

## Gendering Self and Society

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### Editorial Appraisals:

Some qualified reviewers offer their own brief evaluation of the book. Otherwise most of our content represents the authors'-editors' own words as a preview to their approach to the subject, their style and point-of-view. <>

[America Before: The Key to Earth's Lost Civilization](#) by Graham Hancock [St. Martin's Press, 9781250153739]

Was an advanced civilization lost to history in the global cataclysm that ended the last Ice Age? Graham Hancock, the internationally bestselling author, has made it his life's work to find out--and in *America Before*, he draws on the latest archaeological and DNA evidence to bring his quest to a stunning conclusion.

We've been taught that North and South America were empty of humans until around 13,000 years ago – amongst the last great landmasses on earth to have been settled by our ancestors. But new discoveries have radically reshaped this long-established picture and we know now that the Americas were first peopled more than 130,000 years ago – many tens of thousands of years before human settlements became established elsewhere.

Hancock's research takes us on a series of journeys and encounters with the scientists responsible for the recent extraordinary breakthroughs. In the process, from the Mississippi Valley to the Amazon rainforest, he reveals that ancient "New World" cultures share a legacy of advanced scientific knowledge and sophisticated spiritual beliefs with supposedly unconnected "Old World" cultures. Have archaeologists focused for too long only on the "Old World" in their search for the origins of civilization while failing to consider the revolutionary possibility that those origins might in fact be found in the "New World"?

*America Before: The Key to Earth's Lost Civilization* is the culmination of everything that millions of readers have loved in Hancock's body of work over the past decades, namely a mind-dilating exploration of the mysteries of the past, amazing archaeological discoveries and profound implications for how we lead our lives today.

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Excerpt: Have in my shelves a renowned and much respected book titled History Begins at Sumer.' The reference, of course, is to the famous high civilization of the Sumerians that began to take shape in Mesopotamia—roughly modern Iraq between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers—around 6,000 years ago. Several centuries later, ancient Egypt, the very epitome of an elegant and sophisticated civilization of antiquity, became a unified state. Before bursting into full bloom, however, both Egypt and Sumer had long and mysterious prehistoric backgrounds in which many of the formative ideas of their historic periods were already present.

After the Sumerians and Egyptians followed an unbroken succession of Akkadians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, and there were, moreover, the incredible achievements of ancient India and ancient China. It therefore became second nature for us to think of civilization as an "Old World" invention and not to associate it with the "New World" at all.

Besides, it was standard teaching in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that the Americas—North, Central, and South—were among the last great landmasses on earth to be inhabited by humans, that these humans were nomadic hunter-gatherers, that most of them subsequently remained huntergatherers, and that nothing much of great

cultural significance began to happen there until relatively recently.

This teaching is deeply in error and as we near the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century, scholars are unanimous not only that it must be thrown out but also that an entirely new paradigm of the prehistory of the Americas is called for. Such momentous shifts in science don't occur without good reason and the reason in this case, very simply, is that a mass of compelling new evidence has come to light that completely contradicts and refutes the previous paradigm.

Everyone has and does their own "thing," and my own thing, over more than quarter of a century of travels and research, has been a quest for a lost civilization of remote prehistory—an advanced civilization utterly destroyed at the end of the Ice Age and somewhat akin to fabled Atlantis.

Plato, in the oldest-surviving written source of the Atlantis tradition, describes it as an island "larger than Libya and Asia put together" situated far to the west of Europe across the Atlantic Ocean. Hitherto I'd resisted that obvious clue which I knew had already been pursued with unconvincing results by a number of researchers during the past century. As the solid evidence that archaeologists had gotten America's Ice Age prehistory badly wrong began to accumulate in folders on my desktop, however, and with new research reports continuing to pour in, I couldn't help but reflect on the significance of the location favored by Plato. I had considered other possibilities, as readers of my previous books know, but I had to admit that an immense island lying far to the west of Europe across the Atlantic Ocean does sound a lot like America.

I therefore decided to reopen this cold case. I would begin by gathering together the most important strands of the new evidence from the Americas. I would set these strands in order. And then I would investigate them thoroughly to see if there might be a big picture hidden among the details scattered across thousands of scientific papers in fields varying from archaeology to genetics, astronomy to climatology, agronomy to ethnology, and geology to paleontology.

It was already clear that the prehistory of the Americas was going to have to be rewritten; even the mainstream scientists were in general agreement on that. But could there be more?

This book tells the story of what I found. <>

[Alpha Girls: The Women Upstarts Who Took On Silicon Valley's Male Culture and Made the Deals of a Lifetime](#) by Julian Guthrie [Currency, 9780525573920]

An unforgettable story of four women who, through grit and ingenuity, became stars in the cutthroat, high-stakes, male dominated world of venture capital in Silicon Valley, and helped build some of the foremost companies of our time.

In Alpha Girls, award-winning journalist Julian Guthrie takes readers behind the closed doors of venture capital, an industry that transforms economies and shapes how we live. We follow the lives and careers of four women who were largely written out of history - until now.

Magdalena Yesil, who arrived in America from Turkey with \$43 to her name, would go on to receive her electrical engineering degree from Stanford, found some of the first companies to commercialize internet access, and help Marc Benioff build Salesforce. Mary Jane Elmore went from the corn fields of Indiana to Stanford and on to the storied venture capital firm IVP - where she was one of the first women in the U.S. to make partner - only to be pulled back from the glass ceiling by expectations at home. Theresia Gouw, an overachieving first-generation Asian American from a working-class town, dominated the foosball tables at Brown (she would later reluctantly let Sergey Brin win to help Accel Partners court Google), before she helped land and build companies including Facebook, Trulia, Imperva, and ForeScout. Sonja Hoel, a Southerner who became the first woman investing partner at white-glove Menlo Ventures, invested in McAfee, Hotmail, Acme Packet, and F5 Networks. As her star was still rising at Menlo, a personal crisis would turn her into an activist overnight, inspiring her to found an all-women's investment group and a national nonprofit for girls.

These women, juggling work and family, shaped the tech landscape we know today while overcoming unequal pay, actual punches, betrayals, and the sexist attitudes prevalent in Silicon Valley and in male-dominated industries everywhere. Despite the setbacks, they would rise again to rewrite the rules for an industry they love. In Alpha Girls, Guthrie reveals their untold stories.

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Excerpt: SAND HILL ROAD, MENLO PARK, CALIFORNIA

Mary Jane Elmore was giddy as she looked down at the rusted-out floorboards of her old green Ford Pinto. She could see the road rushing by below. But she wasn't driving on just any road. She was making her way up Sand Hill Road, in the heart of Silicon Valley, about to start a new life intent on changing the world.

A pretty young woman with brown hair and brown eyes, Mary Jane had graduated from Purdue University in 1976 with a degree in mathematics. She paid for her car by waitressing during college summers, wearing a small orange romper that prompted oversize tips. Her beatup Pinto, which leaked radiator fluid and still had its original Firestone 500 tires, had taken her nearly two thousand miles, from Kansas City to northern California, where she had landed a job at an eight-year-old technology company called Intel.

Although Sand Hill Road was the center of the venture capital world, no bronze statue of a charging bull, no Gilded Age architecture, and no artificial canyons towered over by gleaming

skyscrapers commemorated it. At that time it was a stretch of rolling land laced with scrub brush, sprawling oak trees, big pink dahlias, and buildings that stretched long and low like an old Lincoln Continental. The midcentury modern structures, with outer skins of cedar, redwood, and masonry, featured numbers but no names. Unlike other centers of commerce, Sand Hill Road is intentionally inconspicuous; it consciously resists contemporary symbols of money and power. Instead, it is country club hush. To Mary Jane, it was a world away from the tall cornfields where she had skittered about as a child, playing hide-and-seek, moving three rows up and four rows over, strategic and mathematical in her decision making even then.

Her aptitude in math—not to mention a prescient feel for the markets—would make Mary Jane particularly well suited for this new California frontier. And in the 1970s, that was exactly what Silicon Valley felt like, a frontier, steeped in the aggressive and hungry spirit of the Gold Rush, of adventurers and fortune seekers risking everything for a glimmer of gold, aware that only a lucky few walked away winners. The original Gold Rush days of 1849 were dominated by mining companies and merchants hawking overpriced goods. It was ruled by men: Samuel Brannan, Levi Strauss, John Studebaker, Henry Wells, and William Fargo. Women, outnumbered and overmatched, were mostly reduced to entertainers, companions, wives, or housekeepers. Things were not that different in the more recent gold rush. The Valley was always a region dominated by men, from William Hewlett, Dave Packard, Bob Noyce, Gordon Moore, Andy Grove, Larry Ellison, Steve Jobs, and Steve Wozniak to, decades later, in the twenty-first century, Larry Page, Sergey Brin, Mark Zuckerberg, Elon Musk, Tim Cook, Travis Kalanick, and Marc Benioff.

Mary Jane, fueled by peanut butter sandwiches packed in wax paper for the two-day journey, was under no illusion that it would be easy to navigate the old boys' club of Sand Hill Road and Silicon Valley. Even today, decades after Mary Jane first arrived, 94 percent of investing partners at venture capital firms—the financial decision makers shaping the future—are men, and more than 80 percent of venture firms have never had a woman

investing partner. Less than 2 percent of venture dollars go to start-ups founded by women (less than 1 percent to women of color), and roughly 85 percent of the tech employees at top companies are men. Yet technology is pervasive, and it is changing our lives. When Mary Jane first drove up Sand Hill, women made up barely 40 percent of the overall American workforce. Less than a handful of those women were venture capital partners.

But Mary Jane Elmore, the unflappable, fresh-faced girl next door, would go on to become one of the first women in history to make partner at a venture capital firm. Like the bold pink dahlias flourishing in one corner of Sand Hill Road, she and the other pioneering women venture capitalists, the "Alpha Girls," would figure out a way to take root and thrive.

They made their way west like early-day prospectors during Silicon Valley's headiest days, as enormous mainframe computers gave way to minicomputers, personal computers, and the Internet, just as punched computer cards had at one time set the stage for computation. Through the start-ups they would discover, fund, and mentor—financing the ideas of entrepreneurs—these women venture capitalists would play a critical role in shaping how people around the world work, play, communicate, study, travel, create, and interact. Venture capitalists influence many of the most important new inventions in drugs, medicine, and technology.

In addition to Mary Jane, there is Sonja Hoel, a blond, blue-eyed, doggedly optimistic southern belle whose investments at the white-glove Menlo Ventures on Sand Hill Road would focus on making the Internet safer and more reliable; Magdalena Yesil, a feisty Armenian outsider reared in Istanbul, who loved getting in where she wasn't invited; and Theresia Gouw, an overachieving daughter of Chinese immigrants, who went from flipping burgers at Burger King to chasing down some of the hottest deals in Silicon Valley history. There are other Alpha Girls, too, such as the first investor and board member of Tesla; the woman who started the first venture fund in India; the first woman to take a tech company public; the first women to build an online beauty site; and today a whole new

generation of young women financiers and entrepreneurs. These women share a determination with Alpha Girls everywhere, transcending vocation and location, working in Hollywood, academia, economics, advertising, politics, the media, sports, automobiles, agriculture, law, hospitality, restaurants, and the arts.

History is rich with women rebels who have shined a spotlight from the outside—women such as Rosa Parks, whose one defiant act became synonymous with the civil rights movement. But it is also rife with what one academic calls "tempered radicals," those who learn to play the game to perfection—whatever the game is—before trying to change the rules. Margaret Thatcher took elocution lessons to deepen her voice, to better be heard. Georgia O'Keeffe painted "low-toned dismal-colored" paintings like male artists, to show she could, before turning to the bright desert flowers that made her a giant of American modernism.

As Mary Jane drove up Sand Hill Road on that perfect fall day, she had little sense of the hard realities ahead. She could never have imagined juggling a high-stakes job, three children, a husband aggressively pursuing his own Silicon Valley dreams, and a junior partner with outsize ambitions. But she knew intuitively that this was the right place for her: Silicon Valley was the embodiment of breathtakingly bold ideas and inventions, a region awash in unparalleled ingenuity, originality, tenacity, optimism, and opportunity. It had given rise to more new companies and industries than anywhere else in the world, including such technology giants as Hewlett-Packard, Fairchild Semiconductor, Intel, Teledyne, ROLM, Amgen, Genentech, Advanced Micro Devices, Tandem, Atari, Oracle, Apple, Dell, Electronic Arts, Compaq, FedEx, Netscape, LSI, Yahoo!, Amazon, Cisco, PayPal, eBay, Google, Salesforce, LinkedIn, Tesla, Facebook, YouTube, Uber, Skype, Twitter, and Airbnb.

But Mary Jane and the other Alpha Girls would need steel in their spines to stay the course, and they would pay a steep emotional price along the way. They would be betrayed when they least expected it. Silicon Valley, teeming with youthful testosterone, is a deceptively rough arena, where bullying, bias, dysfunction, and subjugation are

part of the rules of engagement. In the end, the Alpha Girls—these resilient daughters of merchants, teachers, dentists, and immigrants—would come to realize there was only one way to shake up the industry they loved: by breaking and remaking its rules. <>

[The City-State of Boston: The Rise and Fall of an Atlantic Power, 1630-1865](#) by Mark Peterson [Princeton University Press, 9780691179995]

A groundbreaking history of early America that shows how Boston built and sustained an independent city-state in New England before being folded into the United States

In the vaunted annals of America's founding, Boston has long been held up as an exemplary "city upon a hill" and the "cradle of liberty" for an independent United States. Wrestling this iconic urban center from these misleading, tired clichés, *The City-State of Boston* highlights Boston's overlooked past as an autonomous city-state, and in doing so, offers a pathbreaking and brilliant new history of early America. Following Boston's development over three centuries, Mark Peterson discusses how this self-governing Atlantic trading center began as a refuge from Britain's Stuart monarchs and how—through its bargain with slavery and ratification of the Constitution—it would tragically lose integrity and autonomy as it became incorporated into the greater United States.

Drawing from vast archives, and featuring unfamiliar figures alongside well-known ones, such as John Winthrop, Cotton Mather, and John Adams, Peterson explores Boston's origins in sixteenth-century utopian ideals, its founding and expansion into the hinterland of New England, and the growth of its distinctive political economy, with ties to the West Indies and southern Europe. By the 1700s, Boston was at full strength, with wide Atlantic trading circuits and cultural ties, both within and beyond Britain's empire. After the cataclysmic Revolutionary War, "Bostoners" aimed to negotiate a relationship with the American confederation, but through the next century, the new United States unraveled Boston's regional reign. The fateful decision to ratify the Constitution undercut its power, as Southern planters and slave owners

dominated national politics and corroded the city-state's vision of a common good for all.

Peeling away the layers of myth surrounding a revered city, The City-State of Boston offers a startlingly fresh understanding of America's history.

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Excerpt: Book I, titled "Render unto Caesar," depicts Boston's rapid development in the seventeenth century. It focuses on Boston's expansion across New England, the hiving off of new colonies and their consolidation into a

confederation, and the construction of an integrated political economy, linked to the markets of the West Indies and southern Europe. Boston began in the utopian dreams of dissident Puritans that a new kind of godly republic could be formed in the wilds of America, far from the decadent and corrupt power of European monarchs and state churches. But the challenge of survival pushed the infant colony into a fatal bargain: an economic alliance with the sugar islands of the West Indies. This effectively made Boston a slave society, but one where most of the enslaved labor toiled elsewhere, sustaining the illusion of Boston in New England as an inclusive republic devoted to the common good. To preserve the autonomy necessary to sustain its wide-ranging trade economy and egalitarian puritan culture meant that Boston was engaged throughout the century in a complex struggle with England's Stuart monarchs. Book I ends at a moment of vindication, when Britain's overthrow of James II and turn to constitutional monarchy seemed to ratify Bostonians' evolving vision of Protestantism, free trade, and political liberty.

Book II, called "The Selling of Joseph," begins after Britain's revolution of 1688 and Boston's simultaneous rebellion against James II's royal governor, which brought about a fundamental alteration of Boston's long antagonistic relationship with the Crown, and opened up new vistas for both commerce—rapidly growing trade in the Atlantic economy—and culture—the prospect that the city could play a major role in the creation of a Protestant International. But the hopes of the booming port city began to sour within the increasingly militarized British Empire of the later eighteenth century—a disturbing trend punctuated by Bostonians' forced participation in the 1755 ethnic cleansing and repatriation of the Acadians, the French population of Nova Scotia. The gradual deterioration of Boston's relationship with king and Parliament was marked by the ever-growing prominence of the "government of soldiers" in Britain's attempt to rein in the godly republic of New England, ending in rebellion and war, the city ravaged by military occupation and siege. Book II ends with Boston's liberty preserved, but with the older vision of an Atlantic world of liberty and commerce destroyed, and an uncertain future to be



framed in its new relationship with a disparate group of other disaffected colonies.

Book III, "A New King over Egypt," resumes the story after the cataclysm of revolution had seemingly passed. Boston's independent commonwealth rebuilt its Atlantic commerce and negotiated new political relationships within the confederation of United States. Yet the arc of book III traces the dissolution of Boston as a city-state. The fateful decision to ratify the US Constitution began the slow demise of Boston's independence and regional power, as southern planters with continental ambitions dominated national politics, damaging Boston's interests and corroding its values. Additionally, the rise of New England's mechanized textile manufacturing, an economic shift made by Boston's merchants in response to Jefferson's trade embargoes and Madison's war, forged a new set of commercial relations with the American South. The rise of a powerful cotton interest within Boston's economy further divided the increasingly segregated city's population over the legitimacy of property in human beings. Despite efforts made by Boston's cultural leaders to reinvigorate its traditions of charity and cohesion, the city's internal divisions increasingly mirrored those of the American nation-state as both descended into violence and war. With the Union's triumph in the Civil War, Bostonians were at the forefront of seizing the spoils of victory and embracing the US imperial project. In that transformation, the centuries-old idea of Boston as an autonomous city-state, an idea that had been slowly deteriorating for decades, slipped away largely unnoticed.

Three centuries is an unusually deep time span for a book about an American place. But Boston's founders had a strong sense of time's depth; they understood their own project as a living extension of antiquity. Throughout this book, individual chapters attend to the layering effect of cumulative events over time, to the ways that lived experience built on, echoed, or rhymed with the past. Bostonians' awareness of the past often shaped the meaning of events through their understanding, consciously perceived or unconsciously felt, that the present moment was implicated in (though not determined by) the past and might be judged

against the standards of history. By attending to the past's lingering echoes, I aim to convey a sense of the city-state of Boston's history as a slow and gradual emergence from the early modern world, rather than an impatient rush to find its place within a modern United States.

In structuring such a large work about a place so thoroughly documented from its beginnings, I have had to make choices about which events and people to focus on, and how to convey change across time and space, in order to construct what amounts to a biography of Boston in New England. But what does it mean to write the biography of a city-state? The story must attend to how this complex entity came into being and evolved over time—a story of growth, maturation, crises, and ultimate decline. That means following the actions of the emerging city's residents in their efforts to create durable connections with the region's hinterland, shape a self-sustaining political economy, and weather internal storms and stresses. This book dwells less on the internal development of the town and city of Boston proper—its political institutions and conflicts, population growth, built environment, and social and cultural life, or what is typically seen as the conventional materials of urban history—than on the life of Boston as lived beyond the boundaries of the city and region.

The life of a city-state takes place not only within the city's limits but also in its outreach to the hinterland to recruit talent and resources for the metropolis, and in the extension of its influence into the wider world. It would be absurd for a biography of an influential person to look only at the internal workings of that person's physical body, and ignore its subject's notable interactions with and significance in the world. So too this biography of the city-state of Boston is deeply concerned with the life that Boston led beyond its immediate boundaries, its struggles to define itself and sustain the autonomy and prosperity necessary to cultivate a distinctive identity within the Atlantic world.

Neither is this meant to be a complete narrative history of Boston. Even an internal history, focused only on events occurring within the city limits, would be an overwhelmingly large task, to which centuries' worth of dense historiography can attest.

The complexity of the task is compounded when it includes people from throughout the region who were recruited to join Boston's projects, reaches outward to the larger New England region that Boston shaped, and explores places around the Atlantic where Bostonians pursued their interests. As an antidote, the book's chapters are designed around particular moments, important problems, or significant passages in the history of Boston and New England. The chapters often focus on a relatively small number of Bostoners whose efforts to build and sustain the region's political economy, society, or culture, or whose connections in the larger Atlantic world are especially revelatory about the changing relationships between the city and its larger contexts. These individuals are not presented as typical Bostonians (it's hard to imagine what such a person might be) but instead as figures whose experience allows readers to develop an empathetic understanding of the public life of Boston in New England.

Boston's survival was precarious, and so were the qualities that sustained it as it grew: autonomy and security, material prosperity, self-governance, a commitment to commonwealth values, and a spiritual culture of reform and internal improvement. All these things were continually challenged and frequently in doubt. In each of them, the citizens of Boston in New England would sustain defeats, experience humiliating failures, and at times deal falsely with their god. Sometimes Bostonians chose life and good, and at other times death and evil. My inclination has been to call this story a tragedy. The city-state of Boston would be the noble hero of the drama, whose virtuous aspirations toward self-governing autonomy and an internal ethic of charity were eventually undermined by fatal flaws—an exclusionary social vision and a dependency on slave-based economies—that were present from New England's origins, aided its growth and prosperity, but ultimately destroyed both its autonomy and internal cohesion. And while that is the arc of the story to come, to call it a tragedy denies the open-ended choices that each generation faced in its efforts to create and sustain the city-state of Boston. <>

[Cities: The first 6,000 years](#) by Monica L. Smith  
[Viking, 9780735223677]

*"A revelation of the drive and creative flux of the metropolis over time."--Nature*

*"This is a must-read book for any city dweller with a voracious appetite for understanding the wonders of cities and why we're so attracted to them."--Zahi Hawass, author of Hidden Treasures of Ancient Egypt*

A sweeping history of cities through the millennia--from Mesopotamia to Manhattan--and how they have propelled Homo sapiens to dominance.

Six thousand years ago, there were no cities on the planet. Today, more than half of the world's population lives in urban areas, and that number is growing. Weaving together archeology, history, and contemporary observations, Monica Smith explains the rise of the first urban developments and their connection to our own. She takes readers on a journey through the ancient world of Tell Brak in modern-day Syria; Teotihuacan and Tenochtitlan in Mexico; her own digs in India; as well as the more well-known Pompeii, Rome, and Athens. Along the way, she presents the unique properties that made cities singularly responsible for the flowering of humankind: the development of networked infrastructure, the rise of an entrepreneurial middle class, and the culture of consumption that results in everything from take-out food to the tell-tale secrets of trash.

Cities is an impassioned and learned account full of fascinating details of daily life in ancient urban centers, using archaeological perspectives to show that the aspects of cities we find most irresistible (and the most annoying) have been with us since the very beginnings of urbanism itself. She also proves the rise of cities was hardly inevitable, yet it was crucial to the eventual global dominance of our species--and that cities are here to stay.

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Excerpt: When scientists want to understand a phenomenon, they first have to define it. Astronomers first ask themselves "What is a planet?" as a basis for classifying not only things that they want to compare as planets but also all of the other celestial phenomena that need names too, like moons and meteors and black holes. They can't see the big bang or the birth of any individual planet, but instead extrapolate from the celestial bodies that are with us now in their quest to understand how the universe works. Biologists query themselves about what a species is and carefully scrutinize the variability that they see before they assess the way that species are related to one another in space and time, deducing the pace and effects of evolution from the staccato appearance of extinct species that are often represented only by stray fossils and fragmentary skeletons. And chemists first ask "What is an atom?" before they can identify the ways in which those atoms can be combined in novel ways to make new substances like plastics and aerogels or divided for explosive effect.

In light of how much cities mean to us today, the archaeological definition of urbanism takes on a special weight and meaning. It's only after we define what a city is that we can agree on which site can be seen as the first of its kind or that we can compare the ones that have sprung up ever since. But before we define ancient cities, we might want to look at our own urban definitions, which can be quite surprising compared with our expectations of how an "urban" place looks and feels. In Cuba today, the minimum number of people to qualify a location as a city is two thousand; in the American state of Ohio, a city is defined as any place that has five thousand or more registered voters; and in Senegal, the minimum number of inhabitants needed for a place to earn urban status is ten thousand. Those government statistics are principally related to the fact that places defined as cities can access certain types of government funding and support because of their perceived importance in the landscape.

If we can't agree on a working definition of what a city is according to an arbitrary threshold number, and even when we can see living examples right in front of us, how can we make a definition of cities that serves us for both the past and the present? Should we instead fall back on something more qualitative—like that old quip about pornography being difficult to define but that we know it when we see it? We could start our search for an urban definition with some flippant responses that nonetheless reveal the kernel of a useful approach. In the modern world, we might argue, a "real" city is one that has an Apple Store or a Mercedes-Benz dealership. This is not because people in the countryside lack the capacity to own the latest smartphone or drive an expensive automobile but because cities are the only places that have a large enough population of potential consumers to justify the expense of maintaining brick-and-mortar premises. And beyond the actual customers, there are other ways that urban consumption reflects economies of scale. Specialty stores are in cities because there are enough people to highlight the brand, like those who come into the store for the product experience in a way that affirms an item's popularity or who simply pass by the store with an acknowledgment of its presence as a marker of the status of an entire neighborhood. A physical store is the consumer tip of the iceberg that assures us there is in fact an entire diverse, vibrant economic underpinning to a densely occupied space.

Cities are not just about economic opportunities. Other potential definitions of urbanism focus on qualitative components such as the presence of government offices or significant administrative services like judicial courts or other bureaucracies. Researchers who emphasize these bureaucratic components always do so within a framework of relative population density to avoid ascribing urban status to lonely outposts or skewing a subsequent analysis among places that can't truly be compared. Thus, the anthropologist Richard Fox suggested that a city be defined as "a center of population concentration and/or a site for the performance of prestige," while the social theorist V. Gordon Childe suggested that the first cities, even if they were relatively small, were places that had "truly monumental public buildings" and that were ten times bigger than any village.

By defining what a city is through what it has in it, we can approach the archaeological record in order to answer our real question, which is "Why did cities come about at all?" Yet like all definitions, there's a little slippage between what we think we see and its realities that make it hard to be perfectly precise 100 percent of the time. We can return to the analogy of other scientific disciplines. Remember the continuing argument about Pluto and whether it's really a planet? Although schoolkids now have some interesting conversations with their grandparents about whether Pluto "counts" for their solar-system science projects, the challenge comes about not because the concept of defining things is wrong, or that scientists can't decide what to call things. In fact, the interstices of definitions are exactly where the most interesting revelations take place. When it comes to cities, we know there was a time when there weren't any cities at all. The definition of what afterward made something "urban" is a key to understanding just how different they were from everything that had come before them.

For the purposes of this book, a city is defined as a place that has some or all of the following characteristics: a dense population, multiple ethnicities, and a diverse economy with goods found in an abundance and variety beyond what is available in the surrounding rural spaces. A city's structures often include ritual buildings like temples, mosques, or churches, but there are other large buildings beyond those religious ones. In keeping with a multifunctional economy and an intensity of habitation, there is a landscape of verticality that includes residential units, courts, government offices, and schools. There are formal entertainment venues, whether a sports stadium or a theater or a racetrack or an opera house. There is an open ground that fulfills a multipurpose function: on some days it might be a market ground, on other days a venue for strolling and pickup sports. There are at least some broad avenues and thoroughfares that connect the world of wealth and privilege, contrasting with the winding streets of ordinary neighborhoods. And above all there is an interdependence of people in the city for the most fundamental human needs of water and food. In villages, people always know where their next meal is coming from because they have their fields

and domestic animals firmly under their control. In cities, there's no way to keep a year's worth of grain or a herd of animals in a residence.

In all respects, the earliest cities represented an entirely different scale of human experience. Not everything was positive, of course. Crowding, pollution, noise, crime, water shortages, sewage backups, mucky streets, and a higher cost of living would have been among the disadvantages faced by the residents of the first cities, six thousand years ago, as well as those of us who live in cities today. Trade-offs were constant: there was a greater chance of communicable diseases, but also more doctors to treat them; higher food prices, but a much greater repertoire of foods and eateries to select from; more challenging conditions of work, but a higher salary and more opportunities for promotion. Then as now, challenges and risks were mitigated by the access to increasing amounts of information that enabled people to feel empowered about their circumstances, if not actually in charge of them. The result is that a city—however small it was at the beginning or however large it may grow to be—feels like a place in which many aspects of everyday life hold open the possibility of choice among a variety of potential actions.

My own quest to understand the process of early urbanism emanates from the sense of excitement and vexation that I feel from my own city of Los Angeles and the other metropolitan areas that I've had the privilege to live in. And as an archaeologist, I have been fortunate to get an insider's perspective on many spectacular ancient cities as well. There's certainly a romance of ruins that is interspersed with this intellectual investment, whether sites are in the open landscapes of the countryside like Mexico's Teotihuacan or buried deep under a modern metropolis like Athens, Tokyo, and London. Still, I didn't understand my own feelings about urbanism until I moved from a small college town straight to Manhattan. I had always taken cities for granted before, but once I found myself living in a city again, I began to think about the compelling similarities not only of our own global urbanism but also of the urbanism that was on display in the many ancient cities that lived on into the present. Since then, I've pursued the

story of ancient urbanism across multiple continents and through fieldwork in places as diverse as India and Bangladesh, England and Tunisia, Egypt and Turkey, and Madagascar and Italy.

I have had the good fortune to work at a number of ancient city sites, feeling the soil slip away under my fingers to reveal both the extraordinary structures and the mundane artifacts that made up those long-ago urban lives. Under the flick of a trowel that removes the dust of centuries, I have found little fragments of pottery vessels from some long-ago meal. In the shadow of the city wall, I have uncovered a bit of an ancient ornament left behind by a traveling merchant or perhaps carelessly lost by a city dweller rushing by on an errand. Looking at the wall itself, I notice the fingertips traced in lines of mortar, a moment's handiwork from thousands of years ago preserved between courses of stone. Picking at the foundations of an ordinary house, I have seen an ancient urbanite's quest for display: although the house itself was made of broken bricks, the rough edges were turned to the unseen interior, preserving the illusion of a structure created with pristine materials.

Archaeological findings both large and small are familiar in so many ways that when I am working at an ancient city, I sometimes feel as though I am excavating a dusty vestige of the present day. A house is a container for the daily routines of family life, while big buildings compel us to look beyond that intimate world to the entire community. Plazas make a physical space where multitudes of people could mingle on market days or during celebrations, but they also marked a place where an individual, walking alone, could feel a bit spooked after midnight. Little by-lanes and passageways are reminiscent of the crowded apartment buildings and streetscapes of our own urban experience, where we encounter the same neighbors and do the same errands day after day. Lofty administrative buildings, whether represented by temples or fancy palaces, remind us that someone was in charge of the city's central zone and that the relationships between people and their administrators were complex ones of obedience, permission, and resistance. Throughout the city, there's an elevated sense of style, a

diversity of material goods, and an urban "look" in both architecture and artifacts that distinguished urbanites from their rural compatriots. The question I would pose to you as a reader is "Why cities?" Are they a natural step in human habitation's evolution or a response to something else? It's an exciting time in human history to ask this question. First, we finally have enough archaeological data from ancient cities around the world to be able to reconstruct in some detail how the first cities began and how they were sustained in a tremendous range of environments from desert oases to riverbanks to lush tropical jungles. Second, our ability to understand the development of cities as an irreversible burst of change has been paralleled in our own lifetimes by the development of another phenomenon that has seemingly sprung out of nowhere and causes a good deal of trouble, yet has become thoroughly interwoven with our lives: the internet.

Many of us experienced the internet for the first time when we were already adults. Our children experience the world much differently and already find our stories of communication limited to paper maps, landlines, and written letters to be quaint and obsolete. And a little unbelievable ("really ... you didn't have a smartphone!"). The same response must have greeted the residents of the very first urban centers when they explained to their children and grandchildren how the great city of Tell Brak or Tikal or Xi'an didn't exist in their youth but that they had seen its beginnings and rapid growth firsthand. The old folks no doubt spun tales of the excitement and novelty of urban life and how the city had a diversity of people, food, and festivities that livened up the drudgery of routine work. How could it not be that way? the children wondered, rolling their eyes at the thought of a time without the daily marketplaces, busy thoroughfares, and year-round temples, without the rush of people, and without the tantalizing appeal of cheap trinkets and exotic aromas.

Once cities were invented, our ancestors' ability to adjust to urbanism was just as rapid as our modern adjustment to a web-connected world. Like the internet, the first cities represented both work and leisure opportunities bundled together in the same physical locale. Today, a phone or a laptop easily

tacks back and forth from social media and family shenanigans to serious-looking messages from the boss. The internet gives us an autonomy of choice of interaction: you can be connected to a vast array of friends and families and strangers, but you can be happily absorbed in a game that you play on your own. And there is plenty that is available that you can filter out. Just as you navigate the physical streets of your city by paying attention to only some of the interactions and possibilities going on all around you, you navigate the internet by directing yourself along a pathway of websites according to your needs of the moment. You know that when the time comes for some new query or experience, you can elicit it from the collective mass of data that resides online for every need from birth to death: homework hints, bridal salons, fertility advice, parenting tips, financial and legal counsel, dog-walking services, hearing aids, medical care, mortuary services.

For our ancient ancestors, cities were the first internet: a way to communicate and interact with an enormous range and diversity of people, to engage in new forms of work and leisure, and to constantly be in contact with others. Just as the internet provides us with the opportunity to engage in a fundamental human need for communication and display, the city form provided something so compelling that once it was invented, people couldn't imagine life without it. But as in the case of the internet, the concept of cities had many necessary preexisting components: the human capacity for language, our ancestral history of migration, the human species' uniquely intensive dependence on objects, and our collective drive to envision and build diverse types of architecture. As we'll explore in this book, each of those components was essential for the development of urban life and for its continuity in the modern world.

#### A Conversation with Monica L. Smith

*Q: As an archaeologist, what first interested you in researching the evolution of cities?*

Researchers always gravitate towards things that they like (dinosaurs, outer space, cats...). In my case, I was already an archaeologist and had lived in different cities, but gradually realized that I really enjoyed urban life despite its many disadvantages including crowds and the high cost of living. From

that point onwards I began to think about how modern and ancient cities were similar whenever I excavated a house or scraped away at a portion of a monumental building in an archaeological site. At first I wondered how ancient people would have coped with the bad aspects of their cities like noise and pollution and crowding, but then I realized something even more basic: humans didn't used to have cities at all! So I became focused on why cities were invented and why they have persisted despite the challenges that people encountered in them.

*Q: What did you find most surprising in your research?*

I was already energized by the great similarities of modern and ancient cities after participating in excavations in places like Italy, India, and Egypt. But when I started to compare my research results with those of my colleagues who had worked in ancient cities all around the world, I realized that the same solutions and challenges are apparent no matter where those cities were located, whether the Maya, Aztec, Romans, Chinese, or up and down the Swahili Coast of East Africa. Even though in many cases those people had no contact with each other, their cities looked remarkably similar: monumental buildings, entertainment venues, marketplaces, high status and low status housing, and open public plazas and streets that were places for all types of people to meet and mingle. The similarities suggest that humans developed cities because it was the only way for large number of people to live together in a single place where they could all get something new that they wanted, whether it was jobs, entertainment, medical care, or education.

*Q: What are some (or one) common misconceptions about cities?*

Many urban planners and contemporary analysts of cities assume that the modern world is so different from the past that they haven't looked much at what happened before the Industrial Revolution. But it's actually somewhat reassuring to think that urban challenges like infrastructure, ethnic enclaves, water availability, transportation, pollution, and trash are all evident in the world's first cities starting 6,000 years ago. Another misconception is that we can all go "back to the

land," but for every person who gives up life in Manhattan or San Francisco to raise goats in Vermont, there are a hundred thousand, or maybe a million, people migrating into those cities. We can certainly make cities better by paying attention to issues of efficiency and equality, but from this point forward there's no way that humans can live without urbanism.

*Q: What are the biggest similarities between ancient cities and cities of today?*

Whether modern or ancient, people living in cities have engaged in a fundamentally risky calculation: they are no longer close to their food supplies. That's revolutionary! When the world's population lived in villages, people kept a whole year's worth of harvested grain right in their storerooms. In a city you can't do that because there's no space, and so you have to trust that there will be a market or a food bank or a dining hall or a restaurant where you get something to eat. A blind faith that you'll be able to find the next meal when you want it, which we have inherited from the very first urban dwellers six thousand years ago, makes the differences between ancient and modern cities (such as faster transport or taller buildings) seem very inconsequential.

*Q: Is gentrification a new phenomenon?*

The process of building and rebuilding has always occurred in ancient cities. In fact, most of the buildings that we excavate only have the foundations left because ancient people were constantly engaging in urban renewal in which everything above ground was demolished, built over, or carried away to construct new buildings elsewhere. The concept of "gentrification" is just one among many incentives for reconstruction but has a potential for conflict when people of a higher socioeconomic status come in and take over neighborhoods of lower-status groups. Part of what drives gentrification is a middle-class anxiety to leverage a little wealth into something more secure for one's family: a bigger house, better schools, a greater variety of entertainment and leisure venues that are not affordable in other parts of a city. That desire for status and comfort is found everywhere in ancient cities, too, although some cities like Chan Chan (in Peru) and Rome seem to

have had to have more of a mix of high and low status housing together in the same neighborhoods.

*Q: How has technology changed the way archaeologists uncover new sites and revisit old ones?*

From the microscope to the satellite, archaeologists are using new technologies to learn even more about ancient cities than ever before. For the big picture, we can use aerial imagery to look at sites in new ways -- for example, a satellite image can show the presence of a wall all around a city, which you might perceive from the ground only as a mound or a ditch or a little hill. And there's a recently-developed technology called Lidar (Light Detection and Ranging) that enables us to see through forest canopy and thick vegetation to reveal the spread of entire ancient cities in the jungle. On the micro level, archaeologists look at ancient tools through scanning electron microscopes to find out the technological secrets behind the way that ancient metalsmiths ramped up production to fulfill market demands. And ancient foodways get a close-up look when we scrape off the residue from ancient cooking pots to evaluate the impact of new foods on the urban diet. One of the most exciting results comes in a study just released by Sonia Zarrillo and colleagues showing that cacao — which we used to associate just with Mexico — originally came from South America. That opens up a whole new perspective on the trade connections across vast distances that connected urban-dwellers in the Maya and Aztec realms with suppliers far to the south. Archaeologists have always dug and surveyed, but now we can do a lot more with what we have recovered!

Today, more than 50% of the world's population lives in cities, and that percentage will soon be larger. It is predicted that by 2030, more than 50% of Africans, 60% of citizens in China, 87% of Americans, and 92% of residents in the United Kingdom will live in cities.

Cities were founded on nearly every continent before the modern era of globalization. Shaped by cognitive opportunities and constraints within a human brain that was the same the world over, people created the exact same template for urban living, with neighborhoods, open spaces,

monumental architecture, and housing. From Mesopotamia to the Indian sub-continent to the Mayan and Aztec dynasties, each civilization created cities without influence from another civilization.

Urbanism preceded currency by more than 3,000 years. For thousands of years, city life survived and thrived on a barter system and through social relationships between producers, distributors, and consumers until coin and paper money became the de facto currency we still use today.

The world's over-abundance of trash is not a modern problem, but a symptom of urban life. The number of discarded items in ancient sites rivals modern humans' ability to produce trash. At the site of Chogha Mish in Iran, archaeologists recovered a quarter-million bevel-rim bowls in just two seasons of excavation.

Keeping up with the Joneses is an urban concept that's 6,000 years old. Before cities, there was only a stark distinction between rich and poor, but with invention of cities brought with it a whole range of other new things including coined money, the concept of writing, and the development of formal education. Those new concepts, as well as the development of new production technologies, enabled the development of an educated middle class who served as managers, accountants, teachers, and scribes. But those opportunities also came with the anxieties that we struggle with today: our salaries can't buy everything, so how do we choose where to live, what to buy, and how to raise our kids?

Even ancient cities had takeout. In Pompeii, archaeologists have found hundreds of shops, among which take-out constituted a prominent component. People in ancient Mesopotamia got their meals via the rations that constituted their pay for making textiles and other products. Bangkok's Grand Palace is decorated with paintings of everyday life that include images of food vendors setting up shop outside the palace wall.

"Knockoffs" were just as popular in the world's first cities as they are today. In the ancient subcontinental cities of the Indus Valley 4,000 years ago, archaeologists have discovered stunning red carnelian beads that would have taken hours to

make. There were also similarly-shaped beads in red clay, which would have been cheap and quick to produce.

Gentrification has been happening for thousands of years. Urban redevelopment has been a part of city life since the first cities existed. Most urban sites that archaeologists find contain only the foundation because the building structure had been torn down and rebuilt over and over again as the needs for the buildings and neighborhoods changed. <>

#### [Microaggression Theory: Influence and Implications](#)

by Gina C. Torino, David P. Rivera, Christina Capodilupo, Kevin Nadal, and Derald Wing Sue [Wiley, 9781119420040]

#### Get to know the sociopolitical context behind microaggressions

Microaggressions are brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to certain individuals because of their group membership (e.g., race, gender, culture, religion, social class, sexual orientation, etc.). These daily, common manifestations of aggression leave many people feeling vulnerable, targeted, angry, and afraid. How has this become such a pervasive part of our social and political rhetoric, and what is the psychology behind it?

In [Microaggression Theory](#), the original research team that created the microaggressions taxonomy, Gina Torino, David Rivera, Christina Capodilupo, Kevin Nadal, and Derald Wing Sue, address these issues head-on in a fascinating work that explores the newest findings of microaggressions in their sociopolitical context. It delves into how the often invisible nature of this phenomenon prevents perpetrators from realizing and confronting their own complicity in creating psychological dilemmas for marginalized groups, and discusses how prejudice, privilege, safe spaces, and cultural appropriation have become themes in our contentious social and political discourse.

- Details the psychological effects of microaggressions in separate chapters covering clinical impact, trauma, related stress syndromes, and the effect on perpetrators



- Examines how microaggressions affect education, employment, health care, and the media
- Explores how social policies and practices can minimize the occurrence and impact of microaggressions in a range of environments
- Investigates how microaggressions relate to larger social movements

If you come across the topic of microaggressions in your day-to-day life, you can keep the conversation going in a productive manner—with research to back it up!

Excerpt: Many controversies, myths, and misunderstandings have arisen over the definition of microaggressions and microaggression theory. In order to shed light on the questions and issues surrounding the concept and theory, we provide readers with answers and clarifications that contributing authors discuss in their chapters. It is not our intention to provide an exhaustive list of questions raised in research, theory, and in the manifestation of microaggressions, but rather to provide a thumbnail sketch of basic definitions. We have divided questions into four domains: (a) defining microaggressions, (b) myths about the concept, (c) their harmful impact, and (d) interventions that potentially lower the detrimental consequences.

## Defining Microaggressions

### What are microaggressions?

Answer: Simply stated, “microaggressions are derogatory slights or insults directed at a target person or persons who are members of an oppressed group.” Microaggressions communicate bias and can be delivered implicitly or explicitly. An example of an implicitly delivered microaggression might be a White woman clutching her purse tightly when an African American man enters an elevator. An explicitly expressed microaggression can occur when a woman overhears a male colleague tell another male colleague that she is a “bitch” after she asserts herself in the workplace.

## How do microaggressions manifest?

### What forms do microaggressions take?

Answer: Three types of microaggressions have been identified in the literature and supported by empirical work: microassault, microinsult, and microinvalidation. The term microassault refers to a blatant verbal, nonverbal, or environmental attack intended to convey discriminatory and biased sentiments. This notion is related to overt racism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, and religious discrimination in which individuals deliberately convey derogatory messages to target groups. Using epithets like spic or faggot, hiring only men for managerial positions, and requesting not to sit next to a Muslim on an airplane are examples. Unless we are talking about White supremacists, most perpetrators with conscious biases will engage in overt discrimination only under three conditions: (a) when some degree of anonymity can be ensured, (b) when they are in the presence of others who share or tolerate their biased beliefs and actions, or (c) when they lose control of their feelings and actions. Because microassaults are most similar to old-fashioned racism, no guessing game is likely to occur as to their intent: to hurt or injure the recipient. Both the perpetrator and the recipient are clear about what has transpired. For this reason, microassaults are in many respects easier to deal with than those that are unintentional and outside the perpetrator's level of awareness (microinsults and microinvalidations). Microinsults are unintentional behaviors or verbal comments that convey rudeness or insensitivity or demean a person's racial heritage/identity, gender identity, religion, ability, or sexual orientation identity. Despite being outside the level of conscious awareness, these subtle snubs are characterized by an insulting hidden message. For example, when a person assumes the Black woman standing in an academic office is a secretary (and not a professor) the underlying message is that Black women belong in service roles and are not intellectually capable of holding an advanced degree. African Americans and Latinx individuals consistently report that intellectual inferiority and assumptions about being less qualified and capable are common communications they receive from Whites in their everyday experiences. Microinvalidations are verbal comments or

behaviors that exclude, negate, or dismiss the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of the target group. Like microinsults, they are unintentional and usually outside the perpetrator's awareness. A common microinvalidation is when individuals claim that they do not see religion or color but instead see only the human being. Common statements such as "there is only one race: the human race" negate the lived experiences of religious and ethnic minorities in the United States.

### Are microaggressions always unintentional and unconscious?

Answer: They may be either. Microaggressions vary on a continuum from being intentional to unintentional. They are often reflections of a worldview of inclusion–exclusion, normality–abnormality, or superiority–inferiority. As such, they are often invisible to the perpetrator.

Microaggressions may be expressed in the form of implicit bias where the individual is unaware of the biased communication, or via explicit bias where the person is well aware that they are engaging in discriminatory actions. The theory identifies three forms of microaggressions: microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations. Microassaults are most similar to "old-fashioned" racism where it is most often conscious and deliberately expressed. Calling a Person of Color a racial epithet, or preventing a son or daughter from dating or marrying outside of one's race are examples of conscious intentionality. Although microinsults and microinvalidations may be intentional, they are most likely unintentionally communicated by the majority of dominant group members. Mistaking a Black person for a service worker, for example, is a microaggression that mistakenly views African Americans as less competent or capable.

### How are microaggressions different from the everyday incivilities that can occur to everyone regardless of sociocultural identity?

Answer: While people of all racial groups may experience everyday incivilities (e.g., when strangers bump into you without apologizing; someone takes the parking space you were waiting for; having a supervisor who is condescending or unfriendly), microaggressions are more stressful because of the possibility that a person's race,

gender, sexual orientation, or other identity group contributed to the interaction. When individuals of historically marginalized groups (e.g., People of Color, women, and LGBTQ people) are aware of historical or systemic discrimination or have experienced microaggressions in the past, they may be more conscious of how their identity groups impact interpersonal dynamics. When a person of historically privileged group (e.g., White people, men, heterosexual, and cisgender people) is the enactor of the incivility, even innocuous situations may be viewed as microaggressions. Conversely, some people (especially individuals of historically privileged groups) may not view incivilities as microaggressions and instead are able to externalize or interpret other potential causes or reasons for the interaction. For instance, when someone bumps into you or takes the parking space you were waiting for, it might be easy to quickly label the person as "a jerk." Further, because some people may not experience such incivilities often, the impact of such instances may not be as powerful as how microaggressions that are experienced more frequently or intensely by people of historically marginalized groups.

### How are hate crimes and overt conscious expressions of bigotry related to microaggressions?

Answer: Although they may share some similarities, hate crimes are not the same as microaggressions. Hate crimes are violence-based bias perpetrated against targets with the intent to cause harm (often physical) toward people from marginalized groups. They are criminal acts that are illegal and qualitatively and quantitatively different from microaggressions. Hate crimes are usually conducted by perpetrators identified as bigots, White supremacists, or racists. Violence, intimidation, and direct abuse such as physical assaults, lynchings, and destruction of property are examples. Although microaggressions may cause significant harm as well, and can be consciously delivered, they usually come from well-intentioned people who are most likely unaware of their bias. In fact, most people who commit microaggressions would publicly condemn hate crimes. Addressing hate crimes requires legal action, while an

educational approach is more likely in microaggressions.

### How are microaggressions against LGBTQ individuals different/same as racial microaggressions?

Answer: Some racial microaggressions are similar to heterosexist and transphobic microaggressions; for instance, both LGBTQ people and People of Color can experience situations like being excluded in workplace situations, receiving poor customer service, feeling tokenized or exoticized, or hearing biased jokes or slurs. However, there are some microaggressions that may target people based on their identities differently; for example, same-sex couples may encounter glares of disgust when they show public displays of affection, which heterosexual couples may not experience. Meanwhile, Black Americans may be presumed to be a criminal (e.g., they are followed around in a store or by a police officer), whereas a White LGBTQ person may not have this experience. Further, there are certain environments and situations where microaggressions may be encountered differently. Because some LGBTQ people can often “pass” (e.g., other people presume they are heterosexual or cisgender), they may avoid certain microaggressions; meanwhile, many People of Color may always be conscious of racial microaggressions because their race is something that cannot be hidden. On the contrary, some People of Color may cope better with microaggressions because their parents or families may have socialized them to be aware of race and racism; conversely, LGBTQ people are often the only LGBTQ people in their families and may even experience microaggressions in their own homes. Thus, while microaggressions may manifest differently, they still have harmful impacts on people who experience them.

### How do intersecting identities influence the experience of microaggressions?

Answer: Intersectionality refers to an individual facing multiple forms of discrimination and oppression based on overlapping marginalized identities. Much of the work on intersecting identities has been pioneered by African American female scholars in the fields of political science, sociology, law, and more recently psychology.

While much of the work on microaggressions to date has explored the manifestation of this phenomenon in relation to singular identity categories (i.e., racial microaggressions and gender microaggressions), emerging work supports the idea that there are distinct categories and themes of microaggressions related specifically to intersectionality. For example, gendered racial microaggressions refer to experiences that communicate discriminatory messages about being female and African American or Asian American (or another racial/ethnic group). These experiences are unique to the intersection of this particular gender and racial group membership and as such cannot be classified as a gender microaggression or a racial microaggression alone.

### Aren't some microaggressions really macroaggressions? If not, is there such a thing as a macroaggression?

Answer: Microaggressions and macroaggressions are not the same concepts. There is much confusion concerning the use of the term macroaggression. Some incorrectly use the term to describe the overt and intentionally harmful form of microaggressions, otherwise known as microassaults. Chester Pierce is credited with creating the term microaggression and intended for the term micro to convey the everyday, commonplace nature of these interactions. In contrast, the term macroaggression, defined by education scholars Lindsay Pérez Huber and Daniel Solórzano, represents the systemic and institutionalized forms of bias and oppression that impact the lives of entire groups of people. This is most evident in laws and public policies that create systems of oppression and disparities in education, employment, healthcare, and the criminal justice system, to name a few.

### Can mascots, media, and offensive symbols like the confederate flag and Klan hood be expressions of microaggressions?

Answer: Yes, microaggressions can be delivered through mascots, media, and offensive symbols. For example, the confederate flag has become a symbol of racism in contemporary culture, thus displaying this flag on one's car, house, or building communicates that the person or organization endorses the tenets of racism. Additionally, mascots

for sports teams (e.g., “Redskins”) negatively objectify a group of people (First Nations People). Contemporary removal of statues of individuals that supported racist efforts reflects the acknowledgment of the harmful impact that these statues represent.

### Is there such thing as online microaggressions?

Answer: The Internet provides a giant stage upon which one can espouse their political and personal views—all with a guaranteed cloak of anonymity, if they so choose. Therefore, online social media forums, chat groups, blogs, and so forth, are places where blatant forms of discrimination are rampant and evident. A wealth of misinformation on the Internet also contributes to stereotypes and biased views of various social identity groups. Researchers have coined terms such as online racial discrimination, cyber racism, and online hate crimes to describe the more overt forms of racism, sexism, homophobia, xenophobia, and the like that take place on the Internet. However, recent investigations support the notion that online material such as visual imagery, memes, and video game content can transmit derogatory, insulting, and invalidating messages about marginalized groups in subtle and covert ways. In addition to these nonverbal manifestations of microaggressions, chat groups and comment walls provide forums for individuals to express invalidating views and statements without an intention of discrimination or hate. For example, a social media post about the recent fatal shooting of an unarmed Black youth by a police officer provokes opinions and sentiments across the nation, all shared on various online platforms. Well-intentioned individuals can respond to these incidents with color-blind statements such as “We are all human beings sharing the same race, and I only wish this hadn't happened” which represent a microinvalidation of the lived racial experience of Black men in America. How one experiences, interprets, and is impacted by statements such as these or by nonverbal material online (as opposed to experiencing them in vivo) represents a new area of study.

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### Myths About Microaggressions

#### Aren't we priming children to be biased when we teach them about microaggressions?

Answer: Microaggressions and contemporary forms of bias are theorized to be insidious and commonly occurring in part because people in American society are socialized from an early age to not discuss issues of difference and to espouse

egalitarian ideologies. This creates a false social dynamic where people are quick to dismiss prejudicial beliefs as the main precipitant behind a microaggressive encounter. Further, when people are unaware of the microaggression framework and issues of privilege and oppression, they lack the language to describe and make sense of the microaggressions they encounter across the lifespan. Research indicates that the microaggression framework helps people, including children, make sense of microaggressive encounters and the related impacts. Chapter 17 (Kohli, Arteaga, & McGovern) articulates the dynamic of microaggressions for children and teenagers in K-12 education. These scholars provide strategies for addressing microaggressions in K-12 education and suggest that the first step is having the ability to identify the microaggressive experience, which requires knowledge of the microaggression framework. Additionally, having knowledge of the microaggression framework can help young people avoid internalizing microaggressive messages, which can moderate the negative impact microaggressions have on a number of well-being and life-success outcomes.

**Aren't microaggressions harmless, trivial, and simply small slights? Why make such a big thing out of them?**

Answer: Far from being benign and insignificant, microaggression research indicates they take a heavy psychological and physical toll on targets. They have been found to be different than the everyday incivilities that anyone can experience regardless of race, gender, and sexual orientation/identity. Experiencing an insult from a rude clerk that is nonrace based, for example, may bring about feelings of anger or agitation, but when the incident ends it is over. Racial microaggressions, however, have an impact that is both quantitatively and qualitatively different. For targets, microaggressions are continual, never-ending, and cumulative in nature. Marginalized group members experience them from the time they awake until they go to sleep. They experience them from the moment of birth until they die. As a result, People of Color are under constant race-related stress that requires constant vigilance and psychological arousal. It would be a monumental

mistake to dismiss microaggressions as only “small slights” that have minimal harmful impact. With all the talk about microaggressions, I'm afraid to say anything at all about race or differences? Doesn't microaggression theory stifle free speech? Answer: Should people shy away from these conversations, for fear of offending someone? The reality is that any discussion of worldviews is likely to offend someone, and we do not all need to agree. We just need to be respectful of each other's lived experience and be flexible in our thinking. When someone is offended by a statement, belief, or action based on their identity, the most productive way to address this is through engaging discourse between the two groups. Microaggression opponents argue that Republican, Christian, and conservative ideas in particular have been shut down and stifled. They argue that social justice warriors (SJWs) are attacking these perspectives and punishing those who hold these views. In reality, these viewpoints tend to cause multiple groups to feel marginalized. For example, opposing abortion and gay marriage will alienate some women and men. If you hold these views, prepare to hear their effects on others. They cause others to feel angry, terrified, sad, and so forth. A healthy dialogue allows both perspectives to co-exist, no matter how difficult, tense, and heavy that conversation may be. The reality is that it is easier to stay silent or assign blame than it is to sit with the complexity of emotions that arise when microaggressions are named and processed by all parties.

## Impact of Microaggressions

**Can microaggressions affect problem solving and learning?**

Answer: Yes, microaggressions can negatively impact one's ability to concentrate, to solve problems, and to learn new material. Studies suggest that hostile racial climates perpetuated through microaggressions on college campuses disrupt students' ability to concentrate and to participate in class discussions. Such disruption inhibits students' ability to learn new material. Moreover, experiencing microaggressions in the classroom has been linked to feelings of invisibility, isolation, and self-doubt, all of which impair one's ability to focus on tasks and solve problems in the

classroom. How do microaggressions affect work productivity? Answer: Workplace microaggressions affect work productivity in several ways. Types of microaggressions experienced in workplace settings include lack of representation of one's own group, invisibility, invalidation of one's individual experience, and exclusion from social events. Collectively, these types of microaggressions can lead to high rates of depression, isolation, and absenteeism in the workplace. Perceptions (often misperceptions) of worker attitudes and behavior by supervisors can lead to reprimanding and negative performance plan evaluations. These outcomes can detrimentally impact salary increases and promotion. Moreover, microaggressions can lead to turnover and dismissal.

### Can microaggressions impact mental and physical well-being?

Answer: Yes, a decade of research has found that microaggressions have negative impacts on mental and physical health. In fact, numerous assessments and measures have been created to examine the microaggressions experienced by People of Color, women, and LGBTQ people. Results from those studies find that a higher cumulative amount of microaggressions negatively impacts symptoms related to depression, anxiety, and trauma; behavioral health issues like alcohol use and eating disorders; and psychological constructs such as self-esteem, worldview, and academic achievement. Recent, correlational studies have also found that microaggressions have negative health consequences—including pain, fatigue, physical functioning, and perceptions of general health. How do microaggressions impact people with privileged identities, such as in White people? Answer: Everyone in society is negatively impacted by the prejudicial ideologies that give life to systems of privilege and oppression, and that impact individual institutional functioning. Although the impact of microaggressions is qualitatively and quantitatively different for those in oppressed and privileged social locations, the costs to those with privileged identities are most often overlooked. However, it is necessary to consider and understand how those with more privileged identities are both positively and negatively impacted by microaggressions. In Chapter 9, Clark and Spanierman delineate the psychosocial costs of

microaggressions to White people. These scholars suggest that people who benefit from a system of privilege and oppression have a skewed perception of social reality and are often unaware of the role they play in maintaining their privilege at the social and economic expense of the oppressed. The associated impacts include a wide range of cognitive, affective, behavioral, moral, and spiritual costs. For example, the false sense of social reality can lead to a denial of individual bias and an overreliance on an egalitarian worldview whereby the privileged extend cognitive effort to appear nonbiased. The emotional and behavioral costs can include fear fueled by stereotype that leads to avoiding interpersonal interaction with those from different racial and social identity groups. These costs can run very deep and influence moral development where the privileged develop a loss of humanity and respect for basic human rights in order to maintain the benefits associated with their privilege.

### Intervention and Prevention

#### What can educational institutions do to address microaggressions on campus?

Answer: When universities and other educational institutions commit to understanding and addressing microaggressions at the systemic level, they are likely to engender real and enduring change on their campuses. Just as scholars have discussed the inherent flaws in a one-course approach to understanding diversity and multiculturalism in a curriculum, singular approaches toward addressing microaggressions (such as a single workshop on the topic for faculty, or a one day discussion in a classroom based on a checklist of experiences) will be superficial and potentially lead to a greater misunderstanding and division between groups. Therefore, providing multiple educative offerings across a variety of campus opportunities is paramount in an authentic effort to eradicate microaggressions. Microaggressions can be described and understood academically and intellectually through discussions of subtle forms of discrimination and related theories, but there will also always be an emotional processing aspect to this work that does not always feel natural in classrooms and other spaces within academic institutions. Providing a range of educative

offerings that allow for the exploration of microaggression experience on campus from both an intellectual and emotional point of view will strengthen community and build pathways to change. Therefore, workshop series, summits, continuous learning, and professional development opportunities that seek to expand awareness on how different groups of people experience the campus environment and university at-large will benefit the overall institutional climate. Moreover, offering these programs to all members of the campus community (from staff to students to professors and deans) is crucial.

### What can I do to address and prevent microaggressions?

Answer: People can help to address and prevent microaggressions interpersonally, institutionally, and systemically. While this book will provide a comprehensive review of how to do so, previous scholars have identified both small and large ways to do so. As a smaller example, parents may engage in the process of racial socialization—or teaching their children about the realities of racism and systemic oppression in age-appropriate ways. When young people are socialized from a younger age to understand systems and injustices, they are more likely to be comfortable in talking about differences and are more likely to cope with discrimination. For People of Color, racial socialization influences one's ability to succeed academically. Thus, talking about issues related to race, gender, sexual orientation, ability, class, religion, and other identities may assist children in being more comfortable in recognizing systemic oppression, which may help them to address such issues when they are adults. An example of a larger-scale way to address microaggressions is to advocate for systemic policies that educate constituents on microaggressions—which can potentially change cultures that are often biased, discriminatory, or noninclusive. For instance, leaders in educational institutions can introduce students to curriculum on microaggressions, group dynamics, and intercultural communication. Teachers can reevaluate how curriculum may be culturally biased and may advocate for changes accordingly. Students may also vocalize their disdain with any injustices they notice in their school policies or cultures. While you will find several other

recommendations for how to address microaggressions throughout the book, we acknowledge that there are so many different cultural and historical dynamics that may prevent someone from being able to address microaggressions in any group or environment. However, we hope that readers will be able to find ways to consider and integrate these recommendations however possible. Can an organization or a workplace do anything to prevent and address microaggressions? Answer: Yes, they can. One of the best ways to prevent and address microaggressions in the workplace is through diversity training initiatives. It is recommended that these initiatives include training methods to enhance awareness of biases. For example, one way this can be accomplished is by implementing trainings that include the Implicit Association Test (IAT), a computer-based test that measures reaction times to pairings (e.g., images of White and Black individuals with the words good and bad). Reaction time to these pairings indicates the preferences or biases of the individual taking the test. Other interventions include dedicating resources to increasing workplace awareness of microaggressions and having regular discussions of the impact of microaggressions on management decisions and employee performance. Moreover, workplaces can mitigate the adverse effects of microaggressions through leadership and manager accountability, mentorship, and employee resource groups and recruitment of racially and culturally diverse staff members.

### How can people cope or deal with microaggressions? What can White allies or bystanders do to stem the expression of microaggressions?

Answer: There are a number of coping strategies people can use to mitigate the negative consequences of exposure to microaggressions. First, knowledge of the microaggressions framework can be a source of liberation for people who experience microaggressions in their daily lives. For example, having a language to internally process microaggressive encounters can reduce the cognitive energy associated with making sense of the covert nature of microaggressions. Similarly, being knowledgeable

of the microaggressions framework can allow people to more effectively engage with social support, a time-tested stress buffer. Over the past 10 years, society has witnessed a dramatic rise in attention to microaggressions. This includes people, especially young people, engaging in social activism around microaggression issues and advocating for institutional change. Actively working to increase awareness about microaggressions and work toward solutions to reduce their occurrence can serve as a coping strategy. Active engagement in anti-microaggression movements can be a source of empowerment and help people from internalizing the negative messages embedded in microaggressive encounters that lead to compromises in well-being. Similarly, White and privileged allies can work toward stemming the expression of microaggressions by understanding their bias and the ways that it manifests via microaggressions. They can advantageously use their privilege by educating about microaggressions to their peers and others who share their privileged identities. Privileged allies can also disrupt the microaggressive encounters they witness by validating the experience of the microaggressed. <>

[Willpower Doesn't Work: Discover the Hidden Keys to Success](#) by Benjamin Hardy [Hachette Books, 9780316441322]

We rely on willpower to create change in our lives...but what if we're thinking about it all wrong? In [Willpower Doesn't Work](#), Benjamin Hardy explains that willpower is nothing more than a dangerous fad-one that is bound to lead to failure. Instead of "white-knuckling" your way to change, you need to instead alter your surroundings to support your goals. This book shows you how.

The world around us is fast-paced, confusing, and full of distractions. It's easy to lose focus on what you want to achieve, and your willpower won't last long if your environment is in conflict with your goals--eventually, the environment will win out. [Willpower Doesn't Work](#) is the needed guided for today's over-stimulating and addicting environment. [Willpower Doesn't Work](#) will specifically teach you:

- How to make the biggest decisions of your life--and why those decisions must be made in specific settings
- How to create a daily "sacred" environment to live your life with intention, and not get sucked into the cultural addictions
- How to invest big in yourself to upgrade your environment and mindset
- How to put "forcing functions" in your life--so your default behaviors are precisely what you want them to be
- How to quickly put yourself in proximity to the most successful people in the world--and how to adapt their knowledge and skills to yourself even quicker
- How to create an environment where endless creativity and boundless productivity is the norm

Benjamin Hardy will show you that nurture is far more powerful than your nature and teach you how to create and control your environment so your environment will not create and control you.

### Excerpt: Why Willpower Doesn't Work

Willpower doesn't work.

Let's be honest, you've tried to improve your life a million times—and a million times you've come back to the drawing board, frustrated. You've tried willpower to kick a bad habit but fell back into old patterns. You've tried New Year's resolutions, but by February, everything reverts back to how it was the year before. You've set big, lifechanging goals but seem to find yourself far short of them despite hard work. After enough failure, it's easy to conclude that you are the problem. You must not have what it takes—the grit, the inner strength, the willpower. Perhaps you should just settle for the life you have...

But what if that assessment was all wrong?

What if the problem wasn't you at all?

Take the near-universal struggle to lose weight. A large portion of the global population is getting heavier despite exerting more and more effort to



be thin. Billions are spent on fad diets and gym memberships—and for what? It is projected by several health experts that by 2025, more than 50 percent of all humans on planet Earth will be overweight or obese. Sadder still, those who are trying the hardest are struggling the most. There are a variety of explanations for this global crisis—for example, genetics, personality, a lack of willpower, or bad habits. But these aren't the cause of the obesity epidemic. Our radically changing environment is.

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, the world became industrialized, which drew masses of people away from farms and into cities. Rather than working outside as laborers, the trend over the last 100 years has been for people to work indoors, generally while sitting down. Rather than eating local food, most people eat food from a package.

Although the Industrial Revolution was a huge environmental shift, the information and technological age, beginning in the 1980s and 1990s, accelerated the changes to the now-global environment. Technological advancement is now moving at an exponentially faster rate, and very few human beings can adapt to the changes currently shaping our environment.

Most people are the casualties of these rapid environmental changes. Unequipped to properly govern themselves in a new world with new rules, many of them succumb to various addictions—primarily to technology, but also to stimulants such as caffeine, fast-absorbing foods containing high amounts of carbohydrates and sugar, and work.

All of these culturally accepted addictions fuel one another, putting people under constant stress and sleep deprivation. Put simply, most of us are in survival mode. To be addicted has become the norm, and if you want to control your life, willpower should not be your strategy of choice. There's too much in our environment that's pushing against us. Addiction expert Arnold M. Washton, PhD, has said, "Many people think that what the addict needs is willpower, but nothing could be further from the truth."

The key to getting out of survival mode and overcoming the cultural addictions is not to exert

more willpower. Your willpower is gone. It was gone the moment you woke up and got sucked back into your smartphone. It was gone when you were bombarded by a thousand options and choices. White-knuckling your way to change doesn't work. It never did. Instead, you need to create and control your environment.

### Willpower Doesn't Work

Willpower, or the power to exert your free will against internal or external obstacles, has only recently bombarded the psychological world. But it has done so with force. According to the American Psychological Association's annual Stress in America Survey, a lack of willpower is frequently cited as people's top reason for not achieving their goals. Researchers

across the globe are studying how people develop willpower and overcome willpower depletion. To be frank, willpower is for people who haven't decided what they actually want in their lives. If you're required to exert willpower to do something, there is an obvious internal conflict. You want to eat the cookie, but you also want to be healthy. You want to focus at work, but you also want to watch that YouTube video. You want to be present with your kids, but you can't stop looking at your phone.

According to psychological research, your willpower is like a muscle. It's a finite resource that depletes with use. As a result, by the end of your strenuous days, your willpower muscles are exhausted, and you're left to your naked and defenseless self—with zero control to stop the nighttime munchies and time wasters.

At least, that's what you've been taught.

Clearly, the research on willpower explains human behavior. But only on the surface level. The very fact that willpower is required comes from several fundamental sources:

- You don't know what you want, and are thus internally conflicted.
- Your desire (your why) for your goals isn't strong enough.
- You aren't invested in yourself and your dreams.

- Your environment opposes your goal.

Once these four principles are aligned within yourself, the internal debate is over. Thus, all future decisions regarding that matter have also been made. No questions.

So, are you serious about this?

Or are you just talking?

Are you still on the fence, or have you decided?

Until you decide, you'll be required to use willpower and will continue making minimal progress.

When it comes to achieving goals, making committed decisions involves:

- investing up front;
- making it public;
- setting a timeline;
- installing several forms of feedback/accountability;
- and removing or altering everything in your environment that opposes your commitment.

Rather than relying solely on your own internal resolve and strength, true commitment means you've built several external defense systems around your goals. It means you've created conditions to make the achievement of your goals inevitable. Everything has been put in place. You now have no choice but to act according to your highest desires. Too much is at stake if you don't.

### You Can Design Your Environment to Propel and Sustain Success

We adapt to our environments. Thus, a conscious personal evolution involves purposefully controlling and creating environments that shape us into the person we want to become. Everything in life is a natural and organic process. We adapt and evolve based on the environments we select.

You are who you are because of your environment.

Want to change? Then change your environment. Stop the willpower madness already.

These ideas run counter to a lot of self-help advice, which tends to focus on what you can do, by yourself and for yourself. The pervasive self-help

advice is to focus on yourself. This makes sense, because we live in a highly individualistic culture. We've been conditioned to ignore context and obsess about ourselves.

Environmental design is different. It's about creating conditions that make your success inevitable. For example, if you want to be focused at work, you need to remove all distractions from your physical and digital workspace. If you want to eat healthy, remove all of the unhealthy foods from your house. If you want to get creative insights, get out of town and relax for a day or two. If you want to be more motivated, take on greater responsibility and increase the stakes for both success and failure.

Those who focus on environmental design recognize that a person's internal and external worlds are not clear-cut with fine lines. Although psychological research, for instance, distinguishes between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, the reality is that the internal and external play off each other. When you change your environment, such as surrounding yourself with different people, your thoughts and emotions change. These inner changes then alter your values and aspirations, which requires you to further alter your external environment. Thus, it is by tweaking your conditions that you proactively shape who you become.

You design your worldview by proactively shaping your external inputs, such as the information you consume, the people you surround yourself with, the places you go, and the experiences you have. Most people, however, reactively and mindlessly respond to whatever environments they find themselves in, and thus develop a worldview leading to ineffective behavior and victimhood.

Which brings me to the very definition of "environment." In a strict sense, we all have internal, external, and interpersonal environments. However, for the sake of simplicity, in this book environment is that which is external, not internal. For example, your environment includes your physical surroundings, the people you choose to form relationships with, the information you let in, the foods you consume, and the music you listen to.

That which is external shapes that which is internal. Put more simply: Your worldview, beliefs, and values didn't come from within you, but from

outside of you. If you grew up a white person in the southern United States during the 1950s, your worldview would likely have been shaped by that perspective. The same is true if you grew up in Europe during the Middle Ages, or in North Korea during the Communist rule, or in 2005 as a digital native with access to the Internet. Your goals, beliefs, and values are shaped by the cultural context in which you live.

Although the environment has never been more extreme or more stressful, it is certainly not your enemy. In Western culture, particularly in psychological and self-improvement circles, the environment has been vilified. Perhaps the most common phrase among these groups is "to be a product of your choices, not your circumstances." At surface level, this is actually quite good advice. But it's also naïve and inaccurate.

Yes, your life is the product of your thoughts and choices, as many self-help books explain. But where do those thoughts and choices come from? They don't self-generate out of nowhere. You shape the garden of your mind by planting specific things from your environment, such as the books you read, experiences you have, and people you surround yourself with.

As will be shown, by shaping your environment directly, you'll be shaping your thoughts and behaviors indirectly. Furthermore, you'll create conditions allowing for desired behaviors which are not optional in common conditions. When you shape your environment, you'll have greater control over your thoughts and choices. Thus, instead of making the environment or "circumstances" your enemy, which has been the traditional advice of self-help, it's important to realize that your environment is actually the only way you as a person can truly change. New information, new relationships, and new experiences are how you change. You must gather and plant the right seeds from your environment to make a bounteous garden of your life. Consequently, although most environments will indeed shape a distracted and unfulfilled version of you, to attempt to be devoid of "environment" or "circumstance" altogether is not only impossible, but also foolish if you're seeking growth. Your environment can become your best friend. And as you'll see, you and your environment are one.

## If You Don't Shape Your Environment, It Will Shape You

Unlike the common prescriptions of self-improvement—such as willpower and changing your attitude, which often are met against a negative and defeating environment—when

you purposefully shape your environment, you can make

quantum and radical leaps in your development. If you so choose, you can proactively place yourself into situations that demand ten times or a hundred times more than you've ever dealt with before.

How?

You adapt to your new environment.

Crafting highly demanding situations and then mindfully adapting to those situations is the key to success. Charles Darwin said, "It is not the strongest of the species that survives, not the most intelligent that survives. It is the one that is the most adaptable to change."

It's actually quite remarkable how quickly you can adapt from one environment to the next. Human beings are highly adaptive. For instance, Viktor Frankl reflected on his experience in a Nazi concentration camp sleeping comfortably next to nine other people on a small bed. Said Frankl in *Man's Search for Meaning*, "Yes, a person can get used to anything, just don't ask us how."

No matter how extensive the jump from one environment to the next—and, per Frankl, no matter how horrible the environment—a person can and will adapt. Rather than adapting to a negative environment, as the majority of the global population is doing, you can adapt to whatever environment you choose.

This book will teach you how to purposefully shape your environment. It will also explain why your environment shapes you. As such, a primary objective of this book is to show you that you can change in both small and extreme ways. You are not a fixed, independent, and unchanging being. Psychologically, intellectually, emotionally, and spiritually, your nurture is far superior to your "nature." And you are entirely responsible for your nurture; thus, you can guide who you become.

Consequently, by the end of this book, you will be left with no excuses. You won't be able to point to your DNA, your past, or any of the other reasons why you believe you are stuck. Rather, you will understand the principles and be equipped with the strategies to create the environments that will ultimately create you.

[New Power: How Power Works in Our Hyperconnected World--and How to Make It Work for You](#) by Jeremy Heimans and Henry Timms [Doubleday, 9780385541114]

The definitive guide to spreading ideas, building movements, and leaping ahead in our chaotic, connected age. Get the book New York Times columnist David Brooks calls "the best window I've seen into this new world."

Why do some leap ahead while others fall behind in our chaotic, connected age? In *New Power*, Jeremy Heimans and Henry Timms confront the biggest stories of our time--the rise of mega-platforms like Facebook and Uber; the out-of-nowhere victories of Obama and Trump; the unexpected emergence of movements like #MeToo--and reveal what's really behind them: the rise of "new power."

For most of human history, the rules of power were clear: power was something to be seized and then jealously guarded. This "old power" was out of reach for the vast majority of people. But our ubiquitous connectivity makes possible a different kind of power. "New power" is made by many. It is open, participatory, and peer-driven. It works like a current, not a currency--and it is most forceful when it surges. The battle between old and new power is determining who governs us, how we work, and even how we think and feel.

*New Power* shines fresh light on the cultural phenomena of our day, from #BlackLivesMatter to the Ice Bucket Challenge to Airbnb, uncovering the new power forces that made them huge. Drawing on examples from business, activism, and pop culture, as well as the study of organizations like Lego, NASA, Reddit, and TED, Heimans and Timms explain how to build new power and channel it successfully. They also explore the dark side of these forces: the way ISIS has co-opted new power

to monstrous ends, and the rise of the alt-right's "intensity machine."

In an era increasingly shaped by new power, this groundbreaking book offers us a new way to understand the world--and our role in it.

### Excerpt: Welcome to the New Power World

Power, as philosopher Bertrand Russell puts it, is the "ability to produce intended effects:"

That ability is now in all of our hands. Today, we have the capacity to make films, friends, or money; to spread hope or spread our ideas; to build community or build up movements; to spread misinformation or propagate violence—all on a vastly greater scale and with greater potential impact than we did even a few years ago.

Yes, this is because technology has changed. But the deeper truth is that we are changing. Our behaviors and expectations are changing. And those who have figured out how to channel all this energy and appetite are producing Russell's "intended effects" in new and extraordinarily impactful ways.

Think of the hoodie-clad barons who sit atop online platforms a billion users strong, tweaking our daily habits, emotions, and opinions. The political neophytes who have raised passionate crowds and won stunning victories. The everyday people and organizations who are leaping ahead in this chaotic, hyperconnected world—while others fall back.

This book is about how to navigate and thrive in a world defined by the battle and balancing of two big forces. We call them old power and new power.

Old power works like a currency. It is held by few. Once gained, it is jealously guarded, and the powerful have a substantial store of it to spend. It is closed, inaccessible, and leader-driven. It downloads, and it captures.

New power operates differently, like a current. It is made by many. It is open, participatory, and peer-driven. It uploads, and it distributes. Like water or electricity, it's most forceful when it surges. The goal with new power is not to hoard it but to channel it.

## The Ingredients of New Power

What the #MeToo movement, our patients, and a Scottish schoolgirl all have in common is that they figured out how to use today's tools to channel an increasing thirst to participate.

People have always wanted to take part in the world. Throughout history, movements have surged, people have organized collectively, communities have built collaborative structures to create culture and conduct commerce. There has always been a dialectic between bottom-up and top-down, between hierarchies and networks.

But until recently, our everyday opportunities to participate and agitate were much more constrained. Thanks to today's ubiquitous connectivity, we can come together and organize ourselves in ways that are geographically boundless and highly distributed and with unprecedented velocity and reach. This hyperconnectedness has given birth to new models and mindsets that are shaping our age, as we'll see in the pages ahead. That's the "new" in new power.

A popular thread on Reddit, the link-sharing platform, crowdsourced memories of growing up in the 1990s, when life felt very different. For those who were there, the posts offered warm nostalgia. For those who weren't yet born, it told stories of an alien world: The anxiety of waiting for your yearbook photo to arrive, which was "the only time you saw a picture of you and your friends at school." You only got one shot to get that right, and you never knew how it would turn out. The tension of calling the local radio station, requesting your favorite song, and then waiting, fingers poised on the record button of your tape cassette player, to capture it when it came on. The excitement of stopping by the Blockbuster Video store to rent a movie on the way home. The frustration of going to the library and finding the one book you need has already been taken out or "should be in the stacks but can't be found." The tedium of doing math without a calculator because they were banned, the sturdy reasoning being "you won't have a calculator in your pocket all the time when you grow up."

Of course, we now have much more than a calculator in our pocket. In today's world, we all

have our hands (quite literally) on what we can think of as a new means of participation. And this isn't just changing what we can do, but how we expect to engage.

These new means of participation—and the heightened sense of agency that has come with them—are a key ingredient in some of the most impactful models of our time: big businesses like Airbnb and Uber, China's WeChat or Facebook; protest movements like Black Lives Matter, open software systems like GitHub; and terrorist networks like ISIS. They are all channeling new power.

Think of these as new power models. New power models are enabled by the activity of the crowd—without whom these models are just empty vessels. In contrast, old power models are enabled by what people or organizations own, know, or control that nobody else does—once old power models lose that, they lose their advantage. Old power models ask of us only that we comply (pay your taxes, do your homework) or consume. New power models demand and allow for more: that we share ideas, create new content (as on YouTube) or assets (as on Etsy), even shape a community (think of the sprawling digital movements resisting the Trump presidency).

To grasp the essential difference between old and new power models, think of the difference between the two biggest computer games of all time, Tetris and Minecraft.

You will likely remember the block-based game Tetris, which exploded with the Gameboy craze of the 1990s. The way it worked was simple. Blocks fell down from the top of the screen and the player's job was to make them fit into neat regular lines. They came down faster and faster until the player was eventually overwhelmed. In old power fashion, the player had a limited role, and you could never beat the system.

New power models work more like Minecraft, now the second biggest game of all time. Like Tetris, it is a clunky block-based game. But it operates very differently. Instead of a model built on top-down compliance, it is a game built from the bottom-up, with players around the world co-creating worlds together, block by block. It relies entirely on

participatory energy. In the world of Minecraft, you will find houses, temples, and Walmarts; dragons, caves, boats, farms, and roller coasters; working computers made by engineers; forest fires, dungeons, cinemas, chickens, and stadiums. The players set their rules and create their own tasks. There is no "manual"; players learn from the example—and often the homemade videos—of others. Some players (known as "modders") are even entrusted with the capacity to alter the game itself. Without the actions of the players, Minecraft is a wasteland. A key dynamic in the world today is the mutual incomprehension between those raised in the Tetris tradition and those with a Minecraft mindset.

### The Mission of this Book

The future will be a battle over mobilization. The everyday people, leaders, and organizations who flourish will be those best able to channel the participatory energy of those around them—for the good, for the bad, and for the trivial.

### This matters in the daily lives of all of us

Since we first wrote about these ideas in the Harvard Business Review, it has been inspiring to see people in so many different sectors using them to reimagine their worlds, from librarians to diplomats to health workers. In the chapters ahead, we will tell stories of organizations and individuals who understand these new dynamics. We'll unpack how the Lego company saved its brand by turning to the crowd. We'll consider how TED grew from an exclusive conference into one of the biggest ideas communities in the world. We'll look at how Pope Francis is trying to shift the nature of his church by empowering his flock.

We'll introduce some lesser-known examples, too: nurses banding together to cut down on bureaucracy and improve patients' lives (and their own job satisfaction); a car company that turns to its customers to design its vehicles; a successful media company built, funded, and shaped by its readers.

Whether you are a historian yearning to share your knowledge in a post-truth world, a determined parent running for your local school board, or a creator wanting to get a new product off the ground, there are a range of distinctive new

capabilities that people and businesses need to discover.

The skills in question are often misunderstood as the ability to self-promote on Facebook or as Snapchat for Dummies. But new power is about much more than just new tools and technologies. As the State Department showed us in their failed online sparring with the Islamic State, many are still deploying these new means of participation in profoundly old power ways. This book is about a different approach to the exercise of power, and a different mindset, which can be deployed even as particular tools and platforms go in and out of fashion. How do you create ideas that the crowd grabs on to, makes stronger, and helps spread? How do you operate effectively within an organization in which your (perhaps younger) peers have internalized new power values like radical transparency or constant feedback? How do you create an institution that inspires an enduring, mass following in an era of much looser, more transitory affiliation? How do you switch between old and new power? When should you blend them together? And when will old power actually produce better outcomes?

This book will answer these questions—and more—drawing on examples from some of the most inspiring new power success stories (and some of the big cautionary tales) from around the world.

### This matters for society at large

New power is here to stay and is, in many sectors, ascendant. In the right hands, it is doing wonders: the crowd-sourced drug trials; the fast-growing movements in the name of love and compassion. Yet in the wrong hands, as we see with ISIS or the growing hordes of white supremacists, these same skills can be enormously destructive. The tools that bring us closer together can also drive us further apart.

Those who are building and stewarding vast platforms that run on new power have become our new elites. These leaders often use the language of the crowd—"sharing," "open," "connected"—but their actions can tell a different story. Think of Facebook, the new power platform that most of us know best. For all those likes and smiley faces we create using what the company calls our "power to

share;' the two billion users of Facebook get no share of the vast economic value created by the platform. Nor any say in how it is governed. And not a peek into the algorithm that has been proven to shape our moods, our self-esteem, and even some elections. Far from the organic free-roaming paradise the early Internet pioneers imagined, there is a growing sense that we are living in a world of participation farms, where a small number of big platforms have fenced, and harvest for their own gain, the daily activities of billions.

The stakes are high for democracy as well. Many hoped that surges of social media alone would topple dictators. But in fact a new kind of strongman is on the rise in many parts of the world, supercharged by the very tools some believed could only democratize. Take Donald Trump. Trump became the leader of a vast, decentralized social media army who took cues from him—and who in turn fed Trump new narratives and lines of attack. It was a deeply symbiotic relationship. He retweeted his most extreme supporters. He offered to pay the legal fees of supporters who punched protesters at his rallies. He drove the intensity of his crowd not by insisting they read his talking points, but by empowering them to activate around his values. Think of him as a Platform Strongman, mastering new power techniques to achieve authoritarian ends.

In the chapters ahead, we will explain the dynamics that make participation farms and platform strongmen possible. Critically, we'll also showcase stories of their antidotes: those new models that genuinely shift and distribute power to more people, including the least powerful among us. We'll meet pioneers who are imagining ways to reinvent democracy, not undermine it, finding ways to transform citizens from hostile outsiders to co-owners and valuable players in the work of government. We'll also visit traditional institutions in vital parts of society that are taking the tough turn from old to new power. We hope this book equips those fighting for a more open, democratic, and pluralistic world with the tools they need to prevail.

This book is grounded in our own experience creating new power models and trying to bring more participation to more people. Henry launched #GivingTuesday, a philanthropic meme that

become a movement, raising hundreds of millions of dollars for charities around the world. Jeremy created a technology-powered political movement in his home country of Australia as a twenty something that became the biggest in the nation, and he has since helped to launch many more movements around the world via his organization Purpose, headquartered in New York. We've seen the potential and pitfalls of new power up close, and now we want to share what we've learned. We've been working together, and engaging with businesses and communities, to dig deeper into what's changing, why, and what we can all do about it.

In the pages ahead, we'll share what we've discovered.

[The Gift of Our Wounds: A Sikh and a Former White Supremacist Find Forgiveness After Hate](#) by Arno Michaelis and Pardeep Singh Kaleka [St. Martin's Press, 9781250107541]

The powerful story of a friendship between two men—one Sikh and one skinhead—that resulted in an outpouring of love and a mission to fight against hate.

One Sikh. One former Skinhead. Together, an unusual friendship emerged out of a desire to make a difference.

When white supremacist Wade Michael Page murdered six people and wounded four in a Sikh Temple in Wisconsin in 2012, Pardeep Kaleka was devastated. The temple leader, now dead, was his father. His family, who had immigrated to the U.S. from India when Pardeep was young, had done everything right. Why was this happening to him? Meanwhile, Arno Michaelis, a former skinhead and founder of one of the largest racist skinhead organizations in the world, had spent years of his life committing terrible acts in the name of white power. When he heard about the attack, waves of guilt washing over him, he knew he had to take action and fight against the very crimes he used to commit.

After the Oak Creek tragedy, Arno and Pardeep worked together to start an organization called Serve 2 Unite, which works with students to create

inclusive, compassionate and nonviolent climates in their schools and communities. Their story is one of triumph of love over hate, and of two men who breached a great divide to find compassion and forgiveness. With New York Times bestseller Robin Gaby Fisher telling Arno and Pardeep's story, [The Gift of Our Wounds](#) is a timely reminder of the strength of the human spirit, and the courage and compassion that reside within us all.

#### Excerpt: What does hate look like?

Hate looks like the body of a devoted mother of two teenage boys, crumpled inelegantly on a cold tile floor near the altar where she had been praying moments before her death. It looks like a young husband and father the way his little girl last saw him—his face ravaged by the fatal bullet that ripped through his eye and blew his head apart. And the kindly family man who lay in a vegetative state, with no hope of awakening, while his wife and children sat at his bedside praying for a miracle. And the tortured expression of a leader, mortally wounded, as he tried but failed to save his flock and himself.

Hate looks like the bullet hole in the doorframe leading into the prayer room at the Sikh Temple of Wisconsin—a vestige of the carnage that took place there on August 5, 2012, when a troubled man with a distorted view of what America should look like executed peaceful people inside.

Life goes on. Services still take place at the same time every Sunday. Congregants continue to worship in the prayer room. All people are welcome to the langar (kitchen) for the free communal meal. Families who lost loved ones persevere as they continue to pick up the pieces of their shattered lives.

The bullet hole remains, now enshrined with a tiny plaque inscribed with the message WE ARE ONE.

The victims were devout souls who strived to follow the tenets of their Sikh faith to live a meritorious life of honest hard work and service to others and God. Spiritual beings who graced this earth with love, inspiration, and Chardi Kala. Translated from Punjabi, the language of the Indian region where the Sikh religion was founded, Chardi Kala means "relentless optimism."

So why would anyone seek to harm these good people? Why would someone take the lives of his fellow human beings with such senseless cruelty?

Because hurt people hurt people. Because when suffering isn't treated with compassion, it seethes and spreads. Because when fear isn't met with courage, it deceives and disconnects humans from humanity. When ignorance isn't countered with wisdom, it festers and takes root in the hearts of the fearful. When hatred isn't cradled with kindness, it can corrupt the beauty of existence to the extreme that causing suffering is the only thing that makes sense anymore.

The killer, once as innocent and lovely a child as any other, became mired in a cycle of misery that ended in tragedy at the Sikh Temple of Wisconsin.

... And brought us together.

Rather than cultivate hatred with vengeance, we choose to commemorate our lost loved ones with the glory and grace of our common humanity. We choose to sow seeds of kindness and compassion.

Monsters are not created by God. They are shaped by the society we live in. By us. The ingredients that make monsters are hatred, suffering, isolation, and minimization. Seven people died that day, including the shooter, because one man's untreated suffering was inflamed by fear, ignorance, and rage. What if, instead, it had been met with compassion, courage, and wisdom?

If we can find the strength to forgive the one who took the others, we can answer the tragedy with unconditional love for the entire human race. We can address conflict with care and cooperation. We can meet fear, ignorance, and hatred by teaching truth. We can shape the reality we create collaboratively to be one of uplift and healing.

We can live in honor of Paramjit Kaur and Suveg Singh Khattri and Prakash Singh and Ranjit Singh and Sita Singh and Satwant Singh Kaleka; of the lives lost in Oklahoma City and at Columbine, Sandy Hook, the movie theater in Aurora, Colorado, the Boston Marathon, the Emanuel AME Church in Charleston, South Carolina, the Pulse nightclub in Orlando, Florida, the bicycle path in New York City; and of the people dying every day on the north side of Milwaukee, and on the South



Side of Chicago, and in Syria, Afghanistan, the Holy Land, Mexico, Africa ...

We can find the gift in the wound  
... if we can forgive  
... with vengeance  
... with purpose  
... with love.

## The Gift of our Wounds

From Oneness came the many, and one day shall merge back into the One. Guru Arjun Dev Ji

Pardeep: As I look back at that fateful day in August 2012, I do so free from disdain in my heart. For I bore witness to a great human family that refused to be defined by the hate that took seven lives and instead demonstrated the vast healing power of love. Bearing witness is "to be evidence or proof of." As the Sikh community grieved, we witnessed the truth upon which our religion was founded. We call it Ek Onkar. It means we are one, from a single creator, and we share this divinity with all of creation. When our community felt the most victimized, the most vulnerable and hurt, we saw Christians, Muslims, Hindus, and Jews, people of all ethnicities and backgrounds, gather together outside our Gurudwara in the spirit of Oneness. Thousands of people, in a rainbow of colors, speaking different languages, stood together in kinship, engaging in communal prayer and helping each other to heal.

It was in this continuation of spirit and defiant love that we saw light in what had seemed like infinite darkness. Ours was a brotherhood of genuine honesty, compassion, understanding, gratitude, and joy. Together we were mindful of the truth that forgiveness is not forgetting, but rather forging a path to healing. It was not condoning the offense, but instead bridging individuals and communities—the ultimate vengeance against the cycles of suffering that will always challenge human existence. What I learned from that experience is that forgiveness is freedom.

The suffering caused by five hundred years of white supremacy has carved gaping wounds across our collective human psyche. We are bombarded with the misery of political and humanitarian crises around the world. It is important to remember that

suffering happens not only because we are separated by constructs like race and nationality, but from ourselves. This split continues to breed blindness to the divinity that exists in every being on earth. Wholeness escapes us because we have overcommitted to the illusion of dichotomous ideologies dividing us, and undercommitted to the reality that in each person exists a good and evil spirit. Thus our identity is marked by the temporary roles we take on rather than the infinite truth of being part of the natural interdependence of the universal spirit.

To the world, it may seem that Arno and I met under the unlikely of circumstances. Our brotherhood may seem implausible, but to me it makes perfect sense: the spirit of intention was pushing us on a collision course. When I first met Arno, I immediately noticed that we both bore open wounds. Wounds that we could not heal on our own. It was clear that he could see mine, and I could see his. Peering into one another's souls, we saw each other's suffering and, uncomfortable as it was, found the courage to share our stories and our pain. It soon became clear that revealing was healing.

It is my greatest hope that by sharing who we are and what we have learned, we can inspire others to carry forward in Chardi Kala, the relentlessly optimistic spirit of compassion, forgiveness, gratitude and healing. That is the gift of our wounds.

[The Oxford Handbook of the Five Factor Model](#) (Oxford Library of Psychology) edited by Thomas A. Widiger [Oxford University Press, 9780199352487]

The Five Factor Model, which measures individual differences on extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability, and openness to experience, is arguably the most prominent dimensional model of general personality structure. In fact, there is now a considerable body of research supporting its construct validity and practical application in clinical, health, and organizational settings. Taking this research to the forefront, The Oxford Handbook of the Five Factor Model showcases the work of expert researchers in the field as they each offer important insight and

perspective on all that is known about the Five Factor Model to date. By establishing the origins, foundation, and predominance of the Five Factor Model, this Handbook will focus on such areas as construct validity, diagnosis and assessment, personality neuroscience, and how the Five Factor Model operates in business and industry, animal personality, childhood temperament, and clinical utility.

Thomas A. Widiger is the T. Marshall Hahn Professor of Psychology at the University of Kentucky. He has published extensively on personality and personality disorders, including over 500 articles and chapters. He currently serves as Co-Editor of the Annual Review of Clinical Psychology and Editor of Personality Disorders: Theory, Research, and Treatment. In 2010, he received the Distinguished Scientist Award by the Society for the Science of Clinical Psychology, in 2013 the Joseph Zubin Award by the Society for Research in Psychopathology, and in 2013 the Senior Investigator Award by the North American Society for the Study of Personality Disorders.

Summary:

Abstract

This book concerns the Five Factor Model of general personality structure. It brings together much of the research literature on the Five Factor Model and demonstrates its potential applications across a wide range of disciplines and concerns. The book is organized into four sections: the first section explores the Five Factor Model and its domains, the second focuses on matters and issues concerning the construct validity of the Five Factor Model, the third discusses applications of the Five Factor Model to a variety of social and clinical issues, and the fourth summarizes the book's interesting points and considers potential implications. Topics range from Neuroticism and Extraversion to Openness, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness. The book also considers the universality of the Five Factor Model, the factor analytic support, childhood temperament and personality, animal personality, behavior and molecular genetics, personality neuroscience, personality disorders, adult psychopathology, and child psychopathology.

Key Words: Five Factor Model, personality structure, Neuroticism, Extraversion, Conscientiousness, childhood temperament, animal personality, molecular genetics, personality neuroscience, personality disorders.

"After decades of research in personality theory, the field has now achieved an initial consensus on a general taxonomy of personality traits, the 'Big Five' personality dimensions." This proclamation was perhaps overstated. Few areas of psychology can be said to have achieved consensus within an area of investigation that was once dominated by critical debate and sharp dispute. Even within this text, we will observe arguments and findings inconsistent with the Big Five perspective. Unanimity of opinion, and perhaps even an established consensus, may not really be achievable. But that is to be expected, if not embraced. Scientific research is driven largely by differences of opinion and ongoing debate, and the structure of personality remains a richly productive line of investigation.

Nevertheless, consistent with the assertion of John, Naumann, et al, it does seem clearly evident that the Five Factor Model of general personality structure has a singular strength and predominance within psychology. There are many reasons for this recognition. One is that the FFM has been richly successful in providing an integrative trait model. Its ready accommodation of the other predominant models of personality allows it not to compete with these models. As expressed by John, Naumann, et al. (2008), "rather than replacing all previous systems, the Big Five taxonomy serves an integrative function because it can represent the various and diverse systems of personality description in a common framework." We can recover and conceptualize most alternative dimensional trait models within the Five Factor Model. We can also move higher up in the hierarchical model, working within a two-factor, three-factor, or four-factor model from which the Five Factor Model can be derived but, "the Big Five traits occupy an important, unique position in the hierarchy.

Authors of reviews of personality trait research repeatedly find that the Five Factor Model has proven to be very fruitful as a means of organizing a respective body of literature. Examples include

the trait literature concerning temperament, temporal stability, gender, health psychology, positive and negative life outcomes, personality disorder, and even animal species behavior. The relative ease with which the Five Factor Model has been useful for such purposes reflects in part its coherence and comprehensiveness, as well as its naturally compelling inherent structure.

The Five Factor Model structure is comfortably aligned with how the trait language is itself organized, particularly within the English language. It is relatively easy to conceptualize personality trait literature in terms of the Five Factor Model in part because the organization of trait terms within the English language is itself consistent with the Five Factor Model. It may indeed be the case that the first three domains of the Five Factor Model (i.e., Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness) are more unequivocally universal across languages than the latter two (i.e., Neuroticism and Openness), but it is also apparent that all five domains are necessary to fully account for personality trait research. Imagine the conceptualization of personality disorders and psychopathology more generally without the domain of Neuroticism. Neuroticism may not be as universal as Extraversion, but it would appear to be more than sufficiently universal. In any case, if our thoughts are in terms of the English language, then it is quite natural to conceptualize personality in a manner consistent with the Five Factor Model.

A further strength of the Five Factor Model is that it is atheoretical. There are certainly theoretical models for the existence, etiology, and structure of the Five Factor Model, but the Five Factor Model structure is itself theoretically neutral. This substantially facilitates the ability for alternative theoretical models of personality (e.g., neurobiological, interpersonal, cognitive, and psychodynamic) to work together within the same model of personality structure. There is no necessary presumption as to how a person might have developed, for instance, a disposition for angry hostility, anxiousness, warmth, callousness, suspiciousness, or excitement seeking. Persons from alternative theoretical perspectives, such as the neurobiological, the interpersonal, and the

psychodynamic, have worked comfortably within the Five Factor Model.

Wiggins edited a text that provided five alternative theoretical models for the Five Factor Model, "These essays [were] meant to illustrate (1) the diversity of theoretical perspectives that are currently being brought to bear on the FFM of personality and (2) the opportunities the Five Factor Model can provide for communication and the sharing of ideas among some of the major figures in contemporary personality research, investigators whose sub-disciplinary 'boundaries' might otherwise have proven less permeable to such exchanges". The current text will hopefully serve a similar function by informing one area of Five Factor Model investigation (e.g., research on Neuroticism, childhood antecedents, or universality) of all that is going on within another area of Five Factor Model investigation (e.g., research on Extraversion, adult psychopathology, and assessment). To date, there has not been a text that brings together in one location all that is known about the Five Factor Model from different research programs.

The strength of a theoretical model is also evidenced by its ability to survive critical review. The Five Factor Model, as a predominant model of general personality structure, has certainly been subjected to tough critical and empirical tests. It has not only, it has arguably thrived, amassing a rich and extensive body of empirical research.

Indeed, a major strength of the Five Factor Model is the considerable body of empirical research in support of its validity that has now accumulated over the past few decades. A primary purpose of this text is to bring much of this research literature together within one location, as well as demonstrate its potential application across a wide array of disciplines and concerns. There are other notable texts devoted to the Five Factor Model, including, as noted earlier, the overview of alternative theoretical models. De Raad and Perugini co-edited a text devoted simply to alternative measures for its assessment. The mere existence of this book was itself a testament to the importance and impact of the Five Factor Model, in that simply its assessment warrants an entire text. De Raad devoted a text to its lexical foundation.

McCrae and Allik co-edited a text devoted to the cross-cultural and cross-language application of the Five Factor Model, documenting well its universal appeal and relevance. Finally, of course, McCrae and Costa (2003) composed a text on the Five Factor Model, summarizing the vast body of Five Factor Model research conducted by themselves and other investigative teams, presenting therein their own theoretical model for its understanding.

The current text is organized into four sections. The first section concerns the Five Factor Model and its domains, including a chapter covering Neuroticism by Jennifer Tackett and Benjamin Lahey, Extraversion by Joshua Wilt and William Revelle, Openness by Angelina Sutin, Agreeableness by William Graziano and Renée Tobin, and Conscientiousness by Joshua Jackson and Brent Roberts. The editor, Widiger believes readers unfamiliar with this literature will be struck and impressed by the sheer volume of theory and research devoted to each domain of the Five Factor Model. There is indeed a vast body of research devoted simply to Neuroticism, Extraversion, Openness, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness, and their many facets. The editor is truly grateful to the authors of these chapters for providing these overviews, as the task was quite daunting.

Introducing this section, as well as perhaps the book itself, is an overview of the Five Factor Model by Paul Costa and Jeff (Robert) McCrae. Their richly productive and internationally collaborative laboratory was highly instrumental in the recognition, growth, and development of the Five Factor Model. The editor was myself introduced to the Five Factor Model by Dr. Paul Costa. At the time, the editor was serving as the Research Coordinator for the American Psychiatric Association's fourth edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV American Psychiatric Association, 1994), with an office in New York City. Widiger had collaborated on several projects with Allen Frances, Chair of DSM-IV. One such product was a review paper on personality disorders, arguing that the diagnosis and classification of the APA personality disorders should be informed by the research literature within psychology, including the research on dimensional

trait models. At that time, Widiger was attempting to describe and differentiate the APA personality disorders with respect to the interpersonal circumplex (IPC), but was nevertheless having some difficulty adequately understanding the borderline, obsessive—compulsive, and schizotypal personality disorders with respect to the IPC. Paul Costa called me on the phone and asked if he could come for a visit. Widiger agreed, and he introduced me to the Five Factor Model. During this meeting, it became readily apparent that the additional domains of Neuroticism, Conscientiousness, and Openness (i.e., beyond the interpersonal domains of Agreeableness and Extraversion) addressed extremely well the difficulties Widiger was having with respect to the coverage of the borderline, obsessive—compulsive, and schizotypal personality disorders, respectively. Dr. Costa and I subsequently developed a productive collaboration. It is with considerable pleasure that the first chapter is by Paul Costa and Robert McCrae.

The second section of the text is devoted to matters and issues concerning the construct validity of the Five Factor Model. Both junior and senior investigators were invited to provide chapters. Authors were free to express their own views and opinions, and it should become apparent that the authors are not simply advocates for the Five Factor Model. A variety of topics could be covered. Hopefully the reader will find that the key points of concern were indeed addressed, and in a manner, that was objective, fair, thorough, and accurate. It is also apparent that each of the authors addressed key methodological, analytic, conceptual, and substantive issues that warrant further research and attention.

The second section begins with an overview of the robustness of the Five Factor Model by Brian O'Connor, followed by the universality of the Five Factor Model by Allik and Anu Realo, the lexical foundation by Boele de Raad and Boris Mlaéie, the factor analytic support by Aidan Wright, childhood temperament and personality by Sarah De Pauw, animal personality by Alexander Weiss and Marieke Gartner, behavior and molecular genetics by Amber Jarnecke and Susan South, and ending with personality neuroscience by Timothy Allen and

Colin DeYoung. It is evident from this series of chapters that there is an incredible body of research that supports and informs the validity of Five Factor Model personality structure. There are certainly gaps and differences of opinion, but the Five Factor Model is clearly a model of personality structure that is very heavily researched.

The third section of the text concerns applications of the Five Factor Model to a variety of social and clinical issues. The Five Factor Model is not just an abstract, academic model of personality structure. Five Factor Model personality traits have been associated with a wide array of important, consequential life outcomes. Much of these outcomes and more are considered in some depth within this section.

Section Three begins with an overview of the assessment of the Five Factor Model by Leonard Simms, Trevor Williams, and Ericka Simms. Central to any application of the Five Factor Model will be its proper assessment. This chapter is followed by a chapter on the application of the Five Factor Model to business and industry by Scott Seibert and David DeGeest, health psychology by Margaret Kern and Howard Friedman, marital and family therapy by Ralph Piedmont and Thomas Rodgeron, personality disorders by Thomas Widiger, Whitney Gore, Cristina Crego, Stephanie Rojas, and Joshua Oltmanns, adult psychopathology by Michael Bagby, Amanda Uliaszek, Tara Gralnick, and Nadia Al-Dajani, and child psychopathology by Filip De Fruyt, Barbara De Clercq, and Marleen De Bolle. The section ends with a discussion of the concept of clinical utility and its relevance to the application of the Five Factor Model to personality disorder conceptualization and treatment by Stephanie Mullins-Sweatt, Douglas B. Samuel, and Ashley C. Helle. The fourth and final section of the book is a concluding chapter by the editor. In this section, Widiger summarize interesting points from each chapter and discuss potential implications.

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[The Oxford Handbook of Hypo-egoic Phenomena](#) edited by Kirk Warren Brown and Mark R. Leary [Oxford Library of Psychology, Oxford University Press, 9780199328079]

Egoicism, a mindset that places primary focus upon oneself, is rampant in contemporary Western cultures as commercial advertisements, popular books, song lyrics, and mobile apps consistently promote self-interest. Consequently, researchers have begun to address the psychological, interpersonal, and broader societal costs of excessive egoicism and to investigate alternatives to a "me and mine first" mindset.

For centuries, scholars, spiritual leaders, and social activists have advocated a "hypo-egoic" way of being that is characterized by less self-concern in favor of a more inclusive "we first" mode of functioning. In recent years, investigations of hypo-egoic functioning have been examined by psychologists, cognitive scientists, neuroscientists, and philosophers. Edited by Kirk Warren Brown and Mark R. Leary, [The Oxford Handbook of Hypo-egoic Phenomena](#) brings together an expert group of contributors to examine these groundbreaking lines of inquiry, distilling current knowledge about hypo-egoicism into an exceptional resource.

In this volume, readers will find theoretical perspectives from philosophy and several major branches of psychology to inform our understanding of the nature of hypo-egoicism and its expressions in various domains of life. Further, readers will encounter psychological research discoveries about phenomena in which hypo-egoicism is a prominent feature, demonstrating its implications for well-being, regulation of emotion, adaptive decision-making, positive social relations, and other markers of human happiness, well-being, and health. This [Handbook](#) offers the most comprehensive and thoughtful analyses of hypo-egoicism to date.

Excerpt: The Emergence of Scholarship and Science on Hypo-egoic Phenomena by Kirk Warren Brown and Mark R. Leary

Abstract: To introduce the Handbook and the range of hypo-egoic phenomena that it represents, this chapter describes the psychological roots of egoic and hypo-egoic functioning, drawing on theory and research in philosophy, psychology, cognitive science, and neuroscience. Two forms of self-

processing—self-as-subject and self-as-object—are first identified and functionally described. The chapter then describes how these self-processes offer humans a mental model of ourselves, others, and the world that allows us to represent or simulate reality as we perceive it in the present, the remembered past, and the imagined future. Though a major evolutionary achievement, the conscious self-model becomes a liability when people overidentify with its inherently self-centric functioning. The chapter introduces the concept of hypo-egoic functioning, describes its nature as currently understood, and provides a glimpse of the multidisciplinary scholarship that has begun to explore this phenomenon and its various expressions.

**Key Words:** self-awareness, self-as-subject, self-as-object, I, Me, self-model, mental representation, ego involvement, hypo-egoicism

Proud man, dress'd in a little brief authority, most ignorant of what he is most assur'd, -his glassy essence. —Shakespeare, Measure for Measure, 2,2

Study of the self has been of keen interest to psychologists, psychiatrists, philosophers, religious scholars, sociologists, and more recently, neuroscientists, and this widespread interest reflects the centrality of self-processes to human experience. Every major domain of human functioning—including perception, thought, emotion, interpersonal relations, task performance, and physiology—is influenced to some degree by self-related processes on an ongoing basis. The importance of this observation lies, in part, in the fact that we humans have a rather conflicted, even troubled, relationship with our selves. Our effective functioning depends to a large degree on our ability to attend to and think about ourselves to decide what plans to make and what actions to take, but we also suffer from self-involved thoughts and emotions, sometimes significantly, when we regret those actions, when our plans go awry, and when we worry about ourselves and those with whom we share our social identities (e.g., family, friends, community, nation). We are elevated when we are judged, or judge ourselves, to be doing well, and downtrodden when we are not. We spend a good deal of time thinking about who we are and what we are like, but we often do not like

what we find. And in the interests of surviving and succeeding in the human world, we devote a great deal of mental, emotional, and physical energy to protect, defend, and enhance our public images and private self-views.

The mixed bag of benefits and costs that comes with the capacity for self-awareness has, for centuries, led many thinkers and teachers to question just what this self actually is, what its adaptive purposes are, and, in light of its drawbacks, whether people should seek ways to loosen its domineering grip on their lives. Across a wide variety of cultures, recorded human history is rife with proposed ways of living that, in the current usage, may be called hypo-egoic in nature. The self has always had the capacity to cause pain and suffering for the "owner" and those with whom it comes into contact. Yet, arguably, the impetus to discover ways of living with ourselves and others in ways that are hypo-egoic is as important today as ever, if not more so, in our increasingly crowded, interdependent, threatened, and threatening world.

Despite its historical provenance, the term "hypo-egoic" is a recent invention, and to understand its meaning and implications, we first place it in the context of contemporary understandings of self and the related term "ego," drawing primarily on scholarship in philosophy, psychology, cognitive science, and neuroscience. The importance of this brief exposition is heightened by the fact that what scholars call the "self" has no unitary, consensually agreed on meaning. Over the course of their histories, the fields of philosophy and psychology in particular have seen numerous conceptualizations of the terms "self," "ego," and other constructs in the same nomological network.

## Two Selves

In scholarly writing, the term "self" is used in quite disparate ways, and conceptual clarity about the self is regularly compromised by using a single term to designate diverse phenomena. However, drawing on recent, empirically informed theory, it can be stated in broad outline that the human self is, at its foundation, a cognitive capacity to know—to focus attention on and think about—oneself and one's situated relation to the surrounding world. According to Damasio, selfhood depends both on wakefulness and the presence of a mind, which

comprises a capacity to (1) form mental representations of internal events and objects in the form of feelings, and external objects derived from sensory inputs; and (2) be guided by those representations in enacting behavior. This capacity, which human beings share with several other mammalian species, makes available to the organism details of the conditions both inside and outside the organism that permit more varied and effective responses—that is, enhanced life regulation. The evolved capacity of human beings to know themselves as protagonists of their inner experience and behavior is theorized to mark the arrival of consciousness, "a state of mind with a self-process added to it", which in large part is responsible for humans' ability both to adapt to and create a wide variety of living conditions, with both beneficial and harmful consequences.

Yet the self is not a unitary phenomenon, and here we highlight two established aspects of self whose functioning are intimately interrelated but whose uniqueness helps to specify the role of the self in egoic and hypo-egoic functioning. The two aspects of self in question are loosely represented by James's classic view of the "I" and "Me" selves, a basic division with which several scholars and scientists have largely concurred and whose operations have, in recent years, received considerable scholarly and scientific attention. Following others, we designate these forms as the self-as-subject and the self-as-object and, in what follows, briefly characterize several features of their functioning. It is important to state at the outset that neither of these forms of self is an entity or "thing," nor represented by single loci within the human brain; rather each reflects dynamic cognitive processes emerging from different brain structures and neural network-wide functioning.

### The Self-as-Subject

James's notion of the I-self has served as a useful platform for empirically grounded formulations of the self-as-subject, also termed the self-as-knower, the core self (Damasio, 2000, 2010), and the minimal self (Gallagher, 2000), among other descriptors. The I-self is the subject of our experience—the awareness of oneself and the world from a first-person perspective. Some authors consider this self to operate in a

phenomenal or pre-reflective fashion—that is, as awareness of sensory or mental representations in the here and now (e.g., the felt sensory experience of touching an object or the subjective feeling of a current emotion). This is believed to occur prior to any reflection, conceptual elaboration, or evaluation of the sensory or mental events taking place in the present. As an awareness of present events, this form of self-process is theorized to be "unextended in time", meaning that it mostly concerns immediate perceptions, rather than mental interpretations of those perceptions or mental "time travel" into the remembered past or the imagined future, which necessarily involves conceptual thought. That said, this subjective self provides the basis for thought and its attendant action, as is discussed in what follows.

The "knowing" afforded by the processes mediating self-as-subject includes not only the awareness of immediate experience but also a recognition that oneself is the locus or center of such experience. This recognition does not imply an idea of owning or possessing a physical body (and a mind housed in it)—this lies in the realm of the self-as-object—but rather an awareness that actions originate from and are directed toward this body. Such awareness is necessary for the sensorimotor coupling between person and environment that guides embodied action. The felt sense of the self-as-subject as a center of awareness of sensation, perception, and thought, and from whom our voluntary actions seem to originate, is theorized to support an integration of experience that "entails ongoing activities of extending, assimilating, and bringing meaning and coherence to life experiences" —activities afforded by conscious reflection on the first-person experience of the self-as-subject. Research in self-determination theory has detailed the psychosocial conditions that support integrative processes and provide a basis for psychological health, vitality, and flourishing. Yet this fundamental self-organization can be hindered and compromised by a second aspect of self that is also inherent in human nature, to be discussed next.

### The Self-as-Object

The second manifestation of self is echoed in James's "Me" self, and contemporaneously termed

the self-as-object, the self-as-known, the autobiographical self, and the narrative self. Typically operating in communion with self-as-subject processing, from which it may have evolved, the operation of the self-as-object nonetheless differs from that of the self-as-subject in several ways. Fundamental to the self-as-object is its self-referential nature; rather than being the subject of our experience, it is the object of our attention turned inward. In this sense, it takes a third-person perspective, akin to looking at ourselves as we look at another person. Related to this, just as we associate the behavior of another person to them (e.g., "He looks happy"), likewise what is "observed" in our own body and mind is linked to Me. When we say, for example, "I am happy" or "I have a toothache," we identify the perceptual experience given by the self-as-subject as belonging to an entity, namely Me. This is fundamentally different from the direct experiencing of stimuli from a first-person, pre-reflective perspective that some argue the self-as-subject offers; there is no perceptual basis for regarding events and experiences as being owned or possessed by oneself. Instead, the self-as-object provides reflective or conceptual knowledge of having a perspective.

This kind of processing points to another key difference from the self-as-subject; identifying a perspective and the experiences that go with it as "mine" requires that we have mental images or representations of ourselves and of our experiences in working and long-term memory. The self-as-object conceptually represents immediate perceptual experience as visual, auditory, and other sensory images in "my" mind that provide the material on which "my" thought operates, "my" emotions react, and "my" actions are taken. In this mode of operating, people attend to and think about conceptual representations of experience that are one step removed from perceptual representations. In essence, two distinct forms of self-relevant processing are regularly occurring: an immediate, first-person experience of internal and external events, and a third-person conceptualization of those experiences.

Self-as-object processing also differs from the self-as-subject in that the former operates not only on

present stimuli (as the self-as-subject does) but also on past and future stimuli as mental representations. Drawing on long-term (episodic) memory, the self-as-object is "extended in time", creating a subjective sense of continuity of experience that links one's past, present, and future and allows thoughts about past and future events. The memory-enabled ability to string together mental representations also permits mental time travel, a movement forward and backward in time that facilitates an understanding of the meaning of remembered past, present, and anticipated future happenings.

As people claim the extended, continuous experience as "mine," self-as-object functioning creates a subjective sense of having a personal identity with an autobiographical narrative that is reconstructed from the past and projected into the future. That is, when we think about, imagine, or talk about our bodies, psychological traits, experiential states, relationships with others, and so on, we are (1) referencing our mental representations of who we are and what we are like—our attributes, beliefs, self-views, self-concepts, and memories of personal experiences and (2) reinforcing these conceptions of who we were, are now, and may be in future over various time spans, from the next few seconds to many years from now. Through the lens of self-related thoughts and accompanying emotions, this self represents the ongoing story of "Me," in which "I" am the central character.

Using self-awareness in this way might be expected to enhance self-knowledge, but the empirical evidence does not clearly support this idea. Our self-representations are often unreliable, even biased. One way in which such biased self-knowledge is formed and maintained is rooted in the self-objectification inherent in self-as-object operation; by appraising oneself relative to others and relative to the internalized standards formed in interaction with others, self-knowledge is distorted by people's positive and negative judgments of personal attributes, behavior, and self-worth.

As noted earlier, the self-as-object's self-referential processing not only impacts mental operations on current and past experiences but also supports the



cognitive processing of various representations of those experiences to create novel scenarios of what may occur in the future. This self-referential processing also draws attention to and retains images of incoming stimuli according to the strength of their relevance to the conceptual self-views that are sustained by self-as-object processing, rather than in accord with the intrinsic attributes of those stimuli. As a result, self-representations are maintained and enhanced, helping to solidify people's self-views and identity. One indicator of the importance of these self-views and accompanying self-evaluations is their influence on mental and physical health, behavior regulation efforts, interpersonal behavior, and other major domains of psychosocial functioning in which people's views of themselves influence how they think, feel, and act.

As indicated at the beginning of this section, the self-as-subject and self-as-object reflect distinct psychological processes, but they are intimately linked in several ways, and each is related to hypo-egoic phenomena. First, self-awareness is central to both sets of processes, as each depends on the capacity for self-directed attention to the internal environment, and the conceptual, self-as-object processes depend on the capacity to reflectively consider one's behavior, values, and desires (fueling integrated functioning) and to think about one's attributes, identities, public images, life trajectory, and so on.

A second linkage between these two selves is in their frequent, dynamic interaction. Consciousness fluidly and often rapidly shifts from the minimal, present-oriented scope of the self-as-subject to a broad, narrative scope of the self-as-object, and vice versa. A simple example of this occurs when a person visually recognizes him- or herself in a mirror. This seemingly simple act involves both an experiential recognition of oneself at the moment of looking (self-as-subject) and often, thoughts and emotions about one's appearance that draw on stored memories and, perhaps, future-projected imaginings (self-as-object). Under normal circumstances, these processes co-occur—the self in its full expression involves the sense of being an experiencing self and also having self-relevant thoughts, though of course people are typically not

conscious of the operation of these distinct processes.

A third linkage between the two forms of self is the immersive nature in which they operate. This has long been recognized in self-as-subject processing, which cannot be directly perceived, but at best is only reflected on in hindsight, after a moment of perception has passed. The immersive nature of self-as-object processing is manifest in the fact that we typically do not regard our thoughts as just thoughts, as simply occurrences in consciousness. Rather, we implicitly or explicitly take this mental activity to reflect reality more or less accurately. For example, a person thinking about his or her weight may say, "I am too fat"—and not "There is an evaluative thought here about this body being too large and heavy." The former statement makes a truth claim about Me; the latter rests on a meta-cognitive, phenomenal awareness (an awareness of the mind's operation) that the thought of being fat is (just) a thought. Said differently, people generally consider their own perspectives on themselves, others, and the world to be true and therefore take those thoughts quite seriously. Whether thoughts are taken as veridical or not has enormous consequences for psychological well-being, interpersonal behavior, and other domains of functioning. Indeed, many contemporary forms of psychotherapy—including cognitive behavioral therapy, acceptance and commitment therapy, and dialectical behavior therapy—are designed to lead people to question the veracity of their thoughts about themselves, other people, and the world.

Yet more fundamentally, the harnessing of self-as-subject processing to the service of creating and maintaining immersive, vivid representations of self-as-object-relevant stimuli helps to maintain the perception that this Me is a real entity. To most people, its existence seems perfectly apparent and is constantly reinforced by our socialization and ongoing social interactions, including our use of language. The ways in which people verbally communicate help to solidify the sense of being a distinct entity with ongoing life experiences that belong to the same person over time. Talking to ourselves (inner speech or self-talk) also helps to maintain such a perception. Our sense of self feels

so unquestionably real that people rarely stop to wonder who is being spoken to when we talk to ourselves, who or what is generating their thoughts, or whether those thoughts reflect reality.

### The Self as a Model

People's sense of self is remarkably persistent in the face of the many changes that a person's body, personality, knowledge, views, values, and station in life go through in a lifetime. Despite whatever changes, however dramatic, may have occurred in our pasts, we generally see ourselves as the same person. People can undergo major changes in personality or lifestyle, change their beliefs and attitudes in fundamental ways, act in ways that run contrary to their self-image, or even lose parts of their bodies to injury or illness and still consider themselves to be Me. In fact, when asked, people commonly report that even if they lost their entire bodies and their minds (or brains) were transplanted into another body, they would still somehow be the same person. People can even report temporarily losing their sense of self, through peak experiences, drug use, or contemplative practices and yet claim this loss of self as "my" experience!

Yet scholars in a variety of disciplines have long challenged this persistently real or "naïve" sense of self, and contemporary naturalist philosophers of mind and, increasingly, cognitive scientists and neuroscientists offer a different understanding of the self-as-subject and self-as-object than the one that our thought, language, and subjective experience lead us to adopt. One predominant view is that these two forms of self are a property of the human brain's dynamic, biological self-organization, a psychological product that projects a model or representation of the world, of oneself, and of oneself in the world.

As already noted, our consciousness represents our sensory experience, meaning that it creates a sketch or simulation of what we encounter. However convincing it is, this simulated reality is more apparently real than truly accurate; also, as noted earlier, our consciousness is highly selective in representing what comes through our senses and what aspects of experience are consciously attended to. What we experience as reality is but a fraction of what is occurring or has occurred at

any given moment. As a result, our conscious model of reality "is a low dimensional projection of [an] inconceivably richer physical reality" that may have evolved due to survival pressures that did not depend on perfect representational accuracy. In addition, the mind's moment-to-moment conscious content is constructed on the fly, which derives from both the selectivity of our sensory input and the influence of thought, memory, and emotion in shaping that input into recognizable and meaningful patterns. Such patterns influence our interpretations of what we experience.

What makes the self so apparently real is that we do not recognize that our perception of ourselves and the world is a model, partly because we are unaware of the processes through which information reaches our conscious awareness. We do not see neurons firing but only what the organized action of the brain produces experientially. As a result, we look through the model directly onto the world. In this way, the conscious experience of being a self in the world emerges because the model itself is "transparent" or invisible to us. Furthermore, in joining the capacities to be both subject (I) and object (Me), the self can represent the process of representation itself (metarepresentation)—that is, to attend to and think about the mind's contents. The significance of this is difficult to overstate. As self-equipped beings modeling reality, we can "catch ourselves in the act of knowing.... This ability turned us into thinkers of thoughts and readers of minds, and allowed biological evolution to explode into cultural evolution".

### Egoicism and Identification with the Self-Model

As valuable as the self-model has been to human affairs, both individually and collectively, it can become problematic when people do not recognize that their perceptions and beliefs about themselves in the world is a model—a schematic or working hypothesis about reality rather than reality itself. Then, believing that their mental representations of themselves are, in fact, them, people naturally identify strongly with those representations and foster, protect, and defend those self-images as if they were more than a product of perception and thought. This identification with the self, and particularly the self-as-object, is one contemporary

conceptualization of the term “ego.” In contemporary parlance, a person who becomes ego-involved is overly identified with a mental construction.

[Just as with the word “self,” the term “ego” has accrued a variety of meanings over the centuries. Latin for “I” or “myself” to denote the first-person singular, the word first appeared in known written form in the late 18th century (though its spoken usage may be much older). In S. Freud’s popular usage of the word in the late 19th century and early 20th century, translated from the German, *Ich*, it was part of his psychodynamic structural model of the psyche, in which the ego serves self-regulatory, and particularly mental conflict-resolution functions, including reality testing, impulse control, moral judgment-making, and self-synthesis or self-concordance. A number of 20th century, post-Freudian psychodynamic theorists extended the conception of the ego as a healthy mental process that could function autonomously, not simply in response to mental conflict. Since the latter half of the 20th century, the term has taken on divergent meanings within philosophy and various psychological theories, and its connotations may be described neutrally (e.g., to refer to I or self), positively (e.g., ego strength, healthy ego), or negatively (e.g., egocentricity, ego-involvement).]

Identifying with one’s model of Me has several implications that lie at the heart of egoic functioning. Perhaps the primary implication is that the model acts as a lens or filter through which many psychological functions operate. Indeed, it influences what we pay attention to (attention), what we think about (cognition), what matters to us (motivation), what influences our feeling states (emotion), and of course, how we behave (action). Peoples’ self-views affect their attention, cognition, motivation, emotion, and behavior somewhat idiosyncratically, but the inherent nature of self-as-object processing creates four general features of egoic functioning—self-preoccupation, in which people’s attention and thoughts are dominated by their own lives and outcomes; egocentrism, in which people interpret events primarily from their own perspective; egoism, wherein people place precedence on their own outcomes over those of others; and finally heteronomy, in which peoples’

behavior tends to be controlled by their fixed images of or expectations for themselves and by real or perceived pressures to be or act in accord with others’ views or expectations. These features of egoic functioning are inherent to human psychology, but few would doubt that people are generally far more self-preoccupied, egocentric, egoistic, and more susceptible to heteronomous self-regulation—that is, more egoic—than is optimal both for their own well-being and for the well-being of those with whom they interact.

Although identification with the self-as-object model naturally leads people to be egoic, evidence suggests that support for, if not glorification of, self-centered worldviews has increased notably in the United States within the past 30 years. Indeed, it has been argued that egoicism is rampant; commercial television, popular books, song lyrics, and even mobile software applications promote self-preoccupation and self-interest. Both narcissism, an excessively positive, inflated sense of self, and depression, which typically has excessive self-denigration as a core element, appear to have increased dramatically. Both share an excessively egoic focus on oneself and one’s outcomes, albeit in different ways. [One mobile application in this vein is called Ego: You’re important. “Ego gives you one central ... location to check web statistics that matter to you. You can quickly view the number of visits to your website (including daily, hourly and monthly numbers), feed subscription totals and changes, how many people are following you on Twitter and more” (<http://ego-app.com>). Arguably, “Ego” is an honest name for what many forms of social media support.]

At the same time, there is some popular recognition of the negative consequences of excessive ego-involvement. One manifestation of this can be seen in the Urban Dictionary ([www.urbandictionary.com](http://www.urbandictionary.com)), which lists over 300 terms, most invented (and many humorous), designating various forms of contemporary ego-driven behavior. But such recognition is not new. A long history of psychological research has shown how markedly ego-involved mental functioning can be. People are incontrovertibly egocentric, self-relevant information is preferentially processed and remembered, and people strive to protect their

self-views (whether good or bad) to the point that they selectively seek confirmatory evidence and otherwise distort reality in ways that led Greenwald to liken egoic functioning to that of a totalitarian regime.

More recently, psychological scientists and mental health practitioners have echoed the views espoused by philosophers, spiritual teachers, and even occasional political leaders for millennia, who have pointed out that excessive self-preoccupation is a primary source—if not the source—of personal distress and interpersonal strife. The psychological processes that create these problems can be construed in a number of ways, but they come down to identifying so strongly with one's mental representations of oneself and the world (i.e., self-as-object processing) that people (1) think excessively about themselves even when such thoughts are not needed to function effectively and (2) treat the fortunes of their mental self-images as if they are real. These two tendencies can create unnecessary personal distress and foster behaviors that can be detrimental to the person and to those with whom he or she interacts.

People undertake particular strategies to deal with the consequences of excessive egoicism, often implicitly. For example, efforts may be made to anesthetize, or escape the mental activity that is causing distress—through alcohol, drugs, or other more beneficial states of consciousness such as meditation. In addition, many moral and religious traditions have focused on regulating the expression of egoic behavior to ameliorate the interpersonal and societal excesses of self-centeredness, egotism, and other problematic products of self-identification. These have involved various efforts to police egoic functioning through laws, moral codes, and social norms that deter egoic actions that are harmful to oneself, to other people, and to social order, such as drug abuse, violence, misappropriation of property, and deceit.

### The Hypo-egoic Turn

Scholars, spiritual leaders, and social activists have long advocated a hypo-egoic way of being, an approach to life that is characterized by less of the self-identification or ego-involvement described here. As we conceptualize it, hypo-egoicism reflects a low degree of identification with the self-as-

object model described earlier and, thus, with lower self-preoccupation, egocentrism, egoism, and heteronomy. In simple terms, when people are being hypo-egoic, they do not become immersed in their own self-referential psychological states or behavior as easily as human beings usually do. When thinking, feeling, or acting in this way, a person's ego-involved processing can be said to be "quiet", or at least "quieter" than it usually is. Importantly, while some people may generally behave less egoically than others as a result of genetic factors; familial, educational, or cultural influences; personal experiences; or special training, the degree to which a person is hypo-egoic at any particular time is also influenced by features of the immediate situation and the person's current psychological state. Like many psychological processes, hypo-egoic functioning has both trait- and state-like expressions.

Of course, people who are behaving hypo-egoically probably do not explicitly think of the self as a "model" in the way that we have described it. But they may see it as a kind of construction or story that the mind creates and maintains rather than being who they "really are." Alternatively, through introspection, instruction, or training, they may perceive the self as a dynamic subjective experience or process rather than a stable, independent entity. Whatever the case may be—and how hypo-egoic people perceive the self is an underdeveloped area of research—hypo-egoic functioning does not eliminate people's sense of "Me" (or "I"), and they do not become "selfless" in this sense. Instead, there is indication these two forms of processing (the I-self and the Me-self) can be defused, so that self-relevant functions of planning, decision-making, self-regulation, and other activities can be channeled more flexibly, autonomously, and constructively toward, for example, an engagement of reflectively considered values, goals, and activities that support integrative self-regulation, personal well-being, and social welfare.

In recent years, active investigations of hypo-egoic functioning have been taken up by philosophers, cognitive scientists, neuroscientists, and researchers in developmental, social, evolutionary, clinical, and counseling psychology (although they do not

necessarily use that term). The processes involved in hypo-egoic functioning are now receiving attention at multiple levels of analysis, including investigations of overt behavior (such as compassion, forgiveness, and other prosocial responses), self-relevant beliefs (such as humility and alloinclusive identity), subjective experiences (such as equanimity, awe, and mystical states), dispositional characteristics that mediate these responses (such as attachment style and an array of values), and neurological processes that occur when people are less self-preoccupied, egocentric, and egoistic than usual. In addition, research has examined clinical and psychoeducational interventions that promote hypo-egoic ways of thinking and behaving.

To provide an umbrella construct for these scattered areas of work, we use the label "hypo-egoic" to reflect the fact that the disparate cognitions, emotions, motivations, behaviors, and physiological processes being studied all involve a lower-than-usual level of egoic processing. However, we believe it is important to frame hypo-egoic and related terms, such as "quiet ego" in a broad, conceptual sense, rather than using them to denote a specific, operationally specified construct. Psychological phenomena that occur when people are being hypo-egoic share some common features and sometimes co-occur, but hypo-egoicism is a syndrome of features that involve a less egoic style of thinking, feeling, and behaving rather than a unitary, monolithic construct.

This volume brings together chapters that present state-of-the-science knowledge about phenomena under the umbrella of hypo-egoicism. Its goal is to survey what is known about hypo-egoic phenomena in an integrative fashion that will foster connections among the various areas of investigation, which have until now been conducted mostly independently of each other. To the extent that these phenomena share common psychological underpinnings, the insights emerging from each area of investigation can help to inform the others. By providing a compendium of work on these topics, we hope to stimulate future attention to these specific topics as well as hypo-egoic processes more generally.

The contributors to the book reflect the growing number of investigators engaged in theory development and research on topics that involve hypo-egoic functioning. The chapter authors have, first and foremost, conducted high-quality scholarship and empirical research, and have thought deeply and written authoritatively about topics that we believe are related to hypo-egoicism. Part 1 of the book presents theoretical perspectives on hypo-egoicism, drawing first from philosophy, both Buddhist and phenomenological perspectives, both of which have devoted considerable scholarly attention to egoic functioning, its limits, and its alternatives. Perspectives drawn from major domains of psychology follow, including social and personality, evolutionary, developmental, and clinical subdisciplines. Together, these chapters provide a comprehensive theoretical network of ideas designed to inform our understanding of the nature of hypo-egoicism and its expressions in various domains of human functioning, and to encourage discourse on the topic both across and within disciplines.

Part 2 of the Handbook offers scientific perspectives on intrapersonal and interpersonal manifestations of hypo-egoic functioning and their consequences for well-being, emotion regulation, adaptive decision-making, positive social relations, and other key indicators of human flourishing. Chapters in this section discuss neural signatures of egoic and hypo-egoic processing, flow, mindfulness, empathy and altruism, morality, compassion for self and others, benevolence, attachment security, humility, forgiveness, ecocentric motivational orientations, and mystical experiences. In a final chapter we present a view of the hypo-egoic person in an effort to "put a face" on this way of being. In each of the chapters, the authors discuss the limitations of current research in their area of work and point toward promising avenues for future investigation.

As a whole, this Handbook is designed to offer thoughtful analyses of hypo-egoicism, seeking to advance the scholarship and science on this topic by providing a reasonably comprehensive picture of the diversity of extant research. We also hope to bridge gaps between these various lines of work

and to foster the advancement and integration of theory, research, and applications pertaining to hypo-egoic functioning. This line of inquiry is still quite new, and our hope in curating this volume is to encourage dialogue about, and further inquiry into, this way of being that appears to have widespread implications for personal, interpersonal, and societal well-being. <>

[The Routledge International Handbook of Critical Positive Psychology](#) edited by Nicholas J. L. Brown, Tim Lomas, Francisco Jose Eiroa-Orosa [Routledge International Handbooks, Routledge, 9781138961432]

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, the field of positive psychology has sought to implement a science of human flourishing so that we may lead happier, more fulfilling lives. It has found expression not only in academic papers but also popular books and, increasingly, in government policy. [The Routledge International Handbook of Critical Positive Psychology](#) is the first volume dedicated to a critical appraisal of this influential but controversial field of study.

The book critically examines not only the scientific foundations of positive psychology, but also the sociocultural and political tenets on which the field rests. It evaluates the current field of knowledge and practice, and includes chapters analyzing the methodological constructs of the field, as well as others that question what positive psychology actually means by ideas such as happiness or well-being. Taking the debate further, the book then discusses how positive psychology can be applied in a wider variety of settings than is presently the case, helping communities and individuals by acknowledging the reality of people's lives rather than adhering strictly to debatable theoretical constructs.

Including contributions from disciplines ranging from psychoanalysis to existential therapy, theology to philosophy, and contributors from throughout the world, [The Routledge International Handbook of Critical Positive Psychology](#) will be enlightening reading for anyone interested in how psychology has sought to understand human well-being.

Excerpt: Foreword: interiorizing and interrogating well-being by Isaac Prilleltensky

The main interrogation that takes place in this book is over the interiorization of well-being. The former is done by critical psychology and the latter by positive psychology. This type of interrogation is not new, and positive psychology is not the only suspect in the practice of interiorization, which is the tendency of psychologists to locate the source, signs, and strategies of well-being within the individual.

Nearly thirty years ago I published a paper in the *American Psychologist* called "Psychology and the Status Quo" (Prilleltensky, 1989). The paper examined various schools of thought within psychology and their complicity in upholding an unjust state of social affairs. The main mechanism for doing so was the redefinition of social and interpersonal problems into intrapsychic maladies. Fast forward to 2015 when Davies stated:

As positive psychology and happiness measurement have permeated our political and economic culture since the 1990s, there has been a growing unease with the way in which notions of happiness and well-being have been adopted by policy-makers and managers. The risk is that this science ends up blaming ... individuals for their own misery, and ignores the context that has contributed to it.

In the interim, between my paper and Davies's *The Happiness Industry*, the characters might have changed, but the plot remains the same: a profession at risk of losing sight of context. This is not a trivial threat, for there are epistemic, moral, and political consequences of such oversight.

From an epistemic point of view, our understanding of well-being is hampered when we ignore cultural and environmental circumstances surrounding the experience and expression of well-being. From a moral point of view, we risk descent into person-centered explanations of health and wellness, which often turn into victim-blaming accusations, as noted by Davies. From a political standpoint, individualistic accounts of behavior wittingly or unwittingly support the societal status quo, which benefits the few and harms the many. According to this logic, it is people who need to change, not the system. There is no question that on many counts positive psychology has enhanced these risks, but

these threats are not new, and we have rung alarm bells for quite some time now.

While these are serious shortcomings of positive psychology, it's important to distill the contributions that this movement can potentially make. The emphasis on strengths is an important corrective, as is the focus on well-being. The traditional focus on deficits and illness has resulted in pathological depictions of individuals who are otherwise doing their best to cope with adverse environments. From the perspective of an oppressed woman or employee, stigmatizing them as "troubled" or "troubling" can only add insult to injury. Our dignity is assaulted when we encounter professionals bent on labeling us, as opposed to understanding us. Critical psychologists, who usually align with the experience of minorities, can build on the scholarship of strengths because it grants the communities we work with dignity and respect.

The emphasis on skills is another important contribution of positive psychology. Exhortations for social change and personal emancipation require competencies. It is certainly possible that most of the skills imparted by positive psychologists help people adjust to an unjust social system, but they do not have to be limited to that. Skills can help in promoting wellness and fairness, at home, at work, and in the community. Furthermore, the acquisition of these skills can be fun and engaging.

This pragmatic emphasis has important implications for critical psychology and critical scholarship in general. While I was a professor at Vanderbilt University, doctoral students and I conducted an analysis of power and action in critical theory across various disciplines. We found an interesting paradox. While community psychology, for example, was found to be more action oriented than critical psychology, its efforts fell short of contesting structures of power. On the other hand, while critical scholarship, including critical psychology, was certainly more challenging of the status quo than community psychology, it had not produced effective interventions to foster social change. Thomas Teo, a leading critical psychologist, has referred to this as a project of deconstruction without construction or reconstruction.

Just like the critique of mainstream psychology is not new, neither is positive psychology's emphasis on human potential, resilience, and well-being. As Cowen and Kilmer claimed in their comprehensive review, many psychologists had made major contributions to the wellness enhancement movement prior to the birth of positive psychology. In short, there is enough humility to go around for both critical and positive psychologists.

Historical modesty notwithstanding, the question remains how to build a bridge, if at all feasible, between critical perspectives and positive psychology. My personal answer is in the redefinition of wellness as fairness. There is ample research showing that health and wellness depend on conditions of fairness in relationships, at work, school, and in the community. In the absence of fair and just conditions, the potential benefits of positive psychology will remain within the province of the privileged. There is an urgent need to democratize positive psychology and all applied disciplines. Unless we do that, positive psychology will be a luxury for the few and a threat to the many, for the interiorization of well-being limits the exteriorization of injustice.

This book is enormously rich in content and provocative in implications. Authors explore the topics I mentioned above in detail. Some attempt a rapprochement between critical and positive psychology, while others resist it, but all do so in thoughtful and scholarly ways. For those of us who support the critical tradition, but also want to see wellness for all, this book is an intellectual feast. For maximal enjoyment, digest it slowly. For maximal impact, spread it widely.

Introduction by Nicholas J. L. Brown, Tim Lomas, and Francisco Jose Eiroa-Orosa, APRIL 2017

Academic handbooks are strange beasts. (For one thing, of all book formats, they are about the least amenable to being picked up with one hand!) The arrival of *The Handbook of Field X* usually indicates that Field X has reached a certain level of maturity. The scholars of Field X take a break from empirical research to repackage their recent work, including theoretical ideas, into authoritative chapters. It's a time for taking stock and seeing how Field X is progressing. Perhaps some trends that

have been emerging in various corners of the literature, or the First International Conference on Field X, will become apparent in the new handbook, as related ideas finally come into close physical proximity to each other. Graduate students are assigned the handbook as mandatory course reading and generally discover that few things are more soporific than trying to read an entire volume of this type from cover to cover.

[The Routledge International Handbook of Critical Positive Psychology](#) is a little different. First, and most obviously, there is arguably no field called "critical positive psychology" at present. Indeed, when one of us mentioned to a colleague that we were thinking of putting this book together, he replied, "Critical positive psychology? Isn't that an oxymoron?" Positive psychology (PP) is generally perceived by its detractors as being anything but critical; a glance at the Twitter feed of the attendees at any positive psychology conference suggests that many of the field's supporters prefer to concentrate on its more optimistic, upbeat aspects. Second, our chapters combine a wide variety of topics, writing styles, and authors, including several non-academics and many others from fields outside mainstream psychology. Third, while we would be delighted for every Master in Applied Positive Psychology (MAPP) student to be assigned this book for their course, our aim is a little broader. We want this to be the fifth or sixth book that people pick up when learning about positive psychology, not the first; so, we assume that our readers already have a solid understanding of the basics of positive psychology, and are looking to explore beyond the confines of the typical MAPP syllabus. Finally, we wanted this book to be readable. As a result, the chapters are written in a wide variety of styles, with formal academic prose sometimes taking a back seat — reflecting the fact that many of our chapters are explicitly not written from a "neutral" scientific viewpoint. We have encouraged our authors to be themselves and use their own voices as far as possible. Furthermore, our index is considerably shorter than that of the typical handbook, reflecting the fact that majority of our authors' contributions are essays, to be read in their entirety, rather than detailed reference works.

This volume is addressed to advanced graduate students in positive psychology, such as those in the second half of a MAPP program. It will also be of interest to other scholars who may encounter positive psychology during their work. Additionally, we expect this book to be relevant to people who are interested in applying positive psychology in practice and wish to go a little deeper into the subject matter before committing themselves, whether by deciding to train as a practitioner or by devoting private or public resources to positive psychology projects in government, business, or the community.

When we set out to put this book together, we were unsure as to what direction our authors would take in interpreting our minimal guidance, which essentially consisted of telling them the book's title, asking them to take a constructive attitude as far as possible (we did not want simply to compile a list of complaints about positive psychology), and letting them propose their own ideas. Pleasingly, we found that, in roughly equal proportions, some offered direct critiques of mainstream positive psychology with interesting alternative views, while others melded critical perspectives from other parts of psychology and the social sciences with the ideas of PP, and a third group wrote accounts of applying PP in the often-messy environment of the real world. Consequently, the book is divided into three sections. In the first of these, "Criticism of Positive Psychology," our chapter authors examine and challenge several aspects of contemporary positive psychology. The second section, "Doing Positive Psychology Critically," brings together a collection of chapters that show how positive traits and psychological well-being can be enhanced in socially responsible ways. Finally, the third section, "Applied Perspectives," contains a series of essays by authors from a variety of backgrounds whose academic research or life experiences (or both) illustrate the possibilities—as well as the limitations—of positive psychology in practice. Of course, these divisions are somewhat arbitrary; some authors whose main focus is on critiquing the science of positive psychology do so because of its practical limitations (for example, when implementing specific interventions) or its failure to take into account cultural or other differences between groups, and some whose aim is to



describe novel applications of PP also discuss limitations of its current positioning as a science. Nevertheless, we hope that at least some degree of coherence is discernible within the sections.

Each section has its own introduction, which describes the chapters within the section in turn. We also have three "wild-card" chapters that did not fit easily into the other sections. Right at the start, in Chapter 1, Piers Worth and Matthew Smith set the scene for the rest of the book by describing how critical psychology and positive psychology can complement and learn from each other, despite their apparent contradictions. In a sense, this chapter is a micro-summary of the whole purpose of the book. Between the first and second sections, in Chapter 13, Liz Gulliford and Kristján Kristjánsson provide a playful yet thought-provoking interlude in the form of an imagined dialogue between several historical philosophers who discuss how positive psychology appears from their perspective. The dialogue is — perhaps inevitably — led by Aristotle, but his colleagues from very different eras succeed in showing that they too have something to teach us about the meaning of PP. Finally, between the second and third sections of the book, Tod Sloan and Marisol Garcia (Chapter 25) explore, via another dialogue (this time between the authors themselves), the importance of including old-fashioned — "hedonistic" rather than "hedonic," perhaps — pleasure on the sometimes rather earnest road to social justice. They argue that it is possible to do this without necessarily endorsing mindless consumerism or acting in ways that reduce the well-being of others.

### Section 1: Criticism of positive psychology by Nicholas J. L. Brown

This section of the book brings together a diverse set of chapters. Their common feature is that they each critique some aspect of positive psychology (PP) as it has been understood for the past decade and a half. Some of the authors are well-known for their skepticism about the whole enterprise of PP, while others are concerned that certain constructs used by positive psychologists may need to be examined in greater detail before they are ready for what we might call "positive prime time," with deployment in the form of interventions by positive

psychology coaches and business consultants. Our hope is that the reader will come away from each chapter with a fresh perspective on the complexities of the topic at hand.

Brent Robbins and Harris Friedman (Chapter 2) open the section with a call for positive psychology to reorient itself around epistemic values, the abandonment of which, they argue, is responsible for a number of recent problems in empirical psychology in general — typified by the so-called replicability crisis — and positive psychology in particular. They argue that incidents such as the debunking of the critical positivity ratio show that positive psychology's claims to be based on rigorous science are not well supported by the available evidence from the literature.

Continuing with the theme of scientific validity, the next two chapters explore two crucial constructs of positive psychology at an empirical level. In Chapter 3, Doug MacDonald conducts a detailed examination of well-being, which in some senses is arguably what the whole of PP is about. Yet, a formal definition of well-being has often proved elusive; many positive psychologists content themselves with noting that it may take different forms (e.g., "hedonic" and "eudemonic"), which does not get us much closer to answering the question of what wellbeing is from a scientific point of view. Doug's chapter reports extensive empirical findings that show that an understanding of well-being requires it to be carefully positioned against other candidate constructs, such as spirituality and existential functioning. Next, in Chapter 4, Liz Gulliford and Blaire Morgan discuss gratitude, and suggest — using results from a large survey — that it is a more complex construct than has been previously assumed. They suggest that gratitude may not always be positively valenced, suggesting that positive psychology interventions aimed at boosting a person's gratitude might not be unconditionally beneficial.

Proponents of positive psychology like to portray the field as being the antithesis of the medical model of clinical psychology and psychiatry, as exemplified by the DSM. Yet, as Sam Thompson shows in Chapter 5, PP has its own ways of diagnosing people and placing them into categories, such as "flourishing" and "languishing."

This chapter asks whether such definitions are really so different — not least in their effects on those being diagnosed — from those of "negative psychology," and what the consequences of this attribution of labels might be, especially in light of PP's claims to be applicable to entire populations of "normal" people.

Is positive psychology destined to take over the world? Jeanne Marecek and John Christopher tackle this question head-on in Chapter 6. They argue that in many cultures, numerous core ideas of positive psychology are not only not applicable, but that to introduce them could even have negative consequences. The consequence is that PP is an "indigenous" psychology — a term most often used by researchers from rich, industrialized countries to refer to "minority" or "ethnic" cultures, but in this case referring, perhaps somewhat ironically, to the broad sociocultural group known as Westerners — and that to attempt to export it outside its natural homeland is a serious error. Following on from this, in Chapter 7, Salvatore Di Martino, Francisco Jose Eiroa-Orosa, and Caterina Arcidiacono explore a different limitation of PP, arguing that the good life cannot just be a matter for individuals acting in isolation. Rather, well-being is always dependent on the social context in which a person lives. It assumes a degree of justice and equity in society, and also requires that people behave in ethical and moral ways. The authors argue that the PP literature has neglected these questions in favor of an overly individualistic approach, and that an adjustment, incorporating some of the above themes from the traditions of community psychology, is required.

One of the strongest claims for the intellectual and therapeutic legitimacy of PP is that it is, above all, an objective scientific movement. In Chapter 8, Bernardo Moreno-Jiménez and Aldo Aguirre-Camacho question this interpretation, arguing that positive psychology has all of the hallmarks of an ideology. Interestingly, their approach — in contrast to that of some other critics of positive psychology — does not require that PP occupy any particular position within the range of contemporary (political) ideologies. It is possible for PP to appeal to people who place themselves at any point of the traditional political spectrum

and still be principally ideological, rather than scientific, in nature.

The next three chapters examine questions concerning positive psychology's applications in therapeutic settings. In Chapter 9, DigbyTantam asks whether positive psychology is compatible with true personal freedom. He suggests that the concept of flourishing is in need of particularly close scrutiny in this regard, and warns that attempting to play down the inevitable negative side of life is not just futile, but potentially oppressive.

At the heart of most positive psychology training programs is the idea that PP can be brought to large numbers of individuals, who typically have no mental health issues that a traditional "negative" psychologist would recognize, via positive psychology interventions (PPIs). In Chapter 10, Paul Wong and Sandip Roy provide a trenchant critique of PPIs, arguing that for the most part they are based on inadequate theory and research that lacks validity even in the Western context, let alone among other populations. Wong and Roy further argue that most PPIs, with their principal aim of boosting positive emotions, fail to take sufficient account of the inevitable negative aspects of existence, and in some cases could actually prove harmful. They conclude by calling for a shift to a holistic model of human well-being, incorporating both positive and negative sides, a view also explored by other authors in this volume (e.g., Bretherton & Niemiec, Chapter 20; Lee, Chapter 21; Lomas, Chapter 22).

To say that psychoanalysis is out of fashion in all forms of psychology would be something of an understatement. Yet even Karl Popper noted that the unfalsifiability of many of the claims of psychoanalysis does not mean that they are necessarily wrong, or that psychologists cannot learn from them; the great Paul Meehl famously had a picture of Freud hanging in his office. Chapter 11 by Paul Kalkin shows what positive psychology can learn from psychoanalysis about the nature of happiness and the intrapsychic changes that are needed to achieve it. Kalkin provocatively suggests that PP practitioners cannot ignore the ideas of Lacan if they want to help their clients make progress.

To close this section of the book, in Chapter 12, I offer some suggestions for ways in which even newcomers to positive psychology, such as graduate students in Master in Applied Positive Psychology (MAPP) courses, can contribute critically to its development. Even the best science is only ever an approximation to the truth, and positive psychology, at least as much as any other scientific field, has its share of competing interests that mean that not everything that gets published consists of the best science possible. Fortunately, however, the small scale of the field means that the communication distance between graduate students and the people at the top of the heap is arguably lower in positive psychology than elsewhere. And, as somebody wise once said: If you want to find out how something works, try to change it!

## Section 2: Doing positive psychology critically by Tim Lomas and Itai Ivztan

Positive psychology is frequently viewed by its detractors as rather lacking in critical sensibilities. However, this handbook has been put together to show that this is far from the case. As the chapters across all three sections show, positive psychology is certainly amenable to being conducted from a critical perspective. Indeed, this type of criticality is by no means limited to the examples in this book. Contrary to the admonitions of its critics, there is a much higher level of critical thinking within the field than is generally suggested by its detractors. For instance, even back in 1990, in his book *Learned Optimism*, Martin Seligman was critiquing the notion that it is possible to categorically position certain phenomena as unequivocally "positive," writing that one must be wary of being a "slave to the tyrannies of optimism," and that one needs to be "able to use pessimism's keen sense of reality when we need it." Nevertheless, an impression has built up that positive psychology is rather uncritical and even naïve, with a common misconception being that the field simply suggests that all ills can be corrected through cheery optimism and "positive thinking."

This handbook as a whole is designed to correct this misperception. All three sections contain chapters that constitute excellent examples of positive psychology being conducted in a critical spirit. However, this critical spirit particularly comes

to the fore in this second section. In their various ways, all the chapters here represent cases of scholars "doing positive psychology critically" (as opposed to being critical of positive psychology). It is possible to group the chapters here into four broad themes. First, there is work that might be brought under the umbrella of so-called second wave positive psychology, a paradigm which essentially problematizes the notions of "positive" and "negative," instead viewing flourishing as a dialectical process. Second, we have several chapters working towards developing a greater appreciation of cultural differences and sensitivities within the field. Third, there are some nice examples of how a critically minded positive psychology can potentially work in practice. And finally, we close with a couple of chapters exploring how the field can develop more of a macro-level understanding of the factors that impact wellbeing.

We begin with two chapters that help chart the contours of the emergent "second wave" of positive psychology that has been crystallizing over recent years. The premise behind the "second wave" label is that, when it first emerged, positive psychology tended to categorize certain phenomena as "positive," and hence desirable, with the obvious corollary that oppositional concepts must therefore be "negative," and hence undesirable. However, it has increasingly been recognized that such an a priori categorization can be problematic. Indeed, this critical perspective has been present in the field from the start (e.g., in Seligman's work, as noted above). As such, the "second wave" label - also known as "positive psychology 2.0" in the pioneering work of Paul Wong - was created to encapsulate a rich vein of emergent work reflecting this kind of critical awareness. So, the section opens with Chapter 14, in which I present a case study typical of the second wave approach, involving a critical re-appraisal of boredom. This chapter suggests that even a dysphoric state like boredom, if engaged with in a certain spirit, may be conducive to flourishing in some ways. Then, on a slightly more esoteric note, in Chapter 15, Edith Steffen, David Wilde, and Callum Cooper take a second wave approach to the issue of anomalous experiences. Such experiences tend to be denigrated or regarded disparagingly within

conventional psychology, e.g., as indicative of psychiatric disorder. However, the authors argue that, for many people who undergo such experiences, these can be very meaningful and important.

Our second batch of chapters focuses on the importance of developing greater appreciation of cultural sensitivities within positive psychology. These chapters make the general point that the field initially emerged and developed mainly within a Western European-North American context. This "situatedness" is not necessarily a fault. It becomes problematic, though, if the field then seeks to uncritically generalize its findings and theories to other contexts, which perhaps has happened at times. However, many scholars are increasingly aware that this kind of uncritical generalization is an issue. As such, we are beginning to see a more nuanced cross-cultural sensitivity within the field, which is a great example of people "doing positive psychology critically." This sensitivity is exemplified and indeed effectively introduced in Chapter 16, where Peter Hill and Elizabeth Hall encourage an awareness of positive psychologies, using the plural to acknowledge that alternative - for example, non-Western - worldviews and values might shape conceptualizations of flourishing in different ways. A similar nuanced sensitivity is articulated in Chapter 17, where Adil Qureshi and Stella Evangelidou discuss the importance of moving towards a "culturally competent" positive psychology. This approach is illustrated by a interesting case study of Evangelidou's experiences of working in the Democratic Republic of Congo, and the possibilities and challenges involved in applying positive psychology in this context. Another illuminating example of cross-cultural sensitivity is provided in Chapter 18 by David Paine, Sarah Moon, Daniel Hauge, and Steven Sandage, who explore a range of cultural perspectives on humility. In doing so, the authors show that there are "multiple psychologies" with respect to this, each with implications for power, intercultural dynamics, and alterity. Finally, in Chapter 19, Daniel Brown and David George discuss the extent to which positive psychology is compatible with the religious traditions - particularly Christianity and Islam - that are

dominant/influential social factors in many areas of the world.

Our third group of chapters then offers some intriguing examples of how a critically aware positive psychology can work in practice. One of the main critiques of the field is that it has tended to "psychologize" wellbeing, treating it as predominantly the result of people's psychological traits or qualities, rather than a phenomenon that is strongly influenced by social factors. For instance, if someone is unhappy at work, the charge is that positive psychology tends to emphasize strategies for changing the person (e.g., helping them be more resilient), rather than altering a potentially toxic environment that may be largely responsible for their unhappiness in the first place (e.g., tackling systemic issues). However, our chapters here remind us that positive psychology can take a more critical approach with respect to these kinds of issues. In Chapter 20, Roger Bretherton and Ryan Niemiec discuss ways in which character strengths can be explored critically in occupational contexts to "humanize" the workplace. They explore the importance of humility in leaders, showing how this can enable people in power to be reflective and self-critical, thereby helping to create more positive work environments. Then, in Chapter 21, Byron Lee discusses the possibilities of an "integrative" applied positive psychology, which aims to cultivate deeper and more sustainable processes of personal and social change through the use of theories and practices from dialogical and contemplative ways of knowing.

Finally, the section finishes with three chapters that take a more macro-systemic approach to wellbeing. As noted above, positive psychology has often been accused of psychologizing wellbeing, and overlooking the socio-cultural contexts in which it occurs. This has meant, for instance, that the field has not perhaps paid sufficient attention to macro-level processes that can hinder or help wellbeing, such as political and economic systems. However, such considerations are beginning to become more prevalent, as reflected in these last three chapters. Firstly, in Chapter 22, I present the idea of "positive politics," a paradigm which focuses on the impact of political policies and processes upon wellbeing. The chapter offers a multidimensional

framework for conceptualizing the differences between left- and right-wing political positions, and suggests a research agenda for how their differential impact on wellbeing can be gauged. Our final chapters then move beyond politics to embrace an even more overarching macro perspective. In Chapter 23, Francisco Jose Eiroa-Orosa provides a comprehensive assessment of various models of socio-cultural change, and, moreover, teases out the complex links between such change and psychosocial wellbeing. Lastly, we close this section of the book with a new theoretical contribution from one of the founders of positive psychology, who continues to be at the forefront of its development, Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi. In Chapter 24, Daniel Gruner and Csikszentmihalyi introduce the notion of socio-cultural "complexity" as a new measure of societal wellbeing. Specifically, they suggest that socio-cultural progress is a result of increasing levels of both differentiation (as measured by political freedom) and integration (as measured by social trust). The result is a detailed and comprehensive model that charts a way forward for positive psychology to critically engage with the socio-cultural dimensions of wellbeing.

### Section 3: Applied perspectives by Francisco Jose Eiroa-Orosa

After the sections addressing criticisms and proposals for a more balanced field of positive psychology, we are pleased to introduce our readers to the third and final part of this book. In this part, we have gathered some experiences of the critical application of positive psychology at different levels, from interventions in community settings to changes in public policy. Although not all of the authors of these chapters might call themselves "positive psychologists," the inclusion of these stories in our book is highly relevant, given that they address in different ways the well-being of groups in a wide variety of settings. In other words, in this section we have gathered those chapters that are principally about research and practical experiences applied to real-world challenges using critical positive psychological approaches. Of course, some chapters in earlier sections of the book also touched on questions of

practical experiences or applications to some extent.

We have intended to give a relatively sequential structure to the section. Thus, we begin with three chapters on community psychology and bottom-up social transformation, followed by two chapters on research experiences in different contexts (mental health, international cooperation, and a crowdsourcing survey). We continue with two chapters on positive education, two on possible influences on public policy, and we close the section with a chapter on environmental psychology.

Ramón Soto Martinez and Salvatore Di Martino, community psychologists from Puerto Rico and Italy, inaugurate this section in Chapter 26 by illustrating the potential of Community Social Psychology for social transformation in Latin America, as a form of collective resistance to the negative consequences of globalization. Liberation practices in Latin America differ from those in Western countries in their indigenous worldview, their aim for social relevance, and their explicit political engagement, as opposed to the decontextualized, individualistic practices more commonly found in a Western setting. According to the authors, an alliance between Community Social Psychology and positive psychology can provide a critical awareness that, as we have seen in previous sections, is one of the principal deficits of PP.

With a more applied focus, José Eduardo Viera from Uruguay and Lauren Languido from the United States have worked together to bring us Chapter 27, with another perspective on liberation psychology. The stories on the struggles of people confined in Uruguayan prisons who also were recipients of psychosocial help in the aftermath of a fire, as well as other vulnerable groups such as the inhabitants of a slum situated in the outskirts of Montevideo, serve as examples of how PP can contribute to promoting dignified lives among excluded populations.

Speaking of commitment and involvement, is activism in itself a source of psychological wellbeing? Anne Montague and I analyze the implications of activism for human well-being in Chapter 28, using as examples young people involved in social change, as well as mental health

activists who have turned their own suffering into a struggle for improved conditions and treatment of people experiencing different forms of distress. According to our research, the little attention that has been given to these issues within positive psychology is probably due to the inconvenience for psychological science in general of dealing with issues far away from the supposed neutrality within which this science barricades itself.

In complete contrast to neutrality, interventions with a strong social commitment have a special place in this section. Taking as starting point sociological concepts, in Chapter 29 Jean-François Pelletier, Chyrell Bellamy, Maria O'Connell, Michaela Baker, and Michael Rowe from the Yale Program for Recovery and Community Health present their experience using the multi-dimensional construct of citizenship as a tool for psychosocial intervention to enable community inclusion and the full participation in society of people with mental illnesses. According to the authors, citizenship can be defined as a strong connection to the rights, responsibilities, roles, resources, and relationships — what they have termed the 5 Rs — that society offers to its members through public and social institutions and associational community life.

Optimism and revolutionary proposals contrast sometimes with the harshness of the situations with which community practitioners are faced in their daily work. In Chapter 30, Chris Beales, an English parish priest and social entrepreneur, analyzes the brutality with which the realities of daily existence often impact the lives of people. Beales runs through the influences of his thinking and practice, which in turn are a vivid summary of the panoply of academic psychology from the study of suffering, violence, and cruelty to the study of meaning, well-being, and spirituality. The author illustrates his conceptual trip with a study in the context of development cooperation work in Kabul, Afghanistan, in which the brutality of reality is explicitly depicted.

We also have a space for philosophical reflection (albeit with a marked applied accent) in this section. In Chapter 31, Manos Rhodes Hatzimalonas argues that the Greek meta-virtue of *philotimo*, as a positive cultural narrative, could make evident the need for PP to account for cultural and

situational differences while attempting to define a gold standard in the study of virtues and well-being. The author presents preliminary findings from an international crowdsourcing study exploring definitions and narratives of *philotimo*, offering a situational analysis of *philotimo*'s past, present, and possible future.

Positive education is an important subfield, and we also have included two pieces on this relevant application of positive psychology. In Chapter 32, Dianne Vella-Brodrick, Nikki Rickard, and Tan-Chyuan Chin propose a framework for evaluating positive education and a case study in which they reflect the need for overcoming limitations and adopting gold practice standards in school-based well-being and positive education, so that successful and lasting impacts can be achieved. Going to a higher level, in Chapter 33 Charlie Simson, Lauren Rosewarne, and Lea Waters propose to shape positive psychological research in order to influence public policy, using as an example the case of positive educational research. The authors stress the importance of seeking to better communicate and integrate findings with those of related well-being education movements that are not explicitly affiliated to positive psychology, where these share common interests. Finally, they offer practical advice for designing and reporting research results that may be attractive and easy to use by policy makers.

In line with the applications to public policy presented by Simson and colleagues, we might ask if it is possible to apply positive psychology at a large scale in a critical and self-reflective mode. To answer this question, in Chapter 34 Mike Zeidler, Liz Zeidler, and Byron Lee offer the surprising story of the Happy City project, "a uniquely practical, sustainable and accessible process enabling cities, towns or communities to directly increase happiness through participation, collaboration and celebration." The project implemented, using a bottom-up approach, a process of Participatory Development in Bristol, England.

Our next chapter moves the public policy question to a yet higher level. One of the stated aims of positive psychology is to improve well-being at the national scale, independent of economic progress (and even as an "antidote" to the unhappiness

induced by chasing constant GDP growth). In Chapter 35, Mark White argues that attempts to bring this about by the direct method, often proposed by advocates of PP and their supporters in government, of measuring happiness and then adopting public policy to produce higher numbers for those measures are unlikely to succeed. Instead, he argues that addressing real social issues is likely to advance human happiness far more effectively, and with fewer ethical problems.

Various chapters in this section, and indeed throughout the entire book, have included discussions of the need for contextualization and cultural awareness. Chapter 36 by Pablo Olivos and Ricardo Ernst, two environmental psychologists from Chile, adds a new dimension to these discussions, introducing a debate on the role of the natural environment in the pursuit of happiness. The authors show how this debate has been unjustifiably neglected by mainstream positive psychology, and argue that knowledge should have an emancipatory role within the communities where research is carried out.

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[The Life and Ideas of James Hillman: Volume 1. The Making of a Psychologist](#) by Dick Russell [Arcade Publishing, 9781611454628]

Considered to be the world's foremost post-Jungian thinker, James Hillman is known as the founder of archetypal psychology and the author of more than twenty books, including the bestselling title *The Soul's Code*. In [The Making of a Psychologist](#), we follow Hillman from his youth in the heyday of Atlantic City, through post-war Paris and Dublin, travels in Africa and Kashmir, and onward to Zurich and the Jung Institute, which appointed him its first director of studies in 1960. This first of a two-volume authorized biography is the result of hundreds of hours of interviews with Hillman and others over a seven-year period. Discover how Hillman's unique psychology was forged through his life experiences and found its basis in the imagination, aesthetics, a return to the Greek pantheon, and the importance of "soul-making," and gain a better understanding of the mind of one of the most brilliant psychologists of the twentieth century.

Excerpt: LAGO MAGGIORE, Switzerland, late August, 1966: A forty-year-old psychologist in a personal crisis and political storm (Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita), ascends the podium and poses the question: What is psychological creativity? The venue was the Eranos Tagung, where C. G. Jung had first presented his groundbreaking work on alchemy and the psychology of religion in the 1930s and 1940s. Among the audience were luminaries from the history of religion such as Henry Corbin, Gershom Scholem, Gilles Quispel and the biologist Adolf Portmann. With this question, James Hillman inaugurated a fundamental rethinking and re-visioning of psychology, which has gone by the name of 'archetypal psychology.'



Depth psychology, he continued that day, was in search of its paternity, its root metaphor or grounding myth, without which it would simply be a potpourri or a pot-pourrire.' Eschewing a general treatise on the nature of creativity, Hillman set out to explore the workings of the creative principle within psychology—and within the figure of the psychologist. Could the creativity of this newly inaugurated field have something to do with the 'Master-Fathers' of Freud and Jung themselves, he asked? As Hillman put it, "Could the finding of the fathering principle begin through an examination of these actual fathers and the creative principle in them?"

Half a century later, one may add the figure of Hillman himself to this pantheon. Strikingly in contrast to Freud's legacy, there have arguably only been two major original figures following in the wake of Jung: Michael Fordham, who sought to redress lacunae in analytical psychology with his developmental model, and Hillman, who took on Jung's daimonic inheritance. We may now turn back to his original question, and pursue it this time not through theoretical reflection—as he himself accomplished—but on the terrain of his own biography.

It is here that the work which is now at hand has a unique value. It enables one to follow the interweave of fate: chance, calamity, opportunity presented and taken, in the making of a psychologist and a psychology. Thankfully, this is not a psychological study. It eschews off-the-shelf interpretations or biographical reduction, while remaining attentive to the echo of past and future. Rather than being presented with the author's 'take' on his subject, or an evaluation of Hillman's work, the biography presents thick descriptions drawn from interviews with the protagonists themselves, together with contemporaneous letters and documents.

Most striking are the excerpts from the author's interviews with Hillman and his reflections on drafts of the book, which form an interleaved commentary on his own biography. To these, it adds reconstructions of the settings and stages which were formative for his work, together with the rich cast of characters encountered along the way, following his footsteps from the boardwalks of

Atlantic city, to the cultural and intellectual ferment of post-war Paris, the Joycean world of mid-century Dublin, and the splendor of the mountain-rimmed lakes of Srinagar, before arriving in Zürich. It is the first study which illumines the inner workings of the Jung Institute in the 1950s and 1960s, and the often-fraught tangle of personal, institutional, and therapeutic relationships.

This book invites one to read and reread Hillman's works, present in the definitive form of the Uniform Edition. It enables them to be read afresh: now accompanied with a view of the man at his writing desk, 'the man of flesh and bone,' as Unamuno would have put it; a view of what engendered his reflections, the struggle of self-overcoming, how he attempt to grasp the hidden powers at work in our lives, and to forge, the smithy of his soul, a renewal of psychology, and a renew appreciation of the force of imagination in all walks of life.

—Sonu Shamdasani

Philemon Professor of Jung History

Centre for the History of Psychological Disciplines  
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Excerpt: "THE FIGURE IN THE CARPET"

Here I am working toward a psychology of soul that is based in a psychology of image. Here I am suggesting both a poetic basis of mind and a psychology that starts neither in the physiology of the brain, the structure of language, the organization of society, nor the analysis of behavior, but in the processes of imagination." — James Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology*

On October 29, 1996, the Oprah Winfrey Show opened with the TV talk-hostess holding up a copy of a new book called *The Soul's Code*. "When I discover something that I think will enhance your life or add to your perception of why you're here on the planet and what you're working toward, I always like to share it with you," she said.' Seated next to Winfrey was a tall, thin, bespectacled gentleman with close-cropped white hair. He had penetrating blue eyes and a bird-like countenance that brought to mind an eagle. Dr. James Hillman was wearing an elegant gray suit and seemed

quite at ease in Oprah's world. Following his appearance on the show, in its initial week of publication, *The Soul's Code* made its debut at the top of the New York Times' best-seller list.

Tracing roots back to Plato's Myth of Ur, the book expressed an idea found in many traditions: That it is useful to envision one's life following a pattern, neither genetic nor environmentally determined, but guided by a daimon—an in-between, imaginal figure, neither material nor spiritual, that accompanies each of us and "nudges" us toward our purpose, identity, and fate. The book used mini-biographies of a number of well-known people, from the bullfighter Manolete to the violinist Yehudi Menuhin, to develop the idea that we have an innate calling in life that we must strive to realize. If we "read life backwards," a pattern became discernible. For example, the future bullfighter's fearfulness in clinging to his mother's apron, and the master musician's rejecting a toy violin for the real thing: Such things made sense when one saw the adult already there in the child. More than simply the result of hindsight, Hillman described his theory as akin to the tiny acorn containing the image of the future oak.

The author of more than twenty-five books, James Hillman was the founder of what he called archetypal psychology, a way to re-imagine the field and also to differentiate it from the analytical psychology of C. G. Jung. Hillman's work has been translated into twenty-one languages, and he lectured widely both across the United States and abroad. He was a practicing analyst for forty years. Yet today, Hillman is rarely mentioned in the psychology departments of most American universities. While his name remains synonymous with deep thought in countries like Italy, Japan, and Brazil, here in his native land a newspaper profile in 2004 was headlined: "The wisest man you've probably never heard of."

Such relative lack of recognition is because Hillman was among the most aggressive critics of his own profession. "We approach people the same way we approach our cars," he once said. "We take the poor kid to a doctor and ask, 'What's wrong with him, how much will it cost, and when can I pick him up?' We, can't change anything until we get some

fresh ideas ... so that we can see the same old problems differently."

As we begin the second decade of a new century, many believe that psychology and psychiatry are in a state of crisis. Professor Glen Slater of Pacifica Graduate Institute, a Southern California school offering advanced degree programs drawing from the tradition of depth psychology, offered a view of what's happened in the introduction to a volume of Hillman's collected works. "Today psychology rarely inspires," Slater wrote. "Materialism and numbers have eclipsed interiority. Cognitive-behaviorism and neuroscience dominate the landscape—flatlands where subjects are quantified, therapies are determined economically, and pills are given before anyone asks, 'what's wrong?' Functionality reigns. There is no room for the dream, less for meaning and little for the imagination. Most theorists have abandoned the depth

perspectives of Freud and Jung, thinkers whose works constantly ignite discourse in the humanities and remain mainstays of popular soul-searching. Psychology has placed itself inside a Skinner box—a place with an empty interior where psychologists map the brain and observe activity."

Americans reportedly spend about \$55 billion every year on psychotherapy and medication.<sup>1</sup> In 2002, there were more than half-a-million licensed therapists in the country. By 2005, one out of ten Americans was taking antidepressants, double the number of a decade earlier. Medication is being resorted to more frequently in response to complaints such as eating disorders, panic attacks, and alcoholism, while creating a multibillion dollar industry for the big pharmaceutical companies. The latest edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders now defines 365 disorders, at least one of which is required by the insurance companies to be diagnosed by mental health professionals seeking reimbursement.

From James Hillman's perspective, the medical model has captured and corrupted psychology and diverted it from its true aim of understanding the psyche, or soul. His emphasis on deeper appreciation of the sum of one's parts and our relationship to the larger world is a direct

challenge to the field's core conventions, from the pharmaceutical and scientifically based cognitive impairment side of things, to the pop-psychology of a Dr. Phil with his self-improvement strategies. While Americans in general and American psychology specifically favor solution-based methods, Hillman doesn't attempt to provide conclusive answers. He doesn't focus on seeking integration and unity, but rather on examining the unique and particular qualities that comprise our diversity.

Scott Becker, a Hillman scholar and psychologist at Michigan State University, has offered this analysis: "The crisis facing psychology, Hillman consistently argued over the past five decades, is not random or arbitrary, nor is it limited to the field of American psychology. His work has made it clear that psychology is misguided precisely because it has failed to consider the negative influence of the culture in which the field is embedded, and the cluster of problematic ideas which it unknowingly (unconsciously) serves, such as individualism, rationalism, and materialism, to mention only a few. Hillman has convincingly, scathingly revealed that these ideas render the world flat and sterile, serving to isolate us from each other, from the political and natural context in which we live, and from a cosmology that would provide a sense of value and purpose."

Hillman's psychology offers many variations on a theme; a theme that harkens back to the Renaissance and the Ancient Greeks, implying that psychology belongs more to the arts and humanities than to science. For his emphasis on the Renaissance philosophers of the soul, Hillman was awarded Italy's Medal of the Presidency in 2001. Traversing a path that Freud and Jung first began to explore, he returned the gods and goddesses of Mount Olympus to the heart of psychology, examining how ancient myths can provide insight for today's issues. In what has been termed a polytheistic psychology, there is no need to "get it all together" in therapy. Rather, the point is to recognize the tension between timeless archetypal forces at work within and around us. If true psychology emphasizes "the fundamental fantasies that animate all life," then gods and goddesses, as

embodiments of these fantasies, can amplify and deepen our own experience.

Hillman's approach takes psychology back to its ancient origins where the word literally means "study of the soul," deriving from the Greek psyche. For Hillman, soul is not a substance but a perspective, "an inner place ... that is simply there even when all our subjectivity... go and consciousness go into eclipse." It is also "the imaginative possibility in our natures ... that unknown component which makes meaning possible, turns events into experiences is communicated in love, and has a religious concern."

He is not speaking of religion in the conventional sense, believing rather that this "soul-spark" exists not only in people, but in animals, plants, and even architecture. While most contemporary therapists pay foremost attention to the psychology of the individual Hillman asks us to also look at the ways soul manifests in the environment and the world. "Psychoanalysis has to get out of the consulting room," he has said. "You have to see that the buildings are anorexic ... that the language is schizogenic ... that medicine and business are paranoid." He has called for therapists to see patients not simply as ego-driven and chained to what happened to them earlier in life, but as citizens who must actively observe and participate in the world around them. Leaving the world more beautiful than we found it requires that we go beyond ecology to draw from aesthetics, and by extension psychology. It is precisely this sort of activity that connects us with soul, while at the same time drawing us into political engagement.

At the heart of Hillman's psychology was an effort to restore imagination. His works not only spoke of the imagination, they spoke to it, embodying ideas in images with incisive intellect, wit, and passion. The subjects he took up ranged from academic to artistic, philosophical to pathological. He brought fresh perspective to war, beauty, architecture, depression, suicide, masturbation, mythology, nightmares, and more. In so doing, he

laid down a challenge to our deeply rooted heroic fantasies and values, asking us to question the value of an ego that insists upon being "master in

his own house" and who always seeks to go it alone.

In therapy, while often the focus is on early childhood trauma—and Hillman did not deny how devastating certain conditions of childhood can be—he also regarded the wounds of childhood as potentially "soul-making" experiences. These could connect the young person to an "underworld" that resonates with a sense of meaning and community. Hillman saw our dark moods and agonies, the things that interfere with the smooth running of our lives, as essential experiences not to be "overcome" or avoided. Therapy ought rather to respect symptoms and neuroses not simply as a suffering, but as an opportunity—asking what message might the symptom be trying to relay?

However, in today's psychology, "depression" had become a "big empty vapid jargon word... a terrible impoverishment of the actual experience." Describing how he might respond to a patient complaining of depression, Hillman once said: "I'll want to get precise: What do you feel? Sad, empty, dry? Burned out? Do you feel weak, do you feel like crying? And where do you feel depressed? In your eyes—do you want to cry, do you cry? In your legs, are they heavy, can't get up, can't move; in your chest, are you anxious, and how does that feel, where, when? Is it like being tied up, or being poisoned?" In other words, he would lead the patient into the realm of imagination, seeking to render lived experience in images.

Thomas Moore, author of the best-selling *Care of the Soul*, is a therapist who was mentored by Hillman and went on to edit an anthology of his writings (*A Blue Fire*). "I felt the most important thing I learned from him," Moore said, "was an appreciation of the range of the soul or psyche, the odd things that it does—and instead of judging and labeling and pathologizing these in a negative sense, taking tremendous interest in how the soul manifests in people's lives and how we get

into these messes." Moore has written that "Hillman's embrace of depression and pathology paradoxically leads to a psychology beyond health and normalcy, toward a cultural sensibility where soulfulness and beauty are the standards."

David Miller, Professor of Religion Emeritus at Syracuse University, recalled a seminar on dreams in Santa Cruz, California, where most of those attending were psychiatrists. One dream they were discussing had a snake in it and, as Hillman turned over the image, according to Miller, "the audience was becoming more and more uncomfortable—appropriately because they were unconscious of their snakiness. Finally one of the doctors said, 'Come on, everyone knows that's a phallus.' Hillman glared at him and exclaimed, 'You killed the snake!'"

Hillman is not easy to interpret or classify. His is not a humanistic psychology that elevates personal relationships and feelings almost to a religious status. Disdaining spiritual paths that focus on salvation or liberation, he can't be called New Age. Because he didn't fit readily into any category, within the United States, Hillman has remained a kind of "underground man," with devoted readers among not only certain psychologists and philosophers, but an eclectic group of painters, poets, actors, dancers, filmmakers, musicians, magicians, activists, athletes—and one Midwestern tavern owner who attended Hillman's every major talk no matter how far he had to travel.

Given Hillman's emphasis upon image and imagination, people in the arts have been particularly drawn to his work. Meredith Monk, a renowned composer who combines music, theater, and dance, says: "As artists we're bringing to life the invisible, and so are always working with something that's nameless. I think that's what James Hillman is also mining." African-American author and teacher bell hooks has long admired Hillman's "passion for thinking beyond the boundaries and his willingness to face reality." The novelist Thomas Pynchon has written of Hillman: "Finally somebody has begun to talk out loud about what must change, and what must be left behind, if we are to navigate the perilous turn of this millennium and survive."

James Hillman died, aged eighty-five, on October 27, 2011, from complications of lung cancer. Over the previous more than seven years, we had spent dozens of hours in a wide-ranging series of interviews. These form the backbone of *The Life and Ideas of James Hillman*. This first of two

volumes, *The Making of a Psychologist*, covers almost precisely the first half of Hillman's life, beginning with his boyhood on the teeming Atlantic City Boardwalk, negotiating the ancestral "presences" of his forebears.

Over the years in his books and lectures, Hillman had chosen to omit most details of his personal life. He even kept his picture off the covers of his books and rarely allowed himself to be photographed or videotaped during lectures, except for research purposes. He simply "believed very much in the anonymity of one's work," and said in one of his books (*Inter Views*, 1983): "I don't believe for a moment in explanatory biography, in psychobiography. I like the old Greek idea of biography: it just meant what one had been through ... What you did, where you were, who you were with." He went on to add: "The difference between ego and psyche isn't only theoretical; it's in how you tell a story. It's in getting the subjectivity out of it, so the story, the image takes over." Also, that the story might be: "an anecdote of a wider truth, an emblem of an idea useful to other lives."

In Hillman's case, the "wider truth" had partly to do with the connection between his personal life and his psychology's emphasis on culture. From his early years, he had borne witness to some of the most important cultural phenomena of the modern era. It began with growing up during the Roaring Twenties and Great Depression Thirties in Atlantic City, a place Hillman later believed might be "the very key to the American character ... the root of not just Las Vegas, but the entire entertainment attitude of the American people." His first therapeutic experience had involved working with disabled and blind veterans in military hospitals at the end of World War II. He had been a radio correspondent in post-war Germany, a student at Paris' Sorbonne during the heyday of Existentialism and Left Bank café society, and an editor for an Irish literary magazine working in the midst of J. P. Donleavy and Brendan Behan. After journeying into the heart of Africa and settling in Kashmir to work on a novel, he had arrived in Zürich in the 1950s when psychoanalysis was at its peak of popular interest. Enrolling at the C. G. Jung Institute and spending time with Jung during the last decade of the Swiss psychologist's life, in the 1960s Hillman

became the Institute's first Director of Studies. Over time, Hillman found himself more and more distanced from classical Jungians. He went on to pioneer his own distinct field of psychology. As Robert H. Davis writes in the book, *Jung, Freud, and Hillman*: "Hillman extends Jung's ideas into new and largely uncharted waters."

Hillman said in 2009: "The great question of biography is what Henry James called 'the figure in the carpet.' How to discern a definite pattern, a comprehensible figure?" During my numerous meetings with Hillman, he continually sought to offer a wider perspective in search of that "figure." It is, of course, unusual for a biographer to work closely with his subject as something other than a collaborative ghostwriter. There is a risk that the account will be a hagiography, too adulatory, omitting important details that the individual being profiled would just as soon not see brought forward. Hillman and I quickly established, however, that the difficult and painful periods of his life should not be glossed over, including a scandal in the sixties that rocked the Jungian world.

Besides taping many hours of interviews with Hillman, I have spoken at length with dozens of people about the man and his ideas. I visited with Hillman's three siblings and a number of his oldest friends. Additionally, I've been aided along the way with insights from individuals of considerable renown in their fields—psychologist Adolf Guggenbühl-Craig, philosopher Edward Casey, professor of religion David Miller, mythological scholar Ginette Paris, poet Robert Bly, author bell hooks, and historian Richard Tarnas. I have also utilized a wealth of material in the form of letters. Not only had all of Hillman's extensive correspondence to his parents during his formative years been preserved, but it seemed that almost everyone I contacted had saved their letters from him.

Hillman was not a linear thinker, and a biography of him cannot follow a strictly conventional path. I have been continually challenged to look for "the figure in the carpet" by tracing certain recurring themes: how ancestors continue as "guiding ghosts," the value of rebellion and outrage and periods of depression, the interplay between worldliness and introversion, the connection of ideas to eros and the

importance of collaboration, the influence of unusually odd friends. Ultimately, the question this biography seeks to shed light upon is: What was James Hillman's daimon, his own "soul's code," and what might be the legacy of his radical ideas?

[The Jeweled Path: The Biography of the Diamond Approach to Inner Realization](#) by Karen Johnson and A. H. Almaas [Shambhala, 9781611804355]

An intimate account of the development of a spiritual tradition and a biography of its creators--told by one of the Diamond Approach cofounders.

[The Jeweled Path](#) invites you to enter into the story of how the modern spiritual path of the Diamond Approach emerged. With humor and intimacy, Karen Johnson, cofounder with A. H. Almaas, reveals the personal experiences that birthed the teaching and furthered its development. These profound awakenings—occurring amidst ordinary life—became the building blocks of a remarkable new approach to human nature and to our understanding of reality.

Excerpt: The book you have in your hands might be the first of its kind. It is not simply a biography of the individuals closely associated with a spiritual path but rather the story of the genesis and growth of that path as expressed through the lives of those individuals. And the story is told by an insider present at the path's inception—by a true, living vehicle of the teaching who remains central to its ongoing development.

The Jeweled Path is not the story of a single awakening or epiphany from which a path arose, as happens in many teachings. Spanning many years, it is an unfolding tale of a path that simply erupted on the scene and unpacked itself in our lifetime rather than over the course of generations. It is the story of a logos that reveals a heartfelt knowledge and a discriminating intelligence that I believe the world is now ready for.

Since 1984, when the earliest Diamond Approach writings appeared, there has been much speculation about what this teaching is, how it came about, and what kind of person writes the books that represent the body of the teaching. The Diamond Approach has been called a philosophy,

a spiritual psychology, a transpersonal psychology or philosophy, a synthesis of Western psychology and Eastern teachings, a synthesis of Buddhist teachings with other paths such as Sufism, and various other characterizations. I have been referred to as a Sufi, a Buddhist, a Vedantist, a philosopher, a scholar, a psychologist, and so on.

None of these descriptions are accurate, yet it is understandable that such ideas are put forward by individuals who were not close to the genesis of the teaching. It did not matter that I said many times that the Diamond Approach is not a synthesis of any kind, and that this path is quite different from other well-known teachings, ancient or modern. Even now, it does not make sense to most people when I tell them that I am not the source of this path because no human being could have

developed it on his or her own. I thought of writing an autobiography, as some people suggested, partly to help dispel these well-meaning ideas and speculations. But I realized many years ago that it would be a monumental task, for this journey is a long series of awakenings and describing in detail the discovery of such a vast spiritual terrain would have taken me years and filled many volumes. My books detail some of the unpacking of the teaching and the secrets of reality, but *The Jeweled Path* tells how it all happened, filling a gap that my writings cannot.

Karen Johnson was a friend of mine before this path even began. As it unfolded, we became closer and deeper friends, spiritual friends. If anybody is qualified to present the truth of how the Diamond Approach originated and how it developed, she is. Karen knows this path from the inside out and has done a masterful job condensing in one small volume a rich and multifaceted story, replete with details of an inner process that included many births, deaths, and rebirths.

You will find *The Jeweled Path* readable and human, personal and intimate, even as Karen is narrating experiences of transcendence and sharing deep spiritual mysteries. She writes with spacious elegance and a compelling, often humorous, descriptive power that together communicate the feel of how things transpired. In showing the marvelous and sometimes miraculous

ways this teaching has developed, she goes beyond describing the events themselves to discuss what it means to live out the various realizations that arise in the Diamond Approach.

Karen is a superb storyteller. She does not simply write about the knowledge and realizations that came through; she puts everything in context, as an unfolding of unusual occurrences in the midst of ordinary living. Although this book is in no way a comprehensive account of the Diamond Approach, you will be transported into the midst of a wide range of inquiries, awakenings, discoveries, and revelations—as well as the struggles and perplexities we faced—as this path intelligently unfolded through my consciousness, Karen's, and the consciousness of others who have been on this journey.

In addition to relating her personal experiences, Karen also talks about a number of my inquiries, awakenings, and insights, many of which we participated in together. I made available to her the approximately six thousand pages of my journals: thirty-six notebooks of handwritten entries, followed by more than twenty years of computer files. Excerpts throughout her book offer an additional sense of the texture and feel of what was happening at various junctures on this path.

I have read and reread the chapters of this book and had discussions with Karen to review and sometimes clarify various events, as well as to understand some of the implications that were not evident in the journal entries. I can attest to the authenticity and truth of Karen's writing about me, the Ridhwan School, and the teachings of the Diamond Approach.

I am grateful that Karen undertook this task. It is a service not only to readers who want to know the story of the Diamond Approach and the students who are the beneficiaries of this teaching but also to the teaching itself. It is an expression of the reality behind the teaching, and this will hopefully guard against the mythologies, conjectures, and imaginings that usually occur when the story is told after the characters are long dead.

Both Karen and I are thankful for the many individuals who have confirmed the universality of the discoveries of the teaching through their

participation in the Diamond Approach. Many have also helped the development of the teaching through their service in establishing and growing the Ridhwan School—the worldly home of this teaching—and by working with the many students who have become travelers on this path.

A. H. ALMAAS (HAMEED ALI)

October 2016

Berkeley, California

Hameed Ali did not set out to deliberately create a spiritual path. He didn't know for some time that his experiences, and those of others around him, would evolve into a teaching. But what began as a personal investigation of inner truth gradually revealed itself as having many of the markings of a spiritual path in its own right. At some point, it became obvious that the journey we were on was not only for our own discovery, it was also showing us foundational principles of the human soul and its relationship to essential nature that would apply to and benefit many people.

The inspiration for *The Jeweled Path* arose in part from a wish to answer the many questions asked by individuals who have become interested in how the Diamond Approach unfolded. As our work has become more well known throughout the world, it was obvious that a chronicle of the development of the Diamond Approach was needed, both for those who have been involved with the Ridhwan School and people who have only heard about it or have limited familiarity with the teachings.

It also became clear that the teaching would outlive the initial teachers, so we realized that we had a rare opportunity to write about the genesis of a teaching while the original founders are still alive. Yet this book became more than just a useful idea; it became an inner dictate that wouldn't leave me alone. I found myself carving out days and weeks to study Hameed's journals, rummage through my own papers and memories, and then begin. As I delved into the project, the process of writing took on a life of its own—vivid, intense, elaborate. It was as though I were rediscovering each experience anew. I could feel, sense, be in the atmosphere of each scene. It was like holographic time travel. The events of the past came alive with

the vibrant joy of exploration and discovery of universes we had not heard of; the painful conditions of despair, loss, and disillusionment that are also part of our human soul; and the learning and loving and growing that happened. The then became a living now.

This served my purpose well, since what is most important is to convey an authentic sense of the people, places, and events that led to our breakthroughs, bringing you right into the midst of them with me. I would love for you to get a sense of the rich and textured experiences that were part of the remarkable organic process that parted the veil to reveal wondrous and beautiful treasures. I want to tell you how the Diamond Approach work was born. And I want to put you in direct touch with the beating pulse of it as it continues to grow and flourish as a living teaching.

The *Jeweled Path* covers mainly the first fifteen years or so of the path's unfolding, referring only briefly in the last two chapters to the two and a half decades that followed. I chose to focus on what kinds of processes and dynamics were involved in the emergence of the Diamond Approach and its initial stages of development instead of detailing the content of the teaching and the path in full.

In the course of our journey, we moved through many endings, many deaths. Along the way, specific turning points marked distinct passages to new realms of consciousness, exposing radical shifts in perception and the experience of reality. Each one revealed even more of the mystery of Being, giving birth to a continuing series of transformations of our sense of self. And every experience opened the way to a deeper understanding of True Nature without dismissing what had come before. An elegant system was divulging itself, presenting its wisdom for the road inward by reorienting our minds, hearts, bodies, and souls. Step by step, we followed.

Meditation had always played a supportive role in our inner practice, but awakenings most often arose out of a growing practice of Inquiry as we moved through each day of joys and sorrows, tasks and opportunities—whenever we approached our experience and life with openness and a sense of

adventure. Perhaps the central aspect of our process that many people are unaware of is that much of this happened while we were watching TV, sitting in a café, strolling along a sidewalk, shopping, or riding in the car. From within these ordinary circumstances a teaching emerged about the realization of our nature and how to live that realization.

Although a great deal of understanding and synthesis occurred spontaneously as the experiences were revealing themselves, much of what developed into the formal teaching was synthesized, systematized, and refined in hindsight by looking back at the copious notes that Hameed made along the way in his journals. The thoroughness of his record keeping is remarkable. Tracking the detailed, interlacing threads of our processes would have been impossible without them. Rereading those journals as I wrote this book gave me the opportunity to follow the timeline of the teaching as it displayed itself through our experiences. I saw relationships between segments of the teaching I'd never noticed before, and when Hameed and I discussed them, new details of the teaching were unpacked.

Hameed's journals, and the nineteen books he has written thus far (one of which—[Divine Eros: The Illuminating Force of Love in Everyday Life](#)—was coauthored with me), are considered to be the canon of the teaching. Thirteen of his books are edited transcriptions of new teachings, which are given mainly at his yearly Asilomar retreats. The first nine books were published under his own imprint, which he named Diamond Books. Beginning with [Spacecruiser Inquiry: True Guidance for the Inner Journey](#) in 2002, Shambhala Publications took over the publications of his books.

Three of the teachers in the Ridhwan School have published related works: Byron Brown's [Soul without Shame: A Guide to Liberating Yourself from the Judge Within](#); John Davis's [The Diamond Approach: An Introduction to the Teachings of A. H. Almaas](#) (both published by Shambhala); and Sandra Maitri's [The Spiritual Dimension of the Enneagram: Nine Faces of the Soul](#) (Tarcher) and [The Enneagram of Passions and Virtues](#) (Power Moves Entertainment).



The purpose of this book is to begin the tale of how that teaching arose through unsuspecting, adventurous spirits and settled into the spiritual discipline it is known as today. It is a love story of truth-seeking and truth-finding, of the knowledge of love and the love of knowledge, and of a topsy-turvy magical ride penetrating uncharted universes. It is replete with the difficulties and delights of moving into the deep unknown. It is also a tale of friendship and spiritual companionship, of life, adventure, mystery, and the beauty of the invisible world manifesting its secrets.

...

Everything in our consciousness and in our surrounds was erased in the Rinpoche's powerful transmission—with one exception. The only remaining dimension of our awareness that had not been annihilated by the Rinpoche's state was the same crystal presence that had emerged for us within the Absolute and had remained, unchanged, for many months, no matter what we felt or experienced in addition to it. Even the intensity of the Rinpoche's presence had not been able to dissipate it. Not only did it remain steady, it also became stronger and more faceted, as though it had been fortified by the transmission.

This caught our attention. The stunning fact that the crystal had maintained its existence even when the master had evoked what we experienced as the annihilating emptiness of the Absolute sent us probing with more urgency to discover whatever we could about the crystal.

After a couple of weeks of contemplation, Hameed arrived at some clarity concerning Dzogchen practices. He felt that they were valuable for students of Buddhism involved in practices geared toward states that can be activated and realized. But we had known for some time that it was no use for us try to move toward a specific state—and that even if we reached it, we couldn't choose to either stay in it or leave it. The Dzogchen path points the way to a deep realization, but it is not the orientation or practice for our Work and for us. As potent as Penor Rinpoche's empowerments had been, we were on another kind of journey. That said, the ever-curious Hameed continued to read all the books about Dzogchen and Mahamudra he

could get his hands on to understand their perspective more completely.

I was still in school at that point and began to wonder if my depleted interest in it was similar to my lack of excitement about the spiritual domain. I didn't feel negative. I was merely neutral. So I got up and went to class, read books, and wrote papers. It just happened, and I made no effort to stop. Besides, it was logical to complete my degree, since I was only a few credits away from graduating. Hameed encouraged me to continue, if for no other reason than to follow through on my intention. "It will strengthen your capacity for inner support to stay the course," he said.

I took my last class in the summer of 1988. It was on sex education, of all things. It was supposed to help budding therapists question their own attitudes about sex and gender issues that might arise while working with clients. I grudgingly signed up for it.

I stood at the entrance of the brightly lit classroom on the first day and scanned for a spot to settle in. I was watching the room in motion as the other students milled about, choosing their seats, and my eyes stopped at a guy with a strong jaw and wavy brown hair, sitting directly across from me. I recognized him from a class I had been in the year prior. He was ruggedly handsome, slender, and looked like he was in his late thirties. I smiled and gave a wave of recognition.

He patted the table in front of the vacant chair to his left, so I made my way over and sat down, and we dived into an upbeat conversation after introducing ourselves. Like two teenagers, we chuckled, flirted, and passed notes during the lecture. It had been a long time since I'd felt this easy with a man.

I had known that something was still missing for me in terms of relationship. Meeting Greg sealed the deal on my next step in that world. We began to see each other frequently, and he seemed mature, thoughtful, and attentive. Soon our mutual appreciation and carefree delight grew into out-and-out love.

My crystal life now faced the challenge of straddling two worlds. But the signs were positive: My mother loved Greg at first sight. He liked

Marie and Hameed—an added bonus, since they would always be family to me. And I was optimistic that Greg would be able to accept the indefinable, unconventional connection that Hameed and I shared. I had no illusion that the dynamics would be simple, but Greg and I were both therapists; we could work it out. And we had time. Still sensitive about my divorce from Perry, I was in no hurry to step into a formal commitment. I didn't move in with Greg until the end of 1989, and we married in 1992.

As the journey of descent progressed, Hameed and I constantly moved between the Absolute expanse and the crystal. I skinned my knees on lots of boulders on my way down the mountain, while his path seemed more like skiing gracefully downhill. When I was not tending to my scrapes or experiencing nonduality, I felt the simple presence of the crystal.

In early October 1988, Hameed and I engaged in another inquiry about the Freedom Crystal. Throughout the prior few weeks, it had been appearing as various colors and qualities of essence, and we had observed that we remained neutral amidst the presences that were manifesting. I had the insight that the crystal was freeing us from needing the essential aspects to manifest; now we knew that they were part of us whether we felt them explicitly or not. The next morning, Hameed wrote in his journal:

Last night the freedom crystal got bigger and more intense. I became the crystal. I feel I am a boundless dense presence. There are not any separating boundaries, but there is also not infinite extension. I do not feel separate from appearance. The question of separation or boundaries does not figure in here.

There is a dense presence, hard. It is concentrated at the location of the body. I am the presence. It is a dense consciousness.

Simultaneously it is nothing. The sense of nothingness is not absence.

I know I am the crystal, yet it has no sense of self and no quality whatsoever. No sense of emptiness, clarity, space, or freshness.

Everything in the world appears ordinary.

We did not know at that point that the Freedom Crystal was a vehicle, but Hameed's experience that night should have been our first clue. This crystal needed a different kind of discriminating intelligence to penetrate its knowledge; we were getting close but were not there yet.

After Hameed's experience of becoming the crystal, many tensions arose in our body-consciousness, presenting us with an entirely new notion of boundaries, unrelated to psychological issues. We were still coming from the perspective of our prior experiential knowledge—that boundaries are all about being separate from other things, other people, and from Being. The habit of seeing ourselves as existing in a 3-D spatial universe, even in a spiritual sense of extending infinitely, is the air we all breathe. It took many forays into the Absolute and back again to grok that the type of boundaries we were currently experiencing had to do with the concept of space itself.

The Absolute had revealed itself as the deepest nature of the soul and of all manifest reality, and we had realized it as the ground of all grounds of Being. But our experience and knowledge of True Nature was still limited because we thought that anything that would be "beyond" the Absolute would have to be foundational to it. We had not yet realized that the teaching now emerging was a departure from that way of thinking. This conundrum would not become clarified for us until we understood more about the absence that is characteristic of the Absolute, and its erasure of the concept of space.

The nothingness we had been experiencing grew more interesting now. We felt it as a kind of space, but not in the usual, dimensional way. It was a spaceless space: The feeling of openness that accompanies any sense of space remained, but the sense of extension and expansiveness that usually accompanies it did not. Here there was neither depth nor surface, so any notions of going "deeper" or "beyond" were no longer relevant. We couldn't call it space, yet it was open—not closed or blocked in any way. This was an off-the-map segment of the journey that had us going sideways instead of deeper.

Our discovery that space is not a prerequisite for experience activated the animal soul, which is totally dependent on the perception of space for its existence. The spaceless dispassion we were experiencing unearthed passionate attachments and woke up other unknown creatures hiding under the rocks. Powerful desires and needs, agitation and aggression, and adherence to particular positions created an internal maelstrom.

In that situation, Hameed's character lent itself much better to emotional camouflage. Plus he was seated more firmly on the side of the neutrality. Me? Everything shows. I had to hold myself in check to keep from acting out the banshee inside, which could still wail out glib or spiky remarks, overcoming my better judgment. Yet a new kind of detachment was silently growing within us along with the whole agitated mess.

Amidst all the shifting sands, Hameed and Marie were buying a vacation home in Hawaii and spending more time there. He and I spoke on the phone when he was away, continuing to explore the Freedom Crystal, but it wasn't the same as having our casual daily contact. As our outer lives diverged, we experienced much of this period as a lull in the development of the Diamond Approach. For months, we kept waiting, and occasionally hunting for, what would be revealed next.

Hameed coined the term "the gray night of the soul" for our experience of the bland, featureless desert we were crossing. This passage was so unremarkable and uninteresting, even boring at times, that it was beyond lack of meaning. It dawned on us that the spaceless nothingness we were continuing to marinate in despite all our outward activities might not be intermediary to anything. Maybe this was all there was!

When we began years later to teach this part of the Work, we found that many individuals believe that if they fully allow the nothingness of the crystal in, they won't feel motivated to do anything and won't even care about anything. We have found that during this stage, students can veer off course, interpreting their overall lack of interest as an indication that they are not interested in the teaching anymore. "It has done its job," some will say, or, "I found another path that I think is more

relevant to where I am now." Others may feel that they are finished with spiritual work altogether. Or they might feel that something is wrong with them because they don't have more drive, so they try to cultivate a passion for some other pursuit to escape the nothingness. This initial lack of interest in not only the usual activities of daily life but also in inner investigations is the dragon at the gate of the crystal secrets.

The nothingness we were living in felt like a loss of everything because reality no longer had features of any kind to cling to. Part of the test, as Hameed called it, of the gray night of the soul was to see how much we really loved the truth truly for its own sake. Truth—whatever that was now—seemed to be saying to us, "How much do you want to know me? How much are you willing to let go of? Are you willing to give up even your cherished Diamond Approach?"

The understandings that were arriving during these times, and those that would span the next decades, were so different from what we had known before that Hameed and I felt we had left the path of the Diamond Approach. As it turned out we did leave the map—but not the path. This leg of the journey defied all categories.

It was not easy for Hameed or me to discuss our new realizations with anyone. Though Hameed found slight resemblances to certain Zen teachings, we were very much on our own with these breakthroughs for the better part of twenty years. It was as if a muzzle had been implanted that would pop into place the moment I began to say something about the crystal. I could not say more than a few words—even to the few friends who had peripheral experiences of it—before going mute.

Insights slipped in quietly, like invisible wanderers sitting in the corner of our consciousness, awaiting our notice. But we were still using the flying manual for an outdated starship, and it was jamming the guiding mechanism of the new vehicle. We needed a better guidance system for navigating through and beyond space-time. Gradually, it became evident that the source crystal was conveying the wisdom of freedom from various angles that we

had not thought about, experienced, or even known we wanted.

One day, during another exploration, we finally saw the connection between the nothingness and the inscrutable crystal: The crystal was the nothingness taking a form, compacting itself into a faceted crystal. And the qualities arising within this faceted nothingness brought understanding about our relationship to the aspects of essence from yet another new angle, as all our teaching vehicles do. This helped us to recognize that the crystal was another vehicle, so we began to refer to it as "the Freedom Vehicle." We needed this understanding to recalibrate our navigation instruments for the strange domain we were meandering around in.

It still felt as though nothing much was happening but, over time, recognition and understanding accumulated to reveal a more coherent picture. For instance, integrating the realizations about the nothingness and the crystal opened up unimaginable ways of seeing the relationship of one manifestation to another. Our discovery that there was no extension in the nothingness meant that everything occupied the same place—which ended up not being a place at all.

This no-place brings new and different kinds of union, as when Hameed and I felt ourselves interpenetrating with other people or things. More than once, we experienced each other as two dense fields overlapping, while we remained autonomous. This reminded me of my hand interpenetrating the wall in my dream without disappearing. Sometimes it was as though a whole universe existed within both Hameed and me, and we collided without losing our individual forms. Then there were the occasions when I felt that everything was within me or I was in everything. To up the mind-blowing factor another notch, I occasionally felt myself in everything and everything in me at the same time—like Indra's Net, in which each diamond at each juncture reflects all other diamonds within the net. Or in a hall of mirrors that reflect one another infinitely—there appeared to be infinite extension, but in reality that was not the case.

The Freedom Vehicle makes it possible to have these types of unity experiences—we call them

experiences of unilocal unity, or unilocality—with another person, a group, or the whole universe. Unilocality is the view of reality related to a nothingness that has no sense of space, extension, or distance. The experience of being in union in this nondimensional nothingness is unilocal unity. It can arise as the experience of two or more individuals sharing the same location, often experienced as being inside each other.

Unilocality is neither dual nor nondual. We are not talking here about an ocean of consciousness that unites all forms as they arise within it—the nonduality of the boundless dimensions; nor is it dual, when individual forms are separate and relating spatially. In unilocality, all forms exist within one another.

One day in the early 1990s, when Hameed and I were sitting across from each other in an inquiry, our perception of the spatial dimension disappeared, and we felt we were one crystal—not even two that were overlapping or interpenetrating or merging to become one. You could say that two becoming one crystal (one Freedom Vehicle) is a unilocal unity phenomenon, but it requires something more than any other type of unilocal experience: personal realization of the crystal. You must know the Freedom Vehicle as being what you are. This experience stunned us into the recognition that we had only scratched the surface of the potential forms of union, which pointed to the interminable openness of unilocality.

Hameed and I hit another gap when our strong commitments to our marriages and managing the mushrooming demands of a growing school greatly reduced our availability for Inquiry practice together. Hameed insisted that it was going to take the two of us to unlock the crystal's secrets, so we made the extra effort to make it possible.

During a session to jointly probe into our experience of the Freedom Vehicle one afternoon, Hameed and I felt the impulse to look at each other straight on. As we sat, hands on knees, linked eye to eye, we were drawn as though by a tractor beam to bow forward toward each other.

Our foreheads got brighter as we moved closer. The moment they connected, a spot lit up like a pulsar at the bridge of our noses. The burst of

energy was indescribably alive and electrifying. We remained motionless for an eternal minute. Then we sat back and took in what happened.

"Wow. What was that, Hameed?"

"An explosion," he answered, and lapsed back into silence. His attention was wrapped in the experience itself.

Over the following weeks, this experience began to evolve for each of us. The whole ocular area opened, and both eyes merged into one opening. Then the potent star at the bridge of the nose migrated to the heart center and detonated a quasaric energy.

Now that the crystal cruiser as a space-unfolding mechanism was humming along smoothly, the teaching evolved with more fluency. The explosive quasar, with its densely packed divine energy, bumped the Freedom Vehicle up to warp speed, which revitalized and clarified the teaching, as Hameed had suspected it would. The thrilling energy of the cosmos hurtled us through portals that were beyond any concept we had, not only of duality and nonduality but of unilocality as well. What we had been experiencing as vagueness and a hiatus in the teaching turned out to be simply a lack of the right fuel for our ship to continue on its voyage.

The crystal showed us that it was not in the business of uncovering psychological issues but rather of revealing the limitations of our ontological and epistemological views—our basic notions of reality. The Freedom Vehicle was, and is, a mind-twisting experience—a radical nonconceptuality in the sense that there can be concepts, no concepts, or both when you are in its realm. It is neither timeless nor in time. Or you could say that because it is outside of all physical dimensionality, it has all of time and space as its potentials. It is not self and not no-self. You can't call it spiritual or mundane—and even the concept of True Nature doesn't apply. The Freedom Vehicle is utter simplicity without any ideas about it.

Of course, the Freedom Vehicle is not a physical conveyance that moves through space, but it reveals space as one potential of the multidimensional manifold of the cosmos. From this

perspective, every experience, and even everything, is a potential wormhole to another universe of experience.

Imagine, if you will, that the fleshy density of your body has dissipated. In its place is you as a gemstone of any shape, with a completely faceted surface. As you feel into it, you notice that you are also total openness—more substantial than mineral rock but more open than the feeling of limitless sky. Now you notice that each facet is like a transparent window to another universe of experience. You are a geodesic structured gem of complete transparency. The view from each window is not contiguous with the one next to it; each view opens to another way of knowing reality.

As Hameed looked back on all of these experiences, they seemed to him to fall into a particular order. Many Buddhist schools use the terminology of the "turnings of the wheel of the dharma" as a framework to describe the progression of their teachings. Hameed borrowed this means of categorizing experience, and we now refer to the four turnings of the Diamond Approach teaching to denote the paradigm shifts within the Work. Subsequent turnings do not negate the truth of prior understandings; they contain them from a more inclusive perspective. These divisions help us conceptualize the progression of the teachings and understand the experiences we have as we practice.

The first turning is the work on the soul and individual realization: the lataif, the Pearl, the Point, and the diamond vehicles. The second is the journey up the mountain through the boundless dimensions, followed by the journey of descent. The third turning is marked by the realization of the Freedom Vehicle, featureless nothingness, and unilocality. The realization of the Freedom Vehicle as our true being opens the door to the fourth turning in which a succession of ways of viewing and experiencing reality become available that are radically different from anything that came before.

The fourth turning reveals the nonhierarchical view, which frees us from the need to qualitatively compare various views of reality—or even the experiences and awakenings that give rise to such

views—since each has its own truth and validity. It shows that we do not have to characterize the spiritual journey as a movement from one state to another, progressing toward subtler and more fundamental realizations. The nonhierarchical view, however, is also only one perspective, one way of looking at reality. The hierarchy of a progressive path is also a valid view.

Another central feature of the fourth turning is the view of totality—the openness to all possible real ways of knowing and experiencing reality. The view of totality allows for all views to coexist, including their inconsistencies and incompatibilities. One can hold one view, several views simultaneously, or no view at all.

Every spiritual teaching has its view of reality that originates in and depends upon a particular kind of awakening. And each path is different in what it considers the final truth. The freedom of totality is that no reconciliation is needed between views that differ. The various states of realization are different ways that True Nature manifests. There are not many True Natures; True Nature is indivisible as well as ineffable.

Reality and consciousness are much more mysterious and rich than what can be experienced and known in any one realization, regardless of how comprehensive or liberating it is. There is no single, final, ultimate truth waiting to be discovered. Being keeps revealing new ways to experience and know reality; if we are not attached to finding some ultimate condition, we will have the privilege of experiencing truth in its endless display.<sup>6</sup> Our curiosity, our heart's wish to know the truth, and our willingness to surrender to the gift of where we are in this moment, with the unknown as our companion, will keep us completely open and open-ended. These qualities naturally set us on a path of unending discovery and runaway realization.

Such was the impact of the quasar. The valence that had brought Hameed and me together when we exchanged our first smile and said our first hellos had once again manifested the right conditions to further the teaching, as it had done all along the way. Partnership, friendship, even relationship—all evaporated. What remained was

one crystalship, continuing to peel back space-time to new realms of experience, in endless realization.

One evening, after a retreat meeting that Hameed and I were teaching together, I began to have strange sensations. I turned to Hameed.

"Something is happening on my forehead that is really weird."

"What is it?"

"It feels like somebody is scribbling on it with a magic marker . . .

made of bright light!"

"What do you feel there or see there? What does it say?"

At first I had no idea what it was—pictures, maybe? Symbols? Finally, I was able to respond. "I don't know—but I think it looks like another language."

I picked up my pen and made a mark or two on a paper.

Hameed looked at the paper and then at my brow. "It's Arabic," he said with surprise.

"What the hell ... why Arabic?" I felt my face twist with annoyance. Why hadn't it been written in a language I could understand?

"Maybe I am supposed to read it," Hameed ventured. He paused, then zeroed in on my brow.

"Well, what does it say?" I asked, more than a little curious.

"The capable. It says 'The Capable.'"

Over the following days, more words came unexpectedly: one phrase at a time, always on my forehead, and with the same fluid presence of brilliancy. I didn't know whom these messages were meant for. I would just tell Hameed when they appeared, and he would read them:

The Maker of Images

The Friendly Loving One

The Alone

The Only

The Free

Perhaps the questions that are alive in your own capable heart are beckoning you to follow the Friendly Loving One, and inviting you into the Alone with the Alone. If your soul has been touched by what you have read in this book, you may encounter the Only in the mysterious depth that unites us all. And if you remain true to your heart's desire, you will exit the universe of the known ...

through the jeweled portal

to

freedom.

...

After traveling with me through the first fifteen years of the journey, you now have a hint of the crystal universe that Hameed and I have been immersed in for the nearly three decades since the Freedom Vehicle made its first appearance.

The crystal remains the main revelatory conduit of the Diamond Approach teachings, and much of our current teaching is either directly related to the third and fourth turnings or is cradled in their perspective. Only a fraction of the varied realizations we know of that have emerged through the fourth turning have been unpacked, systematized, and taught, and the fourth turning continues to unfold new and different realizations, filling out the view of totality.

A mystery will keep its secrets no matter how much one says about it; and the riddles remain until the right conditions arise for them to be solved and their meaning can be apprehended by a soul seasoned to hear it. Thus, each student's unique unfoldment determines when and how the details of the Freedom Vehicle—and all the other teachings—are revealed and applied.

The teaching has always taken care of itself, choosing the right times, places, and people through which to express itself. It also finds new ways to extend its golden threads so that those who feel drawn to the heart of our work can find us. Some of the teaching is now becoming available through the World Wide Web, providing an intriguing parallel to the way the Diamond Approach has developed. From some invisible spiritual Internet of knowledge—I mean, have you

ever seen an internet?—the teaching is continually being downloaded. <>

## Essay: Conceptual Framework of The Concept of the Individual

Since the objective of this book is to study the meaning of the concept of the individual in the way of thinking of Shi'i Muslims, it is an indispensable task to explain and define this concept as it appears in this work.

Comparing the category of the person in different societies, Marcel Mauss concludes that, although 'there has never existed a human being who has not been aware, not only of his body, but also at the same time of his individuality, both spiritual and physical', there has not existed a universal conception of self, common to all peoples of the world. Peoples of different cultures in different ages have rather developed their own awareness of self. However, to have a sense of self does not necessarily indicate the existence of 'the category of self' among a people. Both Mauss and his successor Louis Dumont, who conceive the concept of the individual as a social concept of a unique and indivisible unity, argue that if the awareness of self can be regarded as universal the 'category of self' and 'the cult of the self' are peculiar to Western culture.

Moreover the history of ideas in the West demonstrates, according to Mauss, a constant transition of the notion of the self, from a simple masquerade to the mask, from a 'role' (personnage) to a 'person' (personne), to a name, to an individual; from the latter to a being possessing metaphysical and moral value; from a moral consciousness to a sacred being; from the latter to a fundamental form of thought and action.

Hence, what according to Mauss is regarded as 'la personne morale' and according to Dumont as 'the individual' is, as we will see later, a result of a historical process from antiquity to Christianity and from there to modern times. The Western view of the individual, in contrast to other views of man, not only grants a human being a moral value, but also gives him a political and juridical significance.

According to this view it is individuals, as autonomous entities with certain economic, political and legal rights, who constitute a society. The

individual, here, is conceived in terms of a 'place in a system of social relations' and society is considered in terms of a compound of 'individualist individuals', or the individuals who have internalized a certain concept of the person, a concept according to which each individual is in the last instance more important than any larger constituent group. The individual, as found primarily in modern Western civilization, is defined as 'the independent, autonomous and thus (essentially) nonsocial moral being', 'the rational being' who is 'the normative subject of institutions'. This is the definition of the individual to which we adhere in this book.

### The Term Conformity

The term conformity can be used in two senses. In the conventional sense conformity implies a tendency towards similarity and identification with a model: conformity is here submission to an established system of norms and obedience to laws merely because they are laws. In the second sense, the one we use in this work, conformity is an antipole to individualism. It does not denote similarity to a system of norms, it is rather the crystallization of the idea of being unified with a greater entity in the social relationships of individuals.' In the field of social interaction conformity characterizes the relationships of persons whose identity is not individualized. With individualized identity we mean, as Taylor explains, 'one that is to me, and that I discover in myself. This notion arises along with an ideal, that of being true to myself and my own way of being. And so, conformity is, in the sense we apply it, not the consequence of a conscious choice but of having internalized certain premises which, while excluding any dichotomy between the whole and the parts, regards individuals as entities subordinated to the whole and the whole as nothing but the crystallization of the individuals in their real undivided nature.

Where conformity prevails, what is 'considered as essential to full being' is, Taylor maintains, 'being in touch with some source — for example, God, of the idea of the good'. In individualistic society, on the other hand, the source the individual should connect with is deep within him. This being the case, what distinguishes social relationships characterizes the

relations of individuals who out of their free will or through manipulation relinquish a part of their rights as individuals and integrate into a greater entity to increase the possibility of ameliorating their living conditions or to realize their social or political ideals. As an instance, we can refer to tendencies towards collectivism in socialist or nationalist theories which, although they valorize the social whole, do not neglect the human individual. It is even suggested that both socialism and nationalism are in some degree based on individualistic consciousness of members of society. In this respect, it should be emphasized that although the domination of collectivism in a society, in some extreme cases, can lead to based on conformity from those based on collectivity is that in the latter individuality as a concept is not called into question. Collectivity 'difference-blindness', it hardly negates the individualized identity of individuals or forces them to be resolved in a homogeneous mass the way conformity does.

### The Notion of Way of Thinking

When studying the concept of the individual we should take into account two dimensions of the individual, namely the individual as a man and the individual as a social entity. Since there are different approaches to these two dimensions, the concept of the individual can also be understood in different ways. When it comes to the individual as a man, different views of the cosmos, i.e. of understanding the cosmos as an indivisible totality or composed of distinctive and autonomous particles, give rise to different interpretations of man. On the other hand, dealing with the social dimension of the individual leads to divergent approaches to the concept of the individual regarding his position in different social realms such as economy, politics, law.

Since it is not the objective of this book to study the individual as such, but rather the significance of the concept of the individual in a specific culture — the Iranian — dealing with all the above-mentioned approaches lies beyond the scope of our work. Accordingly, a limitation to our field of study is required. In this respect we have to answer the following questions. Is it possible to attribute to each culture its own specific concept of man? In other words, are philosophical concepts of man as



many as there are cultures? Or are there, rather, some universal world-views based on which the concept of man in each culture has taken form? In the following we try, by answering these questions, to define our conceptual framework. As the history of ideas witnesses, all over the world the intelligent human being has always been in quest for knowledge about himself.

He wants to find out from where he is coming, what the reason for his being is, what is going to happen to him, and what relation he should the cosmos. To find out man's place in the cosmos has, therefore, been the main concern of the Chinese Confucian as well as of the Indian Hindu, the Egyptian diviner or the Greek philosopher. With the great world religions like Judaism, Christianity and Islam, the approach has centered on the problem of Creation, that is, the meaning of and the reason for the Creation of the cosmos. Each of these religions, by including some older ideas or philosophies, developed its own view — although in certain respects like each other — of the macrocosm and its relation to the microcosm, or man. In this way, a certain view about the cosmos resulted in certain approaches to the concept of man. Examining different approaches to the concept of man shows that this concept is tied to certain understandings of the relations between God and world (including man).

On this basis, we believe that in studying the concept of man in a specific society, we can proceed from the dominant theological and/or philosophical world-views in the society in question. We employ the term 'system of thought' — as it is used by some researchers — when referring to these world-views. In this respect, one can classify a set of different societies with a common 'world religion' based on a certain system of thought. The term 'world religion' signifies here, as Weber defines it, 'religiously determined systems of life-regulation'. Confucianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam are considered as the six important 'world religions'. Societies characterized by one or other of these are assumed to share basic views on the main ontological and epistemological questions. No doubt this should not be understood as a people's

mind or spirit, terms which can hardly be defined scientifically.

Here it must be mentioned that in no way do we maintain that a 'system of thought' can come into existence merely based on a universal religion, nor are we of the opinion that all existing societies necessarily developed a certain 'system of thought'. What we have in mind is that religious world-views have had an enormous impact on the formation of the concept of man and consequently on the way a people conceive of themselves as 'individuals'.

Obviously, this classification based on the 'system of thought' is not absolute. We could very well classify societies that philosophically belong to a specific system of thought in other ways — in relation to their economic or political system, or according to their other characteristics. For example, a society like Japan, which philosophically belongs to the system of thought of Buddhism, can by its economy be classified together with most European societies which belong to the system of thought of Christianity; or an African society ruled by a socialist government but belonging to the Islamic system of thought can politically be classified together with China or Cuba.

However, if the system of thought makes the skeleton in the intellectual body of a society, the culture makes its flesh and gives it a face. In fact, belonging to a certain system of thought does not prevent a society from developing its own culture distinguished from other cultures sharing the same system of thought. For example, Buddhism, with its basic universal principle which transcends the distinction of nations, is a philosophical phenomenon common to most East Asian cultures. But by reference to the history of Buddhism, it may be shown that this religion has been adapted and modified by recipient nations according to features peculiar to their ways of thinking. In this respect, although Buddhism provides East Asian cultures with a common structure for their approaches to the concept of man, this common structure, when meeting different ways of thinking of Eastern peoples, appears in divergent forms, sometimes even in direct opposition to each other. For instance, the study of some social scientists like H.

Nakamura shows that while Indian Buddhism has a metaphysical character and an inclination to abstraction, Chinese thought is characterized by a lack of awareness of universals and an emphasis on particulars. Another example is the ultra-nationalism of the Japanese, which has probably no counterpart among other East Asian peoples.

Similarly, as we will see later, its belonging to the Islamic system of thought does not imply that Iranian culture is identical with other Islamic cultures. This being the case, in our study we have to consider the special characteristics of Iranian culture and, in doing this, we must make use of the concept of 'way of thinking'. Thus, if the concept of 'system of thought' is a tool by means of which we can relate Iranian society to a greater and more general context, then 'way of thinking' is another tool for distinguishing Iranian culture from other cultures belonging to the same system of thought. 'Way of thinking', in general, comprises the ways in which people make value judgements and practical decisions, classify their experiences and establish relationships with their surroundings, etc. As Hajime Nakamura, in his book *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples*, writes:

The phrase 'ways of thinking' refers to any individual's thinking in which the characteristic features of the thinking habits of the culture to which he belongs are revealed.

Bearing in mind the preceding discussion, we can now return to our initial question, 'can a specific concept of man be attributed to each culture?', followed by the question 'are there some universal worldviews based on which the view of man in each culture has taken form?' By reference to what has been discussed so far, we can answer in the following way: there are certain universal worldviews that provide each culture with a basic structure for the concept of man. This basic structure can be regarded as a skeleton embodied by the way of thinking specific to each culture. In other words, the way of thinking embraces the empirical aspects of the life of a people, such as mythology, proverbs, folklore, etc. It is, indeed, the way of thinking that gives the philosophical concept of man a social and concrete character. Thus, it is a question of different levels: the system of thought takes up the concept of man on a more general

and philosophical level, while the way of thinking manifests this on a sociocultural level.

### The Concept of Identity

Identity is an unclear concept that, due to its manifold signification, has been discussed from different points of view. Considering issues such as personal integrity, cultural heritage, ethnicity and so on, scholars belonging to divergent disciplines have dealt with the concept of identity on several levels and from different perspectives.

One might define the concept of identity on two levels, namely, the personal level and the social level. Furthermore, on each level, one might distinguish between an objective aspect — externally designated — and a subjective one — subjectively recognized.

Objective identity refers to the identity ascribed to an individual by another. In this case, the individual is either defined and categorized because of what others believe to be his characteristics (objective personal identity) or with regard to the characteristics of certain social groups to which he is ascribed membership by others (objective social identity).

When an individual ascribes to himself certain attributes, or when he recognizes the categorization of himself as a member of a social group, we are faced with the subjective identity. In this case, the former definition refers to the subjective personal identity, while the latter signifies the subjective social identity. Kjell Magnusson's distinction between the different levels and aspects of the conception of identity is shown in Table below.

It hardly needs to be mentioned that there is a connection between the concept of identity and the concept of self-consciousness. In fact, both levels of identity, i.e. the personal and the social levels, presuppose a certain degree of self-consciousness.

Table 1.1 Identity according to K. Magnusson		
	Subjective	Objective
Individual	View of oneself as a unique individual distinguished from others	Specific constellation of roles and biographical characteristics
Social	View of oneself as a member in different categories, i.e. what one	Set of roles and other social categories has in common with others

In this respect, in the process of the formation of self-consciousness, the concept of 'other' plays a central role.

The role of the 'other' can be seen from both a subjective and an objective perspective. Seen from the subjective perspective, 'other' is an indispensable factor for the very existence of one's consciousness as self-consciousness. Since the self is the object of its own cognition — an object — its objectivity is not real. For self is, itself, the subject of this relation. Therefore, to obtain external validity, this consciousness must objectify itself in the 'other'. Accordingly, self-apprehension of the one is realized through 'the other'. Therefore, although there are various definitions of both personal and social identity that are sometimes in direct contrast to each other, in almost all one can see the important role of the 'other'. In this respect, E.H. Erikson, who is undoubtedly among the pioneers of research on identity, has drawn attention to the fact that one of the most important features of one's consciousness about oneself is one's awareness that one's identity is recognized by others.

This being the case, on the personal level, to define oneself, one must be aware of one's own individual characteristics as someone distinguished from others. On the social level, self-consciousness is based on the recognition of those factors that relate the individual to the group. Here, the emphasis is laid on sameness, rather than on distinctiveness. This reveals the twofold nature of the concept of identity, which, on the one hand, stresses 'distance' and, on the other hand, also puts an emphasis on 'similarity'

Summing up these considerations, we agree with Erikson in his definition of identity, which comprises both these aspects:

The term 'identity' expresses such a mutual relation in that it connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (selfsameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others ... Here, the term 'identity' points to an individual's links with the unique values, fostered by a unique history, of his people.

## Identity and Culture

If it is true that an individual's identity is tied to those unique values that are promoted and shared during the history of his people, then one should not overlook the role of culture in the construction of the identity of the individual. Culture, here, refers to something that is 'learned, shared and transmitted within any interacting collectivity of people'. As Anita Jacobson-Widding writes:

Culture connotes commonly held values and the outward expressions of these values. In so far as these values concern the moral universe of the self in relation to the alter, they are vital to the construction of an image of the self. Although the cornerstones by which a personal identity is constructed are to be found in the person's previous experiences of face-to-face interaction, the interpretation of these experiences is possible only by reference to those values that form his moral and cultural universe.

Culture is not only the basis of a system of values and beliefs. It is also the basis of the individual's preferences in his daily life. In each given society, 'what a person likes or dislikes, the quite intimate

and personal preferences which constitute his essential distinctiveness as an individual, his identities are cultural rather than individual issues. Thus, culture is an essential part of the social environment in which an individual finds himself. The identity of the individual is, therefore, constructed through his interactions within his sociocultural environment. At the same time, the objectification individual gains their validity from a value system legitimized by the culture in question. In this way, culture becomes the basis for the construction of the individual's social as well as personal identity of individuals' beliefs and feelings in a culture contributes to the creation of social identity (as externally designated, or, objective social identity). Those criteria according to which others identify the foundation of the concept of the individual in western thought.

The objective of this part is to elucidate the concept of man in the ways of thinking of Iranians by studying the relationships of man to God in Persian Sufism. We will attempt to show the importance of the domination of mystical thought upon the non-development of the concept of the individual in Iranian ways of thinking. Still more important in this context is an explanation of how the Sufi doctrine of the *Unity of Existence*, which brought about ideas of supremacy of the Universal Self over the individual self and of the complete identification of the individual human self with God, has been an obstacle to development of the concept of the individual in Iranian thought. This, then, is in stark contrast to the dualistic conception of the world in Western ways of thinking which led to the emergence of the concept of the individual.

When studying the concept of man as an individual, an inquiry into ideas that deal with metaphysical and theological conceptions of man is essential. As Parsons maintains, man's position in the world and his orientation towards it are legitimized by 'what Weber called the theological meanings of man's conceptions of himself and his place in the universe'. It is these conceptions that also provide a meaning to man's diverse goals. One crucial issue essential for the formation of metaphysical and theological conceptions of man of himself is then concerned with the way man conceives his relation to a transcendental Being. In Weber's analysis of the

impact of men's conceptions of Divinity on their social relationships we can read between the lines to what extent the concept of man as an individual owes its development to the way the relation of man to God is understood by Christianity.

A brief study of the history of philosophy shows that the development of the notion of man has been, at least until modern times, due to theology. The decisive role of the Christian theological conception of man in the further development of the notion of man in the framework of modern philosophy, psychology and sociology is too well known to need repetition here. Even as the social sciences gained the main place in the study of the human being and his social behavior, the importance of the theological conception in understanding the notion of man was hardly called into question. It is enough to draw attention to the role that sociological or anthropological studies of the religions of different peoples have played in understanding the 'meaning' of the divergent forms of human behavior and motivations, or to the importance of metaphysical and theological conceptions in philosophical and analytical psychology.

All that has been said above is well known, and we recall it only for the sake of a remark on the importance of the God—man relationship when studying the development of the concept of the individual. In our study, the necessity of inquiring into the theological conceptions of man's relationship with the universe (including himself) is more acute. In the Western world, the separation of philosophy from theology and the advent of the social sciences provided the possibility of studying the concept of man from points of view other than the theological one, but in the Islamic world this concept remained within the theological realm. Here, we will try to show to what extent the Occidental dualistic view has contributed to the emergence of the concept of man as an individual. Before proceeding with this, however, it is necessary to make some further remarks.

First, when studying the impact of the dualistic view on the growth of concern for the individual self in Western ways of thinking we introduce an 'ideal type', that is, an isolated picture of some aspects of reality. Accordingly, when referring to the

existence of a duality between body and soul in Christianity, we do not maintain that such a dualistic conception is the only or authentic one. What we have in mind is rather the existence of such a dualism in the prevalent understanding of this religion, which is incorporated into Western thought. Thus, in this book we mean by Christianity this main current, unless stated otherwise.

Second, while we consider dualism in Occidental thought as one of the important factors to have contributed to the development of the concept of the individual, this does not mean that we see the whole of the Western history of philosophy as a history of dualism. No doubt there are non-dualistic trends in Western philosophy. For instance, one can refer to Spinoza, who promoted ideas like the idea of the unity of existence. Nonetheless, proceeding from the study of certain researchers such as Dumont, Mauss, Durand and so on, whose studies embrace the concept of the individual in both traditional and modern societies, we confine ourselves to an inquiry of the dualistic view as one of the significant views prevailing in Western ways of thinking, which as such has played an important role in the development of the concept of the individual.

In this regard, we will study briefly first the impact of the dualistic view of Greek thought on Christianity with respect to the conception of man, then examine the post-Christian period regarding the Occidental dualistic view. Our efforts, in this regard, will also be directed at expressing the role of the dualistic view in the emergence of man as an individual.

Limitations of space have forced us to sacrifice depth and/or breadth in this chapter. Although this brief introduction to the dualistic aspect of Occidental thought does not do justice to the richness of Occidental philosophy, it does help us to pinpoint the essential difference between Iranian and Western conceptions of man, respectively. Attention to this difference, which can be formulated within the framework of the dichotomy of the idea of the duality of existence versus the idea of the unity of existence, helps us fulfil the major task of investigating the concept of the individual in a non-Western society like Iran.

## Dualism and the Development of The Concept of the Individual

### The Impact of Greek Thought on Western Ways of Thinking

A study of Greek mythology reveals the human characteristics of the Greek gods. These gods had not only human shapes but also human psychological characteristics. Their weaknesses and powers as well as their relationships with humans and among themselves all give the impression of human nature. Zeus, god of the gods, loves, hates and feels jealous. His seven daughters, too, who each symbolize one kind of art or vocation, have human sentiments. The fight between Zeus and Heracles over the fate of Prometheus resembles the fight between two human beings. Having in mind the human characteristics of Greek gods, Jean Pierre Vernant in his study of *'aspects de la personne dans la religion grecque'* writes:

*Pour un Grec, Zeus est en rapport avec les diverses formes de la souveraineté, du pouvoir sur autrui; avec certaines attitudes et comportements humains: respect des suppliants et des étrangers, contrat, serment, mariage ...*

[For a Greek, Zeus is connected with the various forms of sovereignty, of power over others; With certain human attitudes and behaviors: respect for supplicants and foreigners, contract, oath, marriage ...]

Accordingly, in ancient Greek religion we are not facing eternal and omnipotent gods, but rather gods whose distinction from humans lies in their supernatural bodily power, which is used exactly as if it belonged to a human being. Correspondingly, the distance between the human world and the world of the gods is not a spiritual distance between this world and the world beyond, but a physical one. The gods' place is somewhere in the Olympian mountains, far away from human territory.

That being the case, it is not surprising if the relationship between man and gods in ancient Greek religion is analogous to that of two this-worldly powers fighting for dominance over the world. Whereas gods aim to take the destiny of men in their hands, men try to make themselves free and even to replace gods. Take, for example, the theft of fire by Prometheus. This evoked the anger

of Zeus, who tried to deny humans access to fire, which was considered the source of knowledge and power and could enable men to take the place of gods. This story and others, such as the creation of Pandora, the first woman, who 'brought all the evil upon mankind which Zeus had planned', indicate that the relations between the Greek gods and humans were not those between the lover and the beloved or the worshipper and the worshipped, but those between rivals.

Another significant point concerning the relations between man and gods in Greek mythology is that the fate of man is not supposed to lie in the hands of the gods, but in the hands of man himself. The importance of heroic acts in Greek mythology is the result of the belief that, despite the power of gods over man, man's fate is determined by his own deeds. As Vernant maintains:

*Ce qui le définit, au sein même de son destin d'homme, ce sont les actes qu'il a osé entreprendre et qu'il a pu réussir ses exploits. L'exploit héroïque condense toutes les vertus, et tous les dangers, de l'action humaine ... Il semble donc bien que les Grecs ont exprimé, sous la forme de l' 'héroïque', des problèmes liés à l'action humaine et à son insertion dans l'ordre du monde.*  
[What defines him, in the very heart of his destiny as a man, are the acts he has dared to undertake and that he has succeeded in his exploits. The heroic exploit condenses all the virtues and all the dangers of human action. It thus seems that the Greeks expressed, in the form of the "heroic", problems related to human action And its insertion into the world order.]

Finding himself alone and threatened by supernatural powers, man, who did not expect any mercy from the gods, had nothing but his physical abilities as means of freedom and power. The result was nothing but the discovery of the internal dimension of the subject and the increase of the sense of responsibility, which together led to the growth of concern for the individual self in Greek thought. Michel Foucault has paid great attention to the discovery of 'personne' in antiquity. As Wilhelm Schmid mentions, Foucault discovered

*lisant les textes de l'antiquité, que le 'connais-toi toi-même' dépendait de l'impératif de 's'occuper à soi-même'; et que la philosophie antique était toujours préoccupée des techniques de soi.*

The significant point here is not only the existence of the concept of personality in Greek thought, but, as Foucault maintains, the existence of the idea of 'souci de soi' — or the cultivation of the self — in addition to the injunction of 'connais toi-même' — or 'know thyself'. In other words, for the Greek the cognition of self is tied to the care of the self and accordingly to 'former soi-même'. These injunctions focus on not only the realization of man but his self-creation. Man is asked not only to understand himself — as he is commanded by many religions — but to change himself. Here it should be borne in mind that the injunctions of 'souci de soi' and 'former soi-même' require the consciousness of being an individual, which presupposes the individual's relation to himself.

The existence of a kind of 'individualism' in ancient societies should not, however, obscure the fact that in these societies there existed a strong system of social relationships. When talking about individualism we must, as Foucault reminds us, distinguish between three attitudes:

- (1) the individualistic attitude, characterized by the absolute value attributed to the individual in his singularity and by the degree of independence conceded to him vis-à-vis the group to which he belongs and the institutions to which he is answerable;
- (2) the positive valuation of private life, that is the importance granted to family relationships, to the forms of domestic activity, and to the domain of patrimonial interests;
- (3) the intensity of the relations of self, that is, of the forms in which one is called upon to take oneself as an object of knowledge and a field of action, to transform, correct, and purify oneself, and find salvation.

Although the above-mentioned attitudes can be interconnected, such interconnections, as Foucault by means of different examples elucidates, are not necessary. Thus, we can consider a strong tendency

towards the attitude of 'taking care of the self' in Greek culture as well as in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, despite the fact that in these ancient societies not only were the systems of local respective family relationships strong, but there also existed a strong network of economic dependency.

The reasons for such a situation are many, no doubt. Yet, in general, as Foucault shows, the activity devoted to oneself constituted a true social practice which often took form within institutionalized structures. What made the real social base for the attention to the self in ancient societies was not the existence of institutions like different schools, lectures and professionals of spiritual direction. Rather, this concern for the self found a ready support in the whole bundle of customary relations of kinship, friendship, and obligation. When, in the practice of the care of the self, one appealed to another person in whom one recognized an aptitude for guidance and counseling, one was exercising a right.

In this way, in ancient societies, concern for the self was not an obstacle to the intensification of social relations as it is in modern societies, where private life is highly valued and where the whole system of individual rights constitutes a framework within which individuals can all choose their own separate goals. Nevertheless, what both ancient and modern societies have in common regarding the question of individualism is the central position of the self-reflected in the relation of oneself with oneself in a manner that enables people to afford an 'I'.

It is because of such a central position of the self that the individual aspects of existence are of great importance, not only in modern Western societies — in which private life is protected — but also in Greek and Roman ancient societies, where society imposed upon every individual a tight interdependence.

### Antiquity and the Development of the Concept of the Individual

The origin of the individual is commonly believed to date back to antiquity. The 'Person' is supposed to be born in Greek drama and established as individual in Roman law. As Marcel Mauss maintains, for the Romans 'person' (personne) is

more than an organizational fact, more than a name or a right to assume a role and a ritual mask.

It is a basic fact of law. Yet, the category of the person existing in antiquity is not, apparently, the same category as we understand it today. Greek man, although aware of himself as an autonomous agent who strives in his own interests, is tightly bound to his polis. In other words, he is an active political member of his community. Aristotle had this in mind when he called man a political animal. Yet, the relationship between the Greek man and his polis bore a contradiction which finally led to the emergence of the individual. For the Greeks, man, on the one hand, 'could achieve his telos, or purpose, develop his highest nature, only as an active member of a body politic that was itself in active quest of the good life for the whole community', and, on the other, was able to take part actively in politics only if he was considered as a free and autonomous person — a necessary precondition for the realization of the idea of democracy as one of the cornerstones of Greek thought. This contradiction between the idea of man as simultaneously an autonomous being and one tightly bound to the exigencies of the bien être of his society tended, with the Stoics and the Epicureans, to be solved in favor of man as an autonomous individual. Epicureans advocated the idea that 'man's fate was solely a personal matter', something that, according to Ketcham, opened the way to a radical individualism.

Nevertheless, the path from this quasi-autonomous individual to the modern autonomous, 'independent, socially disconnected, self-willed' individual of today was long. The 'person' had, as Mauss accentuates, first to become a moral fact, then find a metaphysical foundation, and only then change into the modern autonomous individual.

The first step was taken with the help of the Stoics, who added to the juridical meaning of the person a moral meaning, namely a 'sense of being conscious, independent, autonomous, free and responsible'.

Yet, although every individual, according to the Stoics, enjoys the freedom of will, his freedom is conditioned by his worldly desires. Happiness, wealth and possessions are not counted as good in an individual's life. To live in harmony with Nature

is the only criterion for the goodness of an individual's life. For the Stoics, this harmony with Nature means to have one's will directed towards the same ends as those of Nature. This is the heart of the notion of virtue in the Stoic theory, which refers to a will in agreement with Nature. The conception of virtue as understood by the Stoics is in its essence individualistic. It is in fact the individual's virtue and without any connection with others' good that is at the center. In this way love, friendship and affection as well as bad passions are obstacles to the realization of an individual's virtue.

The sage does not feel sympathy; when his wife or his children die, he reflects that this event is no obstacle to his own virtue, and therefore he does not suffer deeply. Friendship ... must not be carried to the point where your friend's misfortunes can destroy your holy calm.... The stoic is not virtuous to do good, but does good to be virtuous. It has not occurred to him to love his neighbor as himself; love, except in a superficial sense, is absent from his conception of virtue.

As Russell maintains, to Stoics virtue as a cornerstone of morality is not supposed to benefit anybody else, whether friends, neighbors or humanity at large, but the individual himself. Such a view of man and his morality is unfamiliar to the Early Christians, but we can recognize it in the spirit of Protestantism, i.e. the feeling of unprecedented inner loneliness of the single individual whose own eternal salvation (the holy calm in the Stoics' case) is the most important thing in his life. It is enough, as Weber maintains, to read Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress to understand how the Calvinist finds himself in a deep spiritual isolation and why his only thought is his own salvation. If a Calvinist searches for salvation through his labor, the Stoic reaches his holy calm thanks to his virtue, of which no outside force can deprive him. What is common to both is seeing the 'individual' and his satisfaction as the end of every human effort.

It is noteworthy that although both these views are different from the modern view of the individual, they are in one aspect akin to it. They both stress the 'private' aspects of existence, urge people to focus on themselves and emphasize personal conduct. We will come back to this point later; but

here it suffices to mention that we can find an explicit contrast between such concern for the individual self in Western ways of thinking and the idea of the abnegation of the self based on the doctrine of the complete identification of the individual self with God as it emerged in Persian Sufism. The former view represents the realization of the self in relation to man himself, while the latter seeks the realization of the self in relation to 'other than self'.

The next step was to accord the notion of 'person' a metaphysical foundation. This, Mauss maintains, was realized by Christianity:

It is Christians who have made a metaphysical entity of the 'moral person' (personne morale), after they became aware of its religious power.

What is at issue here is the unity of 'person' (personne), and the unity of the Church, in relationship to the unity of God. In fact, Christianity turned 'person' into a rational, indivisible and individual substance. This claim can be proved, according to Mauss, by reference to the entire history of the Church. However, the way from this rational, indivisible, individual substance to today's concept of 'person' as a consciousness and a category was not long. In the following we are going to study the impact of Greek thought on Christianity. We will try to show how Christianity granted the notion of 'person' a metaphysical foundation.

### Christianity and Greek Thought

The religious origin of the category of personality in Greek civilization, that is, the existence of a discrepancy between man and gods because of their competing relations, had an important consequence for Greek philosophy with respect to its view of the relation between body and soul: soul, which takes the character of divinity, does not express the singularity of the humans as subjects, rather it defines itself as the counterpart of the body. This idea appeared in Plato's doctrine of Reminiscence and in his belief in the distinction of body from soul.

As Weinberg maintains, according to Plato, when the mind had not yet been obscured by its incarnation into a body, the human soul existed in a super-mundane realm. Knowledge of Form,



therefore, is due to our previous existence. It is a recollection of our unconscious experiences evoked by our sensations. Accordingly, the physical world is where Forms are imitated. The body, unlike the soul, is not the principle of life. Consequently, body and soul are separable and the soul will survive after the death of the body.

Considering the distinguished position of Plato in the construction of the philosophy of Christianity and the fact that 'the distinction of soul from body and the doctrine of knowledge as reminiscence are distinctive and permanently influential features of Plato's thought', we can appreciate to what extent the duality of body and soul has influenced the main current of Christian thought. Although traces of the Greek idea of the distinction of soul from body can be found in other religions, it reaches its climax in Christianity.

In the philosophy of St Augustine, one of the most important theologians to have influenced Western Christianity, we can recognize this idea. This is not the place to examine the philosophy of Augustine; let us only mention that the soul, according to him, is distinct from the body because the body is extended in three dimensions while the soul is not extended. The reason is that nothing but the soul itself is present to the soul; the mind therefore does not have to seek itself as if it were elsewhere. This self-knowledge of the mind leads to the idea that the soul, as something that has the capacity of understanding, is superior to physical objects which only exist (for example the body). Here is a clue to the understanding of the approach that regards flesh and blood as 'dirty', 'impure' and 'inferior', and as the main obstacle to the unification of man with God. Because of this, we can easily understand why asceticism as a way for overcoming the desires of body was considered by Christianity as the main means for achieving salvation. We will soon come back to this point.

Obviously, it would be wrong to assume that Platonic thought was assimilated without any modifications by Christian theologians. No doubt a great part of the history of theology in the Middle Ages was based on the serious discussions between Platonists and Aristotelians (the latter group proceeded from Aristotle's theory of knowledge, which had been based on the rejection of Platonic

Forms). Yet, despite this fact the idea of a distinction between soul and body has remained an integral part of the theological structure of the Christian tradition. It suffices to remember that, although until the thirteenth century the philosophies of both Plato and Aristotle used to be interpreted in Neoplatonic ways, the influence of Neoplatonism (especially that of Plotinus) could not help Christianity to set aside dualism; 'despite the monistic tendency of Plotinus' system, he remains essentially a dualist with respect to the relation of soul and body.'

The strong impact of the dualistic view on Christianity can also be shown by the fact that the reconciliation of mysticism and Christian thought has hardly ever occurred. In this respect, Schluchter maintains that in Christianity the idea of god forced the mystic to acknowledge that an 'ultimate union with God' was unattainable ...

Although this proposition to a certain degree is exaggerated, neglecting the fact that among Christian mystics we can also find a few — such as Meister Eckhardt, St Teresa and St John of the Cross — who acknowledge the 'ultimate union with God', it explains the general difficulty of Christian mystics in reconciling the idea of the 'Unity of Existence' with the institutionalized and established religious thought of Christianity. Discussing the different views of relationship between God and man, Kurt Almqvist contrasts two views, namely the mystical view — that of Hinduism and Sufism — and the view that exists in Judaism, Christianity and Islam characterized by worshipping God and seeing Him as a Personal God. According to Almqvist, in a theological view where God is perceived primarily as a Creator, that is, where the perspective of holy radiation is absent, the world will always seem to be definitively separated from God, and He will be perceived only as the personified object for the fear and love of man. In this case, duality is inescapable. Accordingly, within the main current of Christian thought 'ultimate union with God' is hardly considered attainable. J.R. Weinberg, when studying the mystical element in medieval thought, concludes that in the combination of a Neoplatonic system with Christianity, man faced many difficulties. As an example, Weinberg

stresses the conflict between the will to be a free individual and the will to be a pantheist. He says:

there is a conflict, in the tendencies of Christian thought, between the plurality of free individuals and the necessary dependence of all beings on God.

This conflict represents an aspect of the dualism in certain strands of Christian thought. Indeed, if we admit, on the one hand, that in mysticism the point of departure is the idea of the identification of the individual self with God and, on the other hand, that such an identification is impossible in a conception where the body is solely flesh and blood, separated from the soul, then we will not find it difficult to understand why it is chiefly asceticism and not mysticism that prevails in Christianity.

When studying the historical differences between the Oriental kind of salvation religions and the Occidental ones, Weber has paid attention to exactly this point. According to him the essential historical difference between them is that the predominantly Oriental and Asiatic types of salvation religion culminate in contemplation and the Occidental ones in asceticism. It is from this point of departure that he arrives at the conclusion that

[i]n the Occident, on the other hand, apart from a few representatives of a distinctive quietism found only in modern time, even religions of an explicitly mystical type regularly became transformed into an active pursuit of virtue, which was naturally ascetical in the main.

Here it is interesting to mention that, when talking about asceticism as the Occidental type of salvation, Weber addresses himself in fact only to Christianity. For, according to him, while in Christianity we are witnessing a strong tendency towards asceticism, neither in the East-Asiatic religions nor in Jewry or Islam is asceticism considered a decisive type of salvation. Here it must be mentioned that although, as Weber maintains, 'early Islamism directly repudiated asceticism', to some degree asceticism is present in early Sufism, which was influenced by Christian mysticism. In the later form of Sufism, mysticism not asceticism became dominant.

At any rate, although Weber, in restricting asceticism to Christianity, neglects the fact that in some streams of Asian religions and in certain trends in Islam there exist tendencies towards asceticism, his characterization of Christianity as an ascetical religion and the Asian religions as contemplative ones is generally acceptable. If in Christianity the idea of the body as 'impure' and as a veil which separated man from God gives incentives to asceticism, in the Asian religions the idea of the 'Unity of Existence' tends to culminate in contemplation. Therefore, it is not surprising that while for a Hindu or a Jew or a Muslim 'salvation' can be achieved essentially through contemplation, for a Christian it can be realized through asceticism. It is noteworthy that the absence of the sense of sin, of the fall from grace, of spiritual guilt and the whole theodicy of suffering in Islam plays an important role in weakening the tendency towards asceticism. In this regard, we can take into consideration the Islamic attitude towards suffering which is, as Turner maintains, very different from the one prevalent in the Christian tradition. In accordance with Bowker, who maintains that the Qur'an requires that 'suffering should be contested and as far as possible alleviated', Turner remarks that 'suffering is almost dissolved as a problem, because in Islam there is an overriding emphasis on God's omnipotence.

When discussing the central place of salvation and suffering in Christianity, we must bear in mind that the existence of a gap between man and God together with the separation of body from soul provides the spiritual background not only for the growth of the ideas of man's Sinfulness, but also of Trinity. These two ideas can well illustrate the dualist world-view of Christianity. Indeed, the Christian doctrine of the creation of the world from nothing (*creatio ex nihilo*) by the instrumentality of the Son, and the idea that the Son is incarnated in the God-man, namely Jesus, can be understood against pure monotheism. As Kurt Almqvist maintains, although Christianity inherited the idea of Unity from Judaism, later, in Christianity, Unity fell into the background as God's incarnation in Jesus became essential and this in turn gave rise to Trinity. The understanding of Christ as being one with his Father made the figure of Jesus in the life of faith overshadow the figure of God. In a word,

'monochristianism' absorbs faith in God. The depreciation of the creation doctrine and Christian cosmology, which accelerates the separation of theology from science during the Enlightenment and the concomitant domination of materialism, can be traced back to this tension, which has had an essential role in the history of Christianity. We will return to this issue; yet here it must be mentioned that the Christological question, despite many attempts, has hardly been answered in a rational conceptual framework.

Accordingly, in the period when rationalistic philosophy became dominant, the anti-Trinitarian currents expanded (for example, the Humanist Enlightenment of the sixteenth century and the anti-Trinitarians of the Italian Renaissance). Yet, the anti-Trinitarian movement did not help Occidental thought to resolve the problem of dualism. Indeed, when faith in Trinity as well as faith in God were denigrated and the tendency towards the interpretation of Christian ideas from an anthropological point of view was augmented, Christian 'dualism' was transferred to the realms of philosophy and social science. <>

[Psychology and Law: Research and Practice, Second Edition](#) by Curt R. Bartol, Anne M. Bartol [SAGE, 9781544338873]

Written by authors with extensive experience in the field and in the classroom, *Psychology and Law: Research and Practice, Second Edition*, offers the definitive perspective on the practical application of psychological research to the law. Curt R. Bartol and Anne M. Bartol emphasize the various roles psychologists and other mental health professionals play in criminal and civil legal matters. Topics such as family law, mental health evaluations, police interrogation, jury selection and decision making, involuntary civil commitment, and various civil capacities are included. The authors also emphasize the major contributions psychological research has made to the law and encourage critical analysis through examples of court cases, high-profile current events, and research. This comprehensive book examines complex material in detail and explains it in an easy-to-read way.

### New to the Second Edition:

The new edition has been significantly reorganized to more closely align with the progression through the court system.

A new chapter on children, adolescents, and criminal law (Chapter 8) provides you with information on adjudicative competence, comprehension of constitutional rights, and eyewitness identification and courtroom testimony.

New feature boxes include case studies, research projects, and contemporary topics with discussion questions for classroom debate.

Additional court cases and statutes have been integrated into chapters to emphasize the important role psychology plays in the legal process. The content is applied to real cases such as the Masterpiece Cakeshop case and the Dassey confession (comprehending Miranda).

Over 300 recent research findings on topics related to psychology and law highlight cutting-edge research studies that help you understand what research does and prompt you to discuss the methodology and results.

New pedagogical tables clearly illustrate complex information around ethical issues, APA amicus briefs, strengths and weaknesses of simulation studies, insanity standards within the states, effects experienced by survivors of traumatic incidents, and more.

Increased coverage of contemporary issues encourage critical thinking and active learning by promoting discussions around current issues such as telepsychology, neuropsychology, adversarial allegiance, and actuarial instruments used in bail and sentence decision-making.

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Excerpt: The connection between psychology and law can be traced to the turn of the 20th century, when experiments in the psychological laboratory were found to be relevant to the law. Since at least that time, the two fields have been interrelated while retaining their independence. The relationship has continued to develop, often gradually and cautiously, but always in a steady direction. The intersection of psychology and law today is well established as mutually advantageous. For research psychologists, it is a vibrant field of study. Practicing psychologists find that the requests for their services are ever increasing. For its part, the law benefits from knowledge gained from the behavioral sciences.

There are many observable differences between psychology and law, reflected in their assumptions, goals, and practices. Like all sciences, psychology is exploratory, and its knowledge is continually evolving. Often this means that psychology cannot provide definitive answers to questions the legal system poses. For example, psychologists cannot say who would be the better parent in a child custody case, but they can evaluate parenting plans. They cannot predict with a high degree of certainty whether an individual will or will not be violent, but they can offer some assessment of the probability that a given individual will do harm to himself or others.

Importantly, psychology has accumulated a wide store of knowledge in areas such as human memory, cognition, decision making, and child and adolescent development, all of which are extremely relevant to the legal system. Research on

memory and cognition is relevant to eyewitness testimony. Research on group and individual decision making is relevant to the work of judges and juries. Research on the emotional and cognitive development of adolescents is relevant to their responsibility for criminal acts as well as the justice system's decisions about their future. Research on risk assessment is relevant to the prevention of violence. These are but a few of many topics to be discussed in this book.

In addition to conducting research on legally relevant topics, psychologists interact with the law in many contexts. They serve as consultants, clinicians, and experts testifying in court. Professional organizations, most notably the American Psychological Association (APA), submit briefs to appeals courts that summarize the research in given areas, such as research on adolescent decision making or the effects of discrimination.

Many mental health professionals associated with psychology and law conduct psychological assessments that are requested by lawyers and courts or mandated by statutes. For example, psychologists assess risks and threats, parenting plans, children for educational purposes, criminal defendants, emotional suffering in civil suits, and the capacity of individuals to write their wills and make health care decisions. Assessment is woven explicitly or implicitly into virtually every chapter of this book, and a special concluding chapter focuses directly on this topic.

Numerous court cases, particularly those that reached the U.S. Supreme Court and other appellate courts, are cited throughout the book. Many are summarized in accompanying tables. We caution that these cases are representative, not exhaustive. In the hands of law professors and law students, the cases in this book would be subjected to extensive legal analysis. We use them not for that purpose, but rather as a springboard to cover psychological concepts and issues.

The subject matter of the cases chosen relates to psychology, and the decisions themselves have often led to more psychological research. For example, prior to the landmark *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966) case, suspects in police custody were

routinely submitted to psychologically coercive interrogation techniques without being advised of their legal rights. The decision by the U.S. Supreme Court that required police to warn suspects placed some limits on this practice, but, as many readers undoubtedly know, this was not the last word on the subject. The Miranda case, however, eventually led many psychologists to ask, "Do people really understand these Miranda warnings?" as well as to design and validate instruments to measure this comprehension. In a similar manner, Supreme Court cases related to eyewitness identification prompted researchers to examine in depth what factors led to accuracy and inaccuracy in that regard.

#### NEW MATERIAL AND CHANGES FROM THE PREVIOUS EDITION

Preparing a new edition of Psychology and Law has been both challenging and stimulating. What begins as a relatively clear-cut process ("You just update, don't you?" we are often asked) becomes much more complicated. Both psychology and law are dynamic fields, constantly in flux, despite the fact that each is based on a solid body of theory, research, and—especially in the case of law—precedent. In addition, current events provide fodder for illustrating concepts in the chapters. Consequently, what begins as a process "just" to update meanders into previously unexplored territory. This edition, for example, includes topics that had not been covered in the previous edition, such as neuropsychological assessments, telepsychology, and adversarial allegiance, as well as court decisions relating to intellectual disability, civil commitment of sex offenders, juvenile offenders, and civil rights.

Reviewers of the previous edition suggested helpful changes, most of which we have implemented. A special topics chapter has been replaced with a new chapter on children, adolescents, and the criminal law, Chapter 8. Some material from the previous special topics chapter (e.g., profiling) has been integrated into other chapters in the text when appropriate. We have deleted material on hypnosis and the polygraph, in favor of more on the cognitive interview and detection of deception. Two chapters on the jury and judge's decision making have been advanced to follow directly the chapters on psychology and the courts, the criminal

investigative process, and eyewitness evidence, while the chapter on criminal competencies and responsibility now follows these. We removed Daubert-related material in Chapter 1 and included it in Chapter 2, which deals with courts and expert testimony.

In addition to these structural changes, this edition includes the following:

- Thirty-two new boxes, which fall under three themes: case studies, research projects, and contemporary topics. Aware that these boxes cannot do justice to a complex case, a controversial topic, or a carefully designed study, we hope that readers will be prompted to explore these resources in more depth. Most boxes include questions for discussion or further thought.
- New court cases and statutes, which have been integrated into the chapters as relevant. Increased coverage of contemporary issues such as telepsychology, neuropsychology, adversarial allegiance, and actuarial instruments used in bail and sentence decision making.
- Updated coverage of adolescent capability and criminal culpability in the eyes of the courts.
- Greater emphasis on Steinberg's dual-system model and increased coverage of adolescent neuroplasticity.
- Increased coverage of child welfare evaluations and parental alienation syndrome (PAS), which has gained attention in some family courts but has not been documented in the psychological research.
- More coverage of juvenile interrogation, false confessions, and plea bargaining.
- More in-depth descriptions of U.S. Supreme Court cases and how they affect the research and practice of psychology.
- Emphasis on the ethical and legal differences between the duty to warn and the duty to protect and the wide variations in state laws that reference these duties.

- Discussion of risk communication and the various models proposed for that purpose
- More emphasis on research in jury and judicial decision making, including discussion of implicit and explicit bias
- The addition of more than 300 recent research findings on topics related to psychology and law <>

### The Process of Research in Psychology, 4th Edition

by Dawn M. McBride [SAGE, 9781544323497]

The Process of Research in Psychology employs the pedagogical approach of spaced repetition to present a student-friendly introduction to conducting research in psychology. Drawing on more than 17 years of teaching experience, best-selling author Dawn M. McBride covers topics with step-by-step explanations to help students understand the full process of designing, conducting, and presenting a research study. Early chapters introduce important concepts for developing research ideas, subject sampling, ethics, and data collection; more detailed coverage of these topics is included in "More About" chapters to provide instructors with flexibility in their teaching. Concepts and skills relevant to more than one stage of the research process are covered in multiple contexts, providing repeated exposure to the topics students often struggle with but that are the most important in gaining research skills.

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Excerpt: My goal in writing this text is to provide a clearly written, student-friendly introduction to conducting research in psychology. In organizing the text, I have drawn on my experiences over the past 20 years teaching methods courses and the hands-on approach I take with this topic in the classroom. The text covers topics with a step-by-step approach to help students understand the full process of developing, conducting, and presenting a research study. To this end, concepts important for developing research ideas, subject sampling, and ethics are covered in early chapters of the text along with a brief overview of data collection techniques and research designs presented in Chapter 4. More detailed coverage of these topics is included in the More About chapters, which are designed to be inserted in any order according to instructor preference and given the level of coverage the instructor chooses for the course. In addition, concepts and skills relevant to more than one stage of the research process are covered in multiple contexts. This approach gives students repeated exposure to the topics that are most important in learning research skills and to the topics in a methods course that I have found students have the most difficulty learning. For example, internal validity is covered in multiple chapters and discussed as it relates to different designs such as experiments and correlational studies. Thus, important and difficult concepts are repeated in different scenarios to aid students' learning with spaced repetition of concepts so that knowledge and skills are more easily gained. Using

findings from memory research, I present material in ways that will optimize student learning. Most research in memory shows that spaced repetition of information leads to better long-term memory. In this text, I use this approach with different research design types such as in experiments and correlational studies. These designs are covered briefly in an early chapter of the text as well as in separate chapters near the end of the text to allow instructors flexibility to choose the amount of coverage and timing of coverage for each design type that is right for their course. I also include opportunities for the student to practice recalling the information both within the text of the chapters and in the end-of-chapter quizzes to strengthen their retention of the material.

The text also includes numerous research examples from published studies and activities in each chapter that come from a wide range of psychological settings, giving students a useful overview of real research.

This book mirrors the steps in the research process and creates logical scaffolding upon which students can build their knowledge. I hope students will find this text to be a readable and practical guide to conducting psychological research.

With J. Cooper Cutting, I have also written Lab Manual for Psychological Research, Fourth Edition, which can serve as a hands-on supplement to this book by providing students with additional practice of research methods skills and activities related to conducting their own research project.

#### NEW TO THIS EDITION

I have retained the original text's hallmark readability and conciseness, but based on feedback from instructors and students, I have updated this edition to more effectively meet their needs in the following ways:

- Transitioned to a color format for a more modern look, with color photos to better illustrate examples and more data graphs to highlight data from these examples
- Moved detailed statistics tests material earlier (now Chapter 9) to more closely follow the introduction to statistics in Chapter 7

- Updated and added research examples throughout the text
- Revised Applying Your Knowledge (formerly Using Research) to include relevant applications in all chapters
- Moved information about the importance of research methods for consumers of information to the front of Chapter 1 to capture students' attention from the beginning about why they should care about research <>

[Perspectives on Deviance and Social Control, Second Edition](#) by Michelle Inderbitzin, Kristin A. Bates, Randy R. Gailey [SAGE Publications, 9781544308081]

*Perspectives on Deviance and Social Control* provides a sociological examination of deviance and social control in society. Derived from the same author team's successful text/reader version, this concise and student-friendly resource uses sociological theories to illuminate a variety of issues related to deviant behavior and societal reactions to deviance. The authors briefly explain the development of major sociological theoretical perspectives and use current research and examples to demonstrate how those theories are used to think about and study the causes of deviant behavior and the reactions to it. Focusing on the application—rather than just the understanding—of theory, the Second Edition offers a practical and fascinating exploration of deviance in our society.

#### Brief Contents:

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Excerpt: While there are many textbooks and readers on deviant behavior currently on the market, this book is unique because it is framed within and written entirely from a sociological perspective. We explain the development of major sociological theoretical perspectives and detail how those theories have been used to think about and study the causes of deviant behavior and the reactions to it. We find the theories fascinating, and we think you will, too. We have provided many specific examples of deviant behavior and social control within the text so that students will have numerous opportunities to apply the concepts and theories and make connections to their everyday lives. In the following, we describe how *Perspectives on Deviance and Social Control, Second Edition*, differs from existing texts on the market.

In contrast to most of the popular readers and textbooks on deviant behavior, this book is primarily organized around theories and perspectives of deviance, rather than types of deviant behavior or a singular approach to understanding deviance. We have aimed for a combination of both depth and breadth in this book; in taking a broad sociological perspective, we focus on theory but also include full chapters on researching deviance, the societal responses to deviance, and deviant careers.

We hope this book will serve as a guide to students delving into the fascinating world of deviance and social control for the first time, offering clear overviews of issues and perspectives in the field as well as introductions to classic and current research. *Perspectives on Deviance and Social Control, Second Edition*, is intended to replace standard deviance textbooks or readers; it can be used in both undergraduate and graduate deviance courses.

## Overview of Features

*Perspectives on Deviance and Social Control, Second Edition*, includes topics generally found in textbooks on deviant behavior, with significant focus on the major sociological theories of deviance and discussion of rulemaking and societal reaction to deviance. This book offers clear explanations and discussion of concepts and theories and carefully selected examples to illustrate relevant topics. This book features the following:

An introductory section explaining the sociological perspective on deviance and social control. This section provides an overview on the organization and content of the book and also introduces relevant themes, issues, and concepts to assist students in understanding the different perspectives. Along with the introduction, we have full chapters on the diversity of deviance and methods of researching deviance to introduce students to the broader issues in the field.

Each chapter includes five different features or sections that prompt students to engage with the material, apply the concepts, and learn more about current research. These features include the following:

- **Deviance in Popular Culture**—offers several examples of films and/or television shows and encourages students to apply the concepts and theories to the behavior depicted in these examples
- **Explaining Deviance in the Streets and Deviance in the Suites**—explores the impact of social class and status on different types of deviance and the reactions to such behavior
- **Ideas in Action**—highlights examples of current policies or programs designed to address deviant behaviors from the perspective(s) covered in each chapter
- **Now You**—asks students to apply the material they learned in the chapter to specific questions or examples
- **Global Perspectives on Deviance**—illustrates the wide range of deviance by covering examples of research, policies, and practices from around the world



- Each chapter includes discussion questions and exercises or assignments that will give students a chance to test and extend their knowledge of the material.
- The book contains a glossary of key terms.

### Structure of the Book

We chose very deliberately to organize our book around sociological theories rather than around types of deviance. This is in direct opposition to most of the competing texts on the market, and it is one of the reasons you might consider using our book. We believe the theoretically based approach offers students fertile ground for learning and exploring the realm of deviant behavior and social control. Once they learn the different theoretical perspectives, students will be able to apply the different theories to virtually any type of deviant behavior and, furthermore, be able to compare and contrast the theoretical models and decide for themselves which offers the most compelling explanation for the behavior. This is the kind of understanding and flexibility we hope our students achieve; while studying types of deviance is certainly interesting, being able to consider both individual and macro-level causes and explanations seems to us the larger and more important goal.

The book is divided into 12 chapters that cover an overview of the field of deviance and social control, methods and examples of researching deviance, the major theoretical traditions used in studying deviance, and a glimpse into the social control of deviance and deviant careers. The theory chapters each provide an overview of a theoretical perspective and its development, critiques of the perspective, and examples of current developments and research in that theoretical tradition. The chapters are as follows:

**Chapter 1. Introduction to Deviance:** We first provide the basic building blocks for studying deviant behavior from a sociological perspective. Different conceptions of deviance are described, and students are encouraged to develop and use their sociological imagination in studying deviant behavior. We explain the organization of the book and why we believe theory is so critical to understanding and researching deviance.

**Chapter 2. The Diversity of Deviance:** In this chapter, we offer an overview of some of the many types of deviance and show how our conceptions of deviance vary widely and change over time. We encourage students to think broadly about deviance and to always consider the culture, context, and historical period in which the "deviant" act takes place.

**Chapter 3. Researching Deviance:** This chapter addresses the many ways one might go about researching deviant behavior and social control. We highlight different research methods and the strengths and weaknesses of each approach. Examples are used throughout to make abstract concepts concrete for students.

**Chapter 4. Anomie/Strain Theory:** This chapter looks at one of the first sociological theories of deviance and traces the development of anomie and strain theories from Durkheim's, Merton's, and Cloward and Ohlin's macro-level ideas on how the very structure of society contributes to deviant behavior to Agnew's general strain theory and Messner and Rosenfeld's institutional strain theory, which offer contemporary views on individual and institutional strain and the resulting deviance.

**Chapter 5. Social Disorganization Theory:** We discuss another early sociological perspective on deviance in this chapter: social disorganization theory, developed from early research on Chicago to explain patterns of deviance and crime across social locations, such as neighborhoods. We offer an overview of the perspective and show how it is being used today to explain high levels of deviance and violence in particular neighborhoods.

**Chapter 6. Differential Association and Social Learning Theories:** How do individuals learn to become deviant? This chapter covers ideas and research that try to answer that exact question. We explain the key ideas of Sutherland's differential association and Akers's social learning theories and offer an overview of the development of a sociological perspective that argues that deviance is learned through communication with intimate others.

**Chapter 7. Social Control Theories of Deviance:** Social control theories begin by flipping the question; rather than asking why individuals

deviate, social control theories ask, If we are born prone to deviance, what keeps us from committing deviant acts? In this chapter, we trace the development of social control and life course theories and look at the importance of the individual's social bonds to conforming society.

**Chapter 8. Labeling Theory:** In this chapter, we look at the importance of being labeled deviant. We begin with a brief overview of symbolic interactionism, which then leads to a discussion of the labeling process and how it can affect individuals' self-concepts and life chances.

**Chapter 9. Marxist and Conflict Theories of Deviance:** Within the conflict perspective, power and inequality are key considerations in defining who and what is deviant in any given society. In this chapter, we begin with the ideas of Karl Marx and go on to show how Marxist perspectives have been used to study lawmaking and how the process of defining and creating deviant behavior is used to maintain positions of power in society.

**Chapter 10. Critical Theories of Deviance:** In this chapter, we focus on theories that examine deviance from a perspective that questions the normative status quo. We offer brief overviews of peacemaking criminology, feminist criminology, and critical race theory as alternative perspectives for studying deviance and social control.

**Chapter 11. Societal Responses to Deviance:** In this chapter, we offer a brief look into informal and formal social control of deviance. We discuss the medicalization (and medication) of deviance, mental hospitals, prisons and juvenile correctional facilities, felon disenfranchisement, and general effects of stigma on those labeled deviant.

**Chapter 12. Deviant Careers and Career Deviance:** While much attention is focused on getting into deviance, in this chapter, we consider the full deviant career, including desistance, or the process of exiting deviance.

Each chapter offers original material that introduces students to the issues, concepts, and theories covered in that chapter and contextualizes the examples used to show the wide variation in deviance and social control.

## New to This Edition

*Perspectives on Deviance and Social Control* is a slimmed-down volume that follows the organization of our text/reader, *Deviance and Social Control: A Sociological Perspective*, Second Edition. This book offers a concise overview of the materials without including the additional readings found in *Deviance and Social Control*. In this new edition, we have updated the text, where appropriate, based on new examples and studies that illustrate the major sociological theories of deviance. While we included a chapter on global perspectives on deviance in the first edition, we have reorganized this new edition to include a section in every chapter that examines global issues in deviance and societal responses to deviant behavior or characteristics. We feel incorporating global examples into each chapter offers a better chance for students to be exposed to international perspectives while they are learning the substantive material, rather than our previous model of including global issues and examples in a separate chapter at the end of the book.

Many of the introductory vignettes that begin each chapter have been entirely changed or modified and help to provide a clear starting point for each theory and topic. In addition, the majority of inserts in each chapter including "Explaining Deviance in the Streets and Deviance in the Suites," "Deviance in Popular Culture," and "Now You" have been updated or changed in order to better orient students to the relevance of theory and research in understanding deviance and social control in modern society.

Key theoretical concepts have been expanded, and the new edition includes discussions of social constructionist conception, the looking-glass self, multicultural feminism, social control of mental illness, and restorative justice. Reflecting the impact of the digital world on our society, the new edition includes a closer look at the influence of the internet on deviance and subcultures and explores emerging topics such as the use of smartphones and social media, stigma management in the internet age, the #MeToo movement, and the effect of platforms like YouTube. Demonstrating recent trends and events today, the data have been updated throughout, and recent events like the

Trump administration's stance on transgender individuals serving in the military, The UnSlut Project, and the Black Lives Matter movement are considered. Additionally, pressing topics impacting society and students, such as human trafficking, school shootings, and world energy consumption rates, have been added.

A great deal of thinking and work was involved in the creation of this new edition, but the work was a labor of love as we grew as scholars rethinking and investigating the subject of deviance and reactions to deviance to date. We hope instructors assigning the text appreciate the changes; we welcome your feedback for subsequent editions. Feel free to contact any or all of the authors if you have suggestions. <>

[Rape: From Lucretia to #MeToo](#) by Mithu Sanyal [Verso, 9781786637505]

A bold, honest and unflinching look at the way we talk and think about rape. Thanks to Title IX cases, #MeToo, and #Times Up, the issue of rape seems to be constantly in the news. But our thinking on the subject has a long history, one that cultural critic Mithu Sanyal elegantly reconstructs. She narrates a history spanning from Lucretia—whose legendary rape and suicide was said to be the downfall of the last Roman king—to second-wave feminism, Tarzan, and Roman Polanski.

Sanyal demonstrates that the way we understand rape is remarkably (and alarmingly) consistent across the ages, even though the world has changed beyond recognition. It is high time for a new and informed debate about sexual violence, sexual boundaries, and consent.

Mithu Sanyal shows that our comprehension of rape is closely connected to our understanding of sex, sexuality, and gender. Why is it that we expect victims to be irreparably damaged? When we think of rapists, why do we think of strangers rather than uncles, husbands, priests, or boyfriends? And in the era of #MeToo, what should “justice” look like?

Rape: From Lucretia to #MeToo examines the role of race and the recurrent image of the black rapist, the omission of male victims, and what we mean when we talk about “rape culture.” Sanyal takes on

every received opinion we have about rape, arguing with liberals, conservatives, and feminists alike.

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I'm not defined by my scars but by my incredible ability to heal. —Lemn Sissay

Excerpt: When I give talks on the topic of this book, I am often asked to give what is commonly known as a “trigger warning.” The aim of such warnings is to protect traumatized people from being retraumatized, and I agree that this is important. At the same time, I feel uncomfortable treating people who have been victims of violence as if they've also lost the ability to read. The title of this book (and my talks) is Rape. There is little that a warning could tell you that the title has not already, and I trust that if you are reading this, you are prepared to read a book about the charged issue of rape.

And make no mistake, rape is a charged issue for all of us, with far more impact on our lives than any other crime. Rape informs our mental maps, and determines where many of us go, at what times and (more importantly) where we don't. Moreover, the information we get about rape isn't just information about rape; it's also about gender, the relationship of the sexes to each other, and even sexuality. And none of this information is pleasant.

Many people have been fighting so hard and for so long to have sexual assaults recognized as crimes and not just high spirits, that questioning the political convictions that have achieved so much carries the risk of playing into the hands of those who wish to relativize sexual violence. But knowledge is not absolute, and what was right and important forty years ago may have changed.

Therefore it is necessary to reconcile our views with the new realities.

More importantly, to question something doesn't mean to reject it. In the words of legal and political scholars Wendy Brown and Janet Halley, "The aim of critique is to reveal subterranean structures or aspects of a particular discourse, not necessarily to reveal the truth of or about that discourse. What critique promises is not objectivity but perspective." Accordingly, this book is not—and cannot be—a comprehensive cultural history from the first documented rape to the present day, but an attempt to trace narratives and make visible the lines of connection. It examines some of our basic convictions that have hardened into consensus truths, to probe whether they are still useful for us today. In other words: This is a book about what we talk about when we talk about rape.

This is obviously easier said than done, because rape is a veritable hall of mirrors of expectations and discourses, and each sentence is followed by ten unspoken ones. I call this a cultural sore spot. Like sore spots on the body, cultural sore spots indicate something that needs our attention but that we are afraid to touch. It is little wonder that this book has encountered more resistance than any of my other texts. My first publisher was delighted when I told them I was working on my second book—until I told them what it was about. My first book, a cultural history of the vulva, has become a standard work in Germany and publishers were queuing up to do my next book only to bail out at the last minute. Only Nautilus, in Germany—and now Verso Books—dared to do it, and my inner censor, too, had never been so shrill, nor had the knots in my brain ever been so tightly wound. That meant that this book took a lot longer to see the light of the bookshop than I'd anticipated. This turned out to be an advantage. So much happened during that time that could be included in these pages: the mass sexual harassment on New Year's Eve 2015—16 in Cologne, legal reforms in Germany, Title IX complaints on American campuses, Donald Trump's pussy-grabbing comments, and the allegations against Harvey Weinstein and #metoo.

It should be self-evident that not everyone has to share my conclusions, but rape is a topic where

nothing is self-evident. So I'll give it to you in writing: Do what you will with this book. Give it to your best friend, use it as a coaster for your coffee cup, throw it against the wall—just please, please don't let it tell you that your feelings are wrong.

But this is exactly what is happening to lots of people. They are being told what to think and how to feel. My aim is to start a discussion and open up new ways to speak about rape, prevention, and healing, as individuals and as a society. One of the main problems is that rape is usually discussed as if it is a reality hewn into granite. But, as the historian Joanna Bourke, whose book *Rape: A History from 1860 to the Present* has been an invaluable tool in writing this book, puts it so concisely, rape "varies between countries; it changes over time. There is nothing timeless or random about it ... On the contrary, rape and sexual violence are deeply rooted in specific political, economic and cultural environments." Since political, economic, and cultural environments change, so too must sexual violence and our perception of it.

Despite the fears of many event organizers that my talks would trigger trauma in the audience, I regularly encounter the complete opposite. As if a dam were breaking, there is often a palpable relief. Listeners tell me personal stories during the lecture, and even more afterward, and the overwhelming feeling is that this subject was just waiting to be pulled out of the closet, dusted off, and reexamined. After all—and I only noticed it at this point—here was something I only ever talked about with friends as something abstract and theoretical, usually when a prominent case was in the media. Any connection to our own lives seemed to be carefully avoided—except our fear of dark streets at night.

This lack of language is usually interpreted as shame: that our experiences are too painful and embarrassing to share outside protected spaces. But how did that correlate with the complete strangers—of all sexes—who came to me after each lecture and talked to me about what I could not talk about with my friends?

Hardly any subject is as full of contradictions as rape. What other fear lurks behind every corner yet is at the same time supposed to be as rare as

being hit by lightning? Where can you encounter so many crude and anachronistic concepts of human beings that don't resemble the human beings you know? Intimate spaces collide with political constructs, and the general uncertainty is only too palpable. That's not surprising in view of all the double binds that entwine the subject as if it were a castle tower with a perfect, beautiful virgin sleeping behind the thorns.

Rape is not just a word, it is a whole story—with a beginning and a tragic ending, part cautionary tale, part sensational literature. Just the sound of the word makes one want to put this book down and read something else. It's important to break with that narrative as well. Just because rape is such a depressing subject, this doesn't have to be a depressing book. Hacking through the thorns, I have done my best to make this book as liberating and empowering as I could. After all, it is a reappropriation of how we think and act. And the way we think and act has consequences: changing how we imagine something can change the way it has power over us.

### Gender's Dark Doppelgänger

Being warned of rape is still an inextricable part of initiation into the world of gender. Most girls are told to be careful before they are told anything else about sex—usually without further information on how to do so. Sexual violence is often referred to not as a specific crime but as an inherent risk of being a woman. And the rape script knows only two sexes: perpetrators and victims. When we say rape we think of aggressive men and fearful women, of penises as weapons and vaginas as unprotected doorways into equally unprotected bodies—or, to drop the military metaphors, of men who think they have a "right" to female bodies.

The discourse around rape is one of the last bastions and breeding grounds for gender stereotypes we wouldn't dare to think, let alone say out loud—and that goes for all political camps and social strata. Communication in this context couldn't be more dysfunctional. The caricatures we encounter in speaking about rape resemble gender stereotypes in such an exaggerated form that it's hard to recognize them as members of the same species. As soon as we use the r-word, back go the clocks and it is forever 1955. The propaganda in

the cold war of the sexes states that female sexuality is an area under threat and must be protected and defended—rather than explored and enjoyed. A little further under the radar, but just as influential, are the messages about male sexuality, which is appraised as a destructive force that must be mastered and controlled—rather than explored and enjoyed. Author Katie Roiphe has called this the "vampire model of male sexuality."

Biologists Randy Thornhill's and Craig T. Palmer's book *A Natural History of Rape* (2000), reminds us that these discourses very much followed us into the new millennium. They attempt to explain rape in terms of evolutionary biology, founded on the theory that men are genetically programmed to rape in order to improve their evolutionary prospects—by impregnating women who would've otherwise been way out of their league. Anthropologists, psychologists, and sociologists from all over the world point out that it isn't just women of childbearing age who are raped; that the probability of becoming pregnant as the result of rape is statistically lower than that of consensual sex—erectile dysfunction and lack of ejaculation are the rule rather than the exception in rape; that many pregnancies from rape are not carried to term; and that the evolutionary advantages of being born under such stressful circumstances are questionable anyway.

But most of all, sex offenders must have been stunned when they learned of this supposed reason for their crimes. The inconvenient fact that "most male criminals do not cite reproductive success as a motive for their crimes" needn't stand in the way of this reproduction-by-rape thesis claim sociologists Satoshi Kanazawa and Mary C. Still: "Psychological mechanisms usually operate at the unconscious level." They contended that it is "the evolved psychological mechanism that predisposes all men to seek reproductive success. The men are completely unaware of the evolutionary logic behind their motives." This sounds uncannily like the cliché of the rapist who whispers in his victim's ear, "I know you want it too"—only, in this case, it's "science" that knows what the rapist wants.

Thornhill and Palmer didn't understand the outcry that followed their book's publication and justified their position by arguing, "People everywhere

understand sex as something females have that males want." They suggested an anti-rape program for schools that would train young men to diligently control their evolutionary urge to rape.

In plain language: When you know how dangerous something—meaning yourself—is, you restrain yourself accordingly. "Restrain? Is it that bad?" sociologist Michael Kimmel asked cynically. How about "expressing" their equally evolutionary biological drive to experience pleasure, mutuality, and fun? Might we not be "hard-wired" for that as well? Education for restraint is one of the most politically bankrupt policy initiatives around—and utterly ineffective.

Apart from the fact that "rape is in your genes" is a devastating message for an adolescent, how are boys supposed to develop a healthy relationship with their own sexuality if they are supposed to fight against it at the same time, like a recovering alcoholic fighting their desire for liquor? Following that logic, the only safe place for sexuality would be behind locked doors. There must be friendlier and more humane theories (and thus friendlier and more humane solutions) for the rape enigma.

Kimmel proposes one such playful intervention: the "splash guard" that a colleague of his produced for their university's "Rape Awareness Week." (A splash guard is a plastic grate placed in public urinals that prevents splatter.) Kimmel's colleague had thousands made, printed with a simple, hopeful slogan: "You hold the power to stop rape in your hand." This suggestion is, at least, charming and takes into account the human ability to change and to choose. However, it's also based on the gender dichotomy of men as perpetrators and women as victims." But can it really be so simple?

According to police statistics around the world, men are 150 percent more likely to become victims of violent crimes than women. (Unless they're men of color; then the risk goes through the roof.") The more brutal the crime, the more likely the victim is male. Women are not only safer outside the home than in, but also safer than men. So why don't we warn our sons when they leave the house that the world out there is too dangerous for delicate creatures like them? We're told it's because about 90 percent of the perpetrators of violent crimes

are also male and about 90 percent of the victims of rape are female. (We will return to these figures later.)

This answer is as plausible as it is wrong. It doesn't explain why we care so much less for our sons—after all, all violence is horrible even when it doesn't involve sex—nor why we measure rape with a different scale from those we use for almost anything else. When we look at the murder statistics, for example, we find that two-thirds to four-fifths of the victims are male—yet no one jumps to the conclusion that only men can be murdered.

In the case of rape, however, this conclusion is apparently the rule. Until very recently, the US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defined rape as "the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will." British law necessitates penetration by a penis as part of its definition of rape. Until 1997, Germany shared the view that to be a rapist one needed a penis, but added that rape could only happen to "a female person to whom he was not married." By law and by common consensus, this meant that only women could be raped and only men could be rapists—as long as they weren't married to their victims. In 1997 that law was amended to recognize the existence of rape within marriage, penalize not only penetration but also "similar sexual acts," and change "female person" into "person." That meant that, for the first time in German history, men could also be considered victims of sexual violence. But only just.

The trailblazer for making rape law gender-neutral was Sweden, which did so in 1984. In England, the Sexual Offences Act was changed in 2003 to include men and trans people as possible victims. South Africa followed in 2007, Scotland in 1009, the FBI in 2012, and China in 2015. While in Switzerland you still need to "force a person of female gender to endure sexual intercourse," otherwise rape is not a rape.

But even the "gender-neutral" wording of the Sexual Offences Act in England, like the FBI definition in America, is only neutral in regard to the victim. It still requires a penis as a prerequisite for recognizing a person as a perpetrator. Even

though there are exceptions (which we will return to later), the general rule is: no penis, no rapist. This is not, as one might think, an anachronistic remnant of the old wording but the result of a Home Office debate from 2000, deciding that rape "as commonly understood" involves "forced penetration by a penis." While the vagina and anus, as rapeable orifices, have now been supplemented with the mouth because forced fellatio is regarded "as horrible, as demeaning, and as traumatizing as other forms of forced penile penetration," the corresponding sexual transgression when perpetrated by the vagina is obviously not "horrible and demeaning" or "traumatizing" enough, especially if the victim is a man. "The offence of penile penetration was of a particularly personal kind," the Home Office explained, as it "carried risks of pregnancy and disease transmission." But pregnancy is a highly unlikely result of forced fellatio or forced anal penetration, and sexually transmitted diseases can be just as easily transmitted by a vagina. Still the notion persists that the female body is particularly vulnerable, particularly to sexual acts that is, while at the same time lacking the power to violate—and not only in English legislation. In Germany, for example, if you take your clothes off in public you are only liable for exhibitionism if you inhabit a male-identified body: The female body is not regarded as dangerous, and the law is just starting to grapple with the possibility of more than two kinds of bodies.

"Rape is an 'essentially contested category' infused through and through with political meaning,"<sup>o</sup> writes Bourke. This doesn't mean that men are the "real" victims, but that rape is the most gendered of all crimes. It's also the crime that genders us the most. The way we think about rape is intricately and disturbingly related to the way we think about sex—and that encompasses the meaning of sexuality and of gender, in equal measure.

Given that genitals, chromosomes, and hormone levels are insufficient to determine gender, and a study at the University of Tel Aviv has put an end to the myth of male versus female brains (shockingly, we all have human brains), it would be extremely surprising if the true gender difference turned out to be a disposition to sexual violence. What does it

say about our culture that it's so hard for us to speak about rape other than as a crime that only men do to only women—even though that's not the whole story? <>

[Nonbinary : memoirs of gender and identity](#) edited by Micah Rajunov and A. Scott Duane.[Columbia University Press, 9780231185325]

What happens when your gender doesn't fit neatly into the categories of male or female? Even mundane interactions like filling out a form or using a public bathroom can be a struggle when these designations prove inadequate. In this groundbreaking book, thirty authors highlight how our experiences are shaped by a deeply entrenched gender binary.

The powerful first-person narratives of this collection show us a world where gender exists along a spectrum, a web, a multidimensional space. Nuanced storytellers break away from mainstream portrayals of gender diversity, cutting across lines of age, race, ethnicity, ability, class, religion, family, and relationships. From Suzi, who wonders whether she'll ever "feel" like a woman after living fifty years as a man, to Aubri, who grew up in a cash-strapped fundamentalist household, to Sand, who must reconcile the dual roles of trans advocate and therapist, the writers' conceptions of gender are inextricably intertwined with broader systemic issues. Labeled gender outlaws, gender rebels, genderqueer, or simply human, the voices in *Nonbinary* illustrate what life could be if we allowed the rigid categories of "man" and "woman" to loosen and bend. They speak to everyone who has questioned gender or has paused to wonder, What does it mean to be a man or a woman—and why do we care so much?

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### Excerpt: From Genderqueer to Nonbinary to .., by Riki Wilchins

Back in the 1990s, I started using the term "genderqueer" in an effort to glue together two nouns which seemed to me to describe an excluded middle: those of us who were not just trans, but also queer: the kind of gendertrash that transgressed the natural boundaries of transgender, those whom society couldn't digest. A prominent gay columnist promptly attacked me for "ruining a perfectly good word like 'queer.' "

Then Joan Nestle, Clare Howell, and I used the word for the title of our anthology of emerging young writers. And there it sat. I don't recall anyone actually picking it up or using it. Eight years later at Creating Change—an LGBTQ leadership conference—I saw a sticker someone has posted that read, "A Genderqueer Was Here!" I thought, "Well that's interesting. Someone is actually using it." And so it begins.

Fast forward about ten years and I was reading Matt Bernstein's anthology *Nobody Passes*. In it writer Rocko Bulldagger bemoans the term's very existence, declaring, "I am sick to death of hearing it." Such is the arc of new ideas.

I suspect the same thing is about to happen with nonbinary.

For the public, that arc probably began in a town hall in London, when a twenty-year-old student came out to President Obama as nonbinary: "I'm about to do something terrifying, which is I'm coming out to you as a nonbinary person.... In the UK we don't recognize nonbinary people under the Equality Act, so we literally have no rights," Maria



Munir said. Obama, one of our most hip and cosmopolitan

presidents ever, still had no idea what Munir was talking about. Befuddled, if well intentioned, he relapsed into his LGBTQ talking points, which really had very little to do with it.

He is not alone in his confusion. As nonbinary comes to the fore, it will challenge everything we currently think about bodies, sexual orientation, and gender, almost all of which depends implicitly or explicitly on the binary. One can only hope almost none of it survives. If I am nonbinary, can feminism—the politics of women—still represent me? Can I enter women-only spaces, or men-only meetings? Can I be gay, straight, or bisexual? Here language fails, the entire discourse on gayness and sexual orientation collapses.

The same thing is going to happen with transgender. The "trans" in transsexual was always about moving from one thing to another. A person was going from male to female, or vice versa. This conception was more or less grafted onto the newer term "transgender."

It's an overused truism that "transgender" was intended as a broad "umbrella term" for all those who are gender nonconforming. Yet there are limits: transgender itself is interpreted by some in terms of two binary genders that one is traveling between or else not conforming to. For others (especially transsexuals), being transgender implies a sense of conflict between one's inner gender identity and birth sex as male or female. In this way, transgender often unintentionally reinforced and reified the same binary of sexes and genders that makes outcasts of transpeople in the first place.

But what if one is not traveling anywhere? Or is entirely off the map of intelligible binary genders?

Familiar transgender concerns get scrambled quickly. For instance, we now accept that transgender women are women and can use the women's bathroom. But what bathroom do we want nonbinary people to have the right to use: Both? Neither? And what sex marker do we want them to

be able to put on their ID? Both? Neither? A new one?

You can see where this is going. Neither our language nor our politics is suited to accommodate this, and we're going to have to do a lot of rethinking.

All of which is long overdue. Binary gender regimes maintained themselves with a few rules: everyone must be in a box; there are only two boxes; no one can change boxes; no one is allowed between the boxes. Since no one really fits the perfect masculine or feminine ideals, these rules end up being terribly oppressive to almost everyone, and more so to those who are genderqueer. One can only hope the emergence of a nonbinary movement is the first step in finally retiring it.

Munir was actually way ahead of a curve that is only now coming into view. It's not that nonbinary people have no rights (although they don't and they must), it's that—like Obama—most people have no idea that they exist or what they are.

What comes next, what takes its place, is going to be very interesting. It will be years before even something as simple as the use of the pronouns they, them, and their works its way through our language and our brain-pans and become standard. It will be even longer before people like Munir feeling emboldened, coming out, and stepping off the binary become widespread and commonplace.

And that deeper social change that really opens a profound and enduring space for those who are nonbinary to live fully with rights, dignity, and understanding will take even longer.

Fortunately, until then, we will have this excellent new anthology to guide us.

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Gender is a slippery illusion. Like the flat outline of a cube, you can perceive its shape as either concave or convex, extruding or withdrawn. If you're especially adept, you can see both simultaneously, or perhaps, even for a moment, neither at all. Upon deeper inspection, you might deduce the truth at the heart of it all: there is no one "correct" form. Yet all of them are real.

Most of us were raised to believe that gender is a dichotomy: male and female. But underneath this foundational "fact" lies a complexity we've been trying to untangle. The modern discourse on transgender people and on gender more broadly has already been elevated beyond duality. But, what is gender? Rather than having an answer for this basic question, we are left with even more questions. What is a man? What is a woman? And, central to the essays contained within this book, why does this matter?

Communities are blossoming around the experience of being something other than man or woman. While still new to many, the rise of nonbinary identities is another step built upon the work and accelerating progress of our LGBTQ predecessors. As gender diversity is increasingly embraced, more people and their allies are emerging and finding one another. They, in turn, extend the fight toward a deeper understanding and acceptance not only of the complexity of gender, but of the complexity of the individual.

This anthology faces the foundational questions of gender head-on. Through a personal examination of their own lives, thirty authors grant us a glimpse into the process of discovering, defining, constructing, creating, and experiencing gender in a unique way. Today, the world is finally ready to hear their stories.

### What Is Gender?

"Is it a boy or a girl?"

"It's a dog."

"But is it a boy dog or a girl dog?"

People are never shy to ask about a dog's gender, and are quick to apologize when they get it wrong. Yet when it comes to the human species, directly inquiring about a person's gender is often considered egregiously offensive. Regarded almost as insulting is the act of accidental misgendering, like calling someone sir when it should be ma'am. In this situation, a casual apology is not the norm; instead, the guilty party usually fumbles through a fix, thoroughly embarrassed by this transgression.

As far as we know, dogs do not have a gender identity—they don't mind being called he or she, as long as there's a treat involved. The question of

"boy" dog or "girl" dog is merely an articulation of the most familiar and fundamental schema of gender: genitals. Humans, on the other hand, have a gender—an internal sense of who we are at our core that transcends body parts.

Across cultures and millennia, people have blurred the bounds of gender.<sup>1</sup> Although embodied in different words, meanings, and belief systems, their experience was as real then as it is today. In contemporary Western society, only in the last few decades has the realization that gender is not a simple male/female dichotomy come to the fore. But traditions die hard and cultural inertia runs deep. Before a child can form complete sentences, they learn that gender is a (if not the) primary characteristic that defines a human being. Personhood is contingent on the immediate categorization into a sex. Once the doctor takes a cursory look at a newly born infant's genitals, officially proclaiming it to be male or female, the baby is marked for life.

Yet even this simple act of examining external reproductive organs leads to gray areas. While in most babies sex is as straightforward as penis or vagina, in as many as 1.7 percent of births this is not the case. Medical literature possibly underestimates incidence rates, given that many people do not find out they are intersex or have a difference in sexual development (DSD) until adulthood. This happens either because only nonvisible features such as their internal organs or chromosomes exhibit this divergence, or because their parents were pressured into silence due to continued stigmatization. If you argue that biological variations in sexual dimorphism are too rare to be of much importance, then consider that roughly one in a hundred people have bodies that differ from the "standard" male or female—a rate that mirrors that of people with red hair. Surely you know someone with red hair.

Biological diversity is only the first crack in the precarious male/ female binary. Historically, societies have afforded gender expression varying degrees of flexibility that shift across time. As an example from our own modern culture, up until the 1940s pink was considered a masculine color for its proximity to the more "vigorous" red. But due to a combination of gender normative panic and

marketing, pink is now exclusively reserved for the feminine. Another strikingly recent gender crossover is the mundanity with which we regard women who wear pants. Clearly, the porous boundary around gender expression is not new. Rather, what has permeated our contemporary awareness is the acknowledgment that gender runs deeper than appearance, behavior, or preferences.

Gender is gradually being understood to be a holistic experience of ourselves, inside and out. Gender identity is regarded as separate from our biology—genitals, reproductive organs, chromosomes, hormones, secondary sex characteristics. It is also distinct from our gender expression—hair length, clothing, mannerisms, makeup. For most folks, their biology, expression, and identity are all in alignment. But for an estimated 1.4 million Americans, there is a mismatch. Framing gender identity as self-determined and independent from our body and external presentation has allowed increased recognition and acceptance of transgender people.

Despite this promising reconceptualization, our grasp of gender hinges upon the words we use to describe it. Language, unfortunately, remains steeped in binary constructions. Try describing your gender without using the terms male/female, masculine/feminine, girl/boy, woman/man, or any variation thereof—you are likely to come up blank. Similarly, it's nearly impossible to talk about someone else without assigning a gender to them. In many cases you cannot escape gendering even yourself. For instance, in romance languages like Spanish or such haven't settled firmly into the lexicon. What all of them fail to capture is the nuanced humanity of those whose gender ventures into the unknown. Nonbinary individuals are more than simply both, neither, or in between. Stepping beyond male and female leads us into the infinite universe of gender.

In this book, nonbinary people finally get a chance to define themselves by who they are, rather than by the negative space of what is missing. The narratives in the first part highlight how those whose gender cannot be described as simply male or female are creating a positive space for their existence.

**Visibility: Standing Up and Standing Out**  
Shared identities serve as an imperfect proxy to quickly ascertain and understand another's experience. In addition to gender, we are born into, create, adopt, and self-proclaim ourselves into further categories based on race, religion, nationality, sexuality, profession, socioeconomic status, disability; we are trauma survivors, cancer patients, Californians, parents, veterans, vegetarians, artists, athletes, and more. Not only is gender highly unique and individualized, so is the intersection of all our other identities.

We all carry visible and invisible identities. Like gender, some of our identities are immediately evident to strangers, while others are misinterpreted, misconstrued, or hidden. Some identities elicit pride; others shame. Most of them are accompanied by an inherited or chosen community of others with similar stories, uniting us through common characteristics or experiences. The solidarity that arises affords support, but also demarcates us from them. When it's unclear whether someone is an "us" or a "them," outsiders tend to react unpredictably—with confusion, curiosity, desire, ridicule, anger, or even violence. Being openly transgender still invites danger. Trans people are seven times more likely than the cisgender population to experience physical violence from law enforcement. Trans women are almost twice as likely to experience sexual violence compared to other survivors. Perhaps most worrisome, two-thirds of the victims of hate-motivated homicides are trans women of color. Aside from hate crimes and harassment, trans people face alarmingly high rates of poverty, unemployment, homelessness, and HIV, with scarce legal protections. Consequently many trans people, especially those who "pass" or are consistently perceived as cisgender men or women, avoid disclosing that they are transgender in the majority of their social and professional spheres. Opting out of being out was the norm in the past; transition was accompanied by the presumption that one would go "stealth" and never reveal a transsexual history for fear of being ostracized, fired, arrested, or worse.

Our understanding of disclosure has since evolved to encompass—like everything else—a spectrum.

Reasons for disclosing are as varied as people; some feel safe sharing their trans identity to a select few, others unabashedly announce it to the world. Even what someone discloses and how vary by individual and circumstance. But choice in disclosure assumes not only safety; it is also contingent on the ability to be consistently perceived as one of the two readily available genders. So what does "passing" mean for nonbinary people? In the 2015 U.S. Transgender Survey, only 3 percent of nonbinary respondents "always told others" that they were nonbinary. When it is impossible for your external appearance to accurately reflect your inner gender—when the general public is missing the mental model that represents your gender—you will never be truly seen.

Visibility of transgender people has gained significant traction in the last decade. In 2014, *Time* magazine declared a "transgender tipping point" when Laverne Cox graced the cover. Celebrities like Jazz Jennings, Janet Mock, Chaz Bono, and Caitlyn Jenner have taken over reality TV, along with portrayals of trans characters in numerous movies, books, TV programs, and other media. However, the overwhelming majority of these depictions reinforce the prototypical transgender narrative, centered on milestones related to transition from one binary gender to the other. While this template can serve as a helpful guide, it can severely limit the possibilities for anyone whose gender path does not align with it. Nonbinary experiences remain invisible to this momentum.

Mainstream portrayals of nonbinary people are scarce. In a ten-year content analysis of thirteen of the most widely circulated U.S. newspapers, only 1.2 percent of paragraphs that mentioned a transgender person were about a nonbinary individual. Only a handful of global or national public figures have alluded (even tangentially) to identifying with gender in a nontraditional way. In becoming one of the few nonbinary role models with far-reaching platforms, they are burdened with the unrealistic expectation of speaking for the entire genderqueer umbrella. Even when stories of nonbinary people are published, popular media tends to erase the broad range of diversity in gender communities. Left behind in the shadows are

those who are nonwhite, assigned male, middle-aged or older, femme, disabled, medically transitioned, parents, religious, live in a rural area, or are part of countless other overlooked groups.

How can people understand what they don't even know exists? When a nonbinary person opens up their life to one or hundreds or millions, they contribute to rebuilding our shared mental model of gender. By speaking out and sharing their stories, each author in part 2 cultivates a new branch of gender, encouraging it to sprout and grow freely within the minds of outsiders and the spirits of their own.

### Community: Creating a Place for the Rest of Us

We are presently witnessing an exponential rise in scientific, legal, political, educational, theoretical, and lexical advances that support the needs of gender-diverse people. As transgender topics take center stage in media and in politics, so do public arguments over their rights.

Dinner table debates over bathroom bills parallel the waning furor over gay marriage in the United States. Through that milestone, gay and queer people gained more than the right to a legal union; society's understanding of sexuality shifted from merely being about sexual acts to encompassing the complex amalgamation of romantic love, companionship, and familial structure.

Similarly, gender discourse is gradually moving from penises and vaginas and their corresponding surgeries to a conceptualization of identity that reckons with transgender people as full participants in life and society. Although widely celebrated, the consequent integration into preexisting social structures has nevertheless entailed conflict within the trans and queer population. Assimilation into the mainstream forces some to reconcile with the loss of the radicalness that once accompanied queerness by default. Meanwhile, those who do not fit the paragon of white upper-middle class respectability continue to struggle for their survival.

To mitigate this ongoing marginalization of nondominant groups, the LGBTQIA+ community splinters off into countless identity-based factions. As an individual's identity shifts, so does their

membership within these subgroups. This blurriness extends to the discussion itself. Within gender diverse communities, there is overlap and disagreement as to what the words we use actually mean, and who can share a given identity. For instance, do nonbinary people belong in the transgender community? Some people say yes, some no. We walk a tightrope between acknowledging these lines and finding utility within them, while claiming that such boundaries are artificial. But central to this discussion is the lived experience of the person in question.

While the dichotomy of male and female may be false, it still creates a very real bifurcation. The world remains largely divided in two—pink or blue, he or she, testosterone or estrogen, M or F—with no room for other. Nonbinary people are left out of language, paperwork, clothing stores, and bathrooms; even tea and vitamins are laden with gendered marketing. In domains segregated by gender this vulnerability is especially salient. Because they don't fully belong on any side, nonbinary people are excluded from participating in activities that define everyday life.

The Internet is sometimes the only safe platform where stigmatized or invisible groups are able to express themselves. Today, it is often the first-place people go to with questions about gender. Connecting with one another can foster a sense of meaning, belonging, and fulfillment, as well as help build the resilience needed to live as an outsider. The trans community has built a thriving presence online. For genderqueer folks especially, digital life offers a plethora of identities and stories to explore. Bloggers and vloggers proudly share their journey with millions of followers. On the other side of the screen is someone learning a new vocabulary, discovering possibilities, and, perhaps for the first time, seeing themselves in another person. Social media has paved the way for a self-serve model of informational resources, medical knowledge, support networks, political activism, diverse representation, and, above all, building community around themselves and their loved ones.

From family, hobbies, culture, spirituality, and other shared life experiences, the authors in part 3 transition in and out of various communities throughout their lifetime. Some find, express, or

announce their gender online, giving and receiving virtual validation. Like every one of us, they grapple with belonging—to multiple spaces, to no spaces, to all spaces.

## PART IV: TRANS ENOUGH

### Representation and Differentiation

Nonbinary people comprise over one-third of the U.S. trans population (with the percentage steadily increasing with every large-scale survey),<sup>32</sup> yet their social and health care needs have notoriously received limited attention. Medical literature and scientific research, scant as it is for evidence-based transgender health, is nearly nonexistent when it comes to serving the distinctive needs of the nonbinary population. Even recent directives issued by federal medical bodies embracing trans health care do not stray from the rigid, stepwise binary model of transition.

Within the largest international organization of medical professionals dedicated to transgender health, nonbinary people have been historically glossed over. The World Professional Association of Transgender Health, or WPATH, issues the Standards of Care (SOC); these are the guidelines that all providers follow to care for trans people. Only in 2012 did the updated seventh version of the Standards of Care explicitly refer to nonbinary identities. Gender is endorsed as a spectrum primarily by emphasizing individualized treatment, and by replacing the now archaic "opposite" gender with the newly introduced language of "target" gender. Even more recent articles reassessing the current SOC criteria conclude by conceding: "Perhaps the concept of gender queerness could be addressed more thoroughly in a separate paragraph."

As a result of this lack of specificity, myths and misconceptions are rife among health providers. Nearly one-quarter of transgender adults, and up to half of trans young adults, delay health care because of fear of mistreatment or discrimination. Therapists and doctors, even those experienced in treating trans men and women, can be hesitant to care for nonbinary patients. In addition to financial and structural barriers, trans people are themselves often unaware of all the options available, deterring many from self-advocacy.

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Try on different labels and personas as they come of age. And as our tolerance for self-expression has expanded, gender and sexuality have become fair game for experimentation. Not to mention that every journalist feels compelled to include the oft-touted but thoroughly debunked statistic that 80 percent of children who exhibit gender variance will change their mind once they hit puberty. When disregarded, nonbinary identity is seen as a passing fad. If taken seriously, nonbinary identity is viewed as a stepping-stone toward an inevitable binary transition, an assumption that can be amplified when someone takes medical steps toward gender alignment. Many well-intentioned parents and providers are simply waiting for kids to "make up their mind" or "pick a side"; they would rather their child move on with a transition that fits within established guidelines and social structures, or settle for none at all, than remain in perpetual limbo. As for nonbinary adults ... perhaps one day they will grow out of it.

Nonbinary individuals are commonly miscategorized in another way: as queer people expressing an "extreme" form of gayness, an argument that echoes back to the beginnings of the transgender movement. Aside from conflating sexual orientation, gender expression, and identity, this distorted understanding also brings to light the differential degrees of freedom for gender transgression based on birth-assigned gender. People assigned female have a wider latitude to express masculine behavior, whereas those assigned male tend to be punished for displaying any signs of femininity, even in our modern era. The words alone, "tomboy" and "sissy," respectively connote tame versus derogatory variations for gender nonconformity. Given society's underlying misogyny, expressions of femininity are harshly limited, thus precluding many—especially those on the transfeminine or femme spectrum—from an authentic gender expression. As a consequence, only a narrow range of representations (often confined to transmasculine androgyny) have come to erroneously embody a genderqueer standard.

Taken together, these stereotypes lead to the harmful conclusion that nonbinary people do not deserve care. Dr. Johanna Olson-Kennedy, who has

treated thousands of trans youth as a pediatrician at Children's Hospital Los Angeles, neatly counters these fallacies:

What is true is that unpacking the gender binary is becoming increasingly popular, because I think youth recognize that it is not adequate for deeper human existence. Gender roles are largely archaic in many regards. So are youth experimenting with gender bending? Yes, absolutely. But they are not in distress. They are bending in solidarity with a movement to dismantle an obsolete set of gender rules, and stand in solidarity with their trans friends and the community. There are distinct differences in these youth. They are not likely to stick a needle in their body every week to be trendy. There is no reward for being trans. I can't get adolescents to finish ten days of antibiotics. It is so critical to differentiate between distress and social change.

As society's framework for gender shifts, so too do the behaviors and experiences of our youth. Undoing the biases against nonbinary people requires embracing new interpretations and expressions.

But the onus of untangling these tropes is not confined to the cisgender population. As trans men and women are being more openly embraced, there are a handful within the trans community who feel threatened by the emergence of nonbinary identities. This increasingly small subset perceives genderqueer folk as facetiously toying with gender, sully the societal attitudes toward all trans people, and consequently risking the incredible progress that has been made in recent years. Worries about continued access to hormones and surgeries, longer waitlists to get into gender clinics, and, of course, fighting for the baseline respect that all human beings deserve. These concerns are manifested in an utterly misguided vitriol that proves damaging to the entire gender community. The solution lies not in suppressing nonbinary identities, but rather in improving the system to provide adequate primary care and transition services to everyone.

Unfortunately, these widespread beliefs can lead anyone who questions their gender to start wondering, Am I trans enough? As they parse out their identity in relation to their self and society,

they run into contradictory expectations and assumptions about what a transgender experience is supposed to look like. Am I transitioning too little? Am I transitioning too much? Do I look too masculine? Am I perceived as a woman too often? Is it OK that I don't hate my body parts? Am I still nonbinary if I want to be called he and not they? Do I really feel gender dysphoria? What should gender dysphoria even feel like? How do I know whether I'm really trans?

Compounding these doubts and uncertainty are toxic narratives reinforced within the trans community itself. These have been shaped by a complex interplay of cultural norms in addition to the constraints trans people face to access health and legal services. Adversely impacting the community as a whole, these hierarchies are used to police who can rightly claim an "authentic" trans identity. One mark of legitimacy is physical dysphoria—the somatic misalignment between gender and body. Another sign of this supposed authentic transness is deep certainty in one's gender from a young age. Comparative taxonomies only serve to silence any trans person whose story doesn't quite align, which subsumes nearly everyone whose gender is not in the binary. Swept even further behind the curtain are trans people who come out later in life, who birth children, who retransition, or who otherwise follow a different journey.

Nonbinary people wrestle with many of the typical questions that many trans people face, such as coming out, changing their name and pronouns, opting for hormones or surgery. But the answers come in a murkier package, as there is still no paradigm for how nonbinary gender can coexist within the established male/female dichotomy. Nonbinary people reconcile with an inner gender that cannot be properly expressed and understood by the outside world; very often, their true identity can never be fully actualized. At best, transition for a nonbinary person involves a compromise: All options are inadequate, so which one will be better than nothing? Which path will be good enough?

Nonbinary people run themselves through an excruciating mental gauntlet, from pronouns to labels to physical changes. They debate not only whether medical transition is right for them, but

whether their dysphoria is enough to warrant hormones at all, or whether they are trans enough to consider (let alone deserve access to) surgery. Both those who do and do not physically transition are then paradoxically challenged to demonstrate that they are nonbinary enough; a binary appearance belies their internal gender, opening them to bias from their own community of trans siblings.

Society's reliance on science, biology, and medicine as ultimate truth demotes a person's internal felt and lived experiences as illegitimate sources of self-knowledge. In an effort to "prove" their nonbinary gender really does exist, they question the very realness of it. Gender is not something we can touch. It's hard to describe—intangible, unknowable. It is also inextricably embedded in our lives. Trans people often talk of how, regardless of their current gender, their history is ingrained in who they are today. In other domains, such as religion, language, or national origin, childhood socialization is similarly given up, undone, or replaced in adulthood, whether by choice or by the involuntary outcome of circumstance. Humans also carry habits, ideologies, traumas, emotions, conditions, all of which reside to a large extent in the mind. They are difficult to unlearn, get rid of, heal, affirm. Harder still is proving they exist. Are you actually depressed? Are you truly in love? Are you really trans? How do you know?

Understanding the real truth lies in the individual stories of people. Representing a range of generations, genders, and journeys, every author in part 4 wrestles with the question of trans enough. Following their own path, each one found a way to reimagine their future and make themselves whole.

## Redefining Dualities: Paradoxes and Possibilities of Gender

Our world is constructed on binaries that mask complexity, much like that two-dimensional rendering of the three-dimensional cube. Thin black lines against a vast white page can never wholly represent their object of imitation. At the same time, the simplicity of the outline does not detract from the intricacy of the cube. Capturing only height and width, those six lines, drawn at particular angles in particular positions, are an

attempt at conveying something beyond the page: the third dimension of depth.

Our cultural consciousness is filled with binaries where an additional dimension has entered the foreground: male/female, gay/straight, black/white, cisgender/transgender, binary/nonbinary. In some cases, the process of our collective awakening feels all but complete; in others, it feels like a slogging haul of tiny steps forward and back. As an example, Americans are still forced to self-identify into one of five racial categories on nearly every form or application. At the same time, the discourse around race and ethnicity has evolved to incorporate the socially constructed nature of these categories. Similarly, some people display disabled-parking placards in their car while others do not, even though the physical, mental, and emotional abilities of each body shift from year to year and moment to moment. In reconceptualizing these binaries, we deconstruct and reconstruct their definitions, their social implications, their communities, their histories, and their role in our sense of self.

Male and female are one of humanity's foundational underpinnings. Yet the creation of a new dichotomy—binary and nonbinary—ultimately proves just as limiting as the dichotomy of man and woman. At the same time, nonbinary gender is a unique concept and lived experience—separate from cisgender, and different from the mainstream understanding of transgender as a binary identity. The existence of nonbinary people shows us that gender is messy. In embracing this messiness, perhaps we can simultaneously acknowledge that the joys and struggles of nonbinary people are not the same as, yet not in opposition to, cisgender and binary transgender lives.

The narratives in part 5 illustrate the paradoxical possibilities of gender. Each author offers us a glimpse of what it would be like if our minds and bodies were met with simple curiosity, if we allowed ourselves to experience one another as the expansive, messy, uncategorizable individually unique human beings that we are.

Gender is everywhere—it permeates everything we do, everyone we meet, every place we visit, every interaction we have. The benefits of

expanding gender out of its neatly circumscribed discrete categories are not limited to intersex, transgender, nonbinary, or otherwise gender-diverse people. Detachment from gender norms affords a man the license to reclaim pink, or ask for the soft touch of his friend when he's feeling hurt; it boosts a woman's efforts to break the glass ceiling and close the gender pay gap, or wear what she chooses without turning into the object of scorn. Freedom to explore gender means girls and boys can grow up in a world that no longer reprimands them for acting one way and not the other, a world that doesn't ridicule them for their preferences, a world that doesn't limit their authenticity. Gender constricts us. Gender can also liberate us.

It is impossible for the two boxes of "male" and "female" to capture gender's vast nuances, yet social interaction and communication necessitate constructing representations of gender, however imperfect. Perhaps we can break out of the illusion: instead of being either/or, these binaries are both/and. Accepting the paradoxical duality means it is no longer a battle between the binary and the spectrum—they coexist in the same space. Gender houses the infinite possibilities in between, adjacent to, and outside of the realm that it currently represents. Gender is static, and gender is fluid. Gender is at the core of who we are, and gender is also just one of our many identities. <>

[Full Surrogacy Now: Feminism Against Family](#) by Sophie Lewis [Verso, 9781786637291]

Where pregnancy is concerned, let every pregnancy be for everyone. Let us overthrow, in short, the “family”

The surrogacy industry is estimated to be worth over \$1 billion a year, and many of its surrogates around the world work in terrible conditions—deception, wage-stealing and money skimming are rife; adequate medical care is horrifyingly absent; and informed consent is depressingly rare. In *Full Surrogacy Now*, Sophie Lewis brings a fresh and unique perspective to the topic. Often, we think of surrogacy as the problem, but, *Full Surrogacy Now* argues, we need more surrogacy, not less!

Rather than looking at surrogacy through a legal lens, Lewis argues that the needs and protection of surrogates should be put front and center. Their



relationship to the babies they gestate must be rethought, as part of a move to recognize that reproduction is productive work. Only then can we begin to break down our assumptions that children “belong” to those whose genetics they share. Taking collective responsibility for children would radically transform our notions of kinship, helping us to see that it always takes a village to make a baby.

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Excerpt: What is the point of this book? Full Surrogacy Now is not a book primarily derived from case studies. Nor, as you've seen, does it argue that there is something somehow desirable about the "surrogacy" situation such as it is. It presents brief histories of reproductive justice, anti-surrogacy, and saleswomanship at one particular clinic—but its main distinction, or so I hope, is that it is theoretically immoderate, utopian, and partisan regarding the people who work in today's surrogacy dormitories. The aim is to use bourgeois reproduction today (stratified, commodified, cis-normative, neocolonial) to squint toward a horizon of gestational communism. Throughout, I assume that the power to get to something approaching such a horizon belongs primarily to those who are currently workers—workers who probably dream about not being workers—specifically, those making and unmaking babies.

Although I do not call for a reduction in baby-making, this book seeks to land a blow against bourgeois society's voracious appetite for private, legitimate babies ("at least, healthy white [ones]," as Barbara Katz Rothman specifies, presumably using the word "healthy," here, with irony—to signify absence of disability). The regime of quasi-compulsory "motherhood," while vindicating itself in reference to an undifferentiated passing-on of "life

itself," is heavily implicated in the structures that stratify human beings in terms of their biopolitical value in present societies. If, as Laura Mamo finds in her survey of pregnancies in the queer community in the age of technoscience, the new dictum is "If you can achieve pregnancy, you must procreate," it is a dictum that, like so many "universal" things, disciplines everybody but really only applies to a few (the ruling class). And, while the questions of LGBTQ and migrant struggle are sometimes separated from class conflict, any understanding of this system of "economic" reproductive stratification will be incomplete without an account of the cissexist, anti-queer, and xenophobic logics that police deviations from the image of a legitimate family united in one "healthy" household. Drug users, abortion seekers, sexually active single women, black mothers, femmes who defend themselves against men, sex workers, and undocumented migrants are the most frequently incarcerated violators of this parenting norm. They have not been shielded by the fact that the Family today is now no longer necessarily heterosexual, with states increasingly making concessions to the "homonormative" household through policy on gay marriage.

Full Surrogacy Now is animated by hatred for capitalism's incentivization of propertarian, dyadic modes of doing family and its purposive starvation of queerer, more comradely modes. Patriarchy clearly has much to do with that. But some readers will probably have noticed by now that the terms "women" and "female" appear only infrequently in this text. The reason for that is simple: I feel there's no call for them. The formulation "pregnant people" is just as good as the alternative "pregnant women, men, and non-binary people," and it is more precise than "expectant mothers" or "pregnant women." Precision is important, I firmly believe, because there can be no utopian thought on reproduction that does not involve uncoupling gestation from the gender binary. Besides, trans people have always been part of gestational and nongestational reproduction, not to mention reproductive justice struggle. Standing fast on this is a political duty, not least because trans people are once again coming under attack. In 2017, when anti-trans feminists in the United Kingdom produced a leaflet to protest Gender Recognition legislation,

they used—as their avatar of a "biological woman" whose welfare the mere existence of trans women supposedly puts at risk—a naked human figure in chains with a heavily pregnant belly.

The "EMERGENCY" the leafleteers were flagging was not even, as with *The Handmaid's Tale* role-players, a threat to abortion services in Britain or even Ireland. Rather, the activists were mobilizing around the threat of category implosion supposedly posed by the UK government's consultation on how to make the Gender Recognition Act better for trans people. They were consciousness-raising about the ontological threat posed by figures like the woman with a penis—and the pregnant man—to "womanhood" as a sex-class. Their message? That pregnancy's identification with womanhood needs to be upheld in language at all costs. Rather than adapt their materialism to the diverse reality of existing women, they prefer to deny and expel those who do not fit. At the time of writing, well over forty years have passed since the lesbian radical Gayle Rubin published "The Traffic in Women," in which she argued that the prevalent system of biological kinship is in itself a "sex/gender system"; that (patriarchal) understandings of pregnancy produce women rather than vice versa." Further: a constantly growing body of work in the natural sciences is gradually debunking the dyadic model of human sexuation on which cultural notions of maleness and femaleness and, by extension, manhood and womanhood have been built. Nevertheless, sadly, it seems that definition is one many people will go to their graves defending.

Some otherwise trans-affirming (and infinitely more reasonable) scholars have expressed the worry that dispensing with the term "woman" in the context of reproduction might "constitute a form of erasure that is also incompatible with the principles of reproductive justice." I am unpersuaded by this concern. It is not that I do not understand the momentous history of the mass repression and murder of the witches and midwives, the dispossession of their knowledge, as a class history. Quite the reverse: I know it is for them, and thanks to them, that I—and other feminist cyborgs—pursue the cause of gender abolition. As far as this book goes, I am curious to see if the not-yet-

thinkable movement that is gender abolition can be advanced through the application of a kind of methodological pig-headedness in precisely those conceptual areas—procreation being top of the list—that are most overdetermined with gendered meaning. That, at any rate, is the hunch informing my experimental stance, which can be paraphrased as follows: gestation is work and, as such, has no inherent or immoveable gender.

To date, the gender of gestating has been ambiguous. I am not talking about pregnancy's deepening of one's voice, its carpeting of one's legs in bristly hair, or even about the ancient Greek belief that it was the direct analogue of men's duty to die in battle if called upon. I am not even thinking of the heterogeneous gender identity of those who gestate. Rather, in a context where political economists are talking constantly of "the feminization of labor," it seems to me that the economic gendering of the work itself is not as clear-cut as it would appear. The feminization-of-labor thesis, which presumes what "femininity" is and then describes global trends toward emotional labor and job precarity—sorry, flexibility—in those terms, is not applicable here. The waged baby-making workplaces of the twenty-first century just don't fit well into that model. Commercial gestational surrogates are not "flexible." They are supposed to be unemotional, committed, pure techne, uncreative muscle. Dreams of artificial wombs may have been largely abandoned in the 1960s, but ever since the perfection of IVF techniques enabled a body to gestate entirely foreign material, living humans have become the sexless "technology" component of the euphemism Assisted Reproductive Technology.

If feminists want to denaturalize the gender of reproductive work more generally, we have to stop (re-)imposing gender on gestation and gestators in particular. As physician and abortion provider Cheryl Chastine professes:

We can't advocate that each pregnant person be able to effect the best decision for themselves while simultaneously insisting that people who aren't cisgender should go along silently with language in which they don't exist.

While quoting Chastine approvingly, Loretta Ross and Rickie Solinger seem to be obliquely apologizing, in the preface to their recent book, for the fact that theirs is only an "inconsistent" and "ragged beginning" to the project of using trans-inclusive obstetric terminology. Like Ross and Solinger, I want everyone to develop "acute attentiveness to the politics of language in this domain," but unlike them, I have felt no need to use the phrase "women and girls" at any point. It's important to make the effort because "while acknowledgment that not all women are mothers is fairly commonplace, the fact that not all pregnant or potentially pregnant

persons are mothers or women has yet to transform our language and conceptual frames substantively." Whereas Erica Millar asks doubtfully, for instance, "Is it possible or desirable to envisage gender neutral subjects of experiences, such as pregnancy, that are so firmly attached to gendered subjects?" the truth is that the tides of history, and more specifically progressive health care providers, have long since overtaken her on that one. The answer is yes. Chastine reports: "Never once have I felt that any of my cisgender patients was harmed, confused, or distressed by my talking about 'pregnant people.'"° If Happy Abortions can so powerfully show that pregnant people "are not automatically mothers," cannot its author see that neither therefore are they automatically women?

While I'm at it, let me include here a remark on positionality. Like most feminized survivors of the capitalist higher education system, I am superficially acquainted with selling sex and have been solicited (without success) for egg "donation." I have never gestated nor worked as a surrogate. I understand that some—obviously not all—people who have gestated for money cite a genuine investment in making babies as part of their motivation. Enrollees talk, not only to their managers but anonymously and to each other, about acute empathy for involuntary childlessness, pleasure in some aspects of being pregnant, and enthusiasm about helping other adults into a situation where they are able to experience the intensity of neonatal nurture. In this sense, I am sympathetic to them and to the likely

disappointment they will face, since "nothing so effectively stifles our lives as the transformation into work of the activities and relations that satisfy our desires." I believe there's been too scant attention to the question of what that "stifling" feels like in the context of a job that never stops, dominates your mood, hijacks your blood vessels and sugar supply, while slowly exploding your anatomy from the inside out.

Admittedly, I could find out for myself. I possess what might or might not be a "viable" uterus. I could perhaps one day shed my inexperience on this front and report back. But since other less dangerous and more appealing forms of revenue are—at least for now—available to me, if I do, it will likely be because I've blithely decided to do "participatory" fieldwork (and the insights I'd garner in this manner would likely be highly circumscribed). I suspect there's no way of wholly mitigating the hubris involved in writing normatively in favor of a self-theorizing, self-emancipating surrogacy from my remote perch outside of surrogates' class standpoint. Instead I'll say this: I am trying to stand behind any proletarian's contrivance to accommodate herself as bearably and as profitably as possible to the discipline of work—just as I would expect a little acceptance in turn, of my accommodation to the transformation into work of the activities that satisfy my desire (in this case) to read, think, and write.

### Gestational Commune

"Full surrogacy now," "another surrogacy is possible": to the extent that these interchangeable sentiments imply a revolutionary program (as I'd like them to) I'd propose it be animated by the following invitations. Let's bring about the conditions of possibility for open-source, fully collaborative gestation. Let's prefigure a way of manufacturing one another noncompetitively. Let's hold one another hospitably, explode notions of hereditary parentage, and multiply real, loving solidarities. Let us build a care commune based on comradeship, a world sustained by kith and kind more than by kin. Where pregnancy is concerned, let every pregnancy be for everyone. Let us overthrow, in short, the "family."

It is admittedly quite hard to imagine the book by me that would do full justice to that remit. Happily,

the ideas I've just glossed over aren't new or original and will continue to be refined and concretized for years and years after this. Writing is, of course, an archetypal example of distributed, omni-surrogated creative labor. While the name on the cover of this book is mine, the thoughts that gestated its unfinished contents, like the labors that gestated (all the way into adulthood) the thinkers of those ongoing thoughts, are many. Mario Biagioli puts it well in his essay comparing gestational surrogacy with intellectual plagiarism: "authorship can only be coauthorship."

This said, the fiction of individualized authorship (as it pertains to far more things than books and babies) has been naturalized around the world with depressing success. The impact of generations of cultural enforcement of sex/gender-normative, marriage-based models of procreation and heredity is hard to exaggerate. It is probably the case that everybody is marked to some extent, and that includes the vast numbers scarred by the racialized state gatekeeping of the reproductive resources required to participate. (Meanwhile, the most privileged among us don't see or even consciously know about this gatekeeping, even as they are pleased with its effects.)

Wanting a mode of gestation that itself contributes to family abolition makes my little book a clear descendant of disparate elements of the Second Wave, but a disloyal, monstrous, chimerical daughter indeed. (No wonder that the text I revere most is that errant, homeless one, the *Cyborg Manifesto*.) There would obviously be no *Full Surrogacy Now* without *Xenogenesis*, *The Dialectic of Sex*, *The Second Sex*, *Of Woman Born*, *Woman on the Edge of Time*, *"Bloodchild,"* and *The Politics of Reproduction*. The stars by which one navigates in that bright constellation are mostly well-known: Simone de Beauvoir and Octavia Butler see pregnancy as terrifying, colonizing, imprisoning; Mary O'Brien and Adrienne Rich, on the other hand, very much do not. In their different genres, Shulamith Firestone and Marge Piercy both articulate postcapitalist, postgender (and apparently postracial) futures in which procreation would mostly be accomplished outside of human bodies, in machines—incubators or "brooders"—and democratically planned. Firestone, as part of

her proposal that anti-capitalists immediately adopt a demand for free gestational automation for all who might want it, observes that those of us who have wombs "have no special reproductive obligation to the species." While disagreeing neither with this nor with the infamous Firestonian point that it is "barbaric ... like shitting a pumpkin," Piercy's fictional narrator, Connie Ramos, expresses far more ambivalence about humanity's loss of gestational labor as an experience: "she [Connie] hated them, the bland bottle-born monsters of the future, born without pain ... without the stigmata of race and sex."

Despite my debt, and despite that particular family of feminism's popular association with the biological, it still feels to me as though their essay into the question of gestational labor qua labor was rather limited. That most were "bad" on race is often said, but is no less true for all that, and it isn't a subsidiary gripe: it's surely a major part of why a sense does not emerge—still hasn't—of pregnancy as a contingent material process shaped by structural antagonisms. In particular, too few of the speculative ectogenesis texts grappled at all with the relationship between social reproduction and reproduction of capital—the unequal distribution of technology, and the limits of (the desirability of) automation. My complaint here is not about priggishly demanding to know what the process is, exactly, for reaching the brooder-utopia of Mattapoisett, or the post-Oedipal world *The Diversity of Sex* describes, as destinations. (That said, I do think it is important to ask, for example, what the operations might be by which race and sex are technologically dissolved; or where the rare-earth minerals presumably required for the enormous full-time placenta-computers should come from.) Rather, I'm talking about a sense I have that *The Dialectic of Sex*, and even *Woman on the Edge of Time* are insufficiently ambitious in their approach to the labor of gestation.

I'll wager that there is a baby-making to be aimed for that will be defined neither by the alienated misery of the status quo nor the silver absolutism of their techno-fix. Apart from anything else, it seems relevant to me that, despite the many good reasons I've already enumerated to liberate humanity from the necessity of gestating to reproduce the species,

our desires for gestating—perverse creatures that we are—may well persist. "Full surrogacy now," as I see it, is an expression of solidarity with the evolving desires of gestational workers, from the point of view of a struggle against work. It names a struggle that, by redistributing the burden of that labor, dissolves the distinction between reproducers and non-reproducers, mothers and nonmothers, altogether. In the hope and belief of one day seeing the world that that struggle brings into being, this book asks, how does the contemporary phenomenon we call "surrogacy" contradict itself? How might these contradictions threaten broader projects of capital, opening up opportunities for new fights? Throughout, I endeavour to pit a critical-utopian gaze against the reality of commercial gestation. The other slogan for this method could be: Surrogacy against Surrogacy. Or even: Surrogates against Surrogacy Unabashedly interested in family abolition, I want us to look to waged gestational assistance specifically insofar as it illuminates the possibility of its immanent destruction by something completely different. In other words, I'd like to see a surrogacy worthy of the name; a real surrogacy; surrogacy solidarity. That is the reason for flagging this one particular multi-sited project of capitalist reproduction; not the fact that it is intensive, or unique. I want others to help me read surrogacy against the grain and thereby begin to reclaim the productive web of queer care (real surrogacy) that Surrogacy is privately channelling, monetizing, and, basically, stealing from us.

I'll wager there is no technological "fix" for the violent predicament human gestators are in. Technologies for ex utero baby-making might be a good idea, and the same goes for more ambitious research and development in the field of abortion and contraception. But, fundamentally, the whole world deserves to reap the benefits of already available techniques currently monopolized by capitalism's elites. It is the political struggle for access and control—the commoning or communization of reprotech—that matters most. It is certainly going to be up to us (since technocrats wouldn't do it for us, or hand it over to us if they did) to orchestrate intensive scientific inquiry into ways to tweak bodily biology to better privilege,

protect, support, and empower those with uterus who find themselves put to work by a placenta.

Far from a cop-out, saying there is no miracle fix for gestation—except seizing the means of reproduction—should light a fire under our desires to abolish the (obstetric) present state of things. Beyond the centuries-long circular debate about whether our pregnancies are "natural" or "pathological," there is, I know, a gestational commune—and I want to live in it. <>

[Gender and Development: The Economic Basis of Women's Power](#) by Samuel Cohn, Rae Lesser Blumberg [SAGE Publications, 9781506396637]

Drawing from the leading scholarship in the field, *Gender and Development: The Economic Basis of Women's Power* helps you to develop a foundational understanding of the significant role that gender plays in developing societies. Award-winning scholars Samuel Cohn and Rae Lesser Blumberg have carefully selected and edited a collection of readings that encourage you to think critically about the economic power (or lack thereof) of women, and apply key concepts and theory related to gender and current development issues. From women's participation in labor markets to their financial autonomy and purchasing power, these readings enable you to explore the economic implications of female power and the importance of women's strategic indispensability.

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Excerpt: Women's economic power is the strongest underpinning of women's level of equality in general—and a fundamental determinant of the dynamics of development. All too often, it is a backdrop in the study of gender and development and not the main focus. The purpose of this book, and the purpose of the leadoff chapter, is to put women's economic power back in the center of the analysis. The chapter "Power of the Purse" is Blumberg and Cohn's attempt to lay out a general theory of women's power. The chapter argues for the importance of women's strategic indispensability. It argues for the importance of women's strategic alliances. The rest of the chapter elaborates each of those two critical concepts, identifying the social correlates of both women's indispensability and women's alliances.

The causes and effects of gendered power are complex. The interrelation between gender and development is even more complex. There are far more causes and far more effects of women's economic power than can be listed in one chapter.

This book is a fuller analysis of the causes and effects of women's power and its linkages to the development process. About one third of the invited chapters discuss the causes of women's economic power. The remainder cover the effects of such power. There are tie-ins to a broad variety of social changes both in the Global North and in the Global South.

The authors in this collection are some of the most prestigious and most important writing in the sociology of gender and development. Each was invited in because of his or her distinguished past contributions to gender analysis and because of her or his distinctive personalized point of view. The chapters are, by design, very different from one another. Nearly all of them extend the study of women's power, gender, and development in new and interesting directions that go beyond the already broad scope of our introductory chapter. As a result, this book is full of surprises. Surprises are good.

What does the book have above and beyond the Blumberg and Cohn general theory of women's economic power?

The Hristov piece is bloody. It shows how women in the Global South become disempowered during campaigns of rural proletarianization. In Colombia, there is a gigantic land grab as local capitalists and military men expel peasants from their lands and homes so the capitalists and military men can create agribusinesses and development projects for themselves. Women are pawns in this brutal game of dispossession. Rape is a standard tool for punishing women who refuse to abandon their lands. Sexual access to poor women is the reward for the men in death squads and paramilitary units who do the dirty work of forcing people off the land.

Blumberg builds on her theories of gender stratification and gender and development, introducing a new concept: "the created biology of gender stratification." Where women have economic power, the "created biology" helps them "be all that they can be" and often aids men as well. Where they don't, consequences can extend from malnutrition to murder. She examines females' equal economic position and gender equality

among hunter-gatherers (about 96% of our Homo sapiens history) and shows that bonobo females' economic power and peaceful leadership undercut the view that men and all our close primate kin are "nasty animals." She traces women's economic power through history to today, providing new insights into horticultural and agrarian societies and today's Global North versus South.

The Moghadam piece is a double lesson on the evils of petroleum and the beneficent power of women's organizations. Moghadam contrasts Iran, where women are relatively powerless, with Tunisia, where women are relatively empowered. Iran's economic development is based on oil, an industry that marginalizes women. Tunisia has a more diversified development plan that emphasizes export industries in which women play a key role. Women are strategic assets in Tunisia because the economy needs their labor. Women are also better organized in Tunisia. Women's organizations produce a more favorable legal and political environment for women, which in turn gives women further economic and social advantages.

Jalali describes the economic and social consequences in India of women's lack of access to basic facilities of menstrual hygiene. It is difficult to maintain feminine sanitation in environments where women have no economic power. Furthermore, in rural India, sanitation is hard to maintain due to the lack of running water and sewage systems. However, cultural taboos, women's lack of or insufficient income, and restriction of their freedom of action are crucial factors that deprive women of access to modern sanitary napkins, washing facilities, and secure places for performing bodily functions. Women are at increased risk of gynecological problems and infections. Women's participation in work and education is restricted in much of rural India, especially. Powerlessness produces sanitation problems, which further increase women's powerlessness.

The Cohn piece shows how men's choices affect the economic power available to women. Most employers are male. They decide what occupations will be male and what occupations will be female. When do they let in women? When they need to economize on labor. When they need to export. When they have to work with other companies with

women in strategic decision-making positions. Other special cases exist as well. These decisions to offer jobs to women reflect the different economics of different types of firms. The economics shape men's willingness to hire women. Men's willingness to hire women shapes the ability of women to enter occupations with organizational power.

The Boatcă and Roth article is a powerful reminder that economic power is shaped by those arbitrary social constructions known as national borders. Citizenship grants massive economic opportunities to some women while denying them to others. Ability to negotiate or contravene national borders becomes an important strategy for gaining economic power. Boatcă and Roth discuss migration, as well as how gender creates narrow and idiosyncratic roads to upward mobility through changing the legal definition of one's citizenship. Obtaining the legal right to migrate is often extremely sexual; the negotiation of national status occasionally must be done on one's back.

The Leicht and Baker piece has a contrarian but serious alternative view of women's power. Superficially, it would seem that women would be better off if they were economically powerful and men were less powerful. Leicht and Baker argue that this is not necessarily so. When men lose status, they become resentful and dangerous. They take their frustration out in greater violence against women. Leicht and Baker review the global consequences of males' resentment of their declining economic position. Not only do women face increased personal victimization, but they also face increased political powerlessness as men work to regain their lost status by supporting ever more antifeminist political movements.

Berry discusses how war affects women's power by considering the aftermath of civil wars in Rwanda, Bosnia, and Nepal. Losing family in warfare is always tragic. However, she points out that the loss of husbands and fathers can mean the loss of significant protection for women and daughters. In patriarchal societies, women who have lost their men are vulnerable to exploiters hoping to seize their lands and resources. Women in Rwanda, Bosnia, and Nepal had to respond to postwar threats by organizing among themselves for their own protection. This led not only to the creation of

significant women's organizations but also to the greater inclusion of women in national politics.

Rothchild and Shrestha show that despite the progress documented for Nepali women in Berry's piece, life for females continues to be difficult in this poor country. Patriarchal norms are deeply ingrained. The authors interview Nepali women of various castes and ethnic groups to learn how this affects individual women's lives. Women have limited access to education and credit. Limited opportunities for women's employment lead to poverty and hunger. Nongovernmental organizations have been less than successful in providing meaningful alternatives. Migrating from Nepal is often one of the few good options. However, men who migrate limit women's access to foreign money. Women face legal barriers to migrating themselves. Women become trapped in lives of powerless drudgery with few meaningful economic prospects.

The Fish and Sprague piece covers an organizational attempt to improve the situation of one of the world's largest economically vulnerable populations of working women—domestic workers—by gaining them the support of the International Labor Organization. Women who work in homes as cleaners, cooks, or nursemaids are absolutely subject to low pay, long hours, arbitrary bad treatment, and too often, sexual assault at the hands of employers. Strange but true, there are now international conventions and accords to protect the union and legal rights of these workers. Fish and Sprague tell the story of how these implausible protections came about. Strategic allies and supportive organizations play a big role here. <>

[The Kaleidoscope of Gender: Prisms, Patterns, and Possibilities](#), Sixth Edition by Catherine G. Valentine, Mary Nell Trautner, with Joan Z. Spade [SAGE Publications, 9781506389103]

The Kaleidoscope of Gender: Prisms, Patterns, and Possibilities provides an accessible, timely, and stimulating overview of the cutting-edge literature and theoretical frameworks in sociology and related fields in order to understand the social construction of gender. The kaleidoscope metaphor

and its three themes—prisms, patterns, and possibilities—unify topic areas throughout the book. By focusing on the prisms through which gender is shaped, the patterns which gender takes, and the possibilities for social change, the reader gains a deeper understanding of ourselves and our relationships with others, both locally and globally.

Editors Catherine Valentine, Mary Nell Trautner and the work of Joan Spade focus on the paradigms and approaches to gender studies that are constantly changing and evolving. The Sixth Edition includes incorporation of increased emphasis on global perspectives, updated contemporary social movements, such as #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo, and an updated focus on gendered violence.

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 About the Editors

Excerpt: This sixth edition of *The Kaleidoscope of Gender: Prisms, Patterns, and Possibilities* provides an overview of the cutting-edge literature and theoretical frameworks in the sociology of gender and related fields for understanding the social construction of gender. Although not ignoring classical contributions to gender theory and research, this book focuses on where the field is moving and the changing paradigms and approaches to gender studies. *The Kaleidoscope of*

Gender uses the metaphor of a kaleidoscope and three themes—prisms, patterns, and possibilities—to unify topic areas. It focuses on the prisms through which gender is shaped, the patterns gender takes, and the possibilities for social change through a deeper understanding of ourselves and our relationships with others, both locally and globally.

The book begins, in the first part, by looking at gender and other social prisms that define gendered experiences across the spectrum of daily lives. We conceptualize prisms as social categories of difference and inequality that shape the way gender is defined and practiced, including culture, race/ethnicity, social class, sexuality, age, and ability/disability. Different as individuals' lives might be, there are patterns to gendered experiences. The second part of the book follows this premise and examines these patterns across a multitude of arenas of daily life. From here, the last part of the book takes a proactive stance, exploring possibilities for change. Basic to the view of gender as a social construction is the potential for social change. Students will learn that gender transformation has occurred and can occur and, consequently, that it is possible to alter the genderscape. Because prisms, patterns, and possibilities themselves intersect, the framework for this book is fluid, interweaving topics and emphasizing the complexity and ever-changing nature of gender.

We had multiple goals in mind as we first developed this book, and the sixth edition reaffirms these goals:

- Creating a book of readings that is accessible, timely, and stimulating in a text whose structure and content incorporate a fluid framework, with gender presented as an emergent, evolving, complex pattern—not one fixed in traditional categories and topics;
- Selecting articles that creatively and clearly explicate what gender is and is not and what it means to say that gender is socially constructed by incorporating provocative illustrations and solid scientific evidence of the malleability of gender and the role of individuals, groups, and social institutions in the daily performance

and transformation of gender practices and patterns;

- Including readings that untangle and clarify the intricate ways gender is embedded in, intersects with, and is defined by the prisms of culture/nation, race/ethnicity, class, sexuality, age, ability/disability, and other patterns of identities, groups, and institutions;
- Integrating articles with cross-cultural and global foci to illustrate that gender is a continuum of categories, patterns, and expressions whose relevance is contextual and continuously shifting, and that gender inequality is not a universal and natural social pattern, but at the same time, emphasizing how patriarchal social systems result in similar patterns of experiences and inequalities;
- Assembling articles that offer students useful cognitive and emotional tools for making sense of the shifting and contradictory genderscape they inhabit, its personal relevance, its implications for relationships both locally and globally, and possibilities for change.

These goals shaped the revisions in the sixth edition of *The Kaleidoscope of Gender*. New selections in this

edition emphasize sex and gender diversity, including the experiences of transgender and intersex people. Global and intersectional analyses as well as new contemporary social movements for gender justice are incorporated throughout the book. We continue to explore the role of institutions in maintaining gender difference and inequality. Across the chapters, readings examine the individual, situational, and institutional bases for gendered patterns in relationships, behaviors, and beliefs. Additionally, many readings illustrate how multiple prisms of difference and inequality, such as race, age, and social class, create an array of patterns of gender—distinct but sometimes similar to the idealized patterns in a culture.

As in the fifth edition, reading selections include theoretical and review articles; however, the

emphasis continues to be on contemporary contributions to the field. The introduction to the book provides an overview of theories in the field, particularly theories based on a social constructionist perspective. In addition, the introduction to the book develops the kaleidoscope metaphor as a tool for viewing gender and a guide for studying gender. Revised chapter introductions contextualize the literature in each part of the book, introduce the readings, and illustrate how they relate to analyses of gender. Introductions and questions for consideration precede each reading to help students focus on and grasp the key points of the selections. Additionally, each chapter ends with questions for students to consider and topics for students to explore.

It is possible to use this book alone, as a supplement to a text, or in combination with other articles or monographs. It is designed for undergraduate audiences, and the readings are appropriate for a variety of courses focusing on the study of gender, such as sociology of gender, gender and social change, and women's studies. The book may be used in departments of sociology, anthropology, psychology, women's studies, and gender studies.

### Open Access Teaching and Learning Resources

The SAGE Gender and Sexuality Resource Site is an open access site meant to enhance the teaching and learning environments in gender and sexuality courses. Access the site by visiting Video, podcasts, web links, and articles are provided for the following topic areas:

Theories of Gender and Sexuality  
 Learning and "Doing Gender"  
 Sexual Minorities  
 Sexual Violence and Commodification  
 Crime, Social Control, and the Legal System  
 Religion  
 Politics and Power  
 Families, Intimate Relationships, and Reproduction  
 The Workplace  
 Health and Medicine  
 Education  
 Sports  
 Media and Popular Culture  
 Social Movements and Activism

### Gender and Sexuality Across Cultures

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This book is an invitation to you, the reader, to enter the fascinating and challenging world of gender studies. Gender is briefly defined as the meanings, practices, and relations of femininities and masculinities that people create as we go about our daily lives in different social settings in the contemporary United States. Although we discuss gender throughout this book, it is a very complex term to understand and the reality of gender goes far beyond this simple definition. While a more detailed discussion of what gender is and how it is related to biological maleness and femaleness is provided in Chapter 1, we find the metaphor of a kaleidoscope useful in thinking about the complexity of the meaning of gender from a sociological viewpoint.

### The Kaleidoscope of Gender

A real kaleidoscope is a tube containing an arrangement of mirrors or prisms that produces different images and patterns. When you look through the eyepiece of a kaleidoscope, light is typically reflected by the mirrors or prisms through cells containing objects such as glass pieces, seashells, and the like to create ever-changing patterns of design and color (Baker, 1999). In this book, we use the kaleidoscope metaphor to help us grasp the complex and dynamic meaning and practice of gender as it interacts with other social prisms—such as race, ethnicity, age, sexuality, and social class—to create complex patterns of identities and relationships. Three themes then emerge from the metaphor of the kaleidoscope: prisms, patterns, and possibilities.

Part I of the book focuses on prisms. A prism in a kaleidoscope is an arrangement of mirrors that refracts or disperses light into a spectrum of patterns (Baker, 1999). We use the term social prism to refer to socially constructed categories of difference and inequality through which our lives are reflected or shaped into patterns of daily experiences. In addition to gender, when we discuss social prisms, we consider other socially constructed categories such as race, ethnicity, age, social class, and sexuality. Culture is also conceptualized as a social prism in this book, as we examine how gender is shaped across groups and societies. The

concept of social prisms helps us understand that gender is not a universal or static entity but, rather, is continuously created within the parameters of individual and group life. Looking at the interactions of the prism of gender with other social prisms helps us see the bigger picture—gender practices and meanings are a montage of intertwined social divisions and connections that both pull us apart and bring us together.

Part II of the book examines the patterns of gendered expressions and experiences created by the interaction of multiple prisms of difference and inequality. Patterns are regularized, prepackaged ways of thinking, feeling, and acting in society, and gendered patterns are present in almost all aspects of daily life. In the United States, examples of gendered patterns include the association of the color pink with girls and blue with boys (Paoletti, 2012). However, these patterns of gender are experienced and expressed in different ways depending on the other social prisms that shape our identities and life chances. Furthermore, these patterns are not static, as Paoletti illustrates.

Before the 1900s, children were dressed similarly until around the age of 7, with boys just as likely as girls to wear pink—but both more likely to be dressed in white. In addition, dresses were once considered appropriate for both genders in Europe and America. It wasn't until decades later, in the 1980s, that color became rigidly gendered in children's clothing, in the pink-and-blue schema. You will find that gendered patterns restrict choices, even the colors we wear—often without our even recognizing it is happening.

Another example of a gendered pattern is the disproportionate numbers of female educators and male engineers. You may note that architects and engineers are predominately White men and educational occupations are predominantly White women. These patterns of gender are a result of the complex interaction of multiple social prisms across time and space.

Part III of the book concerns possibilities for gender change. Just as the wonder of the kaleidoscope lies in the ever-evolving patterns it creates, gendered patterns are always in flux. Each life and the world we live in can be understood as a kaleidoscope of

unfolding growth and continual change (Baker, 1999). This dynamic aspect of the kaleidoscope metaphor represents the opportunity we have, individually and collectively, to transform gendered patterns that are harmful to women and men. Although the theme of gender change is prominent throughout this book, it is addressed specifically in Chapter 10. One caveat must be presented before we take you through the kaleidoscope of gender. A metaphor is a figure of speech in which a word ordinarily used to refer to one thing is applied to better understand another thing. A metaphor should not be taken literally. It does not directly represent reality. We use the metaphor of the kaleidoscope as an analytical tool to aid us in grasping the complexity, ambiguity, and fluidity of gender. However, unlike the prisms in a real kaleidoscope, the meaning and experience of social prisms (e.g., gender, race, ethnicity, social class, sexuality, and culture) are socially constructed and change in response to patterns in the larger society. Thus, although the prisms of a real kaleidoscope are static, the prisms of the gender kaleidoscope are fluid and shaped by the patterns of society.

As you step into the world of gender studies, you'll need to develop a capacity to see what is hidden by the cultural blinders we all wear at least some of the time. This capacity to see into the complexities of human relationships and group life has been called the sociological imagination or, to be hip, a "sociological radar." It is a capacity that is finely honed by practice and training both inside and outside the classroom. A sociological perspective enables us to see through the cultural smokescreens that conceal the patterns, meanings, and dynamics of our relationships.

## Gender Stereotypes

The sociological perspective will help you think about gender in ways you might never have considered. It will, for example, help you debunk gender stereotypes, which are rigid, oversimplified, exaggerated beliefs about femininity and masculinity that misrepresent most women and men. To illustrate, let's analyze one gender stereotype that many people in American society believe—women talk more than men.

Social scientific research is helpful in documenting whether women actually talk more than men, or

whether this belief is just another gender stereotype. To arrive at a conclusion, social scientists study the interactions of men and women in an array of settings and count how often men speak compared with women. They almost always find that, on average, men talk more in mixed-gender groups. Researchers also find that men interrupt more and tend to ignore topics brought up by women. In and of themselves, these are important findings—the stereotype turns reality on its head.

So why does the stereotype continue to exist? First, we might ask how people believe something to be real—such as the stereotype that women talk more than men—when, in general, it isn't true. Part of the answer lies in the fact that culture, briefly defined as the way of life of a group of people, shapes what we experience as reality (see Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion). As Allan Johnson (1997) aptly puts it, "Living in a culture is somewhat like participating in the magician's magic because all the while we think we're paying attention to what's 'really' happening, alternative realities unfold without even occurring to us" (p. 55). In other words, we don't usually reflect on our own culture; we are mystified by it without much awareness of its bewildering effect on us. The power of beliefs, including gender beliefs, is quite awesome. Gender stereotypes shape our perceptions, and these beliefs shape our reality.

A second question we need to ask about gender stereotypes is: What is their purpose? For example, do they set men against women and contribute to the persistence of a system of inequality that disadvantages women and advantages men? Certainly, the stereotype that many Americans hold of women as nonstop talkers is not a positive one. The stereotype does not assume that women are assertive, articulate, or captivating speakers. Instead, it tends to depict women's talk as trivial gossip or irritating nagging. In other words, the stereotype devalues women's talk while, at the same time, elevating men's talk as thoughtful and worthy of our attention. One of the consequences of this stereotype is that both men and women take men's talk more seriously. This pattern is reflected in the fact that the voice of authority in many areas of American culture, such as television and politics, is

almost always a male voice. The message communicated is clear—women are less important than men. In other words, gender stereotypes help legitimize status and power differences between men and women.

However, stereotypical images of men and women are not universal in their application, because they are complicated by the kaleidoscopic nature of people's lives. Prisms, or social categories, such as race/ethnicity, social class, and age, intersect with gender to produce stereotypes that differ in symbolic meaning and functioning. For example, the prisms of gender, race, and age interact for African American and Hispanic men, who are stereotyped as dangerous (as noted in Adia Harvey Wingfield's reading in Chapter 7 and Dawn Marie Dow's reading in Chapter 8). These variations in gender stereotypes act as controlling images that maintain complex systems of domination and subordination in which some individuals and groups are dehumanized and disadvantaged in relationship to others (see readings in Chapter 2).

### Development Of The Concept Of Gender

Just a few decades ago, social scientists described gender as two discrete categories called sex roles—masculine/men and feminine/women. These sex roles were conceptualized in a biological "essentialist" framework to be either an automatic response to innate personality characteristics and/or biological sex characteristics such as hormones and reproductive functions or a mix of biological imperatives and learning reinforced by social pressure to conform to one or the other sex role. For example, women were thought to be naturally more nurturing because of their capacity to bear children, and men were seen as prewired to take on leadership positions in major societal institutions such as family, politics, and business. This "sex roles" model of women and men was one-dimensional, relatively static, and ethnocentric, and it is not supported by biological, psychological, historical, sociological, or anthropological research.

The concept of gender developed as social scientists conducted research that questioned the simplicity and accuracy of the "sex roles" perspective. One example of this research is that social scientists have debunked the notion that

biological sex characteristics cause differences in men's and women's behaviors. Research on hormones illustrates this point. Testosterone, which women as well as men produce, does not cause aggression in men, and the menstrual cycle does not cause women to be more "emotional" than men.

Another example is that social scientific research demonstrated that men and women are far more physically, cognitively, and emotionally alike than different. What were assumed to be natural differences and inequalities between women and men were clearly shown to be the consequence of the asymmetrical and unequal life experiences, resources, and power of women compared with men. Consider the arena of athletics. It is a common and long-held belief that biological sex is related to physical ability and, in particular, that women are athletically inferior to men. These beliefs have been challenged by the outcomes of a recent series of legal interventions that opened the world of competitive sports to girls and women. Once legislation such as Title IX was implemented in 1972, the expectation that women could not be athletes began to change as girls and young women received the same training and support for athletic pursuits as did men. Not surprisingly, the gap in physical strength and skills between women and men decreased dramatically. Today, women athletes regularly break records and perform physical feats thought impossible for women just a few decades ago.

Yet another example of how the "sex roles" model was discredited was the documentation of inequality as a human-created social system. Social scientists highlighted the social origins of patterns of gender inequality within the economy, family, religion, and other social institutions that benefit men as a group and maintain patriarchy as a social structure. To illustrate, in the 1970s, when researchers began studying gender inequality, they found that women made between 60 and 70 cents for every dollar men made. Things are not much better today. In 2017, the median weekly salary for women was 81.8% of men's median salary.

The intellectual weaknesses of "sex roles" theory, buttressed by considerable contradictory evidence, led social scientists to more sophisticated theories and modes of studying gender that could address

the complexities and malleability of sex (femaleness and maleness) and gender (femininities and masculinities). In short, social science documented the fact that we are made and make ourselves into gendered people through social interaction in everyday life. It is not natural or normal to be a feminine woman or a masculine man. Gender is a socially constructed system of social relations that can be understood only by studying the social processes by which gender is defined into existence and maintained or changed by human actions and interactions. This theory of gender social construction will be discussed throughout the book.

One of the most important sources of evidence in support of the idea that gender is socially constructed is derived from cross-cultural and historical studies as described in the earlier discussion of the gendering of pink and blue. The variations and fluidity in the definitions and expressions of gender across cultures and over time illustrate that the American gender system is not universal. For example, people in some cultures have created more than two genders. Other cultures define men and women as similar, not different. Still others view gender as flowing and changing across the life span.

As social scientists examined gender patterns through the prism of culture and throughout history, their research challenged the notion that masculinity and femininity are defined and experienced in the same way by all people. For example, the meaning and practice of femininity in orthodox, American religious subcultures is not the same as femininity outside those communities. The differences are expressed in a variety of ways, including women's clothing. Typically, orthodox religious women adhere to modesty rules in dress, covering their heads, arms, and legs.

Elaborating on the idea of multiple or plural masculinities and femininities, Australian sociologist Raewyn Connell coined the terms hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity to understand the relations between and among masculinities and femininities in patriarchal societies. Patriarchal societies are dominated by privileged men (e.g., upper-class White men in the United States), but they also typically benefit less

privileged men in their relationships with women. According to Connell (1987), hegemonic masculinity is the idealized pattern of masculinity in patriarchal societies, while emphasized femininity is the vision of femininity held up as the model of womanhood in those societies. In Connell's definition, hegemonic masculinity is "the pattern of practice (i.e., things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men's dominance over women to continue". Key features of hegemonic masculinity include the subordination of women, the exclusion and debasement of gay men, and the celebration of toughness and competitiveness. However, hegemony does not mean violence per se. It refers to "ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion". Emphasized femininity, in contrast, is about women's subordination, with its key features being sociability, compliance with men's sexual and ego desires, and acceptance of marriage and child care. Both hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity patterns are "embedded in specific social environments" and are, therefore, dynamic as opposed to fixed.

According to Connell, hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity are not necessarily the most common gender patterns. They are, however, the versions of manhood and womanhood against which other patterns of masculinity and femininity are measured and found wanting. For example, hegemonic masculinity produces marginalized masculinities, which, according to Connell, are characteristic of exploited groups such as racial and ethnic minorities. These marginalized forms of masculinity may share features with hegemonic masculinity, such as "toughness," but are socially debased.

In patriarchal societies, the culturally idealized form of femininity, emphasized femininity, is produced in relation to male dominance. Emphasized femininity insists on compliance, nurturance, and empathy as ideals of womanhood to which all women should subscribe. Connell does not use the term hegemonic to refer to emphasized femininity, because, she argues, emphasized femininity is always subordinated to masculinity. James Messerschmidt adds to our understanding of femininities by arguing that the construction of hegemonic masculinity requires some kind of "buy-in" from

women and that, under certain circumstances and in certain contexts, there are women who create emphasized femininities. By doing so, they contribute to the perpetuation of coercive gender relations and identities. Think of circumstances and situations—such as within work, romantic, or family settings—when women are complicit in maintaining oppressive gender relations and identities. Why would some women participate in the production of masculinities and femininities that are oppressive? The reading by Karen D. Pyke and Denise L. Johnson in Chapter 2 is helpful in answering these questions, employing the term hegemonic femininity rather than emphasized femininity. They describe the lives of young, second-generation Asian women and their attempts to balance two cultural patterns of gender in which White femininity, they argue, is hegemonic, or the dominant form of femininity.

Another major source of gender complexity is the interaction of gender with other social categories of difference and inequality. Allan Johnson points out,

Categories that define privilege exist all at once and in relation to one another. People never see me solely in terms of my race, for example, or my gender. Like everyone else's, my place in the social world is a package deal—white, male, heterosexual, middle-aged, married ...—and that's the way it is all the time.... It makes no sense to talk about the effect of being in one of these categories—say, white—without also looking at the others and how they're related to it.

Seeing gender through multiple social prisms is critical, but it is not a simple task, as you will discover in the readings throughout this book. Social scientists commonly refer to this type of analysis as intersectionality, but other terms are used as well (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of this). We need to be aware of how other social prisms alter life experiences and chances. For example, although an upper-class African American woman is privileged by her social class category, she will face obstacles related to her race and gender. Or consider the situation of a middle-class White man who is gay; he might lose some of the privilege attached to his class and race because of his sexual orientation.



Finally, gender is now considered a social construct shaped at individual, interactional, and institutional levels. If we focus on only one of these levels, we provide only a partial explanation of how gender operates in our lives. This idea of gender being shaped at these three different levels is elaborated in Barbara J. Risman's article in Chapter 1 and throughout the book. Consider these three different ways of approaching gender and how they interact or influence one another. At the individual level, sociologists study the social categories and stereotypes we use to identify ourselves and label others. At the interactional level, sociologists study gender as an ongoing activity carried out in interaction with other people, and how people vary their gender presentations as they move from situation to situation (see Carla A. Pfeffer's reading in Chapter 1). At the institutional level, sociologists study how "gender is present in the processes, practices, images and ideologies, and distributions of power in the various sectors of social life," such as religion, health care, language, and so forth.

### Theoretical Approaches for Understanding Gender

Historically, conflict and functionalist theories explained gender at a macro level of analysis, with these theories having gone through many transformations since first proposed around the turn of the 20th century. Scholars at that time were trying to sort out massive changes in society resulting from the industrial and democratic revolutions. However, a range of theories—for example, feminist, postmodernist, and queer theories—provide more nuanced explanations of gender. Many of these more recent theories frame their understanding of gender in the lived experiences of individuals, what sociologists call micro level theories, rather than focusing solely on a macro level analysis of society, wherein gender does not vary in form or function across groups or contexts.

#### Functionalism

Functionalism attempts to understand how all parts of a society (e.g., institutions such as family, education, economy, and the polity or state) fit together to form a smoothly running social system. According to this theoretical paradigm, parts of society tend to complement each other to create

social stability (Durkheim, 1933). Translated into separate sex role relationships, Talcott Parsons and Robert Bales (1955), writing after World War II, saw distinct and separate gender roles in the heterosexual nuclear family as a functional and logical adaptation to a modern, complex society. Women were thought to be more "functional" if they were socialized and aspired to raise children. And men were thought to be more "functional" if they were socialized and aspired to support their children and wives. However, as Michael Kimmel notes, this "sex-based division of labor is functionally anachronistic," and if there ever was any biological basis for specific tasks being assigned to men or women, it has been eroded. The functionalist viewpoint has largely been discredited in sociology, although it persists as part of common culture in various discourses and ideologies, especially conservative religious and political thought.

### Evolutionary Psychology and Neuroscience

Functionalist thinking is also replicated in the realms of neuroscience and evolutionary psychology. In brief, the former tries to explain gender inequality by searching for neurological differences in human females and males assumed to be caused by hormonally induced differences in the brain. The hypothesized behavioral outcomes, according to neuroscientists such as Simon Baron-Cohen, are emotionally tuned in, verbal women in contrast to men who are inclined to superior performance in areas such as math and music. The latter, evolutionary psychology, focuses on "sex differences" (e.g., high-risk-taking male behaviors) between human females and males that are hypothesized to have their origins in psychological adaptations to early human, intrasexual competition. Both approaches, which assume there are essential differences between males and females embedded in their bodies or psyches, have been roundly critiqued by researchers who uncovered a range of problems, including research design flaws, no significant differences between female and male subjects, overgeneralization of findings, and ethnocentrism. Feminist neuroscientists have carefully set out the serious, negative consequences of the tendency of evolutionary psychology and neuroscience to produce "untested

stereotype-based speculation" that reinforces popular misconceptions about women and men. In a short essay titled "Plasticity, Plasticity, Plasticity ... and the Rigid Problem of Sex," Cordelia Fine and colleagues (2013) discuss the ways in which behavioral neuroendocrinology "has been transformed by an increasingly large body of research demonstrating the power of an individual's behavior, the behavior of others, and aspects of the environment to influence behavior through reciprocal modulation of the endocrine system". Simply put, we are not hardwired. Our brains are "adaptively plastic," interacting and changing with individual life experiences and social contexts.

### Conflict Theories

Karl Marx and later conflict theorists, however, did not see social systems as functional or benign. Instead, Marx and his colleague Friedrich Engels described industrial societies as systems of oppression in which one group, the dominant social class, uses its control of economic resources to oppress the working class. The economic resources of those in control are obtained through profits gained from exploiting the labor of subordinate groups. Marx and Engels predicted that the tension between the "haves" and the "have-nots" would result in an underlying conflict between these two groups. Most early Marxist theories focused on class oppression; however, Engels wrote an important essay on the oppression of women as the earliest example of oppression of one group by another. Marx and Engels inspired socialist feminists, discussed later in this introduction under "Feminist Theories."

Current theorists, while recognizing Marx and Engels's recognition of the exploitation of workers in capitalist economies, criticize early conflict theory for ignoring women's reproductive labor and unpaid work. They focus on the exploitation of women by global capitalism. Conflict theories today call for social action relating to the oppression of women and other marginalized groups, particularly within this global framework.

### Social Constructionist Theories

Social constructionist theories offer a strong antidote to biological essentialism and psychological reductionism in understanding the

social worlds (e.g., institutions, ideologies, identities) constructed by people. This theory, as discussed earlier, emphasizes the social or collective processes by which people actively shape reality (e.g., ideas, inequalities, social movements) as we go about daily life in different contexts and situations. The underpinnings of social constructionist theory are in sociological thought (e.g., symbolic interactionism, dramaturgy, and ethnomethodology), as well as in anthropology, social psychology, and related disciplinary arenas.

Social constructionism has had a major impact on gender analysis, invigorating both gender research and theoretical approaches (e.g., discussions of doing gender theory, relational theory, and intersectional analysis). From a social constructionist viewpoint, we must learn and do gender (masculinities and femininities) in order for gender differences and inequalities to exist. We also build these differences and inequalities into the patterns of large social arrangements such as social institutions. Take education. Men predominate in higher education and school administration, while women are found at the elementary and preschool levels (Connell, 2010). Theories rooted in the fundamental principles of gender social construction follow.

### "Doing Gender" Theory

Drawing on the work of symbolic interactionism, specifically dramaturgy (Goffman) and ethnomethodology (Garfinkel), Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman published an article in 1987 simply titled "Doing Gender." In this article, they challenged assumptions of the two previous decades of research that examined "sex differences" or "sex roles." They argued that gender is a master identity, which is a product of social interactions and "doing," not simply the acting out of a role on a social stage. They saw gender as a complicated process by which we categorize individuals into two sex categories based on what we assume to be their sex (male or female). Interaction in contemporary Western societies is based on "knowing the sex" of the individual we are interacting with. However, we have no way of actually knowing an individual's sex (genitalia or hormones); therefore, we infer sex categories based on outward characteristics such as

hairstyle, clothing, etc. Because we infer sex categories of the individuals we meet, West and Zimmerman argue that we are likely to question those who break from expected gendered behaviors for the sex categories we assign to them. We are also accountable for our own gender-appropriate behavior. Interaction in most societies becomes particularly difficult if one's sex category or gender is ambiguous.

Thus, this process of being accountable makes it important for individuals to display appropriate gendered behavior at all times in all situations. As such, "doing gender" becomes a salient part of social interactions and embedded in social institutions. As they note, "Insofar as a society is partitioned by 'essential' differences between women and men and placement in a sex category is both relevant and enforced, doing gender is unavoidable".

Of course, they recognize that not everyone has the same resources (such as time, money, and/or expertise) to "do gender" and that gender accomplishment varies across social situations. In considering the discussion of who talks more, "doing gender" might explain why men talk more in work groups, as they attempt to portray their gendered masculinity while women may be doing more gender-appropriate emotion work such as asking questions and filling in silences. As such, when men and women accomplish gender as expected for the sex categories they display and are assigned to by others, they are socially constructing gender.

This concept of "doing gender" is used in many articles included in this book, but the use of the concept is not always consistent with the way the authors originally presented it. Doing gender is a concept that helped move the discussions of sex/gender to a different level where interactions (micro) and institutions (macro) can be studied simultaneously and gender becomes a more lived experience, rather than a "role."

### Postmodern Theories

Postmodernism focuses on the way knowledge about gender is constructed, not on explaining gender relationships themselves. To postmodernists, knowledge is never absolute—it is always situated in a social reality that is specific to a historical time

period. Postmodernism is based on the idea that it is impossible for anyone to see the world without presuppositions. From a postmodernist perspective, then, gender is socially constructed through discourses, which are the "series of stories" we use to explain our world. Postmodernists attempt to "deconstruct" the discourses or stories used to support a group's beliefs about gender. For example, Jane Flax argues that to fully understand gender in Western cultures, we must deconstruct the meanings in Western religious, scientific, and other discourses relative to "biology/sex/gender/nature". As you will come to understand from the readings in Chapters 1 and 3 (e.g., Nanda and Christine Helliwell), the association between sex and gender in Western scientific (e.g., theories and texts) and nonscientific (e.g., films, newspapers, media) discourses is not shared in other cultural contexts. Thus, for postmodernists, gender is a product of the discourses within particular social contexts that define and explain gender.

### Queer Theories

Queer theories borrow from the original meaning of the word queer to refer to that which is "outside ordinary and narrow interpretations". Queer theorists are most concerned with understanding sexualities in terms of the idea that (sexual) identities are flexible, fluid, and changing, rather than fixed. In addition, queer theorists argue that identity and behavior must be separated. Thus, we cannot assume that people are what they do. From the vantage point of this theory, gender categories, much like sexual categories, are simplistic and problematic. Real people cannot be lumped together and understood in relationship to big cultural categories such as men and women, heterosexual and homosexual. Carla A. Pfeffer's reading in Chapter 1 sets out the premises and impact of queer theory on gender studies in considerable detail. She argues that the discipline of sociology is well positioned to examine the lives of queer social actors, and her work is an excellent example of the application of queer theory.

### Relational Theory

The relational theory of gender was developed in response to the problems of the "sex roles" model and other limited views of gender (e.g.,

categoricalism, as critiqued by queer theory). Connell states that a gender relations approach opens up an understanding of "the different dimensions of gender, the relation between bodies and society, and the patterning of gender". Specifically, from a relational viewpoint, (1) gender is a way of organizing social practice (e.g., child care and household labor) at the personal, interactional, and institutional levels of life; (2) gender is a social practice related to bodies and what bodies do but cannot be reduced to bodies or biology; and (3) masculinities and femininities can be understood as gender projects that produce the gender order of a society and interact with other social structures such as race and class.

### Feminist Theories

Feminist theorists expanded on the ideas of theorists such as Marx and Engels, turning attention to the causes of women's oppression. There are many schools of feminist thought. Here, we briefly introduce you to those typically covered in overviews. One group, socialist feminists, continued to emphasize the role of capitalism in interaction with a patriarchal social structures as the basis for the exploitation of women. These theorists argue that economic and power benefits accrue to men who dominate women in capitalist societies. Another group, radical feminists, argues that patriarchy—the domination of men over women—is the fundamental form of oppression of women. Both socialist and radical feminists call for far-reaching changes in all institutional arrangements and cultural forms, including the dismantling of systems of oppression such as sexism, racism, and classism; replacing capitalism with socialism; developing more egalitarian family systems; and making other structural changes.

Not all feminist theorists call for deep, structural, and cultural changes. Liberal feminists are inclined to work toward a more equitable form of democratic capitalism. They argue that policies such as Title IX and affirmative action laws opened up opportunities for women in education and increased the number of women professionals, such as physicians. These feminists strive to achieve gender equality by removing barriers to women's freedom of choice and equal participation in all realms of life, eradicating sexist stereotypes, and

guaranteeing equal access and treatment for women in both public and private arenas.

Although the liberal feminist stance may seem to be the most pragmatic form of feminism, many of the changes brought about by liberal varieties of feminism have "served the interests of only the most privileged women". Additionally, liberal feminist approaches that work with the state or attempt to gain formal equal rights within a fundamentally exploitive labor market fail to challenge the growth of neo-liberal globalism and the worsening situation of many people in the face of unfettered markets, privatization, and imperialism. In response to these kinds of issues and problems, 21st-century feminists are revisiting and reinventing feminist thinking and practice to create a "more emancipatory feminism" that can lead to "post-patriarchal, anti-neoliberal politics".

### Intersectional or Prismatic Theories

A major shortcoming with many of the theoretical perspectives just described is their failure to recognize how gender interacts with other social categories or prisms of difference and inequality within societies, including race/ethnicity, social class, sexuality, age, and ability/disability. A growing number of social scientists are responding to the problem of incorporating multiple social categories or social positions in their research by developing a new form of analysis, often described as intersectional analysis, which we also refer to as prismatic analysis in this book. Chapter 2 explores these theories of how gender interacts with other prisms of difference and inequality to create complex patterns. Without an appreciation of the interactions of socially constructed categories of difference and inequality, or what we call prisms, we end up with not only an incomplete but also an inaccurate explanation of gender.

As you read through the articles in this book, consider the basis for the authors' arguments in each reading. How do the authors apply the theories just described? What observations, data, or works of other social science researchers do these authors use to support their claims? Use a critical eye to examine the evidence as you reconsider the assumptions about gender that guide your life.

## The Kaleidoscope of Gender: Prisms, Patterns, And Possibilities

Before beginning the readings that take us through the kaleidoscope of gender, let us briefly review the three themes that shape the book's structure: prisms, patterns, and possibilities.

### Part I: Prisms

Understanding the prisms that shape our experiences provides an essential basis for the book. Chapter 1 explores the meanings of the pivotal prism—gender—and its relationship to biological sex and sexuality. Chapter 2 presents an array of prisms or socially constructed categories that interact with gender in many human societies, such as race/ethnicity, social class, sexuality, age, and ability/disability. Chapter 3 focuses on the prism of culture/nation, which alters the meaning and practice of gender in surprising ways.

### Part II: Patterns

The prisms of the kaleidoscope create an array of patterned expressions and experiences of femininity and masculinity. Part II of this book examines some of these patterns. We look at how people learn, internalize, and "do" gender (Chapter 4); how gender is exploited by corporate capitalism (Chapter 5); how gender engages bodies, sexualities, and emotions (Chapter 6); how gendered patterns are reproduced and modified in work (Chapter 7); how gender is created and transformed in our intimate relationships (Chapter 8); and how conformity to patterns of gender is enforced and maintained (Chapter 9).

### Part III: Possibilities

In much the same way as the colors and patterns of kaleidoscopic images flow, gendered patterns and meanings are inherently changeable. Chapter 10 examines the shifting sands of the genderscape and reminds us of the many possibilities for change.

We use the metaphor of the gender kaleidoscope to discover what is going on under the surface of a society whose way of life we don't often penetrate in a nondefensive, disciplined, and deep fashion. In doing so, we will expose a reality that is astonishing in its complexity, ambiguity, and fluidity. With the kaleidoscope, you never know what's coming next. Come along with us as we

begin the adventure of looking through the kaleidoscope of gender. <>

[Islam and the State in Myanmar: Muslim-Buddhist Relations and the Politics of Belonging](#) edited by Melissa Crouch [Oxford University Press, 9780199461202]

This volume explores the relation between Islam and the state in Buddhist-majority Myanmar from both an empirical and a comparative perspective. It provides an informed response to contemporary issues facing the Muslim communities of Myanmar, furthering knowledge of the interaction between state institutions, government policies, and society past and the present.

The book provides scholarly insights into the politics of belonging for Muslims in Myanmar while emphasizing the inherent diversity within and among Muslim communities. It brings together perspectives from experts of a diverse array of disciplines—religious studies, international relations, political science, history, Islamic studies, law, and anthropology.

Focusing on the themes of colonialism and the state, the everyday experiences of Muslims, and the challenges of violence and security, this volume comes at a timely juncture in Myanmar's history. This book is essential reading for scholars and students studying Islam in the region.

[Myanmar's Enemy Within: Buddhist Violence and the Making of a Muslim 'Other'](#) by Francis Wade [Zed Books, 9781783605279]

For decades Myanmar has been portrayed as a case of good citizen versus bad regime – men in jackboots maintaining a suffocating rule over a majority Buddhist population beholden to the ideals of non-violence and tolerance. But in recent years this narrative has been upended.

In June 2012, violence between Buddhists and Muslims erupted in western Myanmar, pointing to a growing divide between religious communities that before had received little attention from the outside world. Attacks on Muslims soon spread across the country, leaving hundreds dead, entire neighbourhoods turned to rubble, and tens of thousands of Muslims confined to internment camps. This violence, breaking out amid the passage to

democracy, was spurred on by monks, pro-democracy activists, and even politicians.

In this gripping and deeply reported account, Francis Wade explores how the manipulation of identities by an anxious ruling elite has laid the foundations for mass violence, and how, in Myanmar's case, some of the most respected and articulate voices for democracy have turned on the Muslim population at a time when the majority of citizens are beginning to experience freedoms unseen for half a century.

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The plight of Myanmar's Rohingya is by now well-known to the general public, thanks in large part to investigative reporting by Al-Jazeera, the International Crisis Group, and the online magazine *The Irrawaddy*, published by Burmese exiles in Thailand. Their reports are essential reading for whoever wishes to follow the transformation of the conflict from hate speech to ethnic cleansing and, arguably, genocide. (Recently, however, *The Irrawaddy* has adopted a more cautious line and refrained from criticizing the government's position on the Rohingya.) Readers interested in the broader context of the events will find much of value in the two excellent books under review, both of which make significant new contributions to our knowledge of Myanmar's relations with its Muslim population, which constitutes at least four per cent of the total and possibly twice as much.

Until recently, there was only one serious book-length study of the subject, Moshe Yegar's *The Muslims of Burma: A Study of a Minority Group* (1972). Melissa Crouch's edited volume, which covers many different aspects of the Muslim presence in Burma/Myanmar, is a fine update and complement to this standard work. The quality of the individual contributions is uneven, but each offers valuable new insights and will stand as a useful addition to the academic literature. Francis Wade's more journalistic book not only gives a lucid and balanced account of recent events on the ground, based on his visits to the affected places and interviews with participants and a wide range of other personalities, but also provides a well-researched historical background to the current conflicts.

Both books show Myanmar to have a very diverse and widely dispersed Muslim population, of which the Rohingya are only one, although admittedly the largest and most compact community. The colonial past—Burma was militarily invaded by the British in the First Anglo-Burmese War of 1824–1826, annexed to British India in 1886, made into a separate colony in 1937, and gained independence in 1948—looms large over Buddhist-Muslim debates and mutual perceptions in Myanmar, and the dominant discourse holds that all Muslims were brought over from British India in order to assist in Burma's colonial exploitation (with the exception of the Rohingya, who are, in spite of abundant evidence to the contrary, said by Myanmar's officialdom to be recent immigrants from Bangladesh). Many Muslims of Indian origin were in fact forced to leave the country in the wake of anti-Indian riots in the 1930s and systematic anti-Indian purges in the 1960s, but various Indian Muslim communities have remained behind and were until recently well-integrated in the economic, cultural and political life of Myanmar society, as is illustrated by several chapters in Crouch's volume.

In the first two chapters of the book, Melissa Crouch and Stephen Keck, while acknowledging the large influx of Muslims from various parts of the Indian subcontinent during the colonial period, show the well-documented presence of Muslims in pre-colonial Myanmar and highlight the complexity of the Muslim mosaic, which also includes Kaman (descendants of Indian archers in the service of the Buddhist kingdom of Mrauk-U, now assimilated to Rakhine culture), smaller numbers of Panthay (Chinese Muslims) and Pashu (Malay Muslims), and more numerous communities of Burmese or part-Burmese ancestry. The last-named, called Zerbadee in the older literature and nowadays Pathi, consider themselves as ethnically Burmese (or Shan, Karen, etc.) but are increasingly seen as aliens by Burmese Buddhists. Keck concentrates on the colonial period and the encounter of the various Muslim communities with the British and ends his chapter with vignettes of now forgotten but once prominent Indian Muslims who played a role in the making of modern Myanmar. Crouch provides a useful overview of the relevant literature published since Yegar's study. Having briefly surveyed the

ethnic variety, she suggests that a more useful classification than that by ethnicity is one by distance to the state. She discusses cases of Muslims participating in the Burmese independence movement and in post-independence government, Muslims playing a part in the opposition to military rule alongside non-Muslims, and Muslims 'beyond the state', i.e. in parts of the country not controlled by the central government or abroad—with a brief discussion of the Burmese Muslims in Melbourne and hinting at the significant role of displaced Rohingya in Pakistan (and, one might add, Saudi Arabia and Malaysia).

Crouch is a legal scholar by training, and her second chapter in the book presents significant new research on the practice of Islamic law in Myanmar, yielding major corrections to the established wisdom of the standard reference, M.B. Hooker's *Islamic Law in Southeast Asia*. She succeeds in shedding light on practices that had thus far been invisible. Unlike other Southeast Asian countries, Myanmar does not have Islamic courts, but matters of Muslim personal law (marriage, divorce, inheritance, child custody) can be, and continue to be, adjudicated in general courts, which refer to the colonial codification of Anglo-Muhammadan Law and compilations of case law, both borrowed from India. Muslim communities may also have recourse to informal forms of arbitration based on Islamic law. Referring to Supreme Court decisions (no longer reported in English but only in Burmese and therefore long invisible to outsiders) as well as fatwa of the Islamic Religious Affairs Council of Myanmar, Crouch shows that the practice of Islamic law in Myanmar has continued well after independence and even under military rule.

Phyu Phyu Oo, writing from within the Indian Muslim community, contributes a chapter on Muslim women's education. She notes the existence of Urdu-language madrasa throughout the country and comments on the growing influence of the revitalization movement Tablighi Jamaat, which has strengthened conservative attitudes in the community and discouraged the attendance of state schools by Muslim boys and especially girls. This is only one of the numerous obstacles to Muslim women's higher education and employment, some

internal to the community and others due to discrimination by the state.

Zooming in on a small sub-community of Indian Muslims in Yangon, the Kalai Memon, the anthropologist Judith Beyer looks at the fate of Muslim families through the prism of changing property rights. She traces the travails of one Memon family through more than a century of Myanmar's history, from ancestors settling in northern Burma as well-to-do and enterprising merchants, through a gradual decline and loss of property in successive waves of expropriation and Burmanization.

Muslim political activity, especially in electoral politics since the transition from military rule, is studied by Nicholas Farrelly. I was surprised to read that in Rakhine State, all parties contesting the 2010 elections fielded Muslim candidates and that one of those parties by its name claimed to represent the Kaman (who are the only Muslim community to be officially recognized as one of the country's indigenous ethnic groups). Several Muslims were elected to the State assembly but gave up attending its sessions after the 2012 pogroms. Unsurprisingly, by the time of the 2015 elections, the political space available for Muslims had significantly decreased.

The final section of the volume concerns more specifically the rising Islamophobia and the context of the communal violence of the past years. Nyi Nyi Kyaw discusses the discursive violence of the monks leading the Buddhist supremacist 969 and Ma-Ba-Tha (Protection of Race and Religion) movements, which revived the older siege mentality and perception of Buddhism as threatened with extinction by Muslim expansion. In a comparison of Myanmar and Sri Lanka, Benjamin Schonthal identifies similar, and connected, forms of activism by Buddhist monks. Following the defeat of the secular Tamil Tigers, Buddhist activist monks in Sri Lanka have turned against Muslims as the main Other and chief enemy, emulating the modes of action of their Myanmar peers. Riots in Sri Lanka in 2014 followed a similar pattern to those in Myanmar in 2012 and 2013. Matt Schissler, who spent years hanging out with young people in Yangon, discusses the role of social media

(especially Facebook) in the mobilization of anti-Muslim sentiment.

The Rohingya issue is discussed most directly by Alistair D.B. Cook, in a well-informed account of humanitarian aid in Rakhine State after the 2012 pogroms and the sensibilities aid workers have had to navigate in order to bring food and medical aid to the displaced. The Buddhist Rakhine, who constitute the majority in this westernmost state, are themselves one of the poorest and most oppressed ethnic groups of Myanmar and they resent foreign concern with the Rohingya. Cook notes that the tensions between the two communities go back at least to the Second World War, when the Rakhine considered the Japanese as liberators and the Rohingya fought on the side of the British.

In the second book under review here, Francis Wade provides a more extensive treatment of the historical background to conditions in Rakhine State and, more generally, the transformation of Myanmar's Muslim policies since independence. He mentions the Muslim-Buddhist polarization of the Japanese occupation, the short-lived and unsuccessful Mujahid movement in northern Rakhine State that sought to secede from Burma and join East Pakistan at the time of independence, and the Burmese military's first reprisals, burning mosques and villages, which caused tens of thousands of Rohingya to flee into East Pakistan in 1948. He describes some of the methods employed by the military regime to police the region, such as releasing Buddhist prisoners from jail and settling them in so-called Na Ta La 'model villages' in northern Rakhine State to dilute the Rohingya population (and similarly among the Christians of Chin State further north), and the network of loyal monks that was built up as agents of the regime.

Two chapters deal with the actual pogroms in Rakhine State of 2012 and the following year in Meiktila in central Myanmar, where both Buddhists and Muslims are ethnic Burmese (Bamar). Wade gives a vivid and detailed account of how the events developed, narrating them in the words of actual witnesses, victims, other local people, and various authorities. Although anti-Muslim sentiment had been brewing for some time at both places, the most aggressive perpetrators of violence appeared to be groups of men brought in from

elsewhere. Police stood by without intervening as Muslims were slaughtered—Wade suggests that the police were overpowered and actually afraid of the mobs. Monks were not much in evidence as actual participants in the pogroms but as Wade notes, the militant anti-Muslim discourse of activist monks such as U Wirathu had prepared Buddhist communities for accepting violence as a necessary means of purging society from a dangerous internal threat.

Like most foreign observers, Wade notes with obvious disappointment the failure of Aung San Suu Kyi and the National League for Democracy (NLD) to condemn the violence against Muslims and to make any effort to protect them, but he tries to make this attitude intelligible. He hints at forces behind the scene, i.e. the military, which have stimulated the monks' activist Buddhist nationalism and may have orchestrated at least some of the pogroms. The Islamophobic message has been extremely effective: almost all Myanmar Buddhists believe that there is a single, worldwide, monolithic and politically and economically powerful Islamic movement, which is aiming to undermine Buddhism and convert Myanmar by force. NLD leaders appear convinced that they will lose their popular support if they show any sympathy with the plight of Muslims. The monk-led Ma-Ba-Tha movement has shown, Wade notes, 'an alarming ability to intimidate the political leadership in Myanmar'. Hatred of Muslims has increased year by year since 2012, and the once detested army appears to be gaining goodwill as the protector of Buddhism. An attack by a group of Rohingya on a police post in October 2016, followed by a call to jihad, could only confirm the perception that Islam is the aggressor and legitimate the army's excessive reprisals.

However, Wade ends the book on a hopeful note, describing his encounters with interfaith activists who continue to row against the stream and make efforts to restore trust between the different faith communities. In Meiktila he visits a monastery whose abbot had in 2013 welcomed Muslims as well as Buddhists fleeing from the violence and had offered them the protection the police could not give. Visiting northern Rakhine State, several years after the 2012 pogroms, he finds that the relations



between the communities are not entirely severed and that there are still spaces, however precarious, where their lives intersect.

Crouch and Wade's books avoid taking sides and present richly documented, complex analyses of what is happening in Myanmar. In spite of the horrible conditions afflicting the country's Muslims and the seemingly inexorable trend towards more violence, they also show resilience and survival and the possibility, however unlikely today, of reconciliation. <>

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