified, often assuming forms of squealing. *´They were like crows´* swooping down on the cosmetics. When talking about their behaviour in these rituals women themselves pointed out that they pushed their behaviour from ordinary to exaggerated: *´it was pretty mad´* and *´we all knew, that, wow, what are we doing!´.* Grabbing cosmetics, snatching it from each other and starting it putting on straight away, smelling it and squealing, using exalted gestures and amplified sounds were all types of behaviour intended for this ritual time.

But this femininity incorporated in itself elements of masculine assertiveness. These masculine elements were discernible in the throw and catch games women played when throwing cosmetics at each other, in the drinking of beer because *"that's what men drink while they watch football"* and in the often femininely unflattering positions they assumed while smelling and trying on cosmetics and browsing the catalogues. Because hyper-femininity combined both, feminine as well as masculine aspects, it was no more gender specific but ritual specific with gender ambivalent characteristics – it came to existence only within the ritualized time and space (Power and Watts, 1999). When the ritual ended, the gender returned back to its polarized un-ambiguous norm. But as long as the cosmetic ritual lasted the gendered signal became so expanded, so amplified and it carried with it potential for so much collective agency that it took on another meaning – there was a power in it - that of a bonded group of women who shared their fantasy together. Yet this extravaganza was fragile, and could be easily eradicated by just one person present and not engaging in it. It was also temporal - it only lasted the time when the ritual took place.

These collective ritual practices carried in themselves the potency of reversal. The heightened emotional states, catching exaggerated laughter, following Bakhtin (1984), permitted the relaxation of authority and social hierarchy in favour of the emergence of a temporal collective counter-culture. Whereas the behaviour desired at work often took the forms of seriousness,

modesty, silence, individualism, achievements, competition and showing of respect towards existing work hierarchies, the actual observed behaviour during the ritual time was distinguished by playfulness, jokes, immodesty, loudness, sharing, showing off commitment to the group, non-competition and levelling of work hierarchies. When in the ritual mode the participating women effectively reversed the mode of everyday working routine. Regardless of their status they engaged in playful behaviours centred on manipulation of cosmetics and of bodily appearance that was intertwined with humour and jokes followed by waves of shared uproarious laughter. They focused on their bodies and on the aesthetic elaborations upon them (Gordon, 2003). They employed their bodily senses in exploring the cosmetics just distributed. During these acts of exploration and enjoyment women often behaved frivolously. Through their shared bodily experience expressed in often mutual grooming aimed at maximum beautification of all the participating women, the studied women created a form of exaggerated femininity where the loud amplified assertive communication, including uproarious laughter, joking relationship and mutual grooming were used as mechanisms through which a levelling space was achieved where the female collective became prominent.

Through the collective cosmetic rituals the researched women were transformed into an empowered group of supportive allies. When the rituals stopped they carried in themselves the memory of their mutual support and collective ritual agency. When they congregated again they re-kindled that spirit. As one of my research participant said, each time after the cosmetic ritual in sauna with her friends she was *'leaving in high spirits'* full of confidence because she had the support of her girl-friends. In an image of her walking home she did not only hear her own footsteps but she could hear the steps of her girl-friends as if walking alongside with her.

Conclusion

In this article I explored the female sociality that unfolded amongst the researched Slovak women through the collective cosmetic rituals launched in the context of shopping for direct sales cosmetics. This sociality was characterized by sharing of beautification practices within the bonded collectives of women. The researched relationships of closeness were based on cooperation through beauty. Women regularly displayed to each other their cooperative intentions through a series of practices related to cosmetic resources, their purchase and use as well as to circulation of beauty knowledge. The willingness to cooperate within the bonded collective of women was regularly monitored through series of displays that enabled the women to gain reliable information about who was committing to the group. This reliability was guaranteed by costs of time, energy, money and of giving up individual advantage through beauty that the participating women imposed on themselves. Sharing of beauty secrets, using of coded language, displaying and manipulating the collectively bought cosmetics, showing and noticing the attractiveness and levelling it within the bonded collectives were all practices applied by the researched women to track down the extend and strength of their cooperating cosmetic coalition. Not only did women displayed to each other. Through regular showing off of the collectively purchased direct sales cosmetics they showed to their current sexual partners that they were embedded within a bonded collective of women. I interpreted the observed phenomena in line with the assumption that women cooperate through collective sharing of beautification resources and information about attractiveness when they are part of boded reciprocating coalition. This assumption is in contrast with the idea that beauty is the main aspect of female intrasexual competition predicted by sexual selection theory and argued in many feminist writings.

The institutional structure that preceded and facilitated the emergence of the researched ritual situations was provided by the way the direct sales cosmetic companies operate. In this environment the business practices are accomplished through the pre-existing social relations and networks. It is expected that representatives will exploit their personal networks and that due to such exploitation financial distance will replace former closeness of personal relationships (Biggart, 1989). The whole structure and ideology of the researched cosmetic companies as well as the promoted practices of their representatives are aimed at encouraging profit. The selling strategy the representatives are encouraged to follow is designed as a one-to-one interaction between the representative and her customer. The representative is assisted to support the shopping with the intention of making a gain. But the collected empirical data show behaviour that contradicts these institutionalized expectations. Half of the representatives in my sample did not make any profit at all selling cosmetics to the collectives of women for the cost price. The other half of the representatives kept their profits permanently low through several counter-strategies. Far from fostering competitiveness among women through pursuing the highest possible profits and through aiming at the exclusivity of the best possible purchase effectuated by single women the observed beautification practices intensified the relationships among the researched women. In the studied cultural setting the collective appropriation and sharing of these practices became a priority. The observed prioritizing of the collective and of committing to it represented the non-institutionalized counter-culture of opposition to and reversal of the competitive individualistic gender practices incorporated in the institutionalized cultures of both cosmetic companies. Once the shopping procedure became the property of the collectives of women it assumed entirely different functions where displaying and monitoring of the group commitment became prominent. Women in the researched coalitions instead of competing with each other through attractiveness and beautification practices cooperated with each other through collective rituals of reversal. By pooling the beauty knowledge they equalized their chances to arrive at comparable levels of attractiveness within their bonded collective. Whereas the institutional expectations of the researched cosmetic companies foster division and competition among women the behaviour that emerged among the researched women transgressed these institutional norms, rendering the observed ritual practices anti-normative. The studied women collectively created a resistance culture to the competitive ideology of the researched cosmetic companies. This resistance culture was conditional and episodic originating in the ritual performance. It was not institutional and normative. It transgressed the norms of the cosmetic companies and it only came together at those sites and in those instances where women felt equal. This counter-culture was clearly observable in the ritual situations in which sharing, bonding and becoming part of the collective were prominent and manifest among the participating women. In these situations the status differences among the present women were effaced, the elation, excitement and joy underpinned the collective dimension of the event. In these ´moments out of time´ the instants of *communitas* (Turner, 1969) among the participating women came to existence. At these particular moments the collectives of researched women, bonded and intimately close, got in a position where it was impossible to refuse to share.

Research of the reciprocal cooperative relations within women's coalitions is a new challenging area that can yield interesting insights into female – female cooperation to inform both theory and practice. Focusing on everyday aspects of collectivized female sociality centred on beautification practices and their sharing can help us further understand deep social processes of gender relations.

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Elena Fejdiova is a doctoral candidate at the School of Social Sciences, University of East London. Her research focuses on the conditions and mechanism for cooperation amongst women. She in particular investigates the female collective rituals that involve manipulation of cosmetics and shared bodily practices. Further she interrogates the aspects of transgression and reversal expressed in such rituals. Elena holds and MA in Ethnology and MA in German and Italian languages from Comenius University Bratislava, Slovakia. Before she studied anthropology Elena worked as a translator for the European Parliament.

e-mail: efejdiova@gmail.com

Inscribing Selves: Discursive, Material and Dialogic Turns for ME

Sharon Gallagher

Abstract

In this paper, I demonstrate how my kaleidoscope view is employed to the problematics of living with what can be described, as a 'contested' and experienced as a 'severe' chronic illness. Specifically the paper refers to the illness, Myalgic Encephalomyelitis (ME) (also known as Chronic Fatigue Syndrome). This is a chronic illness that has multivariate symptoms and remains shrouded in medical contention and social scepticism. This has produced dilemmas and challenges for those diagnosed with ME and/or CFS. The kaleidoscopic view reflects on Foucauldian, Deleuze & Guattari and Bakhtinian concepts in relation to power, desire and the importance of context for 'doing' and 'being' ill. I propose the metaphor of a kaleidoscope offers a useful visual illustration to understand the complexities of living with an illness of this nature. The problematics can then be explored by theorising the dominant discursive controls on naming and framing chronic illness, the material embodied experiences of living with a chronic illness and to the socio-cultural contexts for constituting ways to fulfil healthy/unhealthy identities. My particular readings on Foucault's governmentality, heterotopia are employed to theorise the act of power and attend to the languages of ritualised spaces that are challenged when house/bedbound. Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome for situating multiplicities of desire which continuously destabilise the definable and can intensely disrupt the material production of possibilities for living with a chronic illness. The inclusion of Bakhtin draws on the importance of context and the chronotope to conceptualise the connectedness between temporal and spatial relations in narrating a life affected by chronic illness. My insights are motivated by a transdisciplinary approach, where like Foucault and Deleuze, I concur that a methodological toolbox establishes the importance of theory as a practical tool, not to be confined by, but to appropriate particular concepts to offer a depth or alternative meaning. I have conceptualised the challenges and struggles of a chronic illness by exploring the acts of 'doing' and the experiences of 'being' ill and argue that this theorisation as enhanced understanding for what it means to negotiate a chronic illness of this nature.

Introduction

This paper is concerned with theorising the topic of chronic illness, specifically that of Myalgic Encephalomyelitis. As a controversial disease in terms of its causation and treatment the illness continues to be shrouded in medical and social debate. Social and psychological studies tend to focus on the issues of living with a contested illness. However, little attention has been given to those who live with severe ME which causes those who suffer to remain house and/or bedbound for long periods.

Medical research has interrogated the risk factors (Pheby and Saffron 2009), effects of treatment programmes and the management of stress to decrease the burden of severe ME/CFS (Cox and Findley 2000; Lattie, Antoni et al. 2013). Medical and social researchers have explored issues associated with uncertainty and controversy for ME sufferers and/or medical professionals (Cooper 1997; Guise, Widdicombe et al. 2007). However, there has been little or no specific reference to those who experience severe ME, which exacerbates the lack of understanding within medical and social research and beyond. My doctoral research departed from previous research by recruiting participants who had been formally diagnosed with ME and/or Chronic Fatigue Syndrome (CFS) and at least four of the participants had been diagnosed with severe ME/CFS. At present the umbrella term of ME/CFS is the most widely used term. My method of investigation was both life stories and photo-elicited-diaries, both of which revealed the processes and practices that underpin negotiations of the illness experience.

My research aimed to elicit an active conceptualisation for understanding 'doing' and 'being' chronically ill. As a person who lives with the illness under investigation, I agree with 'the theoretical fact that only those directly concerned can speak in a practical way on their own behalf' (Deleuze cited in Bouchard 1977:209). The present paper focuses on some of the key theoretical concepts which informed my transdisciplinary research to theoretically ask: How can we understand ME/CFS as a *disease of 1,000 names,* which espouses culturally derogatory responses such as, *'it's all in the mind'*, *'yuppie flu'* and a *'malingers' disease*?[1] If ME/CFS defies medical theories of containment, how is it possible to gain a conceptual understanding of both the issues of contestation associated with a diagnosis and the subjective experiences of living with severe illness symptoms?

In order to respond to these questions, I developed a 'kaleidoscopic view' to account for the discursive, material and contextual aspects of living with chronic illness. It is this kaleidoscope that I wish to recompose in this paper. The 'kaleidoscope' has been employed previously as a conceptual metaphor to analyse gender (Spade and Valentine 2007), and to demonstrate the multiplicities of life within biographical methods (Stanley 1987). My employment of this metaphorical device is to demonstrate how each part holds multiple reflections that work

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1 References: *Chronic Fatigue Immune Disease [CFID] A Disease of a 1,000 names* (Pollard, 1988) and media coverage most recently condemning and countering the term past media phrase of 'all in the mind' in the article by Jenny Hope [accessed 10/11/2015] for the Daily Mail *ME Patients are told: it's all not all in the mind'*. Finally Tucker (2015) *Chronic Fatigue Syndrome, Wrong name, real illness* [Medscape Rheumatology 8/01/2015] [Accessed 10/11/2015]

together and can be read differently, depending on the viewer, subject and intention. The parts are set out into three sections and conclude with a diagram that represents each view to unravel, the reflective acts of power, desire and productions of context, via a particular reading of Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari, and finally Bakhtin.

Foucault's genealogical perspective offers a means to understand the historical and discursive impasses and iterations which perpetuate the uncertainties associated with contested illnesses. Deleuze and Guattari offer the means to critically account for the intensities of pain and suffering which alters life trajectories and acts of becoming. This may be particularly relevant to those living with an illness like severe ME, which requires continuous work in the making and remaking of self. Bakhtin reveals the act of narrating as relational, which is useful when discussing the fragility of life in relation to chronic illness. These approaches are employed to conceptualise the issues of contestation, subjective and material conditions by which a severe chronic illness of this nature may be theorised and understood.

Philosophical reflections on discursive subjects

This section will explore how the power to inscribe subjects through language not only constituting particular realities, but also the means by which we accept our material existence. Michel Foucault's genealogical perspective allows us to explore the emergence of particular notions of truth in relation to knowledge and power, which helps us understand present conditions. This sets out the ways in which it is possible to conceptualise acts of performance, interactions with space, and unravel so called medical truths and thereby, unravel the social constructions that belie our multiple identities which are governed by these contexts.

A genealogical perspective: the emergence of particular truths

Foucault's critical theories were based on the premise that systems of thought were deployed and governed by power, which produced knowledge and activated particular discourses that constitute 'the truth' of existence. Foucault's work described how asylums, clinics and schools became exemplary sites of discipline that controlled and maintained subjects such as the madman, the patient and the pupil. In *Madness and Civilization* (Foucault [1961] 2001), for instance, Foucault used an archaeological approach to excavate the notion of madness. Although he had not at that time explicitly developed his genealogical approach, it was the implicit application of genealogy that allowed him to trace the emergence of a particular truth, namely the category of 'madness'. By analysing the contingencies and events that were put in place to govern and regulate 'madness', Foucault was able to argue that medical discourses and institutional practices, such as psychiatry, used scientific neutrality to sanction a truth of existence (Foucault [1961] 2001:136). He further argued that this process produced the 'birth of the asylum' and led to a plethora of social, political and ethical controls upon the body of the insane, which still exist in psychiatry (Foucault [1961] 2001).

In this way, the genealogical approach offered Foucault a tool to trace discursive formations and filter historical epochs, also allowing him to cut through the disruptions and discontinuities of knowledge that lie behind social and political change. Foucault was able to go beyond the existence of a category, such as 'madness' (Foucault [1966] 2002), and analyse discursive formulations that govern 'practices which are apparently organised around something that is supposed to be madness' (Foucault [1978-79] 2008:3). He thereby traced the discursive structures of psychiatry by unearthing and unpicking both the silences and the languages which create knowledge and the power to control, identifying the category of 'madness' as political governance and cultural practice which 'both establishes and impugns it', andmapping particular moments to describe how discursive and social practices executed the social and physical exclusion of madness (Foucault [1961] 2001:xiv). Foucault's genealogy provides a set of strategies to consider how the power of language disciplines the body though classification and regulation, while his study on madness can be employed as a means to understand the emergence of the sick body.

In the *Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception (BoC)* ([1963] 2003), Foucault examined the rise of socio-political interventions to counter the process of normalisation that occurs within institutions such as medicine. Principally, the work was 'about space, about language, and about death; [...] about the act of seeing, the gaze' (Foucault [1963] 2003:ix). Foucault traced the history of medical discourses to examine the dimensions of 'disease'. in order to 'disentangle the conditions of its history from the density of discourse' (Foucault [1963] 2003:xxii. He critically explored how this power produced epistemic shifts in the organisation and management of the sick body. By exploring how the medical institution developed, Foucault contextualised the ways in which disciplinary systems of the body emerged. His theory of the clinic offers a way to understand how the patient/subject is constructed and constituted through a discursive corporeality by which language constitutes the body. This approach describes how it is possible to question the reality of a disease that is constructed via past knowledges, an observable, constantly shifting organism embodied and embedded within a medico-political and socio-cultural context.

In *BoC*, Foucault charts the emergence of medical discourse via the anatomical observations of the autopsy, whereby investigations began to invade the body and, following Cartesian dualism, divide or split the mind and the body. Foucault argued that a medical system is derived from the practical processes of observation combined with medical discourse where '*diseases*' constitute a nosology, a particular set of languages – such as the use of Latin names – that are maintained by wardens of control or medical experts. Foucault developed the term 'the clinical gaze' to describe the power of observation and language used to govern sick bodies and validate an illness experience, as symptoms are observed and analysed within a medicalised 'speaking eye' to legislate illness and sanction the truth of existence via a medico-politicised system (Osborne 1994:35).

This closed system of medical knowledge was gradually to reach a further stage (Rose 2007), whereby the subject of illness was totally removed and technologies that determine illness were based on a set of observable medical truths. Foucault's approach offers a means to observe how

institutional power emerges not in a linear evolution but by a complex system of disciplinary regimes (Foucault [1963] 2003). Foucault was able to deconstruct the particularities of madness and disease and to identify the transitions that led to present day psychiatric and pathologic realities. His approach is, therefore, helpful in revealing the events and contingencies which brought about the emergence of present understandings of current social categories, such as that of a contested illness.

Foucault also offers a way to expose the processes which constitute pathological realities, revealing the bio-political gaze that normalises material bodies. In this way, he presents an opportunity to disrupt the ideas, discourses and images of the body, and to ethically and reflectively question the modes of power and truth that procure knowledge of self and other. Inherently, genealogy2 sets out to map the exercises and effects of power in relation to context and the specifics, as with socio-historical and institutional settings. With the concept of governmentality it is about the act of power which denotes not wholly negative power but represents how subjectivity becomes entwined within patterns of truth which as with medical discourses produce doctors/patients that will conform to medical scrutiny and thereby normalise the processes of illness via diagnosis, treatment and to legislate illness. Government bodies are then internalised via particular discursive tools as with surveillance that will enforce and reinforce subjects to conform to the status quo. This is operationalised via experts with 'the knowledge' that allows institutions and various disciplines to govern and control[3]. This art of governing is via bio-power which establishes stable fixed categorises for subject-positions, not only via technologies of domination, but also through discursive systems of control that govern families, school and the workplace. Foucault's conceptualisations of the often ambiguous and messy processes that constitute social norms, highlights not only acts of conformity, but also how subjugated voices may display resistance. It is important, therefore, that we question regimes of truth and the mechanisms of control that produce discourses within a particular time and space, such as those surrounding contested illness.

Foucault uses the term *dispositif* to describe an apparatus, namely 'the system of relations' between a 'heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions'. He identifies an 'interplay of shifts of position and modifications of function' between these elements and sees the apparatus as 'responding to an *urgent need*' at a 'given historical moment', such as the need to control madness, sexual illness and neurosis at a time of a mercantilist economy (Foucault 1980:195). This offers a way to examine the surveillance and policing of the sick body within an ethico-political context (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982:121). The sick subject is managed via systems, such as the UK's expert patient programme which relies on self-surveillance (Rose 2007; Nettleton 2013). The dispositif,

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2 Please note when discussing genealogy this is in terms of Foucault's take on Nietzsche's 'Genealogy of Morals' ([1913] 2003).

3 Foucault began to develop the concept of governmentality in *his lecture series – 1977-78 Security, Territory, Population* Edited by Michel Senellart General and Editors: François Ewald and Alessandro Fontana translated by Graham Burchell Palgrave Macmillan Basingstoke (2007). In Foucault's Discipline and Punish (1975) a genealogy of the state and subject (docile bodies) is tackled and his later works History of Sexuality (1984) via technologies of the self draws connections into how governmentality works

therefore, provides an analytical tool for mapping out the various epistemic power systems and inscribe the subject into society, through language and discourse so that the subject can arguably be seen as the residue of power relations. Resistance occurs in breaking through the walls of language by finding the voices that are missing. This is not to suggest that Foucault had no ontological recognition of the human conditions, but rather that his interests lay with the structures of power and the 'doing' of subjectivity woven within the threads of knowledge and discourse.

Conceptualising other spaces

As Foucault states in *BoC* his aim was to find out 'how the medical gaze was institutionalised and effectively inscribed as a social space, so that the norm of the hospital was both the effect and the support of a new type of gaze' (Foucault 1980:146). These specialist spaces, such as hospitals and clinics, were governed by doctors and the political imperatives that sought to administer them and were, in essence, managed through surveillance of space and time (Foucault 1980). For Foucault, spaces are not real but *relational*, made up by the disciplines that contain them. The systems of spaces that have been institutionalised, from the home to those of leisure and work, contain cultural, social and moral codes of conduct and behaviour (Foucault [1984] 1998:177). Although theses spaces are culturally communicated, it is the concept of production and the act of producing spaces through the context of time that is of interest for long term illness (Lefebvre [1974] 1991:15). Foucault argued these social spaces became sites of control, but he also recognised that spaces were affected and effected sites, as well as being contested places for those who need to resist the normative practices of institutional sites. Foucault's genealogical approach offers a means to focus on the relationship between space and time, as well as relations of proximity within private and public spaces, between the family space, cultural space and useful space, between spaces of leisure activities and the space of work. Foucault states that 'these are controlled by an unspoken sacralisation' and normalised (Foucault [1984] 1998).

Cultural expectations of how spaces should function are woven into the fabric of our social identities and are systematically part of our subjective processes. However, those who become severely ill may be unable to fulfil the social imperatives that dictate how places should be used, so that the physical geo-politics of the fixed states of family living and its power relations can become unsettled. Spaces may become unworkable when severely ill bodies disrupt the 'network of relations' by which the 'semi-closed sites of rest – the house, the bedroom, the bed etcetera' (Foucault [1967] 1984:46), opposing the social practices by which these sites are maintained. Spaces that are opposed or alternative to so-called 'real places' can be read through Foucault's notion of the heterotopia, which is 'fundamentally and essentially unreal' (Foucault [1967] 1984:46). Foucault used many examples to explain the concept of heterotopia, the most common being the analogy of the mirror. He states that 'due to the mirror I discover myself absent from the place where I am since I see myself over there' (Foucault [1984] 1998:179). It has been argued that the concept of the heterotopia can be vague and lacks consistency (Genochio 1995:37; Soja 1995:162; Johnson 2012). I agree with Johnson that, rather than a detailed examination of spaces, the idea helps to account for how 'spaces do not exist, except in relation to other spaces' (Johnson 2012).

For Foucault, heterotopias are based on the tensions between 'myth and the contestation of the real' (Foucault [1967] 1984:48). These spaces determine how it is possible to invent places for particular types of people and behaviour. He sees *crisis heterotopias* as forbidden places, putting certain people, such as menstruating women and adolescents, in isolation (Foucault [1967] 1984:47). In her genealogical examination of the historical autobiographies of women teachers (2003), Maria Tamboukou opened up the spatial dynamics of the private and public spaces occupied by the female educator. Talking about a set of *technologies of space,* she developed Foucault's notion of crisis heterotopias, referring to 'spaces of transition and tension, emplacements that gave rise to women in crisis' (Tamboukou 2003:80).

Foucault outlines how *crisis heterotopias* were replaced by *heterotopias of deviation*; spaces for people whose behaviour deviates from required norms, such as psychiatric hospitals and old people's homes (Foucault [1984] 1998:180). This is relevant to those who become severely ill and bedridden, disrupting the institutional setting of the home and the bedroom by using the bed, not as a place of rest, but as a place to live and survive. The concept of heterotopia offers a way to understand how heterogeneous spaces are governed by social and systematic proprieties, by time and context. For those who become bedridden due to serious illness, the site of the bed/bedroom may, therefore, cause a need to transcend both real and metaphorical places.

Deploying a genealogical perspective

My approach to genealogy enables me to critically analyse discourse associated with past illnesses. My study explores the medical language trapped within the scientific lens, which ignores its own methodological flaws that constitute contested illnesses. In *BoC* Foucault's interrogation of French medicine argued that the principles of language confined the sick subject, which may be rhetorically challenging when converting the approach to British medicine (Atkinson 1995:41). However, others continue to use Foucauldian frameworks to generalise the employment of medical power and knowledge and historicise the separation of the body from the mind (Lupton 1994; Armstrong 1997; Nettleton 2013).

Performative perspectives on the sick body

Foucault's genealogical approach was employed by Judith Butler in *Gender Trouble* (1990) and *Bodies that Matter* (1993) to interrogate the reified category of the female, as a unified identity that stands outside of other classifications, such as class and ethnicity. Butler's theory of performativity and the 'doing' of gender also used Lacanian ideas to challenge the morphological and constitutive ideologies that constrain and maintain the body of the female within social, political and cultural systems that function to label being female as 'biological, linguistic and/or cultural difference' (Butler 1990:9). This notion of inscribing bodies was taken up by Elizabeth Grosz in *Volatile Bodies* (1994) to account for corporeal space and to conceptualise the repressive site of the female body. As with Foucault, this not only contests discourses of power but also dislodges epistemological weapons that seek to constrain the body within particular political and ideological truths. The regulative and normative practices that recognise and govern the body of the female as *other* can be applied to the sick body. The dualistic medical approach to the body continually outlines the need for sick bodies to either return to healthy subject positions or fulfil

the sick role. The presentation of the self is not only about performing an appropriate role, but also avoiding the stigma associated with an undiagnosed and/or untreatable condition (Goffman 1963; [1959] 1969). Those who are diagnosed with a contested illness and/or a Medically Unexplained Illness (MUI) are continually made to feel responsible, as their condition falls outside accepted medical truths and socio-political governance that grant legitimacy (Nettleton 2006:1167).

Butler's argument for dispelling political and social forces, which reinforce the myth of gender, can be used to investigate the myth of the healthy subject. Like Foucault, Butler emphasises the biopolitical regimes surrounding the body, whereby ethics of control categorise, regulate and maintain economic and social order. Similarly, the institutional domains that categorise identity – and thereby the sick body – are formulated by patriarchal powers. Butler's theory offers a way to understand how social powers operate to produce categorisations that often work to marginalise those living with contested illnesses. This marginalisation has been identified by feminist writers interested in disability studies. Margrit Shildrick, inspired by Foucault's genealogy, sought to ontologically map the web of power, which entrapped the disabled body. Her theorisations, inspired by her work with illnesses such as ME, explored the historical and political processes by which disability became a social entity. A number of feminist writers call for an ethics of vulnerability to illuminate the processes and practices of contested illnesses (Price and Shildrick 1998; Moss and Dyck 2003; Gilson 2013). As Shildrick and Price (1998) argue, the 'broken body' of illnesses like ME/CFS, is an opportunity for us to explore the fantasies that constrain our identities, where contested illnesses make it possible to observe the vulnerability of being outside the binary boundaries that define the experience of illness via the power of medical discourses.

Power of medical discourses

Social medical theories investigate the structures of discourse which form clinical and political institutions and thus inform society and culture about the meaning of illness (Mishler 1984). Paul Atkinson (1995) argues that medical discourses are based on a language of recognition which produces, challenges and redefines knowledge(s) to construct an accepted narrative. Medical research thus exists by validating evidence-based research methods. These methods of inquiry are the primary means by which illnesses such as ME/CFS are defined, labelled and become a psychological and/or pathophysiological truism. Poststructuralist feminists such as Debra Lupton specifically challenge how medical discourses create knowledge(s) and truths, arguing that the subject may not be separated from the practices which position them, as the subject's biography becomes entwined within medical discourses (Lupton 1994:160). In effect, the patient is in a paradox, as they experience a dependency on medicine to define the cause of illness and disillusionment when their illness remains contested.

Following Foucault, David Armstrong (1995) investigates the discursive powers which manage the sick and sees the rise of surveillance medicine creating a normative structure of what is meant by health and illness. Docile bodies are moved from 'compliance' to 'concordance' as medical logic embraces the expert patient, which leads to the question what happens to bodies which cannot be coerced into good health, namely the long-term severely ill. Bryan Turner states that

human beings 'have bodies and they are bodies' (1996:37). This reflects the emergence of social theories which discuss the effects of a somatic society, where the body is both an object of enquiry and a symbol of political and social control. For Turner the body is a site of corporeal uncertainty, where issues of ontology are mapped between the complex relationships of discursive management and the social role of the citizen. Turner suggests that, with the decline of morbidity rates within western society, we have seen an ageing of the nation and a prevalence of chronic illnesses, which conflicts with society's demands for the body to remain healthy (Turner 1996).

Medical sociologists interested in contested illnesses have challenged the medical and political systems that discursively constitute particular illness behaviours as a social deviancy (Conrad 1992). This arguably, situates the disabled, or what may be described as a disordered body, as passive and malleable. Post-structural theorists concerned with chronic illness suggest that contested illnesses offer a view of what could be described as the 'leaky body', trapped within the discursive practices and the material experience of illness (Shildrick 1997). The vicissitudes associated with ME/CFS allow us to ponder the fact that all our bodies are unstable and ultimately 'unknowable'. In relation to her own experiences of living with ME, Price's desire to know and read the body as a feminist, in order to take control back from others, demanded that the instability of the body be silenced – a fantasy that cannot be sustained when illness has taken up residence (Price and Shildrick 1998:243). Equally, Moss and Dyck (2003) focus on the issues of the material and discursive practices of what they term 'radical body politics'. Their approach takes into account Foucault's approach, which decentralises the subject and centralises the notion of power and knowledge. These accounts of living with a chronic illness such as ME are useful in acknowledging the discursive disciplines that actuate how specific bodies are controlled and managed by a play of dominations which, through processes and practices, situate self, subjectivity and identity (Grosz 1994). As Price and Shildrick state in their moving accounts of being disabled (living with ME) and non-disabled, 'it becomes clear that vulnerability is not the special case of disabled people, but the condition of all of us' (1998:246).

This section has identified a particular discursive view which has been heavily influenced by a particular reading of Foucauldian concepts, a useful way to conceptualise this is by portraying the perspective via a kaleidoscopic view as follows:

Diagram 1 – *Discursive*
Turn
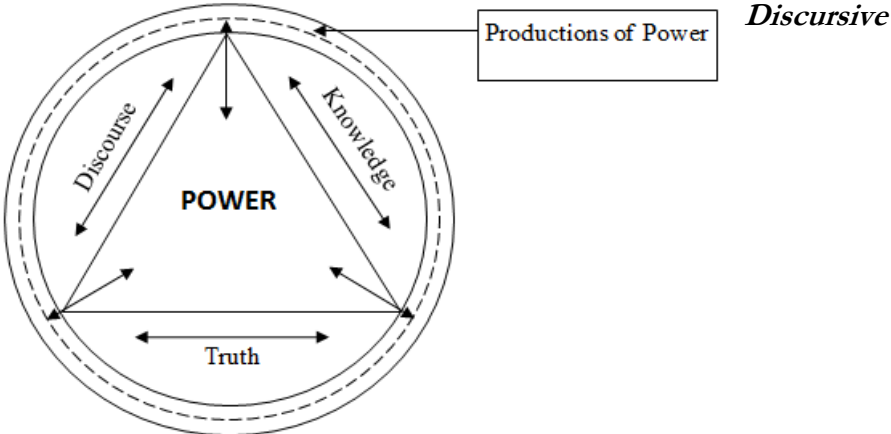
This section has identified a discursive view that demonstrates how power is always circulating, moving reflecting from outside and inside through the acts of discourse, knowledge and truth. This calls to mind Foucault's dispositif that accounts for the social structures which produce an epistemological foundation for governing and constituting the subject through language.

Philosophical reflections on materiality

I will now move from Foucault's epistemological approach to a more ontological approach that centres on the practices of 'being' ill. The nature of a severe chronic illness means that it affects the sensory modalities of human existence and can, through the reality of suffering, subordinate the ability to describe and share the depth of pain. The physical pain displaces that which is known, the intensities of pain and suffering causing language to maybe become momentarily lost. How is it then possible to explain long term suffering? How is it possible to confront, live and survive with an impaired body? While Foucault employed a genealogical lens to understand the mechanisms of power, Deleuze and Guattari [1980] 2004) utilised the notion of the rhizome as a conceptual tool through which to amalgamate the multiplicities of desire that constitute life. For them, existence moves in and out of discourse, with no walls or divides, a flowing system.

Delving into particular aspects of Deleuzian theory helped me to understand chronic illness and in particular ME, whereby it was possible to examine the process of becoming through rhizomatic assemblages. These terms were employed to conceptualise the multiplicities, the continuous flux and flow of desire. Below I will unravel particular ideas by Deleuze and later with Guarrtari on the notion of being and becoming an unhealthy/healthy subject.

Critically mapping subjective experiences

In *Difference and Repetition* ([1968] 2004), Gilles Deleuze (1925-1995) builds on mathematical concepts to map out multiple capacities for the continuous process of 'becoming', rather than the journey to the destination of 'being'. For those who live with a chronic illness, change is constant through physical suffering. ME patients face an additional problem: the capricious nature of the illness means that diagnostic labels and symptomology are difficult to stabilise. Deleuze develops his work on becoming, together with Felix Guattari (1930-1992) in the two volumes of

'Capitalism and Schizophrenia', namely *Anti-Oedipus* (Deleuze and Guattari [1972] 2004) and *A Thousand Plateaus* ([1980] 2004). Guattari, a trained psychiatrist and radical activist, explored mental illness and worked with Deleuze to counter psychoanalytical myths. The dense and often difficult concepts they developed offer ways to understand the productions of desire, to make materialist connections between identities/entities and selves/bodies, and may be employed in the ontological abyss where actions and words are intimately related (DeLanda 2002).

Conceptualising desire

My reading of Deleuze's philosophy of immanence sees thought as part of a force, as a flow or movement where reality comes via an active process of becoming. Deleuze questioned Kantian views on pure reason and argued for going beyond the epistemological basis of rational thought. If Foucault identified the historical constructions of categories and processes through which power exists in the present, Deleuze and Guattari explored the relational practices by which the processes of logic produce particular realities. As with Foucault's genealogy that mapped the constructions of a particular phenomenon, Deleuze worked from the premise that all matter creates difference, which leads to repetition. He applied a machinic assemblage to the flows of energy and exposed not a passive but an active process in the continuous unfolding of life.

While Foucault's genealogical approach is useful for tracing the emergence of a contested illness such as ME, Deleuze and Guattari use the concept of the rhizome as an anti-genealogical approach as *'a map and not a tracing'* process (Deleuze and Guattari [1980] 2004:13). The act of mapping refers to productions rather than reproductions. Importantly for those with severe illnesses, it could be argued that the nature of suffering is in a constant state of flux, giving rise to different strata of multiplicities, so that rhizomes may produce different ways of surviving embodied pain. These multiple dimensions produce codes of survival, through a process of becoming detached, reversed, modified, torn, reworked or mounted on, by an individual or social formation (Deleuze and Guattari [1980] 2004:13). The uncertainties of diagnosis and suffering which typify the disruptive nature of ME constitute multiplicities, are not only associated with the contestation and confinement associated with ME and severe illness, but also the paradox of accepting the physical confines of pain and escaping through the sensory world of the imagination.

Deleuze developed the notion of multiplicities in his early *Logic of Sense* (1969), as energies that are non-linear, not necessarily sequential, always workable and hold an active capacity for lines of development to produce affects as with the management/living with a chronic illness. Deleuze suggests that this notion of multiplicity has been used in Foucault's work, such as *Archaeology of Knowledge*, whereby the 'discursive order of places and the position occupied by the subject' correlates and connects to 'the statement and the subject', which he sees as a possible multiplicity in action (Deleuze [1986] 2006:10). Equally, those with a contested illness such as ME, may continually be forced to search for the discursive stability of a label/diagnosis that offers the subject a positioned identity. He further states that the *Order of Things*, the processes through which scientific structures produce the episteme enabling knowledge to constitute the conditions of possibility, 'represents the most decisive step yet taken in the theoretical-practice of

multiplicities' (Deleuze [1986] 2006:13). It then follows that any situation, event, movement is as an assemblage of multiplicities. Foucault's use of a dispositif [apparatus] is similar to that of Deleuze's notion of assemblages [arrangements] as both comprise diverse strata. Deleuze employed his concept as a means of reference for the dynamics of desire to include the expressive material response of life:

> On the one hand it is a *machinic assemblage* of bodies, actions and passions, an intermingling of bodies reacting to one another; on the other hand it is a *collective assemblage of enunciation*, of acts and statements, of incorporeal transformations attributed to bodies. Then on a vertical axis, the assemblage has both *territorial sides*, or reterritorialized sides, which stabilize it, and *cutting edges of deterriotrialization*, which carry it away (Deleuze and Guattari [1980] 2004:97-98).

In relation to severe illness, the bedroom, the bed and the bedridden can be seen as an assemblage necessary for survival. However, these do not represent the totality of a life of severe illness; these are parts, not determinants, as the capacities are always relational (DeLanda 2002:67). In other words, the capacities are always transient and in a constant the process of being and becoming ill, requires assistance from inside the home family/carers to the doctors/health professionals outside the space of the home. Deleuze's idea of singularity identifies the possible decisive points where change occurs. In relation to those with severe illness, these singularities may be seen as the active responses to the subjective experience of pain and fatigue. The combined singularities constitute the multiplicities of a moment, an episode of suffering, where the sufferer is not passive but takes an active response to becoming bedridden. This may not be directly connected to, but is affected by, the multiplicities of the social world beyond the doors or windows of the bedroom. As Proust described bedbound it is possible one waits remembers taste, people and listens to the world seemingly unconnected, but dependent on the social context of time. However, for the house/bedbound there may be a serious necessity to listen and wait for others who aid their daily survival. Actions are, therefore, relational, affected by the perceptions, beliefs and actions of self and others. This reflects the affects and effects of objects and subjects. So, it could be argued that, although not engaging with the social world whist bedridden inside a bedroom, one is nonetheless affected by the social multiplicities beyond the space of the bed as one may wait remembering the social world, outside, if totally dependent possibly, waiting for the hours to pass for medication. So that movement is part of actual and/or virtual multiplicities, while the intensities differ and reflect the flows and flux of energy, constituting a particular materiality by which a life can be lived with embodied suffering. DeLanda offers a point at which to develop a new material ontology by synthesising connections between past and present memories, the cyclical return that binds and stabilises both traditional ideas for the subject and the desire that metamorphoses and ruptures self (DeLanda 2002). Where those with long term illnesses may expereince the return as memories that become dreams, desires to be that which one was in the now.

Employing a particular reading of the concepts of desire

The schizophrenic approach in *Anti-Oedipus* could be said to craft connections between what Foucault thought of as power and Deleuze and Guattari as desire. Yet, the notion of the desiring machine can be used to understand life with a chronic illness, as it is based on two concepts – desiring-production and social-production. These are used conjointly in systems such as capitalism, which encourages us to be a labouring workforce that continues to produce energy, so that we are valued as machines through financial rewards. This sparks the psychic desire to live outside of the body's confines and adhere to the social norms of the work ethic. Pleasure is based on psychic energy and demonstrates how social productions work to manifest desire, ranging from the individual need to be healthy to work and be part of the institutions of the family, the workplace, the hospital. The rise of TB during the 19th century and Yuppie Flu in the 20th century demonstrates how illness affected the means of production and confounded social norms.

As a desiring machine, a severely ill subject may not always be able to put into language the experience of illness. The psyche and social productions can drive the body to work beyond its capacity, as the supply of energy strives to disrupt and distribute, to work and rework 'the productions of consumptions', to feed the endless demands for interrelated actions and passions within the desiring machine (Deleuze and Guattari [1972] 2004:4). Importantly, these actions distinguish all types of energy forces whether animal, plant or the environment. This approach takes into account the purity of life where all forms are bound by binary laws of flow-producing forces and desiring productions. For the unhealthy ME body, energy input and output becomes disrupted, while the inability to manifest a social self and manage the body under attack causes the sufferer to experience a draining of their life force.

For Deleuze and Guattari, the human body has the capacity to represent all living organisms as it can affect and be affected. Deleuze's early reading of Antonin Artaud's (1948) notion of a 'Body without Organs' (BwO) in *Logic of Sense* (1969) was further developed with Guattari in terms of the production of desire. This is not necessarily connected to an actual body, as BwO offers a means to envisage the state of constant flux within and outside a body. It refers to organisms, an organ which has no boundaries, which has the capacity for continuous change and the potential to venture into spaces. In its simplest form, it is an essence of different intensities and rests on assemblages that produce different affects within the fields of immanence and the state of continually becoming. The BwO cannot escape the psyche; it is not about lack, as in psychoanalysis, rather it is tied to processes of production and is the opposite of lack. Shildrick suggests that with a disability, as with sexuality, the focus should not be on parts of bodies, or disabled or able bodies, but rather upon 'the process of becoming that is often an unmapped circulation of desire' (Shildrick 2009:135). My reading of Deleuze's BwO is that the synthesis constitutes a particular mode of production and requires an infinite analysis that is part of and may be included in the body, which is always occupied and populated by intensities. Importantly, the BwO 'is not space, nor is it in space; it is matter that occupies space to a given degree' (Deleuze and Guattari [1980] 2004:169). The BwO could be said to personify the desire for the perpetual becomings that is life itself – it is the raw existence of life, the matter that rests on the

plane of consistency. Fox (2011) takes up the BwO to account for how ill-health is an assemblage that is attached to various networks that include biological, psychological and sociocultural relations. He argues for biomedical approaches to move the focus from within bodies, to explore embodiment itself, the ontological aspects that shape the ill body, not as a separate entity, but as a living cell without boundaries, a 'Body without Organs' that is based on *assemblages,* and consistent *territorialisation* (Fox 2011:359).

Fox's (2002) notion of refracting health in terms of the body/self - examines the dynamic tensions that exist between cultural practices and embodied subjectivity. He focused on the effects of anorexia, which can be seen as a psychological issue that produces physical effects. Both anorexia and ME may cause particular singularities through which to escape the imaginary or physical confines of pain. The multiplicities of physical limitation, such as being confined to the bed, may mean that outside stimuli will be used to deterritorialize from the incorporeity of pain, of the shame of being bedridden. This may suggest a role for the virtual aspects of the self, in order to excite memories that will offer a way to escape the reality of pain and open up new possibilities for surviving life with a severe chronic illness.

Deleuze's materialist stance creates a particular ontological reading of the relationship between repetition and difference. Repetition of time and structure produces difference via the notion of habit, which leads to assumptions which produce what he terms larvae selves (Deleuze [1968] 2004). In contrast with Foucault's use of the inscribed subject, larvae selves are made up of miniature egos that can be part of material as well as constructed notions of reality. Equally, Freud used these excitations, or energies, in a systematised way (Freud [1912-1938] 1984). For Deleuze, egos fragment the meanings associated between I and self (Deleuze [1968] 2004:320). Like Proust (Proust [1913] 2014), Deleuze demonstrates how the relationship between the past and the present reveals the cyclical nature of time. Repetitions ignite sensory evocations, where actions or memories in the moment can produce a passion linked to the past, while a rupture that breaks through anew produces difference within what is termed empty time (Deleuze [1968] 2004:136). A chronic illness is continually rupturing and moving, at times, in on itself, as the body in pain may be said to exist outside the constructions of time.

Deleuze's notion of the refrain, although often employed within music theory, may also be used in relation to the experience of chronic illness. The concept relates not only to the socio-political imperatives that produce the subject, but also to the ontological and aesthetic methods for producing the beginnings of order out of the forces of chaos. The refrain can mark out a territory such as a home, as well as suggesting lines of flight from that centre into the sphere of the cosmos (Deleuze and Guattari [1980] 2004:343-344). Deleuze's notion of the refrain denotes a relationship between the forces of chaos and the rhythm of life which is helpful in understanding the way in which those who are bedridden plug in and plug out of their social worlds.

Foucault offers a way to understand the dynamics of power that operate to produce the subject. Deleuze, meanwhile, allows us to explore the rhizomatic and interconnected nature of all experiences, people, bodies, events and places. For Deleuze and Guattari, it is not about the substance of matter but the assemblages and multiplicities by which forces unfold. The line of

flight could be said to refer to 'the deterritorialization that carries away all of the assemblages but also undergoes all kinds of reterritorializations' (Deleuze and Guattari [1980] 2004:98). For those who are bedridden, the boundaries of the bed represent an imaginary circle within which they negotiate living in an internal space, while the forces of chaos are the continual occurrences of pain and suffering. The battle with illness takes place as those who suffer may search for lines of flight to escape the confines of the body in pain and find a passage out of what may be experienced as a 'black hole' (Deleuze and Guattari [1980] 2004:344).

This section has been concerned with the material effect of illness. The following kaleidoscopic view is employed to demonstrate the reflective power of desire from outside and inside, much as Foucault had examined power.

Diagram 2 – A Turn to New Materialism
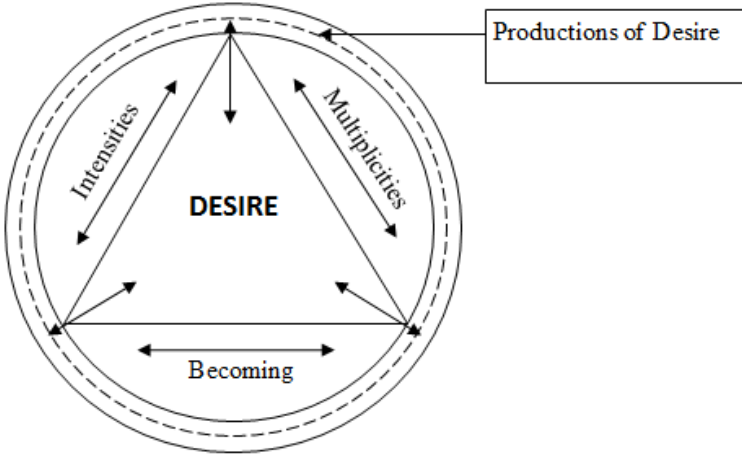
For Deleuze and Guarrtari the model of the rhizome demonstrates how different intensities and multiplicities activate particular acts of becoming. This diagram could be used to demonstrate Deleuze and Guattari's concept of an assemblage, as well as employed to understand the epistemological and ontological dynamics that identify the process of becoming.

Bakhtinian philosophical reflections on the narrating subject

This section will look at how narrative is both a functional and communicative social tool. For Foucault and Roland Barthes (1915-1980) language is based on a structure, a regulative device that signifies inclusion and exclusion of the author. For Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975), Foucault

and Deleuze, language inscribes the subject through text and the dialogic apparatus of the linguistic and the institutional power relations. This takes into consideration the context in which one inscribes the self. Bakhtin employs particular concepts to understand the dialectic context specifically the chronotope which is about positionality, his ideas on utterances which are seen as always relational and his term heteroglossia which encompasses all aspects of language and reiterates the importance of how the dialogic process is governed by the relational and contextual.

A particular reading of Bakhtinian concepts

Bakhtin's work on the interactions between time and space, the dialectic qualities of speech and language and how storied selves produce a social, cultural and personal context, are all relevant in this context. Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope provides a way to understand the relationship between time and space in narration. Bakhtin recognised the temporal and spatial relations, which in literary novels are governed by particular genres, relating to an event or particular moment in which a story is told. Specific to chronotope is the positionality of the narrator – who speaks and when – and the fact that the narration is always governed by context. For Bakhtin, foremost is the social and cultural context which governs memories, actions, speech and acts of listening and 'characterises the chronotope' (Bakhtin 1981:250).

Bakhtin goes on to suggest that the chronotope produces narrative events that constitute a particular materiality. He offers specific and heterogeneous ways in which to understand places on the journey of life, within time and space. Importantly, the chronotope is historically contextualised as it moves from one moment to another. Bakhtin critiques the figure of the ready-made hero in the majority of novels, suggesting that 'the aspect of man's essential *becoming*' is often ignored as 'events change his destiny... but he himself remains unchanged' (Bakhtin 1986:19-20). Unlike the literary hero, in the context of ME/CFS the hero/heroine continually changes in time and space.

Chronotopes have an interactive quality that is governed by the relationship of the reader to the text, or the relationship between the narrator and the listener in the case of spoken narrative. Bakhtin identified the links between language and materiality as a means by which the chronotope is able to facilitate the interactions between real and possible worlds, as well as mediating the relationship between self and other. For Bakhtin, the utterance is shaped by the object of discourse (such as illness) and the listener, displaying their belief systems and how this can be understood (Bakhtin 1986:17). An utterance is made by the subject and is produced in social and personal contexts, in relation to the situatedness of the subject in terms of others, objects and space. The author/narrator needs to convey to their audience the authorship of the utterance. With a contested illness, a storyteller may be aware of both the social stigma associated with their illness and the medical contestation affecting the presentation of their story.

Following Bury's idea of the 'biographical disruption' that is associated with chronic illness (1982), Gomersal and Madill develop the notion of chronotope disruption, which focuses on 'the grounding of biographical disturbance in time and space' (2015:408). They argue that a chronotopic analysis is useful for establishing connections and disconnections between the spatial

and temporal situatedness of illness. The fusion that usually occurs in a chronotope is made problematic when one is chronically ill. The chronotope, in its endeavours to include both time and space, also takes into consideration cultural aspects not only in relation to illness but to all the fragmentations of life.

Unlike Foucault's genealogy which concentrated on the interaction between history and language, Bakhtin's use of the term heteroglossia relates to the specificity of the relationship between utterance and context. He employs the term to account for the multiplicities of language, dialects and the associated qualities they have with various social groups.

> all languages of heteroglossia, whatever the principle underlying them and making each unique, are specific points of view on the world, forms for conceptualizing the world in words, specific world views, each characterized by its own objects, meanings and values. As such they all may be juxtaposed to one another, mutually supplement one another, contradict one another and be interrelated dialogically. (Bakhtin 1981:291-2)

In this way, heteroglossia takes into account how language does not exist in isolation but is a product of and is constituted by context. For Bakhtin, language is always in relation to *another*, even when that other is the inner voice (Bakhtin 1981:xxi). In terms of heteroglossia, it is the layers of language, the dialogic qualities that reveal how, in the involuntary acts of language such as laughter, the parody of life can seep through. Therefore, stories that include the events that lead to the diagnosis and a life of chronic illness may not simply be conveyed in words, but also through actions.

Bakhtin's theory of language is useful in the context of my research as a tool to conceptualise the way in which language can be understood in terms of the historical and contextual disruptive aspects of living with chronic illness. In order to understand how heteroglossia can be used in terms of chronic illnesses, it is useful to make connections with Hyden's notions of illness and narrative as a particular amalgamation between languages and a specific community of speakers. When telling the story of illness it is often recounted through the tension between a healthy and unhealthy subject.

Hyden states that:
> Often the narrator vacillates between these two perspectives in one and the same illness narrative. To speak in the illness voice is to depict the illness 'from the inside', from the vantage point of the suffering person's ongoing situation. To speak in the illness voice is to identify with the illness and accompanying suffering. It is to talk like a person who is, in fact, 'ill'. To speak in the voice of the healthy is to talk about the illness as something extraneous, something that has invaded one's life from the outside; or also it is to talk about something that has been, something that had befallen one earlier in life (Hyden 1997:62).

In this way, Hyden highlights the capacity of narrative to depict the different voices that co-exist when conveying the unsettling experience of illness.

**Performance and narrative**

Bakhtin describes the carnival in terms of its historical manifestation as an oppositional display of medieval ecclesiastical and feudal culture, whereby the performer has the opportunity to live a kind of utopian existence for a moment when all things seem possible (Bakhtin 1984:4). Participation offered both the actor and the spectator freedom and release in the form of humour, akin to Bergson's notion of the parodies of laughter (Bergson [1911] 1999). This offered the possibility of living briefly as the other, resisting the boundaries of social and cultural hierarchy and morality and the realities of life. Ironically, severe illness may also allow the individual to step outside normal social roles, by presenting an opportunity to succumb to the desire to abandon the acceptable appearance of the social self. Just like Bakhtin's aesthetic materiality of the grotesque, unfinished bodies reside in a non-vernacular world, where a mask may be worn to juxtapose reality and imagery (Bakhtin 1984:40). With severe illness it could be argued that there are long periods of a kind of grotesque realism where it may not be possible to wash, get dressed or eat unaided. Although stories may depict this in a negative light, it could arguably be seen as a kind of carnivalised performance. Where the lack of following the rituals of daily life not only deviates from the norm, but exposes aspects of life that is averse to healthy living. Whereby, those who experience severe impairments may wear the mask of health to hide the effects of pain and suffering.

For Foucault, the constructions of subjects such as the madman, the prisoner and the patient are regulated by exterior powers and are discursively constituted identities. In a similar way, Butler's notion of the female highlights the difficulties of resistance when a subject is captured and constrained by discourse and social practice (Butler 1993:15). Just as Butler identifies how we learn to perform normative cultural expressions of gender (Butler 1990:25), it is also possible to identify how we perform the role of the healthy subject. In a study of male illness narratives of living with Multiple Sclerosis, for example, Riessman demonstrates how performances of gender and illness intersect (Riessman 2002:11). The social requirements of performing as a healthy subject may weigh heavily on those with severe illness as they are loaded with moral and social values which dictate 'civilised' ways of being. For those who feel obliged to pretend to be well, performance can be seen in acts of monotonous role play.

For those for whom the performance of the healthy subject becomes impossible, the use of a proxy to fulfil this role may occur. Hyden (2008) discusses the problems of having an authorial voice in relation to people who have suffered an illness/accident. He notes the interaction between those who have lost or have no voice and a person who works as their supporting or 'vicarious voice', where the production of a self is made possible through another who acts as their storyteller. Hyden outlines how people with broken voices need a cohesive relationship with another person to reconstitute the self into an integral whole, as responsibility is shifted to the teller (Hyden 2008). The problems of giving a voice where one is absent must be acknowledged, but it is also important to consider how stories are never told but shared, through a collaboration of social and cultural knowledge.

This section has been concerned with a particular theoretical approach to narrative and as with other sections a kaleidoscopic view that highlights the importance of context has been created.

Diagram 3 – The Dialogic Turn
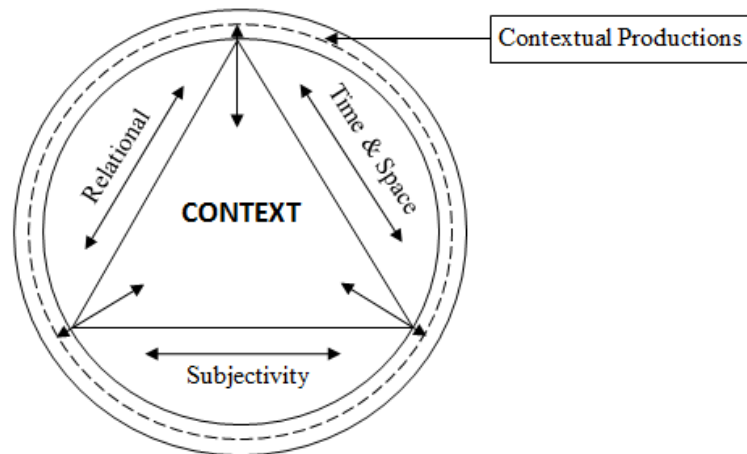
The act of storytelling represents a way to connect the discursive material and subjective contexts of life. The above diagram identifies a dialogic approach which focuses on the importance of context and the relationship between time and space. The dialogic relationship between self and other, between and within things, are brought together in a socio-cultural context that can be achieved through narration.

Conclusion

Foucault's dispositif reveals how social systems produce layers of discursive relations. Institutional regulative laws and moral codes form the structures of truth within which a contested and severe illness is experienced. The mechanisms that control the body are, therefore, seen to be discursively governed. By situating how language inflects the constructions of the subject, the notion of 'doing illness' can be explored in terms of how it is possible to gain resistance and reconstitute sickness norms. However, when looking at a long term illness that defies medical and social understanding, it is important to not only examine language, but also take into account the corporeal site of a sick body and the material conditions of illness. Deleuze and Guattari's concepts can, therefore, be used to facilitate a new materiality. Equally, theorising narrative offers a means to highlight the contextual and relational aspects of space and time in the storied self, which reveals how the subject is a political, social and cultural artefact made up of different and often internalised voices.

The metaphor of the kaleidoscope demonstrates how one slight turn can offer an alternative viewpoint. As with mechanisms of power which control technologies of the self, the formulation of subjectivity is rarely stationary. The complexities derived from multiple reflections show how control of the object/subject is merely suspended in momentary episodes where technologies of the self are woven within symmetrical socio-cultural patterns. Multiplicities of socio-cultural forms govern within particular political resolutions of power in time and space. Each turn of the kaleidoscope allows macroscopic and microscopic details to emerge, opening up the pathways between knowledge, truth and power. The kaleidoscopic enquiry enables us to examine genealogically the formations, discontinuities and complexities as multiple reflections, providing the opportunity to take a bio-psycho-social perspective, which incorporates the interactions of body, self and society. When taken together, the three turns of the kaleidoscope demonstrate how the intersection of the theories help us to understand the discursive, material and dialogic implications of living with severe ME. These aspects are embedded, embodied and inscribed in the acts of becoming diagnosed with a contested illness and living with the severe symptoms of a chronic illness such as ME.

This final diagram is employed as a means to bring the three sections together. This kaleidoscope view is a way of making a particular judgement in motion; at a turn focus is made on power and its effects likewise with desire and the importance of context. This final diagram demonstrates all parts of reflections and effects upon the various parts, so that discourse can be viewed through the notion of an assemblage and a chronotope into a heterotopia. The prime rationale for employing this devise is to demonstrate how it keeps thing moving in and out of regularity just like the body and specifically for those living with a severe chronic illness.

Diagram 4 – Kaleidoscopic View
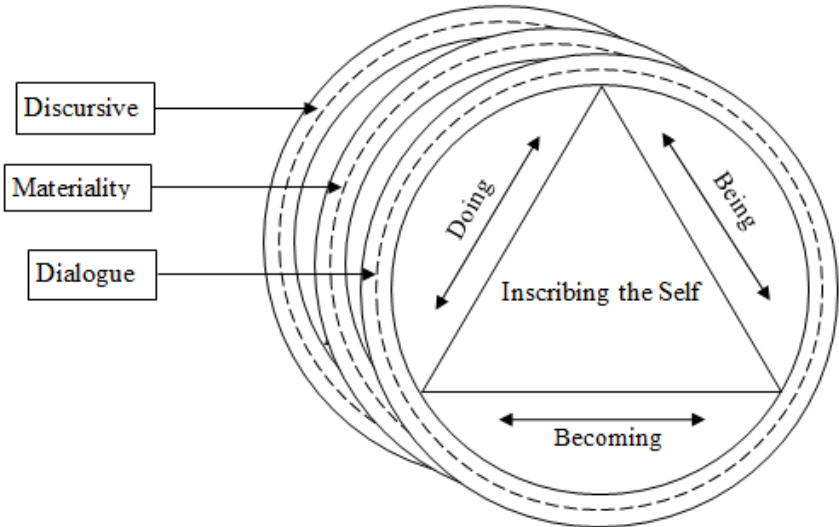
The above kaleidoscopic views are brought together in order to show the reflective qualities of the conceptual theories within this paper. In particular the final diagram demonstrates the multi-varied/faceted dimensions and the ever-shifting movements within and between the three approaches under discussion. Both Foucault and Deleuze & Guattari have referred to the use of diagrams. For Foucault the Panopticon diagram represented:

> a mechanism of power reduced to its ideal form; its functioning, abstracted from any obstacle, resistance or friction, must be represented as a pure architectural and optical system: it is in fact a figure of political technology that may and must be detached from any specific use (Foucault, 1977: 205)

For Deleuze the notion of the abstract machine can be represented as diagrammatic where spaces of energy are not physical, corporeal or semiotic, therefore not having substance, function or form (Deleuze, 1977, 141). With isomorphic qualities which make connections to similar behaviours, concepts can interchange and the endogenous nature can be stablised into a particular understanding. As I have attempted to do on living with a severe chronic illness. To follow Deleuze notion that matter, objects, subjects and therein thought-patterns 'constructs a real that is yet to come, a new type of reality' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1977, 141-142). Deleuze alluded to the constant change and movement of energy and form. However, Bakhtin criticised visual forms as a means to represent concepts and ideas via schematic and symbolic forms. The argument being that in terms of communication there are no fixed unified 'listeners' and 'understanders' as it is inherently responsive to the moment, the meaning simultaneously activates a response (Bakhtin, 1986, 68).

The diagrams are then to be seen as only an abstract account and cannot represent the whole in terms of the narrative. The spatial organisation of the kaleidoscope has been used as a composition for particular concepts. This concurs with the theorists within that power/desire matter/life relational/context is continuously unfolding.

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Sharon Gallagher has just completed her PhD titled: 'ME and its Discontents: Life Stories and Photo-Elicited Diaries of a severe chronic illness' (unpublished 2016). The thesis was concerned with the issues of living with long term impairments. In particular, her examination drew on the aspects of 'doing' and 'being' ill by focusing on the discursive, material and contextual acts of struggling and surviving with what has been termed a contested and can be experienced as a severe chronic illness. Sharon has been a member of Centre of Narrative Research (CNR) at the University of East London since 2002 and a member of the London MedSoc Group (2014). Her 'Mentoring with (a) Difference' group was specifically designed for disabled students to discuss social and academic issues (2007-8). Sharon has presented widely on her thesis and on the benefits of specialist mentoring nationally and internationally (Gallagher, 2007, Girt and Gallagher, 2009). Her major interests are impairments, disability, narrative, visual/art and medical sociology and making connections with Foucauldian and Deleuzian theories. She is currently developing ideas on inclusivity for disabled students at university.

Contact details: Sharon Gallagher School of Social Sciences, University of East London 4-6 University way, London E16 2RD e-mail: s.gallagher@uel.ac.uk

Working the hyphens:

reflections on doing psycho-social research in Bangladesh.

Phoebe Beedell

ABSTRACT

Postcolonial critics remind us of our privileged positions and the political and ethical responsibilities we carry as researchers and authors. I am a white, British middle-class woman engaged in psycho-social research with professional NGO workers and social activists in Bangladesh. The question of how my identity and positionality plays out in the research and how I account for it is therefore acutely relevant.

Cunliffe and Karunanayake (2013), and Fine (1994) offer the notion of hyphen-spaces to reflect upon influences that shape our engagement, affect our progress and colour our representations of the data, thus enabling us to recognize the taken-for granted as well the obvious forces at work. The hyphen is still a contested semantic device in psycho-social studies (Frosh, 2014) but 'the real issue, as it has always been, is how to produce concepts that have explanatory power' (Jefferson, 2008). Following Jefferson, I want to use the notion of hyphen spaces in this paper to explore the realities of doing qualitative research in a foreign country and as a framework from which to view other conceptual possibilities. Etherington points out that reflexivity-related dilemmas stem from our fear of being judged as narcissistic, lacking in self-awareness, or anxieties over public exposure. This paper purposefully includes some of the most awkward, embarrassing and emotionally demanding episodes in my research journey. Their inclusion will go some way towards explaining the intricacies, complexities and sheer messiness of the work we do, both emotionally and cognitively, as qualitative researchers.

The schema of hyphen spaces is a useful heuristic tool that can assist us in mapping relationships between the researcher and the researched, but the complex realities of fieldwork and data-gathering cannot always be so neatly accommodated. As Corbin Dwyer and Buckle propose, it is not ones particular status that is the 'core ingredient' of a prudent researcher but the 'ability to be open, authentic, honest, deeply interested in the experience of ones research participants, and committed to accurately and adequately representing their experience' (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). Jessica Benjamin considers the notion of surrender 'to the principle of reciprocal influence in interaction which makes possible both responsible action and freely given recognition' (Benjamin, 2004) (p11). Whilst we may use a variety of tools in our attempts at reflexive practice I suggest that in 'working the hyphens' we also need to surrender to a good deal of discomfort and anxiety.

> I want to know your story. And then I will tell it back to you in a new way. Tell it back to you in such a way that it has become mine, my own. Re-writing you, I write myself anew. I am still author, authority. I am still the colonizer, the speak subject, and you are now at the centre of my talk.
>
> hooks, b (1990, pp151-152) cited in Fine 1994.

This declaration acts is a sharp reminder to qualitative social scientists like myself, of our privileged position as authors and 'authorities', and the political and ethical ramifications of our choices in our relationships with those who we place at the 'centre of our talk'. – whether we refer to them our objects or subjects, informants, respondents or participants. Twenty-five years on from this oft-quoted reminder, and the multiple postcolonial, deconstructionist, poststructuralist and feminist entreaties and invitations that surround it, we as researchers, are still grappling with the implications and practical application of reflexivity to our own research projects.

From the outset of my research journey, I have felt the words of postcolonial critics such as hooks and Spivak ringing in my ears. An entry in my research journal during my first semester as a PhD student reflects this sense of unease with my place in the research:

> I have been rather struggling, in thoughtful moments, when I try to rationalize what a white foreigner can possibly bring to the research encounter with developing-world participants, and whether or not it is exploitative and neo-colonial to think I can make pronouncements about their practices and psychic realities. (Field journal, Nov 2013)

I have, I think, foregone the rather grandiose idea of 'making pronouncements', but the uncomfortable question of how identity and positionality plays out across the biography of the research and how we account for it remains. My recent experience of a discussion on reflexivity amongst a mixed group of sociologists at the BSA Bourdieu Study Group[4] conference confirmed this enduring anxiety with the practice of reflexivity, but I found it both reassuring to know that I am not alone and that complacency has not (yet) set in.

Issues of identity and positionality arise immediately when I say my doctoral research is a psycho-social study of professional NGO workers and social activists in Bangladesh. I often have to explain to interested Westerners that the 'NGO workers' I refer to are not the foreign expatriates 'we' send out to 'do development' in places like Bangladesh, but local, professionally-qualified people working within a variety of organizations concerned with generating knowledge, imparting skills, advocating and acting for social change in their own country. These polite enquiries marked one of the first departure points on my reflexive journey as they seemed to unwittingly expunge the 'local' development workers from the purview of academic research, suggesting a

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[4] British Sociological Association's Bourdieu Study Group Conference, University of Bristol July 2016.

neo-colonial myopia at large, as if NGO were staffed only by 'experts' dispatched from the global north.

My research participants (as I have chosen to call them, acknowledging the co-constructed nature of my narrative methodology) are well-resourced, well-educated people, far from the image of the subaltern painted by Spivak. The study is about how people involved in the development sector negotiate the ethical, moral and social dilemmas inherent in their work. I have conducted 57 biographical narrative and other semi-structured interviews, in English, with 37 men and women (equally), aged 25 to 65 over the course of eight months of fieldwork mostly in Dhaka, Bangladesh. My thesis focuses on the 24 younger participants aged 25 – 45 who represent a post-Liberation war generation born after 1971. My participants occupy a particular middle ground between the top-down development initiatives of foreign aid donors and the bottom-up realities and concerns of the poor and ultra-poor beneficiaries.

Reflexivity, as summarized by Etherington, means being aware 'in the moment', over time and at both concrete and abstract levels of what is influencing our internal responses and external actions in relation to our participants, our data and our topic. These influences shape our engagement with theoretical, institutional, cultural and personal constructs, affect our progress and colour our representations of the data. Being attuned to these influences means being able to recognize the taken-for granted as well the obvious forces at work. Reflexivity certainly supports us as we face ethical issues and attempt to address the power relationships operating within our research. Being transparent in documenting and taking account of our responses and actions invites audiences to make their own judgments on the validity and rigour of our findings (Etherington, 2004). Spivak challenges us to engage with our researchers in intimate and dialogical ways, but does not offer particularly practical advice or suggestions about how we actually go about (Kapoor, 2004).

Cunliffe and Karunanayake following Fine (1994) offer the notion of hyphen-spaces to reflect upon Geetha Karunanayake's experience as an academic researcher studying the lives of tea plantation workers in Sri Lanka, the country of her birth. While Spivak would describe this position as 'native informant', the notion of hyphen-spaces is perhaps more practically useful in helping to map our multiple identity positions and expose our subjectivity. Recognizing, and 'working the hyphens' as spaces of both identity convergence and divergence Fine argues, means exploring how our presence influences others, and how their presence influences and changes us. It means self consciously 'unpacking notions of scientific neutrality, universal truths, and researcher dispassion' (Fine, 1994) (p.71), part of the 'critical task for qualitative researchers' which brings to the surface 'the identity relations that may occur between ourselves and our research participants' (Cunliffe and Karunanayake, 2013) (p.365). It is at least a useful concept with which to begin to chart positionality and to support reflection on the processes of research, especially when gathering data through interviews.

In psycho-social studies, the significance of the hyphen has been keenly debated between Lacanian-leaning psychoanalysts and more Kleinian-oriented researchers in an attempt to bring some definition to this nascent approach to the study of social processes. The former argued that the psychological and social are inseparable (Frosh, 2003, Frosh and Baraitser, 2008) much like a continuous line on a Moebius strip. The latter maintain a focus on the differences between the realms of 'in here' and 'out there'(Jefferson, 2008). An alternate, relational view argues that the hyphen indicates not a 'splitting or integration', but 'what is "other than" both, that is, what is different from either of the two milieus that generate it' (Hoggett, 2008). These differing uses and

interpretations of the hyphen as signifying continuum, merger, junction, separator, disjunction, or an 'other than' third space is relevant to how we understand our identities as researchers in relation to our research participants. The hyphen is still a contested semantic device in psycho-social studies (Frosh, 2014) but Jefferson concluded 'the real issue, as it has always been, is how to produce concepts that have explanatory power at both … levels without, thereby, eliminating the unique dimension of each level' (Jefferson, 2008).

Following Jefferson, that the issue at stake is an explanatory one, in this paper I want to use the notion of hyphen spaces to explore the realities of doing qualitative research in Bangladesh as a white, British middle-class woman. In doing so I will also use it as a framework from which to view other conceptual possibilities. Etherington points out that some of the dilemmas that arise out of our attempts to be reflexive researchers stem from our fear of being judged as narcissistic or lacking in self-awareness, and anxieties over public exposure and the wish to retain our privacy. This paper purposefully includes some of the most awkward, embarrassing and emotionally demanding episodes in my research journey, which are otherwise so easily air-brushed out of the reflexive accounting-for process. Their inclusion I believe will go some way towards explaining the intricacies, complexities and sheer messiness of the work we do, both emotionally and cognitively, as qualitative researchers.

Cunliffe and Karunanayake set out a number of hyphen-spaces that broadly cover variables of location, values, subjectivities, emotionality and political engagement. These hyphen spaces are related to identities of insider-outsider; qualities of sameness-difference; the extent of emotional engagement-distance; and politically active-politically neutral stances. Leaving aside the last of these purely for reasons of brevity rather than importance, I will consider how these schematic categorizations can be 'worked' to illuminate my place in the research.

Working the hyphens
Insider-outsider

Ethnographers, anthropologists and researchers across the social sciences will be familiar with this pre-eminent oppositional and it the subject of differing definitions over time and discipline (Milligan, 2016). Cunliffe and Karunanayake are guided by Louis and Bartunek (1992), who considers a researcher who is not connected the research site and often only interested in generalizable knowledge is as having an 'outsider' identity, whereas a researcher with an ongoing relationship with the research site and an interest in the practical application of the knowledge generated is considered an 'insider'. Banks (1998) developed further ways of thinking about the outsider-insider dimension in terms of acceptance by the community under study through congruence of values between researcher and researched. Researchers might be 'indigenous' or 'alien' to the context of research subjects; and either sensitive or indifferent to the values and customs of the community of respondents. Thus the 'indigenous insider', Banks contends, is not only a member of the community under study but is accepted by the research subjects because they are perceived as sharing experiences, knowledge, customs and values. 'Alien outsiders' it follows, are disconnected from the context and are perceived to have values and social customs that are at odds with those of the researched community. Two more categories spring from Banks' writing: the 'indigenous outsider', who may share origins and cultural knowledge with the researched but are treated with suspicion because of their acculturation with values and social norms from outside the research site; and alien or 'external insiders' who originate from outside the research location but have been accepted by the community they are studying because they have adopted or acculturated to the same customs and values. My position within Bank's taxonomy was perhaps closest to 'external-insider', but a number of authors, including Cunliffe and Karunanayake have sought to reconsider insider-outside-ness not as fixed but fluid, and highly contextualized socially, politically and culturally (Arthur, 2010, Katyal & King 2011; McNess et al 2013 as cited in Milligan).

The fluidity and contextualized nature of my insider-outsider position was apparent in my first visits to Bangladesh in 2010. My partner at the time was managing a large 'flagship' project for DfID and was a respected and popular team leader. My partner's status, to a large extent, provided me with easy & affordable access to the country, and a certain kudos with potential participants who knew of this connection. By the time the fieldwork began in early 2014 I had acquired the quasi-official, laughably gender-neutral title of 'trailing spouse' (Eyben, 2012). I had access to many of the privileged 'spaces of aid': a clean, safe and pleasant neighbourhood to live in, occasional transport in air-conditioned 4x4s, and access to the exclusive 'international' clubs of Dhaka that serve as places of cultural practice and inscription (through alcohol consumption, sporting and social activities) for the 'international community' (Smirl, 2015), and function as both cosmopolitan and colonial 'contact zones' (Conway, 2011). The 'boss's wife' identity in this milieu, provided a certain amount of 'insider' access to the conversations of visiting experts and technical advisers and more usefully, opportunities to visit various development projects and meet NGO workers and social activists with a view to recruitment. Independently, I attended a variety of other events that could also be characterized as 'contact zone' events: policy dialogue seminars and workshops, presentations, including TedX Dhaka, and NGO gatherings. On these occasions I would sometimes feel uncomfortably like an interloping head-hunter, listening and observing carefully, before pouncing on potential participants in a rather 'guerilla mode' of

engagement that Moore-Gilbert, reviewing Spivak, notes is less easily(re)appropriated by the dominant hegemony (as cited in Kapoor, 2004, p.640).

Altogether, these occasions not only provided me with valuable insight into the operational politics and rituals of development aid, but allowed me to engage with local NGO workers about their work and speak about my planned research. In the course of these conversations with potential participants and informal gatekeepers, I often shared my experience of development work during a ten-year sojourn in Southern Africa, which may have solidified my identity as an external-insider: new to Bangladesh, but with an understanding of the development scene and aid industry and a purpose which was clearly distinct from internal NGO appraisal and monitoring processes. My interest in the lives and concerns of professional development workers was almost always greeted with interest, respect and enthusiasm and my strategy of recruiting through personal contacts proved very fruitful.

This external-insider position faltered seriously on only one occasion when a participant began to criticize her manager, a sociable and out-going British man. She expressed concern that I might be friends with this man and queried not only the confidentiality of what she was about to say, but also, I think, whether I would take personal offence at the criticism. I reiterated the confidentiality of the data and acknowledged that although the man was an acquaintance of mine, he was not a personal friend. In this way, her questioning enabled her to gauge the strength and nature of my 'insider' (knowledge and allegiances) and 'external' (professional) credentials. This is an example of how the already nuanced hyphen space of Banks' 'external-insider' may contain further subtleties and variations that are perceived differently by each participant. The fluidity and contextualized nature of this identity was leveraged by potential participants on one occasion in a performative manner, beyond the research context, in a way that challenged my own sense of identity and values and served as a stark reminder of the ways in which colonial dominance endures and is reproduced.

Being the object of spectacle in the 'Third World' will be familiar to many white travellers especially in less-visited rural areas, and development workers have the added hazard of expectation that their presence will bring some relief or salvation to the population. While accompanying my partner and his colleagues on working trips to regional and rural projects I would walk with them through fields and villages, often quite literally enacting the 'trailing spouse' identity. As the only white female in the party, I was always subject to the collective gaze of 'the other', becoming surrounded by curious children or approached by local women wanting to get a closer look. Through intermediaries, they would enquire about my marital and child-bearing status and ask me into their houses. I began to refer to these moments, ironically, as 'Princess Anne moments'[5] since they embodied the image of the gracious white woman visiting poor brown people. These moments occurred when the dissonance between the social positions of 'them' and 'us' were at their most stark. No doubt my naming of these moments with a sense of black humour helps me to contain my shame, guilt, embarrassment and sense of helplessness at the enduring global inequalities of esteem, let alone material wealth that these moments embody. Such moments, I would argue, are a clear example of misrecognition, in the sense of the

[5] Princess Anne, daughter of Queen Elizabeth II, has been president and globe-trotting royal patron of Save the Children, an international development charity, since 1970. My childhood memories are suffused by images of her singular rich whiteness surrounded by the masses of poor brown-ness which regularly appeared on British children's TV in the 70's and into the 80's, just as the era of celebrity development 'ambassadors' took off.

misattribution of qualities to a person or entity (James, 2015) and were to some extent expected and unavoidable given the geographical location.

One particular occurrence of this form of misrecognition took place in the company of two potential research participants in Dhaka and served to inform them of my own sense of identity, values and approach. I was invited to attend a presentation event organized by an urban NGO working with street children accompanied by a female project officer of my own age and a young female intern. As we crawled for an hour through the Dhaka traffic, chatting to each other and on the phone, it became apparent that the expected 'guest of honour', the foreign donor's delegate, may not be able to attend. We arrived at the appointed venue and it was clear that I was going to be the only foreigner, the only white person present. As we sat at the back of the room and listened to the speeches, my younger companion kindly translated in hushed whispers. The older woman with whom I had developed a warm and informal friendship, suddenly crossed over to me and asked if I would step in and present awards to the street children in the absence of the real 'guest of honour'. In that moment, she and I both recognized the symbolic value of my white, female body and acknowledged the currency it had within the room - far in excess of any other attribute I might possess. With a grinding mix of self-conscious internal loathing and a rather British compulsion to be polite, I reluctantly agreed to perform this role. I duly took my place at the top table, delivered a three-minute impromptu speech on the value of art in society, gave out certificates and shook hands with the silent but beaming young artists. As the car crawled for another hour back through the traffic, my companions and I discussed the incident and it's implications and contradictions with good humour and frankness. A fittingly 'Princess Anne' style group photo of this ritualized identity performance appeared in the English daily newspaper the following day. The incident was minor, but for me the mixture of organizational face-saving and the re-inscription of symbolic privilege was a strong reminder of the forces at work in this domain.

I believe that my immediate and explicit reflexivity and discomfort with the ritualized 'guest of honour' performance supported the participants' positioning of me as someone who was aware and affected by relations of power within the development sector and that I too was involved in the ongoing negotiation of ethical dilemmas. I was, in hooks words, 'still the colonizer', still the 'outsider' and my skin colour was the most visible and enduring marker of differentiation in that situation. Yet, being accepted by the potential research participants as 'in' on the game - accepting the social rules and expectations of the onlookers whilst also sharing the questioning acceptance of those customs and values with the potential participants - also marked me as a kind of 'insider'. Both my companions subsequently introduced me to several other participants and agreed to become research participants themselves. Later, in interviews, they were able to speak openly and easily about the inconsistencies and challenges inherent in their development work.

This incident demonstrates how the hyphen space insider-outsider can become folded in upon itself, stretching the limits of the dyadic metaphor to produce something that is perhaps 'other than' or at least has permeable, less stable and less easily drawn boundaries (Crossley et al., 2016). Locating one's position in the hyphen space of insider-outsider involves acknowledging what is shared and what is not, and in that discourse, matters of sameness and difference constitute a further hyphen space to consider.

Sameness-difference

In social science research contexts, sameness and difference is usually understood in terms of demographic and identity characteristics of age, gender, ethnicity, sexuality or class; and in terms of the extent of shared life experiences between researchers and the researched. Cunliffe and Karunanayake (2013) insist that the task of collecting data entails the 'ongoing negotiation of meaning' in relationships that are based on both sameness and difference. In this section I will explore the hyphen space of sameness-difference through examples that relate to the medium of communication, education and educational values and gender that are relevant to this negotiation of meaning.

The extent and nature of my sameness or difference in relation to my participants became fully apparent in the interview encounter which was firmly bounded by the limitations of language. Without proficiency in Bangla I was only able to interview participants in English. This limitation served as an imperfect but pragmatic proxy for a certain level of education and professional status, the 'middle-class-ness' of the people I wanted to study. English is also the lingua-franca of the international development sector in which the participants operate.

Recruiting through personal and social contacts and snowballing though mostly peer-level intermediaries, my interviewees were self-selecting and almost all were confident and fluent English speakers. Many had been educated in English-medium schools and universities, and most were as fluent as any mother-tongue speaker, albeit speaking an indigenized version of English – 'Banglish' as one person joked – to which I had to become attuned. At least one participant was more comfortable speaking in English than Bangla, and admitted her local language skills were poor and sometimes interfered with her direct work with beneficiaries. The two or three participants who were less fluent spoke about how their lack of confidence with English sometimes impinged upon their work, creating anxieties in their relations with foreigners. In interviews, I offered a translation of the key concept of 'ethical dilemmas' (*noitik shangkot)* which yielded useful discussions and opportunities for mutual clarifications as part of the 'ongoing negotiation of meaning'. Therefore the 'language issue' became an explicit part of many of the research conversations.

The limitations of language *did* impede the progress of a small number of interviews but in these encounters the lack of shared vocabulary was tackled and usually overcome by simply allowing extra time to negotiate and secure a sense of mutual understanding. Mixing gender pronouns was a common and confusing error, and grammatical errors of tense sometimes hampered communication. During these interviews, it was necessary for me to re-cap or paraphrase to check with the participants that I had correctly grasped the material facts and meaning of what they were describing. Occasionally, participants dried up or left sentences incomplete. As an experienced researcher having interviewed a wide range of people in the UK I did not find these silences and pauses intimidating, but I had to work hard, to think in the moment and judge if, and at what point I might offer a word that seemed to me to be on the tip of their tongue. Was it a useful interjection? Was it a word they might have used themselves? Most often, the response to my interjections would be a gratifying 'yes, yes' or 'exactly, exactly'. On the few occasions I got it wrong, or misunderstood, we would continue the negotiation until, on most occasions, we reached a level of communication and shared meaning that seemed satisfactory. On one occasion when I used the word 'cynicism' the participant whipped out her smart phone to look up a translation. In all these interactions, the qualities of sameness and difference were present in the language we used, and were a constantly shifting dynamic between interviewer and interviewee.

Some participants made use of my difference, as embodied in my language and culture, in order to achieve a kind of sameness, echoing the convolutions present in the 'Princess Anne moments'. At least two of the participants acknowledged that being part of the research was a useful opportunity to practice their English language skills and to 'build capacity' as one said, another was explicit in wanting to engage in a form of intellectual discourse rarely available to him. Some, including the latter case assumed a sameness when there was difference, and I too assumed difference where there was sameness. I was a little surprised to find that all but one of the participants had Masters level degrees, and two of the older cohort had PhD's themselves. As the life stories of the participants unfolded, it became clear not only that I shared this particular form of cultural capital with my research subjects but it was recognized and highly valued by them. Being attached to a London University also had some currency, lending respectability, credence, and validity to my position as researcher and to the study. It was clear that as researcher and researched, we shared a (more or less) common language and a common set of values in relation to education and academia. Other aspects of our shared cultural capital and common (colonial) histories were expressed, for instance, in references to cricket which was used more than once as analogy by participants.

Despite these similarities, there was adequate room for difference and misrecognition to emerge, which tended towards an over-estimation of my Westernised knowledge and, on odd occasions an underestimation of my local knowledge. Once, I was asked by a participant if I knew anything about the 1971 Liberation War and the birth of Bangladesh. I felt mildly affronted (as if I hadn't done any background research!) and suddenly an 'outsider' - demonstrating how positionality can alter suddenly within a single encounter. More often, a participant made assumptions about my knowledge of Western academic institutions, literature or culture. Being attuned to these moments helped me understand the ways in which these forms of cultural capital are accumulated, valued and invoked by the participants. For instance, S, one of the wealthiest participants, who had been educated abroad, assumed I was familiar with the prestigious university he attended, as he dropped the institution's name into his narrative. Feeling a little ignorant and inadequate, and because the reference was immaterial to the conversation, I said nothing and chose to 'pass' (Skeggs and Loveday, 2012) as a member of the same cultural and social class as the participant. In doing so surrendered to his positioning of me. Later, I 'Googled' the institution he mentioned, and discovering it's top-class reputation I was better able to understand the easy sense of entitlement he displayed and the distinctiveness of the identity he projected.

I felt uneasy and embarrassed by my deception and inauthentic response to S and this may have emboldened me in my later interactions. During my interview with participant O, he quoted Victor Hugo and drew on the figure of Sisyphus in Greek mythology to help explain his attitude to his work. At this point my understanding of the participant's meaning was crucial, and I had to admit, rather shamefully, to my ignorance of this particular mythological character, quietly blaming my sub-standard 1970's education. At the time, I felt I had punctured O's image of me as a culturally rich, well-educated sophisticate – 'a lady of your stature' as he put it. Later I reflected that my failure to live up to the standard that O had ascribed to me – an idealized view of my cultural difference in itself – may have reflected the way in which O felt socially isolated, rather disappointed with his life and frustrated with his work. The hopes he spoke about, for a life characterized by enlightened intellectual endeavour were disrupted in much the same way as his attempts at having an erudite conversation with me. I felt I had let him down, but he responded with characteristic introjection, taking this failure or rupture of sympathetic sameness

upon himself. To his self-deprecating 'I guess you are already bored.' I replied with an honest 'No, no, I am fascinated' and there followed an exchange in which we both struggled to re-establish the stability of the relationship. I felt he was concerned with being a 'good' research subject whilst I was anxiously trying to hold this most chaotic of interviews together and to fulfill my role as a 'good' listener.

Performance anxiety on the part of research subjects (as well as researchers themselves) is not uncommon in my experience of qualitative research in the UK. It is not unusual, particularly in free ranging or open ended interviews for some participants to ask 'Am I making sense?' 'Is this useful?' or 'Is this what you want?'. But these sorts of comments were more widespread amongst the Bangladeshi participants I interviewed, perhaps due to their over-estimation of my status, but also I believe, an unfamiliarity with the nature of the interview itself. This points to another dimension of sameness and difference that has to be negotiated in the interview setting. The expectations of the interviewee of the interview process itself may not match the metatheoretical approach (objectivist, subjective or intersubjective) of the interviewer. All the participants in this study spoke about their experiences of schooling in primary, secondary and tertiary education and described a system that leans heavily toward a didactic and objectivist approach to knowledge production. This may explain why some participants took time to grasp the subjective and intersubjective nature of these biographical interviews as co-created narratives, unique to the encounter.

The sameness-difference in the way the research was perceived can be interleaved with the way gender sameness-difference played out across the interviews. On the whole, the women gave me far more of their time and were more forthcoming in our conversations than most of the men. Female participants seemed generally quicker to grasp the open-ended nature of the biographical interview and easily took up the opportunity to tell me the details of their family background, education and career and their thoughts and feelings. My field notes after interviews with the women are dotted with references to them as 'definitely chatty', 'needing little encouragement', 'warm' and 'engaged', 'amiable', 'very expressive' but also 'serious and intense', 'tough' and 'a political live-wire'. While it was initially more difficult to recruit women, and arrange interview times, they were much more easily available for second interviews, suggesting that they had more to say, more stories to tell and were comfortable not just with me, but with the nature of the research.

With many of the men in the study, I often felt I had to work harder to elicit more than just a 'told story' – a series of verifiable facts (Wengraf and Chamberlayne, 2006) - as opposed to the 'lived life' of experience and feeling. By contrast, my field notes after interviews with men contain descriptions of the encounters as 'formal at first', 'slightly awkward at first', 'eventually relaxed and forthcoming', 'didn't expand on much', 'jolly but shy'. One male participant began very formally by announcing his name, place of birth and the minutiae of his school grades. Two other men gave me a brief summary of their whole lives and careers in under 15 minutes before coming to a grinding halt. These kinds of interviews would tend to require more probing, more specific but still open questions to elicit stories and clarification of my interest in thoughts and feelings as much as facts. As a woman doing research from a qualitative feminist tradition, in a highly patriarchal society, I anticipated that my gender would colour the way in which the data was generated. The hesitant beginnings of the male participants meant I had to work harder to build rapport, based on qualities of sameness across the intransient difference of gender.

Emotional engagement-distance

Closely associated with the notion of rapport is the idea of empathy. Gair draws attention to the links between social work practice and qualitative research methods, particularly feminist and grounded theory approaches that regard empathy as critical to their practice. She reviews the approaches of sociologists, philosophers, researchers and methodologists who hold empathy to be at the root of our understandings of everyday lived experiences and who advocate it's role in creating the conditions in which the person or subject feels heard, accepted and understood. Conversely, as Gair notes, authors such as Lather (2009), Watson and Shields (1996) have argued for the de-reification of empathy and criticized the logic of sameness on which it is based. These critiques do not so much argue against empathy but call for 'a kind of a gap - a casting of doubt on our 'capacity to know' - to enable researchers to listen without the presumption of mutuality, or the existence of 'common wounds', implied by empathy.

An example of the value of traversing the hyphen of emotional engagement-distance came through my relationship with M, with whom my sense of empathy was based on 'knowing' and 'not knowing'. My empathetic response was both immediate, 'in the moment' and more long lasting. I was introduced to M during a trip with my partner to the regional project office of a sub-contracted NGO. My field notes record M as beginning our first interview quite formally, sitting with pen and notebook on her lap as if prepared for a job interview. I noted she was 'obliging and interested in my topic, happy to help though perhaps a bit apprehensive, perhaps making an effort with her English pronunciation'. I felt very conscious of being the 'big boss's 'wife' in this situation and attempted to distance myself from this identity by making clear assurances of confidentiality and anonymity. After about five minutes of recording she asked if her 'talking' was ok and in response to my affirmations and encouragements began to relax. In the course of this biographical interview, M told me a tragic story about the suicide of one of her friends, due in part to social inequalities, which had helped propel M into her work for social change. M became tearful at the recollection and I also began to well up, knowing the pain of bereavement and feeling empathy with the injustice. We paused, laughed a little at our own emotionality perhaps as an aid to recovering the 'formality' of the interview and continued. M told me she was having trouble finding a suitable marriage partner and how this was troubling her family and affecting her choices about where to work – in the NGO's regional office where she was doing rewarding work, or nearer her family home where she could be introduced to potential grooms. M had confided in me about other difficult workplaces issues and I felt a keen sense of obligation to offer her some support. I found myself thinking about her situation and her friend's suicide for several days and mulled over her marriage dilemma for weeks afterwards, wondering how things would turn out. My feelings of helplessness for her manifest in private fantasies of introducing her to one of my male participants, and it took some time to come to a more appropriate, emotionally-distant position, accepting the 'not knowing' of how I might help, or how she might feel about these familial constraints.

By this stage of the research, I had heard many stories of womens careers and personal flourishing being circumscribed by gender norms and gendered violence. I had listened to several accounts of personal experiences of loss, harm or discrimination that were motivating these women to work in the development sector. Gair, (2012), in her consideration of empathy and researcher positioning brings attention to three overlapping phases of empathetic listening as theorized by Stein (1917/1989 cited in Gair 2012). The arc of my emotional engagement with M and her testimony echoes these phases. Firstly the emergence of the experience though objective and thoughtful listening and a process of 'tuning in' which draws on understanding and

imagination; secondly, a deeper accommodation of the data that connects with the emotional and subjective response of the listener; and finally, the reemergence of objective insights informed by these subjective responses (p.139). Following this model, 'working the hyphen' between emotional engagement and emotional distance became a dynamic process over time. Through this process I came to a far deeper understanding of how, in a profoundly patriarchal society, making a 'good' marriage confers on women high levels of social respectability, which then functions to protect female development workers from social opprobrium as they work to challenge these very gender norms, often driven by their own experience of injustice or loss. This reflexivity helped to strengthen my understanding of the multiple ways in which gender, and specifically gender discrimination, dominates the everyday lives of these development workers.

Conclusion

By establishing the identity of 'researcher', focusing on the scope and purpose of the study, boundaries are constructed by researchers both implicitly and explicitly. But these boundaries are subject to change and the negotiation of different positionings and the mutual influences between researcher and participants. It is at these blurred edges that we begin to question our place and purpose. (Cunliffe and Karunanayake, 2013) (citing Clandinin, 2006 and Mutua-Kombo, 2009).

In many ways the course of my research interleaves with the topic of the research itself. My efforts have been directed towards exploring the participants' reflexivity, reflexively and acting ethically whilst researching the ethical activities of others. At the same time I am critiquing the domination of neo-liberal ideologies and neo-colonial tendencies of the aid and development sector whilst being closely imputed in it's structures, power relations and practices. Writing about others I am indeed writing myself 'anew'. The act of doing a PhD is a process of shifting identity: from 'employee' to 'student' to 'Doctor' and my progress through the arc of a PhD programme is but one aspect of the biographical nature of my research.

The schema of hyphen spaces is a useful heuristic tool that can assist us in mapping positionality and examining relationships between the researcher and the researched, but the complex realities of fieldwork relationships and the processes of data-gathering cannot always be neatly accommodated as distinct points on a spectrum or spectrums. Cunliffe and Karunanayake emphasized the 'fluid and agentic nature of researcher-respondent identities' and these dynamics operate both inside and well beyond the interview. In this study, more so than in other UK-based research I have conducted, I was aware of how the participants were agentic in positioning me, individually and as a whole, and how this made an impression upon the data. My initial anxieties about exploitation and neo-colonialism quite rightly heightened my awareness of 'self' and 'other' and I believe, contributed to conditions that enabled participants to become active agents in the telling of their stories. To study, appreciate and effectively represent the experience of research participants, as Corbin Dwyer and Buckle propose, it is not ones particular status that is the 'core ingredient' of a prudent researcher but the 'ability to be open, authentic, honest, deeply interested in the experience of ones research participants, and committed to accurately and adequately representing their experience' (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). Jessica Benjamin in her psychoanalytic discussion of an intersubjective view of 'thirdness' considers the notion of surrender 'to the principle of reciprocal influence in interaction which makes possible both responsible action and freely given recognition' (Benjamin, 2004) (p11). Whilst we may use a variety of tools, such as the notion of hyphen spaces to assist us, I would suggest that we also

need to surrender to a certain amount, perhaps a good deal, of discomfort and anxiety in our attempts at reflexive practice.

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Phoebe Beedell is a PhD scholarship holder with the University of East London. She originally trained in graphic design and spent the 1990's living in Lesotho and Zimbabwe working in development communications on AIDS prevention and reproductive health campaigns.

After completing a Masters in Development Studies at Bristol University, she worked as a community engagement trainer and facilitator before joining the Centre of Psycho-Social Studies at the University of the West of England as a researcher. Phoebe has undertaken qualitative research on major ESRC projects including *'Negotiating Ethical Dilemmas in Contested Communities'* and *'Identities, Educational Choice and the White Urban Middle Class'* in the Identities and Social Action programme; and more recently on *Paired Peers*, a longitudinal study on the role HE plays in social mobility.

She has published articles on motivation, class, positionality and a book chapter on psychosocial research methodology. Phoebe is intending to use Augusto Boals's participatory theatre techniques as a means of disseminating her doctoral research and engaging non-academic audiences in further meaningful and productive dialogue.

Contact details: p.beedell@uel.ac.uk

Review Article

Social Movements: Theories & Practices:
A Critical Review of the Literature

John Haworth

Theories: Structuralisms, Interactionisms & Globalisms.

In this paper, I shall attempt to situate my research in recent debates about social movements. These have mainly concerned the level of the social formation and the geographical level at which the emergence of social movements can be explained. I shall be mainly concerned with the recent work of Tarrow (2012), the so-called insurgent encounters of Juris & Khasnabish (2013) and the studies of the World Social Forum of Conway (2013).

Structuralisms: Political Processes & Critical Realisms.
In his recent work, the veteran social movement theorist Tarrow (2012; 06-28) describes what seems to be a critical realist, or what he calls a "dynamics of contention" approach to social movements, which he developed in an earlier volume with his colleagues McAdam & Tilly (Tarrow, McAdam & Tilly, 2001). In an excellent historical survey of theories of social movements, Tilly distinguishes between the economic approaches of Marxists such as Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and Gramsci and of new social movement theorists such as Touraine, Melucci and Offe, and the political approaches of Weber, Michels and Skocpol, resource mobilisation theorists such as Piven & Cloward, and the most recent political process theorists such as Tarrow, McAdam & Tilly (2001), and, even more recently, writers such as della Porta, Haug & Teune (2013).

So what's so excellent about this historical survey? Almost uniquely among writers on this political process tradition, Tarrow has made some attempt to relate his approach to economic process approaches, such as Marxism. Many of my earlier attempts to read Tarrow's articles led me to adopt the slogan "writing like Sidney Tarrow" to represent a talent for making something which should be interesting seem boring, since there was no explanation of what was supposed to have caused political opportunities, and of how these opportunities were related to larger scale social events, such as the coming of new systems of regulation such as neo-liberalism.

From this point of view, these political process theories can be seen as developing a relatively autonomous political level of the social formation, as theorised by Poulantzas (Jessop, 1985). These political process theories can be seen as excellent developments of Poulantzas's theories,

but, for all his considerations on Marxism, Tarrow makes no recognition of this. Rather, political process theories treat political opportunities and processes not as relatively, but as completely, autonomous of the economic level.

This is particularly seen in Tarrow's treatment of the works of his new social movement theory adversary Touraine (Tarrow, 2012: 18-20). Here, Touraine considers the most abstract level of societies, or historicities, to be dominated by the activities of social movements contesting existing social formations. The activities of political parties in attempting to regulate existing social formations exist at a more concrete level, which Touraine calls the institutional system. Here, Touraine develops an indispensable theoretical context for the more empirical work of the political process theorists, but this seems to be lost on Tarrow, who accuses Touraine of "declaring", presumably without adequate empirical evidence, that these theoretical levels existed, and who describes later writers as having avoided being "smitten with Tourainian abstractions".

Later in his article, Tarrow (2012: 22-26) starts to come to terms with this problem. Benton & Craib (2011: 126-127) explain how the critical realist philosopher Bhaskar (1998) organised scientific disciplines into a hierarchy of causalities, such that each discipline was relatively autonomous of the one below it in the hierarchy. The question for critical realism is then how to identify the systems of causality which lead to the exercise of this relative autonomy. Previously, Benton & Craib (2011: 124-125) explain that Bhaskar sees these systems as what he calls mechanisms, which act within each discipline to determine whether and how this relative autonomy will work. Thus, Smith (1998: 299), commenting on earlier work by Bhaskar (1979), describes these mechanisms as "the way in which the structure of an object can, within definite conditions, generate an observable event". Unfortunately, neither Benton & Craib nor Smith specify in any more detail what these mechanisms are, but it would appear that Bhaskar's theories have enormous potential for developing what has always been a bit of a vague concept of relative autonomy, and that the task of a critical realist social science is to identify and understand these mechanisms at each level of the social formation.

Tarrow doesn't mention Bhaskar or critical realism, but he does recognise (2012: 22-23) the emergence of a so-called "mechanism-and-process approach to social action" in recent decades, associated with writers such as Snow et al. (1986) and Soule (1997, 1999, 2004). Tarrow, McAdam & Tilly (2001) then took up these approaches to apply them to the social sciences, and to identify three specific mechanisms operating in social movements. These are the environmental, such as population growth and resource depletion, the relational, such as the formation of political alliances, and the dispositional, such as the perception or attribution of opportunities or threats.

Interactionisms: Subjectivities, Paradigms, Knowledges, Technologies.

If we're to develop a critical realist theory of social movements, then, what we have to do is to identify the mechanisms within each discipline, which may lead to social events. As I've explained above, these are not the disciplines themselves, but the mechanisms within each discipline, but Tarrow seems to confuse the mechanisms with the disciplines themselves.

As Benton used to say when he was my undergraduate tutor, one way we may attempt to solve this problem is by turning to the French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser. Althusser seems to have strangely disappeared from Benton's most recent writings and also turned out to be Algerian, but whereas Bhaskar developed a hierarchy of scientific disciplines, Benton (1984) explains how Althusser attempted to solve the problems of the relationships between bases and superstructures in Marxism by developing a hierarchy of levels of the social formation characterised by relatively autonomous practices. Althusser identified these levels as the economic, political and ideological, and, if Bhaskar's hierarchy ended with the social sciences (Benton & Craib, 2011: 127), Althusser's hierarchy can be seen as applying Bhaskar's theories to the social sciences, and, as they say, taking things to the next level. As I mentioned above (Jessop, 1985), the structuralist political theorist Poulantzas, a follower of Althusser, can be seen as having developed a regional theory of relatively autonomous political practices at the political level, and, from this point of view, Tarrow's political process theories, far from being inconsistent with Marxism, can be seen as contributions to a debate started by Poulantzas.

The levels or mechanisms identified by Tarrow are the environmental, the relational and the dispositional, and he goes on to apply these to an understanding of the causes of the American Civil War (Tarrow, 2012: 23-24), just as I once did to the collapse of the USSR (Haworth, 2011). In another piece of writing (Haworth, 2012), I identified an ecological level of the social formation prior to the economic level, which would be somewhere at the top of his hierarchy of scientific disciplines. In the piece on the USSR, I developed an interactionist and individual or psychological level relatively autonomous of the ideological level to explain the roles of individuals such as Gorbachev or Yeltsin.

Of course, the type of situation, which Tarrow sees as having caused the American Civil War, is what Althusser would have called an overdetermination of contradictions, or what Poulantzas would have called an organic crisis of the social formation; a series of crises at the ecological, economic, political, ideological, interactionist and psychological levels arising at the same time. The question for social movement theories seems to be one of which of these levels is dominant or decisive; what types of political alliances to develop, how to conduct an ideological struggle, how to develop a democratic movement and the role of heroic individuals.

Interactionisms & Political Process Theories

If Tarrow has understood the role of critical realism in understanding organic crises of the social formation, then other writers have increasingly emphasised the role of the interactionist levels. Thus, Jasper (2012) seems to take up some of the criticisms of political process theories raised by writers such as Bevington & Dixon that these theories, as developed by writers such as Tilly, concentrated on so-called political opportunity structures without considering strategies of resistance on the part of social movements and thus lacked relevance for actual social movement members. Jasper claims to have discerned some movement in favour of these strategies by

recent writers under the influence of theorists such as Foucault, but it's not easy to see where exactly this influence is, either in the writings he mentions or in the contributions to his volume.

From a more theoretical point of view, della Porta (2014), in a comparative study of the democratisations in eastern Europe in 1989 and in North Africa in 2011, documents a shift in studies of democratisation from the structuralism of writers as far back as Lipset (1959), Moore (1966) and Stephens (1992) to what she calls the transitologies of more recent writers such as Karl (1990), O'Donnell & Schmitter (1986), Collier (1999) and Linz & Stepan (1996). But it turns out that even these are only concerned with the strategic choices of political elites. As for social movements, della Porta mentions the critical realist approaches of writers such as Tilly, McAdam & Tarrow (2001), although without identifying them as such, and her own work with Rucht (Della & Porta & Rucht, 2013). Della Porta goes on to identify from her data four systems of democratisation, one of which, eventful democratisation, especially involves social movements. Here, she appears to develop another critical realist approach involving (2014: 17) relational, affective and cognitive mechanisms, without really explaining what these are or how they relate to the mechanisms developed by writers such as Tarrow. Nonetheless, della Porta (2014: 16) claims to be "breaking with essentialist, deterministic and structuralist understandings" and stressing "temporality, contextualisation and agency".

Interactionisms & Ethnographies: Complexities & Actor-Network Theories.

But if these writers are taking things to the next level, then a new dimension in interactionist social movement theories has been opened up by Juris & Khasnabish (2013: 01-38). The authors begin with an ethnographic study of a meeting of the Zapatista movement in Mexico, which they see as the start of modern global justice movements, and go on to suggest that the writings of critical realists such as McAdam (1996), Snow (1986) and Tarrow (1998) reflect (2013: 06) "an underlying acceptance of capitalist modernity, liberal democracy and individualism", while these transnational social movements are (2013: 07) "more ephemeral, rhizomatic and dynamic than most conventional social movement analyses allow".

The authors go on (2013: 10-15) to survey some structuralist social movement theories, such as the resource mobilisation theories of Smith, Chatfield & Pagnucco (1997) and the international relations theories of Keck & Sikkink (1998). These were seen as being focused on formal NGOs and transnational social movement organisations. The authors see Tarrow (2005), della Porta (2005; 2007) and Reitan (2007) as having used political process theories to study social movements such as the European Social Forum of 2002. But these theories are seen as having left out the interactionist dimensions, political tensions, cultural struggles and struggles over knowledge production. Finally, the authors mention social network theories, such as those of Castells (1997) and Hardt & Negri (2005), where a networked world power or Empire is confronted by a networked world resistance or Multitude.

The authors contrast these traditional structuralist theories with an emerging interactionist and ethnographic tradition in social movement studies. Here, Cunningham (1999) carried out ethnographic research on so-called sanctuary activists in Arizona and Tsing (2005) on transnational forest activists in Indonesia. Juris (2008) set out to develop the theories of Castells by studying the use of technologies by North American social movements, and Khasnabish (2008) studied the influence of the Zapatista movement on these northern movements.

More interesting here seems to be the development of new interactionist theories. Thus, complexity theories, such as that of Escobar (2008), emphasise the (2013: 13) "recursive self-generation of complex adaptive systems through myriad micro-level interactions" and the "critical role of social movements as producers of insurgent knowledges". Also, actor-network theories, such as those of Routledge (2008), develop an (2013: 13-14) "analysis of the shifting patterns of connection, association and translation within the People's Global Action Network based on ethnographic fieldwork in Bangladesh", which "resonates with the critical role of practice, culture and power within networked spaces of transnational encounter".

Actor-network theories are explained in slightly more detail by Feigenbaum, Frenzel & McCurdy (2013: 18-19). These "provide a method of thinking how interdependencies between people, groups and objects emerge and function" and "are particularly useful for thinking about how human and non-human actors are always enmeshed". The authors go on to explain how these theories have come in for criticism for failing to recognise power relations, but that some new so-called post-ANT theories "make explicit the ways in which power and difference are performed and played out in many everyday associations". From this point of view, it's interesting to see that Juris & Khasnabish (2013: 14) mention that Routledge (2008) "argues that power differentials and intentionalities are central to shaping the contours of network associations".

Interactionisms & Ethnographies: New Dimensions of Social Movements.

Juris & Khasnabish (2013: 15-19) go on to identify what appear to be new dimensions of social movements, which lend themselves to interactionist or ethnographic research. These dimensions the authors very impressively describe as emerging subjectivities, discrepant paradigms, transformational knowledges and subversive technologies. These emerging subjectivities appear to involve antagonisms between new social identities. Thus, Hardt & Negri (2000; 2005) suggest that new technologies under neo-liberalism have developed a networked world power or Empire or confronted by a networked world resistance or Multitude. This Multitude is characterised by a so-called collective "no" to neo-liberalism, but is fragmented by many "yeses" to a variety of alternatives. Zibechi (2010) develops this by identifying a variety of social movements in Latin America building a (2013: 16) "new politics of autonomy and self-management, while reaching our horizontally to develop new forms of regional and transnational co-ordination". Finally, Deleuze & Guattari (1987) develop the idea of social movements as rhizomes, or almost infinitely flexible bouncy castle-type structures, requiring us to (2013: 15) "do away with fixed lines and linearities".

Discrepant paradigms take up the type of distinction made by the critical international relations writer Cox (Hobden & Jones, 2008: 151) between problem-solving and critical theories. Here, critical realist or political process theorists such as Tarrow (1998) are seen as setting out to solve the political problems of neo-liberalism by restricting their analyses to the political level, while critical social movement theories would identify more basic causes of these problems at the economic and increasingly ecological levels.

Transformational knowledges appear to suggest that one of the tasks of researchers is to understand systems of knowledge among social movements, which supplement that of academic researchers. Thus, the authors (2013: 18) "specifically attempt to understand the work of subjects deeply invested in reimagining and reconstructing their worlds as they resist the violence of the neo-liberal order". What much of this seems to involve is the understanding of social

movement practices in the global South, and the authors mention the work of Conway (2005), whose work on southern epistemologies I'll look at in the next section.

Subversive technologies involve the use of new technologies by social movements. Juris (2012) famously distinguished between logics of aggregation involving the use of e-mail lists and so-called listservs and logics of networking involving the use of networking media such as Facebook or Twitter. What seems to be subversive about these technologies is that they allow social movement members to use logics of aggregation to develop online communities and to use logics of networking to develop ready access to these communities, thus, in Hardt & Negri's (2005) terms, to develop something of an organised multitude to confront an organised empire. Here, the authors seem to open up possibilities for discourse or conversation analysis in recognising that the technologies are (2013: 19) "infused with questions of epistemologies, power and subjectivities", and involve "innovative forms of collaborative practice" and "new modes of collectively producing and distributing knowledge".

This use of new technologies by social movements is the subject of a study by the one-time structuralist network society theorist Castells (2012). Here, Castells develops his network society theories by applying them to the social movements of 2011 in Tunisia, Iceland, Egypt, Spain and the United States. Castells (2012: 04) sets out to "suggest some hypotheses on the nature and perspectives of networked social movements, with the hope of identifying the new paths of social change in our time, and to stimulate a debate on the practical and political implications of these hypotheses".

Interactionisms & Ethnographies: Participatory & Militant Ethnographies.

The authors identify four types of ethnographic research to investigate these new dimensions of social movements. First, they explain how Hale (2006) distinguishes between activist research and cultural critique. Here, activist research (2013: 22) "refers to a collaborative method involving explicit alignment with a group in struggle", while a cultural critique involves a more subtle "political alignment through the content of the knowledge produced". Also, the authors note that Mathers & Novelli (2007: 230) have suggested that neo-liberalism has led to a "more general process of re-engagement among academics", the most radical example of which is participatory action research, which involves the (2013: 24) "collective design and implementation of research between a researcher and an organisation or community of stakeholders".

Finally, militant ethnographies involve not so much the participation of researched communities in research, but rather the participation of the researchers in the activities of these communities. Here, Juris (2007; 2008) has suggested that (2013: 24) "the only way to truly grasp the concrete logic of activist networking is to become an active practitioner", becoming "directly involved in a particularly involved in a particular struggle through activities such as organising actions and events, facilitating meetings, staking out and supporting positions during discussions and debates, and risking one's body during mass actions". I don't quite know the health and safety implications of this, but it is said to lead to a "deeper cognitive understanding" and provides a "sense of the embodied emotions generated by activist practice".

Thus, participatory action research develops a new dimension in qualitative research and seems to solve the old problem whereby researchers design a piece of research and then have to find somebody to observe or interview. With this type of research, researchers find somebody to observe or interview and then consult the researched communities about the type of research, which the community wants them to carry out. However militant this research, what these authors are distancing themselves from is not more traditional ethnographies, but rather the more empiricist approaches of critical realist or political process theories. As for more traditional ethnographies, these approaches have in common with them a distinction between common sense and science, a concern for the actor's point of view, a concern with building theories from observations, and a danger of using common sense as a resource rather than a topic. From a critical realist point of view, these types of ethnographies exist (Benton & Craib, 2011: 125-126) at an actual or concrete rather than real or abstract level. They thus fail to identify underlying structures, from which we can discern patterns, and make more detailed observations, of social interaction.

Globalisms: Trans-Modernities & Post-Colonialisms.

If these writers have stressed the interactionist dimensions of social movements, then others have stressed the global dimensions. Thus, Moghadam (2013) emphasises the transnationalisation of social movements under conditions of neo-liberal globalisation and of new technologies. Moghadam (2013: 01-19) starts out with dependency and world system theories and notices how these have been played out in neo-liberal globalisation and in its global resistance movements; on the right, the global Islamist movement, and, on the left, the global justice movement with its World and regional Social Forums. Moghadam goes on to describe the influence of new technologies on these movements, and then identifies them, along with a global feminist movement, as (2013: 14) "among the most prominent and visible of contemporary social movements". Moghadam (2013: 13) also suggests that transnational social movements have dated from the rise of capitalism in the 18th century, and that these three movements are the successors of other which have existed throughout this period of time.

Perhaps more interestingly, Conway (2013) reports on ten years of fieldwork with the World Social Forum to develop understandings of open spaces, civil societies, autonomisms and feminisms. The open spaces she sees as dominated by what she calls autonomist movements, which have pushed the others, such as feminist and so-called subaltern movements to the edges of the forum. The discourses of the forum she sees as a so-called civil society discourse, derived from Gramsci and Habermas, at the expense of subaltern discourses. Autonomism she sees as a discourse of white activists from the global North, concerned with horizontal, pre-figurative and utopian ideas. Finally, feminism she sees as the most sustained and articulate body of ideas confronting the dominant discourses of the forum.

Conway thus sees the forum as dominated by rationalist discourses from the global North, in opposition to feminism and to what she calls post-colonial discourses. These discourses, which she goes so far as to call epistemologies, are associated with writers such as Mignolo (2002) and Escobar (2004), who see them as a constitutive outside of modernity; in other words, ideas relied on but left out of modernist epistemologies. According to Mignolo (2002), inclusive political

theories are not possible on the basis of western traditions, and solutions to problems of coloniality are not to be found within these traditions. According to Escobar (2004), these discourses have been suppressed by modernity, but expose western cosmologies as arising from a specific cultural rationality which has projected itself as universal.

Conway's writings can be considered emancipatory in two senses. First, she follows deliberative democrats such as Young (1996) in calling into question theories of modernism and rationalism. Second, her writings are in a similar tradition to those of Juris & Khasnabish (2013) in calling into question established ways of thinking about social movements. Certainly, her research methods of interviews with key figures, leaders and activists, speeches, presentations and texts written by leaders, texts produced by movement activists in each political current, interviews, conversations, encounters and observations are as vague as those as those of Juris & Khasnabish, and are suspiciously concerned with leaders and key figures. Having said this, one thing I have gained from Conway's book, with its concerns about edges and outsides, is that, for all the concerns of ethnomethodologists with the achievements of their subjects, they have no clear means of investigating what these subjects don't achieve.

Thus, Conway leaves ethnomethodologies looking like some sort of detailed studies of rationalist northern conversations, and conversational structures looking not universal, but the specialist structures of the social life of North America and Western Europe. Unfortunately, ethnomethodologists haven't helped themselves by not studying other societies, identifying conversational structures on a global scale and identifying the structures common to all rationalities.

Conclusions: Critical Realisms, Interactionisms & Globalisms.

I've thus identified three recent traditions of social movement theories. If political process theories can be understood as being a part of a critical realist tradition, then it has much to offer in explaining periods of social movement activities and periods of social changes. What we're then looking for are the systems or mechanisms by which relative autonomies are exercised at each level of the social formation. The more interactionist approaches of Juris & Khasnabish will perhaps help in identifying some of these mechanisms and in drawing our attention to the importance of the interactionist practices of social movements and ethnographies in social movement studies. Finally, the global approaches of Moghadam and of Conway remind us of the scale and diversity, not only of social movements but also of rationalities and knowledges under neo-liberal globalisation, and of the challenges of developing research methods to study all of these.

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I'm now 60 years old and just studying for my Ph.D. after a lifetime of obsessive compulsive disorder and high functioning autism, which were only diagnosed and treated in the last few years. I probably didn't realise until recently, but my interest in social movements comes from feeling excluded from mainstream society because of these conditions, and my interest in ethnomethodology comes from being one of those who couldn't understand the rules which everybody else followed. If you're interested in supporting me, either in my research interests or in understanding the roles in society of people with mental health problems, please get in touch with me at John.Haworth3@btinternet.com".

Publication news from UEL PhD Alumni and Alumnae

2015-2016

a) Selected Books
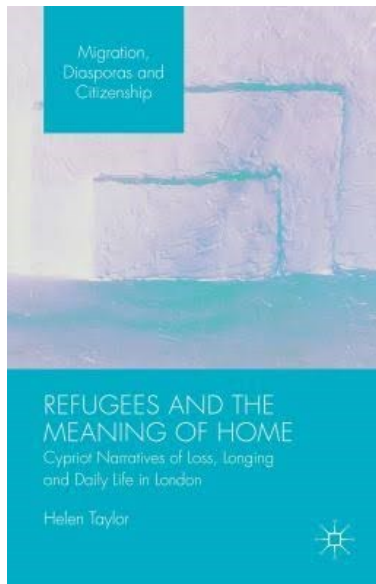
Refugees and the Meaning of Home

Cypriot Narratives of Loss, Longing and Daily Life in London

By Helen Taylor, 2015

This book explores the meaning of home for Cypriot refugees living in London since their island was torn apart by war. Taking an innovative approach, it looks at how spaces, time, social networks and sensory experiences come together as home is constructed. It places refugee narratives at its centre to reveal the agency of those forced to migrate.

A glimpse in the book at:
http://www.palgrave.com/us/book/9781137553324#reviews

Reviews

Helen Taylor has written a thoughtful analysis of stories of home, narrated by Turkish and Greek Cypriot refugees living in London with little or no hope of returning to their pre-partition villages. Rich with insights into the individual and communal struggles of Cypriot refugees to make sense of their circumstances, Refugees and the Meaning of Home proposes new ways of thinking about place, nostalgia, and home culture. While the topic of 'home' is central to the field of forced migration and refugee studies, Taylor's book addressing spatial, temporal, material and relational aspects of 'home' provides a comprehensive and thorough treatment of the theoretical underpinnings and the debates in the field.

Anita Fabos, Clark University, USA

Transcending the immediate setting of the Cypriot refugees from 1974, but drawing on their narratives after four decades of exile, Helen Taylor's book is a nuanced, compassionate and rich ethnography of the universal preoccupation with the meaning of home and, especially, the loss of home for forcibly displaced people. Recognising the multiple, complex, and often contradictory spatial, temporal, material and relational meanings which refugees ascribe to home, Refugees and the Meaning of Home. Cypriot Narratives of Loss, Longing and Daily Life in London is an innovative and subtle exploration of the way forced displacement impacts upon the making, unmaking and remaking of home for protracted refugees.

Roger Zetter, University of Oxford, UK

Dr Helen Taylor received her PhD in 2009 at the University of East London, UK under the supervision of Professor Phil Marfleet and is a Visiting Fellow at the Centre for Research on Migration, Refugees and Belonging at UEL. She has published in the fields of refugee studies, migration and narrative.
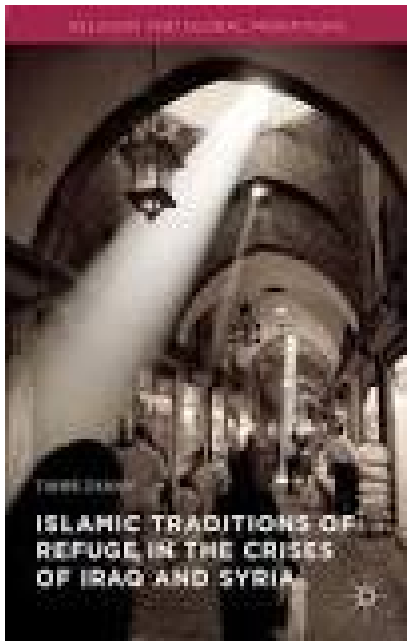
Islamic Traditions of Refuge in the Crises of Iraq and Syria

by Tahir Zaman, 2015

This book considers positions refugees take relative to the state, humanitarian actors and faith-based organisations in the humanitarian field. Attention is drawn to refugee agency as they negotiate circumstances of considerable constraint demonstrating relational dimensions of religious practice and experience.

A glimpse in the book at: http://www.palgrave.com/us/book/9781137550057#reviews

Reviews

This fine study breaks new ground, examining how forced migrants mobilize religious ideas and institutions to help meet challenges of survival and long-term exile. Tahir Zaman tells us something new and important about Islamic traditions in a region affected by huge refugee movements.

Philip Marfleet, University of East London, UK

This is an impressive work which reminds us to turn our gaze to those left behind when mass forced migration grabs headlines. Tahir Zaman does an admirable job of exploring the networks of self-reliance, the traditions of hospitality, and the notions of refuge and sanctuary among those hosting refugees in Syria and in the Middle East region as a whole.

 Dawn Chatty, University of Oxford, UK

Dr Tahir Zaman received his PhD in 2012 at the University of East London, UK under the supervision of Professor Phil Marfleet and is a visiting research fellow at the Center for Research on Migration, Refugees & Belonging (CMRB) at UEL, and a Senior Teaching Fellow at SOAS, University of London, UK. His research is primarily focused on the social and cultural lives of displaced people in the Middle East.
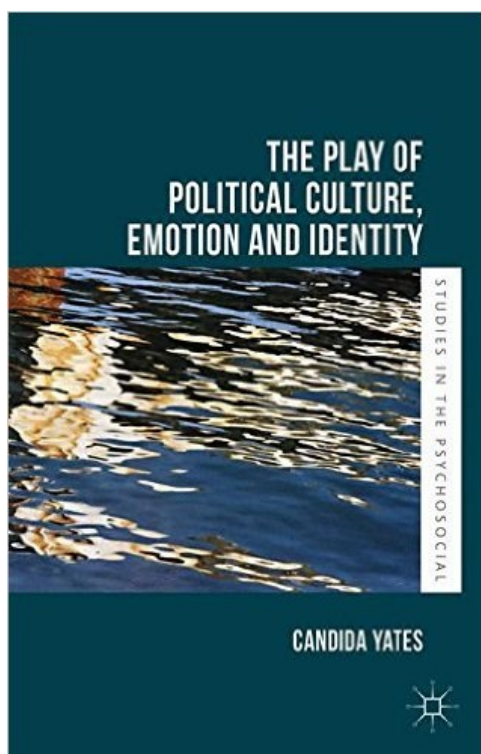
The Play of Politcal Culture, Emotion and Identity.

by Candida Yates

Offering a uniquely 'psycho-cultural' take on the emotional dynamics of UK political culture this book uses theories and research in psychoanalysis, cultural and media studies and political sociology. It explores the cultural and emotional processes that shape our relationship to politics in a media age, referencing Joanna Lumley to Nigel Farage.

A glimpse in the book, at:
http://www.palgrave.com/in/book/9780230302525#aboutAuthors

Reviews

Through a psychoanalytic critique of the anxieties, fantasies and obsessions that characterise today's intensely emotional political culture, Candida Yates' new book makes a powerful case for the argument that Psychosocial Studies is the new Cultural Studies.'

Sasha Roseneil, Professor of Sociology and Social Theory, Birkbeck, University of London, UK.

'Whether she is discussing the political manifestations of a contemporary crisis in masculinity and fatherhood, postmodern feminism, nostalgia, narcissism, play, or therapy culture, Yates's psychoanalytic lens illuminates, in a nuanced fashion all too rare today, both regressive social trends toward mastery and progressive, creative potentials for change. This book is essential reading for anyone wishing to understand the complex interplay of fantasy, emotion, identity, media, and politics in the era of neoliberalism.'

Lynne Layton, Harvard Medical School, USA

Dr. Candida Yates is Professor of Communication in the Faculty of Media and Communication at Bournemouth University, UK. She is a Director of the Media and Inner World research network and has published widely on the psycho-cultural dynamics of politics, emotion and popular culture. She received her PhD in 2004 at the University of East London, UK under the supervision of Professor Corinne Squire

b) Selected Edited Collections
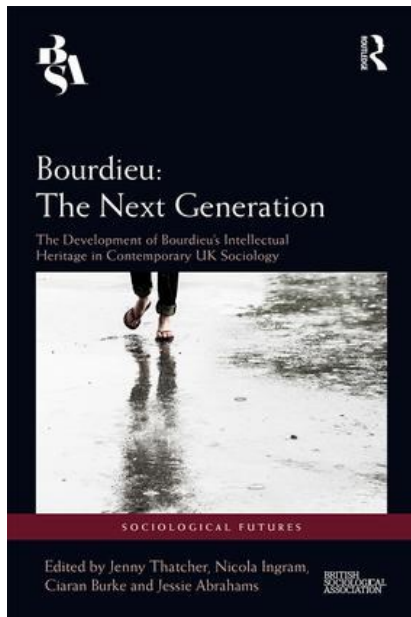
Bourdieu: The Next Generation

The Development of Bourdieu's Intellectual Heritage in Contemporary UK Sociology

Edited by

Jenny Thatcher, Nicola Ingram, Ciaran Burke, Jessie Abrahams, 2016

This book will give unique insight into how a new generation of Bourdieusian researchers apply Bourdieu to contemporary issues. It will provide a discussion of the working mechanisms of thinking through and/or with Bourdieu when analysing data. In ea, individual authors discuss and reflect upon their own research and the ways in which they put Bourdieu to work. The aim of this book is not to just to provide examples of the development of Bourdieusian research, but for each author to reflect on the ways in which they came across Bourdieu's work, why it speaks to them (including a reflexive consideration of their own background), and the way in which it is thus useful in their thinking.

A glimpse in the book at : https://www.book2look.com/embed/9781317436232

Reviews

'The development of Bourdieu's intellectual heritage in UK sociology' is a wonderful, exhilarating read, full of innovative ideas and new ways of thinking about perennial social concerns from social mobility to migration. Its wide-ranging, fascinating insights into how Bourdieu's thinking can be developed for the 21st century breathe fresh life into established social theories. It is a 'must-read' not only for those trying to make sense of Bourdieu but for everyone interested in wider philosophical and political issues of inequality, identity and the role of the state.

Diane Reay, Professor of Education, Cambridge University, UK

This book is a truly refreshing and accessible account of Bourdieu's work; it breaks with the traditional jargon filled sociological work of the past whilst still managing to discuss highly complex ideas. The authors each strike a delicate balance between discussing research, theory and personal experience. I would recommend this book to all students with an interest in inequality and Bourdieusian sociology.

Annabel Wilson, PhD Student, Cardiff University, UK

Dr Jenny Thatcher received her PhD at the University of East London in 2016 under the supervision of Professor Derek Robbins. Her thesis focused on Polish migration and the education market in the UK in which she used a Bourdieusian framework. She is a co-founder and co-convenor of the BSA Bourdieu Study Group and member of the Early Career Researcher editorial board for The Sociological Review.
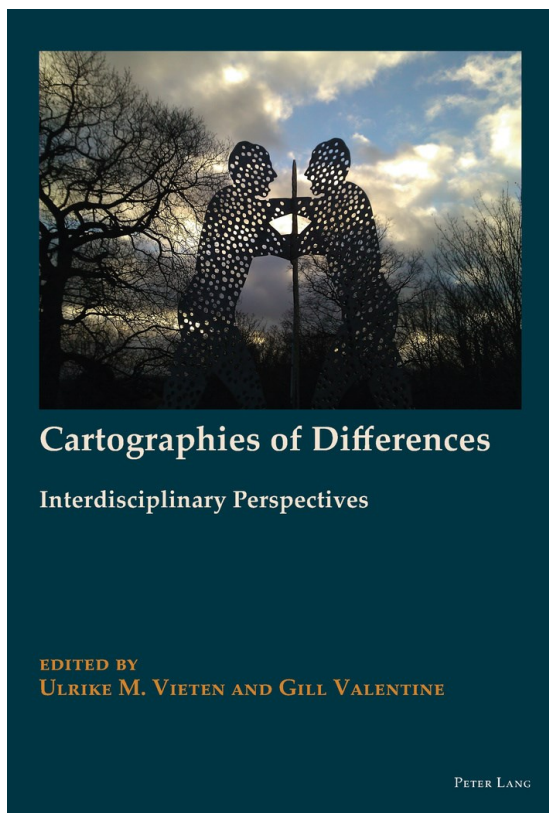
Cartographies of Differences:
Interdisciplinary Perspectives

Edited by Ulrike M. Vieten and Gill Valentine

This volume investigates the process of learning how to live with individual and group differences in the twenty-first century and examines the ambivalences of contemporary cosmopolitanism. Engaging with the concept of 'critical cartography', it emphasizes the structural impact of localities on the experiences of those living with difference, while trying to develop an account of the counter-mappings that follow spatial and social transformations in today's world. The contributors focus on visual, normative and cultural embodiments of difference, examining dynamic conflicts at local sites that are connected by the processes of Europeanization and globalization. The collection explores a wide range of topics, including conflicting claims of sexual minorities and conservative Christians, the relationship between national identity and cosmopolitanism, and the ways that cross-cultural communication and bilingualism can help us to understand the complex nature of belonging. The authors come from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds and all contribute to a vernacular reading of cosmopolitanism and transnationalism, aimed at opening up new avenues of research into living with difference.

Dr Ulrike Vieten received her PhD in 2008 for the thesis, *Situated Cosmopolitanisms: the notion of the Other in discourses on cosmopolitanism in Britain and Germany*, the University of East London (UEL),under the supervision of Professor Nira Yuval-Davis. She is a Research Fellow at the *Institute for the Study of Conflict, Transformation and Social Justice* at Queen's University, Belfast. Her work engages theoretically and empirically with the (de-)construction of racialised, classed and gendered group boundaries, particularly in the context of nationalism, cosmopolitanism and the shifting axes of difference and otherness.

b) Selected Articles and Chapters in Books

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University of East London
Docklands Campus
University Way
London E16 2RD

University of East London
Stratford Campus
Water Lane
Stratford E15 4LZ

www.uel.ac.uk