How do *Rebecca* and *Jane Eyre* demonstrate the ways in which the patriarchy allows men to control women?

by Izabella Pearson

Although Daphne du Maurier's *Rebecca* (1938) and Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* (1847) were published almost a century apart, both texts explore the patriarchal belief that men should dominate, and women should submit. Influenced by nineteenth century society, Bronte's gothic novel studies the unjust position of power that men possessed over women at the time. The values of Victorian society are reflected in the novel being published under the masculine pseudonym of 'Currer Bell', which Bronte explains was due to the prejudice faced by authoresses.¹ Evidently, women writers were forced to assume a male identity in order to succeed, exhibiting the gender imbalance within the period that Bronte was writing. Du Maurier's novel provokes contrasting interpretations from critics. Originally marketed as a gothic romance, *Rebecca* may be read as a hero and a heroine defying the obstacle of evil women attempting to separate them. Alternately, Pons highlights the feminist critics viewpoint of the novel, that it demonstrates the dangers women suffer under the patriarchal control of their husbands.² Consequently, I will examine the ways in which both texts depict male control and the power imbalance amongst female and male characters.

Comparably, both texts fit within the genre of a Gothic romance, whereby the storyline is driven by a young female protagonist who develops a romantic relationship with an older man. Bronte and du Maurier both utilise the primary relationship within their novels to highlight the control that men possess over women. In Bronte's novel, dominance is asserted

¹ Margaret Harris, "George Eliot's conversation with Currer Bell," *George Eliot - George Henry Lewes Studies*, no. 50/51 (2006): 130–42. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/42827969</u>.

http://www.jstor.org/stable/42827969.

² Auba Llompart Pons, "Patriarchal Hauntings: Re-Reading Villainy and Gender in Daphne Du Maurier's 'Rebecca'," *Atlantis* 35, no. 1 (2013): 69–83. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43486040.

through age, as there is 'twenty years of difference' between titular protagonist, Jane Eyre, and her love interest, Edward Rochester.³ Godfrey highlights the commonality of 'olderman/younger-woman relationships' in Victorian literature, stating that 'They appear to reinforce the subservient role of the female as child, as student, as victim, and the dominant role of the male as father, as teacher, and as aggressor'. This implies that the Victorian era was characterised by the patriarchal ideology that men possess control over women. Bronte explores Rochester's desire to control Jane, using his authority in age, in his boasting proclamation of their engagement: "Yes, Mrs. Rochester,' said he; 'Young Mrs. Rochester -Fairfax Rochester's girl-bride." Rochester appears to fixate on their age difference, twice mentioning Jane's youth in the words 'young' and 'girl-bride'. This implies that Rochester is proud of his ability to charm a young woman, stating his claim on her as if she were a precious object to be conquered. In addition, his declaration that she is his 'girl-bride' suggests that he sees her as a 'girl', evoking images of a child, and not a 'woman'. Jane is referred to as a 'girl' by Rochester numerous times within the novel, notably he calls her 'my good little girl' which mirrors the language between a father and daughter.⁴ Through the possessive adjective 'my', Bronte indicates Rochester's claim on Jane, implying that he believes he holds power over Jane as if she were his child. Consequently, Bronte portrays Rochester as a dominant father-like figure and Jane as his passive child, reaffirming her subserviency to Rochester and highlighting the power imbalance between the characters. However, in the final chapters of the novel, Bronte conveys a power reversal, whereby Jane revels in her newfound dominance over the 'powerlessness of the strong man', now Rochester.⁵ This follows Bronte's bildungsroman form, whereby the reader witnesses the process of the heroine's maturation. Jane returns to Rochester at Ferndean to find him blind, 'cicatrised' and incapacitated, after a fire at Thornfield

³ Charlotte Brontë, Jane Eyre (London: Penguin Classics, 2011), 347.

⁴ Brontë, Jane Eyre, 345.

⁵ Brontë, Jane, 574.

induced by Bertha. Once proud of Jane's youthful dependency, Rochester is now the dependent and Bronte demonstrates his fears of her power: 'I am no better than the old lightning-struck chestnut-tree in Thornfield orchard...And what right would that ruin have to bid a budding woodbine cover its decay with freshness?'. Bronte employs a metaphor that involves the natural elements, alluding to their age difference in the comparison of Rochester to an old, damaged tree and Jane to a young fresh flower. Arguably, there are sexual connotations in Bronte's natural imagery, as Rochester likens Jane's youthful fertility to a fresh flower and his infertility, due to his age, to an old tree. This suggests that Rochester feels sexually threatened by Jane's youth, as well as threatened by younger suitors, such as St. John who is more useful to Jane due to his fertility. Accordingly, Bronte presents the traditional patriarchal control of men as inverted at the end of the novel, implying that Jane has overcome Rochester's control. Nevertheless, feminist critics argue that the ending of the novel is typical of Victorian standards, as Jane 'resigns herself to the domestic sphere in her subservient role as wife, maid and child for Rochester'.⁶ Although Bronte intimates that Jane obtains a sense of control at the end of the novel, all non-conforming aspects of Jane return to the patriarchal expectation of a woman. Thus, implying that a patriarchal society will relentlessly allow men to maintain control over women.

Parallel to *Jane Eyre*, there is a significant age difference in *Rebecca* between the narrator, in her early twenties and Maxim de Winter, in his early forties. Baldellou suggests that the relationship between de Winter and the narrator 'enacts a politics of gender highly representative of patriarchy...mostly based on a significant age gap between the spouses, as a profusely experienced and older husband protects his much younger wife, establishing a parallelism between her youth, and her lack of knowledge as well as her perpetual need for

⁶ Esther Godfrey, "Jane Eyre', from Governess to Girl Bride," *Studies in English Literature*, *1500-1900* 45, no. 4 (2005): 868. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3844618.

protection, while emphasising his wish she remained in a state of perpetual youth, and thus of everlasting innocence so that he could symbolically continue exerting his patriarchal control'.⁷ This argues that du Maurier's depiction of the relationship, particularly the aspect of the age gap, reflects the patriarchal values that allow de Winter to maintain control over the narrator. This is evident in du Maurier's portrayal of de Winter as he expresses patriarchal attitudes through his infantilisation and overprotection of his second wife. Arguably, the age gap replicates the age difference between a daughter and father, perhaps mimicking the control that a parent obtains over a child, emphasising the power imbalance. Du Maurier exhibits de Winter's paternalistic, father-like nature in chapter sixteen: 'A husband is never so very different from a father after all. There is a certain type of knowledge I would prefer you not to have. It's better kept under lock and key. So that's that. And now eat up your peaches, and don't ask me any more questions, or I shall put you in the corner'.⁸ De Winter's patriarchal ideology is evident in his comparison between the position of husband and father, implying that a woman must pass through life under the patriarchal family system, forever under the control of an authoritarian male figure. Additionally, du Maurier employs imperative sentences to display the control that de Winter has over the narrator. This emphasises de Winter's father-like possession over his wife, which is further exacerbated by the parental terminology used, such as 'now eat up your peaches' and 'I shall put you in the corner'. Du Maurier presents the narrator as child-like, submissive and, ultimately, inferior to her dominant husband. Moreover, du Maurier reflects the beliefs of a patriarchal society in her choice to construct a nameless narrator who is only referred to as Mrs de Winter. She mirrors the patriarchal family system, whereby control was exchanged between father and husband, as it was common within society that 'women abandoned not just their fathers'

⁷ Marta Miquel-Baldellou, "«I Wanted to be Old»: Gender and Aging in Daphne Du Maurier's Rebecca and Susan Hill's Mrs De Winter," *1616* 8 (2018): 92.

⁸ Daphne du Maurier and Sally Beauman, *Rebecca* (London: Virago Press, 2003), 226, 227.

surnames on marriage, but also their own first name^{•, 9} This conveys the control that de Winter holds over the narrator, as this strips away her identity and presents her as an object that men have proprietary over. Ultimately, du Maurier's depiction of female inferiority and male domination can be considered a response to the subordinate position of women within society at the time of the publication of *Rebecca*. Contextually, although the impact of the first and second world wars established a sense of progression regarding women's rights, Horner indicates that 'only a few feminist magazines celebrated the career woman... and that a woman who wished for a life other than that of a housewife or a mother was somehow perverse'.¹⁰ This exhibits the patriarchal ideology that influenced du Maurier's writing, as well as her decision to create a relationship in the novel that has a significant age gap due to the fact that it heightens the control that men have over women in society.

Bronte presents patriarchal control over women by portraying the power imbalance between Jane and Rochester, due to their difference in social class and affluence. In *Jane Eyre*, Rochester is initially Jane's economic and social superior, described as having 'wealth and good blood' and being 'talented and so lively in society'. ¹¹ In contrast, Jane describes herself as 'poor, obscure, plain and little'.¹² Bronte's technique of listing Jane's selfdescribed negative adjectives, as well as the juxtaposition of 'poor' and 'little', highlights the inferiority that Jane feels when comparing herself to the wealthy Rochester. Evidently, the polarity in Bronte's description of both characters, regarding wealth, emphasises the power imbalance rooted in their social standing. Contextually, as a nineteenth-century woman writer, Bronte would have been influenced by the patriarchal beliefs valued in Victorian society. Boardman highlights the opposing societal roles enforced upon men and women:

⁹, Nicola J Watson, "Daphne du Maurier, Rebecca," *The Popular & the Canonical: Debating Twentieth-century Literature*, 1940-2000 (2005): 20.

¹⁰ Avril Horner and Sue Zlosnik, *Daphne Du Maurier: Writing, Identity and the Gothic Imagination* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1998).

¹¹ Brontë, *Jane Eyre*, 210.

¹² Brontë, Jane Eyre, 332.

'whilst men accumulated money to support home and family, the ideal domestic woman used all her time to make the home run smoothly'. ¹³ This indicates that the patriarchy allows men to control women economically, as it was the norm within society for women to rely on men for household income. Accordingly, this is applicable to the characters of Jane, a governess, and Rochester who funds the upkeep of Thornfield. Throughout Jane Eyre, Bronte utilises the character of Rochester to demonstrate the economic control that men have over women. Following the revelation of Rochester's marriage to Bertha Mason, Rochester discloses his relationships with women preceding Jane. It is in these relationships that Bronte exhibits Rochester's pattern of control and poor treatment of women. The women are named and described briefly in succession, emphasising their insignificance to Rochester and places the women in positions of inferiority. The list is followed by the line: 'I was glad to give her a sufficient sum and set her up in a good line of business and so decently get rid of her'.¹⁴ Bronte demonstrates Rochester's use of wealth to control and dispose of women at his will. This is emphasised by the emotive language used in the words 'get rid of her', highlighting Rochester's objectification of women and suggests that the character justifies his control over women by viewing them as inhuman. Furthermore, Bronte places Jane as a subject under Rochester's control, as Rochester attempts to manipulate their differences in wealth to maintain power. This is evident during Jane and Rochester's engagement, whereby Rochester utilises his newfound power in the prospect of marriage to attempt to mould Jane into his idea of traditional femininity. Bronte exhibits Rochester's control as he dehumanises her and tries to dress her like his own personal doll, by showering her in extravagant gifts: 'the more he bought me, the more my cheek burned with a sense of annoyance and degradation... He

¹³ Kay Boardman, "The Ideology of Domesticity: The Regulation of the Household Economy in Victorian Women's Magazines," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 33, no. 2 (2000): 150–64, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20083724.

¹⁴ Brontë, Jane Eyre, 409.

smiled; and I thought his smile was such as a sultan might... bestow on a slave'.¹⁵ Bronte demonstrates the ways in which Rochester's character intends to maintain dominance over Jane, by ensuring that she is forever in his debt. In addition, Bronte portrays Jane as rebellious to the constraints of the patriarchy, demonstrating Jane's assertion of her independence, as she rejects the material ownership that Rochester tries to hold over her. Jane likens their relationship to that of a 'sultan' and a 'slave', suggesting that she feels confined by the possibility of economic dependency on Rochester, whom she sees as a 'sultan', connoting grandeur and rulership. Moreover, Washington offers a further reading of Rochester's extravagant gift giving, suggesting that Bronte was alluding to prostitution, as the 'fancy dress', encouraged by Rochester, 'was one of the primary social markers of the Victorian prostitute'.¹⁶ Prostitution is often viewed as the act of selling one's body and a situation that women resort to in desperation from a position of poverty. Accordingly, this allusion that Jane would have been selling her body to Rochester by accepting fine clothes, may have been used by Bronte to emphasise the power imbalance between Jane and Rochester due to their initial wealth and class differences.

In du Maurier's depiction of the murder of Rebecca, de Winter's first wife, she exhibits the height of patriarchal control that de Winter possesses. From a feminist perspective, du Maurier demonstrates de Winter's position as a gothic villain in her presentation of the tragic consequences that can occur due to patriarchal control, exhibited in de Winter's 'overwhelming desire to control what he can and to destroy what he cannot'.¹⁷ De Winter was unable to assert his dominance on his first wife which resulted in her demise,

¹⁵ Brontë, Jane Eyre, 352.

¹⁶ Kate Washington, "Rochester's Mistresses: Marriage, Sex, and Economic Exchange in Jane Eyre," *Michigan Feminist Studies* (Mpublishing, University of Michigan Library, 1997), https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mfsfront/ark5583.0012.004/--rochester-s-mistresses-marriage-sex-and-economic-

exchange?c=mfs%3Bc.

¹⁷Kathleen Butterly Nigro, "Rebecca as Desdemona: 'A Maid That Paragons Description and Wild Fame,'" *College Literature* 27, no. 3 (2000): 7. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25112541.

suggesting that there is no place for powerful women within a patriarchal society. This is evident in the portrayal of Rebecca's character as a threat to patriarchal rules, described by feminist critics as: 'a supernatural force that threatens to feminise the estate and the patriarch, by challenging patriarchal order and heterosexuality'.¹⁸ Rebecca's power disrupts traditional values that consider women to be inferior, but du Maurier shows that she suffers a great cost for her disruption, suggesting to the reader that women still endure significant inequality .Du Maurier demonstrates throughout the novel, the ways in which Rebecca possesses power, despite the standards expected of a wife in the 1930s, and how this undermines the dominance of de Winter. The description of Rebecca's character defies traditional norms equated with femininity, as Rebecca conveys masculine qualities and the typical behaviour of a man. This is apparent in Mrs. Danvers' description of Rebecca in chapter eighteen: 'I remember her at sixteen getting up on one of her father's horses, a big brute of an animal, too, that the groom said was too hot for her to ride. She stuck to him all right. I can see her now, with her hair flying out behind her, slashing at him, drawing blood, digging the spurs into his side, and when she got off his back he was trembling all over, full of froth and blood'.¹⁹ Du Maurier utilises graphic and powerful imagery, employing words that connote death and battle, such as 'slashing' and 'blood'. This imagery is reminiscent of the 'Damsel in Distress' and the 'Knight in Shining Armour' gender archetypes in literature, whereby the meek female is saved by the heroic male. Arguably, du Maurier critiques this trope by painting Rebecca as her own powerful knight riding and mastering a horse in battle, thus suggesting that Rebecca is the controller rather than the controlled. Moreover, in this description Harbord states: 'From Danny we hear of a Rebecca who rebelled against the conventions of an aristocratic femininity; a woman who rode horses sadistically and sailed

¹⁸ Pons, "Patriarchal Hauntings: Re-Reading Villainy and Gender in Daphne Du Maurier's 'Rebecca'", 74.

¹⁹ Du Maurier and Beauman, Rebecca, 273.

alone, who cut her hair short, who wore trousers and shirts...who had her own set of friends separate from her husband and who on occasion slept away from her husband'.²⁰ Harbord lists Rebecca's male characteristics, implying independence from her husband and a lack of compliance to traditional female beauty standards. This defies de Winter's expectations of a domestic, subservient housewife in which he could control, shown in his statement 'she was not even normal'.²¹ Consequently, it is arguable that du Maurier utilised the character of Rebecca to critique patriarchal control over women and to demonstrate the fatal ramifications of a woman who does not adhere to traditional expectations.

Throughout *Jane Eyre*, Bronte explores patriarchal control through her portrayal of the protagonist as both animalistic and other-worldly. This is recognisable when exploring the pet names assigned to Jane by Rochester's character. Bronte demonstrates the dehumanisation of Jane, as Rochester likens her to animals such as a 'lamb' and a 'bird', both being animals that are subject to control. In chapter ten, Bronte employs a metaphor, presenting Rochester as the 'shepherd' and Jane as the 'lamb': 'I seem to have gathered up a stray lamb in my arms: you wandered out of the fold to seek your shepherd, did you, Jane?'.²² This quote compares Jane to a 'stray lamb' which is an animal that connotes innocence and, as the word 'stray' suggests, reliance on a leader. Accordingly, this coincides with London's description of the Victorian perception of a woman's body: 'a body organised for social use: to serve, to suffer, to sacrifice, to silently obey'.²³ A lamb, like a woman under patriarchal control, must 'silently obey' the shepherd, in this instance a man, to conform to normative gender roles within society. In addition, the lamb is regarded as a symbol of sacrifice, often sacrificed for the common good or, alternately, to feed the shepherd. This could be linked to

 ²⁰ Janet Harbord, "Between Identification and Desire: Rereading 'Rebecca," *Feminist Review*, no. 53 (1996):
101. <u>https://doi.org/10.2307/1395663</u>.

²¹ Du Maurier and Beauman, *Rebecca*, 304.

²² Brontë, Jane Eyre, 365.

²³ Bette London, "The Pleasures of Submission: Jane Eyre and the Production of the Text," *ELH* 58, no. 1 (1991): 195–213. https://doi.org/10.2307/2873399.

the sacrifice that women make to provide children for their male partners, due to the pain and suffering they must endure through childbirth. Consequently, Bronte utilises the power dynamics within nature between an animal and a human, to convey Rochester's perception of Jane as an innocent, submissive creature that must be controlled. Moreover, Bronte presents Jane as inhuman throughout the novel, as she is described in fairylike terms both by herself and predominantly by Rochester. The first time that Jane is referred to as fairylike is near the beginning of the novel, after being locked in the red room, whereby Jane refers to herself as 'half fairy' and 'half imp'.²⁴ This comparison to other worldly creatures depicts Jane as both unnatural and an outcast from society. Arguably, Bronte suggests that Jane's inferior treatment and control of the Reed household has internally impacted Jane's understanding of herself. It is evident in Bronte's depiction of the Reed household that Jane was subject to control by even the youngest of household members. The character of John Reed demonstrates Jane's inferiority, as well as her position as an outsider, by repeatedly abusing Jane and then successfully reflecting the blame back on to her. After being hit by John, Jane retorts: 'You are like a murderer - you are like a slave-driver - you are like the roman emperors!'. Bronte utilises a tripartite structure to emphasise Jane's explosion of suppressed outrage regarding her ill treatment by the Reeds. Additionally, Jane's disobedient behaviour coincides with her belief that she is an 'imp' which connotes mischievousness and a child who invokes trouble. John is compared to a Roman slave driver, suggesting that he is a tyrant and Jane is a rebel slave, demonstrating Jane's awareness of the patriarchal control that she is under. Bronte's choice to portray a rebellious young woman, opposing her young master's abuse and tyranny, coincides with feminist ideology. Sharpe suggests that the opening scene, with its movement from bondage to freedom, has been triumphantly claimed by feminist

²⁴ Brontë, Jane Eyre, 21.

critics.²⁵ Nevertheless, although Jane finds freedom in her speech, she is banished to the red room whereby Bronte suggests a sense of injustice. This is perhaps a societal comment of Bronte's, indicating the ways in which the patriarchy allows men to control women, by employing the character of John Reed who exhibits the male ability to manipulate women using their dominance within society. Furthermore, as the story progresses, Jane remains in the position of an outsider at Thornfield, whereby Rochester confirms Jane's selfidentification of a 'fairy'. Upon the characters' first meeting, it is evident that Rochester is mystified by Jane: 'When you came on me in Hay Lane last night, I thought unaccountably of fairy tales, and had half a mind to demand whether you had bewitched my horse,'.²⁶ This quote implies that Rochester resorts to viewing Jane as an otherworldly creature, due to the fact that she does not coincide with his traditional expectations of not only a woman, but a human. Moreover, it is arguable that Rochester's initial perception of Jane as a person belonging in 'fairy tales', is a form of fetishization as it places Jane in an elevated position of mystery and taboo. Contextually, Victorians sexualised fairies and, as Susina writes, the fairy-tale genre led to 'new attitudes towards sex, a curiosity about the unknown and forbidden, and a desire to escape respectability'.²⁷ By categorising Jane as 'forbidden', Rochester dehumanises her and reduces her into an object for his own pleasure, which maintains his dominance. Consequently, Bronte implies that Jane's otherworldly qualities throughout the novel serves as justification for the patriarchal control that she endures. This is because, by many characters, she is not seen as a human, but an object.

Similar in structure to *Jane Eyre*, du Maurier exhibits a power reversal in the closing of *Rebecca*, whereby the narrator experiences a sense of control over the once dominant male

²⁵ Elsie B. Michie and Jenny Sharpe, "Excerpts from Allegories of Empire," in *Charlotte Brontë's Jane Eyre: A Casebook* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 80.

²⁶ Brontë, Jane Eyre, 162.

²⁷ Jan Susina, "Dealing with Victorian Fairies," Children's Literature 28 (2000): 230-237, doi: 10.1353/chl.0.0063.

character. The narrator assumes power over de Winter after his confession of Rebecca's murder, as she can now destroy his reputation. This is demonstrated in the penultimate chapter of the novel: 'I woke Maxim. He stared at me at first like a puzzled child, and then he held out his arms'.²⁸ Accordingly, du Maurier's infantilised depiction of de Winter, as a 'puzzled', helpless child, coincides with the interpretation that 'the protagonist takes full control (exhibiting) possessiveness and domination with a distinctly motherly attitude'.²⁹ Du Maurier creates a direct contrast to de Winter's father-like nature earlier in the novel, inverting patriarchal gender roles that promote male dominancy. This can be interpreted as a critique of patriarchal control, as du Maurier portrays a woman who overcomes her submission. However, an alternate interpretation of the ending of *Rebecca* is provided by Beauman: 'Mrs de Winter's fate...is to be subsumed by her husband. Following him into that hellish exile glimpsed in the opening chapters, she becomes again what she was when she first met him - the paid companion to a petty tyrant'.³⁰ This criticism suggests that du Maurier employs a cyclical quality to the novel, indicating that the narrator passes from one position of submission, her companionship with Mrs. Van Hopper, to the position of the subservient wife to de Winter. Although the narrator appears to assume power near the end of the novel, this critique implies that she remains a subordinate from the beginning to the end. Consequently, this may be an indication by du Maurier that female power is an illusion and that within a patriarchal society, a woman will endlessly fall victim to a man's control.

Both Bronte and du Maurier's novels can be interpreted as feminist texts, as both writers employ female characters that defy the traditional gender roles that were enforced at their time of writing. However, as a reflection of the patriarchal values of both the Victorian era and the early-twentieth century, both novels close with the indication that the patriarchy

²⁸ Du Maurier and Beauman, *Rebecca*, 402.

²⁹ Heta Pyrohonen, "Bluebeard's Accomplice: 'Rebecca' as a Masochistic Fantasy," Mosaic: An

Interdisciplinary Critical Journal 38, no. 3 (2005): 153. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44029675.

³⁰ Du Maurier and Beauman, *Rebecca*, 439.

continues to allow men to control women. This is implied when examining feminist critique of Jane Eyre, whereby Bronte's 'happy ending' perpetuates female stereotypes of being a subservient, child-rearing housewife, which arguably negates the protagonist's refusal to comply with gender expectations throughout the novel. Additionally, the ending of *Rebecca* can be interpreted similarly, due to the narrator's regression to a position of submission, despite her acclimation of power. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the contemporary criticism of the novels does not account for the fact that readers at the time of publication would have considered the texts to be more progressive in comparison to contemporary readers. For instance, while contemporary readers may suggest that Jane Eyre was not rebellious enough, Lodge highlights that some of its first reviewers found that it 'fostered Chartism and rebellion at home'.³¹ This indicates that Bronte's novel can be interpreted as progressive for the period and Bronte had to employ a feminist message with caution, to appeal to the reader. Consequently, both writers demonstrate the ways in which women fall victim to patriarchal control by employing power imbalances through age, wealth, and gender, and regardless of the closing of the novels, Bronte and du Maurier spread awareness of patriarchal control and highlight its negative implications.

³¹ Sara Lodge, *Charlotte Brontë - Jane Eyre* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1.

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