

Corine Loranger

Dr. Norman Cheadle

M.A. Practicum

April 18, 2005

The Struggle for Hegemony within Sudbury's Environmental Sector

I undertook my practicum at the Sudbury Basin Environmental Network Initiative (SBENI). SBENI is a two-year pilot study developed by three non-profit environmental organizations (Ontario Environment Initiative, Northwatch, the Ontario Healthy Communities Coalition) and funded by the Ontario government's Trillium Foundation.

The goals of this project are:

To research barriers and opportunities related to the development of an active and sustainable environment network in the Sudbury Basin, and to test potential organizational/networking models that will benefit Sudbury and other similar communities who are identified as having the capacity for but have difficulty in establishing sustainable environmental non-profits and / or networks. (Penna B12)

My task within the organization was to conduct research that would assist in the identification of various environmental organizations and initiatives across all sectors within the Sudbury community. A more specific focus of the research was extended to the Francophone and First Nations communities. In addition, I also attended various public meetings, organizational meetings, and participated in interviews led by the organization supervisor.

In the twelve weeks (120 hours) of work with the organization, my exposure to the local environmental culture was necessarily limited. Nevertheless, a theme which became consistent throughout my journals was the observation of the dynamics of this still young and evolving sector. The subsequent analysis therefore should not be viewed as a comprehensive one, but rather as a broad investigation of the interplay between groups. These dynamics will be examined in terms of a current process, a struggle for hegemony, or dominance, within the local environmental sector.

The Concept of Hegemony

The concept of hegemony is more complex than a simple fight for dominance or control.

It refers to the cultural, political and intellectual processes related to dominant economic practices and activity within a given society by which domination of one class is achieved over another (or others). This is effected chiefly, though by no means exclusively, through non-coercive means, such as the dissemination of forms of knowledge, which constitutes and constructs socially normative subject positions, through institutionally authorized means and discourses such as those of education, the law, journalism and the media, religion, or, in a more diffuse manner, through the very idea of a normative or dominant culture itself.

(Wolfreys 81)

It is difficult to identify and assess a particular hegemony as it is not a static system but a process. As Raymond Williams explains:

A lived hegemony is always a process. It is not, except analytically, a system or a structure. It is a realized complex of experiences, relationships, and activities, with specific and changing pressures and limits. In practice, that is, hegemony can never be singular...it does not just passively exist as a form of dominance. It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not all its own. (Williams 112)

Another significant element in the process of hegemony is education, or the dissemination of certain knowledge by identities seeking the dominant position and with the ultimate purpose of affecting the other group's beliefs. Joll explains that

[t]here therefore seem to be two phases in the achievement of hegemony, each of which may take quite a long time. It is, as we have seen, a matter of long-term preparation in a "war of position." The period during which the cultural hegemony of a social groups and its ideology is gradually established will be a period in which the party will act in cooperation with other groups and will, up to a point, respect their interests and make concessions to their demands. In this process, as in every historical change, the role of the intellectuals is for Gramsci all important, since the achievement and maintenance of hegemony is largely a matter of education. (Joll 130)

Williams furthers this idea stating that

not only the articulate upper level of 'ideology', nor are its forms of control only those ordinarily seen as 'manipulation' or 'indoctrination'. It is a whole body of practices and expectations, over the whole of living:

our senses and assignments of energy, our shaping perceptions of ourselves and our world. It is a lived system of meanings and values—constitutive and constituting—which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming. (Williams 110)

In this effect, hegemony is the result of the ultimate domination of one group over all others. Alternative and oppositional groups are a necessary part of the process of hegemony as a means of both identifying the power as well as its limits. As Williams states:

The reality of any hegemony, in the extended political and cultural sense, is that, while by definition it is always dominant, it is never either total or exclusive. At any time, forms of alternative or direct oppositional politics and culture exist as significant elements in the society...important not only in themselves but as indicative features of what the hegemonic process has in practice had to work to control...the decisive hegemonic function is to control or transform or even incorporate them. (113)

Within the limited scope of this paper I will attempt to present a broad picture of this living process within the local environmental sector as I have observed it during my placement with SBENI, giving particular attention to some of the more prominent contenders within the struggle for hegemony.

General Overview of the Local Environmental Sector

Environmental concern is not new to Sudbury. Clear-cutting in the late 19th century, followed by INCO's above ground smelting operations, and continuous mining

activity in the area resulted in the devastation of most of the surrounding landscape and its ecosystems. Reclamation work began in the 1970s when sulphuric emissions were reduced and the smoke stack was built to divert remaining atmospheric emissions. At the time, environmental effects of such emissions were only just being discovered, and federal environmental regulations to deal with it were beginning to take shape. The local landscape, also known under the infamous epithet “moonscape,” told the story of the devastation. The city, as well as the industry, naturally suffered a negative image. The parties realized that if the local economy were to prosper in the future, this image would have to be changed. Thus began the most significant environmental activity in the community—the re-greening initiative, which is still active today. Many Sudburians have seen the severe impact of pollution and negligence of the environment, but have also seen and experienced the potential for successful rehabilitation when a community is mobilized to action. This inspiring transformation of the natural surroundings is still taking place today with a growing number of groups and citizens that share concern for the environment, and specifically that of their community.

The success of the reclamation initiative is largely due to the financial support and promotion of the City of Greater Sudbury and INCO. This program, often acclaimed for its world-wide recognition and promoted as one of the highlights of the region--a city in the heart of a renewed natural splendour—is also the most well-known and most important environmental initiative within the community. The municipal government and the city’s founding and main industry are stewards of the community, and as such are perceived as entities with a responsibility toward the community they inhabit and the land they occupy. In addition, INCO is charged with significant culpability for the state of the

environment since the beginning of its operations. It could be said then that a significant factor that puts these two players at the forefront of local environmental activity is public perception of accountability as inherent to municipal and corporate function. Such expectations must be met, at least to a degree, in order to maintain the community's support.

Being the most prominent entities in the community, these two players, by nature, have the most significant public visibility. This, in addition to their financial stability and local economic leadership, puts them in a central position within the struggle for hegemony. In addition, the municipality and INCO also interact with, and fund, various other environmental community and research groups. These will be explored in more detail at a later point.

At the same time, other groups are working to foster local awareness of other environmental issues that are of national, as well as local, concern. Further warnings about climate change and the dwindling state of our non-renewable energy sources have had an enormous impact on our society and culture in general. Over the last decade, a number of non-profit, non-governmental and advocacy groups have developed out of the concern for a healthier environment in the community and beyond. Some local businesses have also made efforts to adopt and promote green practices in their operations. This may be a reflection of the growing distress caused by the various environmental issues (other than those addressed by the land reclamation) and a need for more awareness and initiatives in a number of these other areas. Groups like the FoodShed and Food Security Network, Computers for Schools, the Healthy Communities Coalition, Partners in Eco-Adventure Tourism, the ReStore, and many others are working at a grassroots level to

affect changes in the way we live by promoting practices which can contribute to a greener and more sustainable community. The main focus of these groups is education for mobilization. Creating awareness and understanding of the many environmental issues is one positive step, however, additional focus also needs to be placed on the potential for changes to individual daily practices which can allow both the improvement and maintenance of environmental quality. The public is generally unaware of these groups; indeed, local environmental groups are often unaware of each other. In addition, entire minority groups such as the Francophone and First Nations communities have been identified as “gaps” within the local environmental community. Through its research, SBENI found very few environmental groups or initiatives working to promote ‘green’ awareness and practices specifically within these communities. Many of the problems faced by these subaltern and minority groups were subsequently identified. SBENI hopes to facilitate capacity building by which environmental groups, and particularly grassroots initiatives, could more effectively network and collaborate together to achieve common goals, aiding the emergence of a strong and visible grassroots environmental community.

To summarize, the environmental culture is still in the process of shaping and defining itself. Some of the longest-standing and well-known initiatives of the region, such as the reclamation, have been funded and initiated by the municipal government and INCO. These players also have a hand in many other environmental activities in the community, be it through funding, support, or aid in the dissemination of knowledge. Other groups have slowly begun to appear in the environmental sector but have yet to be as visible and have an equivalent impact in the community. Nevertheless, as ‘green’ values and practices are still only beginning to be shaped within the community, the

struggle for hegemony continues. It is difficult, at this point, to maintain that a certain entity holds the position of dominance within this sector as it is still taking shape. However, certain 'key players' which include the City of Greater Sudbury, INCO, and the Sudbury Basin Environmental Initiative, can be identified.

Municipal - City of Greater Sudbury

The municipality is making efforts to promote itself as a more ecologically-minded and sustainable community. In the last few years there have been propositions for the construction of a wind farm and a biodiesel plant, both of which are highly ambitious projects for any community as a move toward an innovative 'green' industry. These proposals have gained significant attention and support as such industries would put Sudbury at the forefront of environmentally progressive-thinking cities in Canada, not to mention increasing local economic activity. The city also has affiliations with environmental groups like Earthcare Sudbury and the Vegetation Enhancement Technical Committee (VETAC), who are primarily involved in the re-greening efforts.

As part of the city's public works, Earthcare is seeking to become the leading local agency to address sustainable practices within the community for all sectors. Their Local Action Plan (LAP) was accepted by city councillors for integration within municipal planning. The LAP supports and promotes the development of a wind farm and biodiesel plant and proposes much more in terms of sustainable activity and practices in the community which will address better land use planning, transportation, landscape recovery, support of the local farming industry, and waste diversion, among other initiatives. A significant aspect of the project is also affecting values and behaviour

through knowledge and practice at the community level to ensure support and efficiency of the program and its goals for sustainable development and practice throughout the community.

Other programs in coordination with the municipal government include a dedicatory tree planting program and Rainbow Routes--a group whose activities involve the creation and maintenance of local area trails such as the TransCanada Trail. These programs also rely in many respects on public involvement which could not be effectuated without a knowledgeable and concerned citizenry.

Another highly visible public institution is the Sudbury and District Health Unit. Its main focus is on preventative medicine, which means public education. In offering education on many health issues to the community, the Health Unit is working towards nurturing a healthier community whose people are knowledgeable about healthy practices, which in many respects also involves a healthy environment. It is currently involved in the promotion of food security alongside related community groups and initiatives.

Waste diversion and recycling are probably the most well-known municipal environmental activity (recycling is the most readily, and sometimes only, identified means of contributing to the improvement of the environment). A waste optimization study was conducted to assess necessary steps to divert the city's solid waste by 65%. Public meetings were held to gain feedback from the community, but also to provide important information about the process so that informed opinions and decisions might be reached. However, only a few individuals attended, and were often the same ones who attend other similar public affairs. There appears to be lack of interest from the larger

community on becoming educated and acting on environmental issues. Yet, at the same time, municipal initiatives are often met with considerable public criticism, for example the recent implementation of the 'bag tag' program. Many people are ill-informed about the process, operating costs, and more importantly the goals of municipal environmental programs. The lack of public interest in municipal affairs may stem from a general feeling of powerlessness in the political arena, and from a common distrust of politics. By not getting involved in the decision-making process, the public is surrendering its opportunity to challenge municipal proposals and is therefore allocating total control to the municipality. In so doing, the public is allowing the municipality to have hegemony.

Industry - INCO

As stated earlier, the mining industry and the municipality began affecting public belief and action in the early 1970s with reclamation work. Image and government compliance were the catalysts for this initiative. Nevertheless, it had to be presented as relevant and beneficial to the citizenry in order to secure public interest and assistance. Community pride and the health of the people and its future generations were the main themes in the promotion of the program and the impetus for the community's mobilization. Still today, the mining industry and the municipality may be seen as leading the efforts to instil concern and 'green' values within the public.

INCO is a major player in many local initiatives that have a direct impact on the study and rehabilitation of the environment in the community. In addition to the long-term reclamation work, INCO also funds such local initiatives as The Freshwater Ecology Unit, Junction Creek, and the Sudbury Soils Study. The Ecology Unit is a

research facility that studies local aquatic ecology. Reference is made to the research facility on INCO's website as a way to confirm the positive impacts of their mandate for sustainability, stating that "the unit has documented significant improvements in water quality as emission reductions have occurred" (Community Building: Sudbury). INCO's relationship to the Ecology Unit could be seen as reciprocally beneficial. Like any other funder, INCO will necessarily fund research projects that are relevant to the company's goals and mandate, especially if they show support for their efforts toward improved and more sustainable operations.

INCO, along with Falconbridge, established the Sudbury Soils Study (SSS). The purpose of the study is to conduct a comprehensive human health and ecological risk assessment. In 2001, the Ministry of The Environment (MOE) identified in a report that due to mining operations in the region, certain metal and contaminate levels were higher than MOE standards. It was recommended that a comprehensive study be undertaken to fill "data gaps." Both INCO and Falconbridge immediately accepted the recommendation and began working together to create the SSS. This study will further determine the need for any necessary steps to repair any potential damages, the cost of which will be incurred by the companies themselves. This study has been very controversial due to the mining corporations' central role. INCO and Falconbridge are the two sole funders of the SSS. A member of INCO's environmental division is the SSS's project manager and also serves on the technical committee (TC) which is comprised of members from several other stakeholders including Falconbridge, the MOE, the Sudbury & District Health Unit, the City of Greater Sudbury, and Health Canada First Nations and Inuit Health Branch. The TC's role is "to provide overall management of the process providing scientific direction

and review of the study and select and manage a qualified consultant to develop comprehensive risk assessments to protect human and ecological health” (Why a Study?). Many people remain sceptical as to how the information will be disseminated to the public and what actions will be taken, if any at all. The problem here lies in the fact that the mining companies, being liable for the potential dangers and any necessary costs of repair, have control over the proceedings of the study and the dissemination of information. Many interested community members believe that although the study is rightly funded by the mining companies, there nevertheless should be no further involvement on their part. Some have even suggested that the involvement of other parties is merely a ploy on behalf of the mining companies to appear transparent and cooperative with other stakeholders, including the public.

Another issue that has been raised by members of the community is the SSS’s assessment of the ‘immediate’ health risks. Many long-term residents are concerned that an immediate risk assessment will not account for the potential dangers of long term exposure to the Chemicals of Concern (COCs). Claims are repeatedly made during public meetings that based on similar studies, “there is no expected immediate risk to human health” (Why a Study?). The website also states that the study is “a logical and necessary step to validate those beliefs” (Why a Study). Study members are continually downplaying the fact that these COCs are above MOE regulatory limits, emphasizing that they do not necessarily signify immediate risk. One could then question why, if these standards are put in place as safety precautions, they are met with such little concern or compliance and to what extent they are overlooked. Although such tactics may be used in

order to reassure the public, one cannot overlook the possibility that the gravity of the situation is being downplayed to the advantage of liable parties.

An issue that was discussed at the study's Public Advisory Committee (PAC) meeting in January raised the question about holding Technical Committee (TC) meetings in the evening to allow members of the public to attend. The TC replied that no such requests were made by the community and they would therefore continue to hold daytime meetings. Also, during a prior meeting the PAC had proposed that the TC post minutes of their meetings on the website (as does the public advisory committee) in order to keep the public informed and to respect and preserve its mandate of transparency. After having discussed the recommendation during one of their meetings, the TC denied the request stating that posting the minutes would take far too much time (even though the PAC posts them). The TC also stated that the information risks being misconstrued or misunderstood by members of the lay public. As a final rebuttal, the TC argued that because there were no requests made by the public to post the minutes, they did not feel that it was necessary. Through these tactics the TC is exerting control on the exchange and release of information. It could be inferred that the TC is purposely withholding information of the proceedings of the study from the public. Transparency is undermined as the TC dominates the overall process. The fact that little public interest is shown for the study appears to be an excuse and encouragement for the TC to keep knowledge of its proceedings away from potential public criticism. The lack of public interest again is allowing, even justifying the stakeholders' exercise of hegemony.

The study held an Open House in February in order to give an update on its progress and to answer any questions from the public. Approximately twenty community

members attended. A few unusual circumstances were observed. Just before the main speaker was to address the progress report, he was informed by the facilitator that the thirty minutes he was initially entitled was reduced to a mere ten. The speaker announced this as he was beginning his speech and commented that he would obviously have to make his comments brief. The whole presentation itself was but a brief overview of the study's goals and further affirmed that no immediate risks had yet been found. The following question session was also kept brief. Approximately three to four questions were asked by members of the public, most of which challenged the study's methodology, before the facilitator abruptly ended the question period with the instruction that questions be answered by knowledgeable representatives on the floor. This intervention stopped the free flow and exchange of information between the public and the committee. It is apparent throughout the study's proceedings that the release of information is being tightly controlled and purposely concealed from public view and criticism. This can be characterized as an overt move in the bid for hegemony.

Overall public response to the study has not been overly positive. A telephone survey conducted within the community showed that only thirty-two percent of those polled were aware of the Sudbury Soils Study. Twenty-four percent of these claimed they had no interest in participating in the study. The total number of calls made, however, was unknown. The lack of interest and awareness was attributed to the notion that there was insufficient public education. Discussions ensued on how to better disseminate this information to reach a larger number of people. A suggestion highly supported by some TC and PAC members was to reach more school children with the notion that they would discuss it with their parents, or at least bring information leaflets home that may trigger

the parents' attention. The study members were also concerned with the apparent decrease in public interest due to the lengthy process. In addition, release of the final results is further being delayed due to independent revisions.

Although the study has received much public criticism over time, there has nevertheless been significant participation. Many households, farmers and schools in the area have participated in the SSS by offering soil, water, and dust samples for analysis. Those who participated in the study have done so with the belief that they were contributing to the improvement of the local environment. These individuals indeed possess green values and have been mobilized by the opportunity to directly affect change through participation in this study. This may reflect the achievement of the mining industry's goal to affect public belief not only in terms of green values, but also in its own commitment to sustainability. Those who participated did so with the confidence that the study will produce and submit true results. It must be kept in mind that INCO is essentially acting as director of the study, and by achieving this level of community support for the SSS, the company is also guaranteeing a level of confidence within the community for its mandate of accountability and sustainable mining operations.

In all of its involvements, INCO is attempting to ensure recognition of its dedication to healing the landscape. The company is trying to secure confidence and a positive reception from the community as it simultaneously works toward promoting itself as a sustainable industry and a neighbour of choice. Creating a positive image of this industry as caring and green can positively affect the local economy by attracting people and business. INCO also boasts of the reclamation work's international acclaim

(Community Building: Sudbury) and their subsequent work as international consultants to industries facing comparable challenges (Thompson).

People throughout the community participate in many of these initiatives as a means of doing their own part for the sustainability of the community. The reclamation work, both terrestrial and aquatic, includes the participation of numerous community members each year. Although some are paid through various seasonal work programs supplemented by government subsidies, most contributions are voluntary. For example, many schools take part in clean-up days for Junction Creek, other groups even adopt certain sections of the creek, guaranteeing a certain degree of regular maintenance. Although the industry's efforts are recognized by many, some issues raised within the community have created a sense of opposition or scepticism in accepting this new image and/or mandate of the mining corporation. Nevertheless, their prominent position and activity within the community makes them a viable candidate for hegemony.

Grassroots – SBENI

The Sudbury Basin Environmental Network Initiative, as a two-year research project, has worked to identify the problems faced by grassroots, non-profit, and non-governmental community groups to further investigate ways to encourage and facilitate capacity building through networking.

To date, SBENI has uncovered some of the major hurdles that prevent grassroots groups from playing a more prominent role within the environmental sector. Groups reported that insufficient funding is the main obstacle. Most of these groups rely on government funding for staff and operations. These grants are typically offered in small

amounts and are insufficient for the hiring of highly qualified staff and operations. The result is that there are few personnel in these operations and they are often over-qualified, over-worked, and under-paid. They also rely heavily on volunteerism. Due to limited funding, staff are continually seeking out and applying for more grants. Because this is an arduous and time consuming-process, the result is that grant writing often takes priority over other activities. Instability and lack of reliability are common for these type of operations. In short, non-profit grassroots groups currently do not have the capacity to become dominant players within the struggle for hegemony.

SBENI has also identified minority groups as presenting 'gaps' within the so-called green puzzle. The Francophone and First Nations communities have few environmental groups or initiatives of their own. SBENI's steering committee was already aware of this fact as it requested further research be undertaken to identify the causes of this situation. There was some tension between the steering committee and the researchers (SBENI's Coordinator and myself) about the level of focus due to these groups as the scope the research involved all major sectors of the city. Subsequently, research in these areas was mainly undertaken once the larger community had been considerably saturated. The idea was that if there is little activity in the first place, less research would be required. An issue could be raised by the separation of minority groups in that it may contribute to further promoting cultural segregation. It should be noted that in addition to the conceptual separation of these groups within the general investigation, independent discussions were held with the Francophone advisory group before the larger Anglophone group was incorporated into the discussion. (The First Nations are not represented in the advisory committee as no individual volunteered to participate.) The

goal of this practice was to better assess the Francophone community's specific needs and concerns. The reasons for the lack of green activity was found to be primarily due to other larger concerns such as the continuous struggle for cultural retention and language rights, and for the First Nations specifically, dealing with land-use planning and securing basic infrastructure as they move closer toward independent governance. Some members of the Francophone community showed interest in environmental issues but felt isolated, with little knowledge of any active groups. SBENI hopes to encourage the Francophone community to become more environmentally active by introducing them to the many initiatives of the larger green community and motivating them to network with these other groups.

To identify a particular minority group as a specific issue within a larger problem is to identify one's self with a certain amount of authority and influence. Classifying the Francophone community as possessing inadequate means or measures to address what is regarded as an issue of immediate human concern (i.e. the environment), and giving particular attention to obstacles they face in achieving a particular goal that is not immediate to their concern, is an example of one group exerting influence over another. In so doing, SBENI is trying to affect the values and beliefs of the Francophone community and identifying it as being outside of the norm. This puts SBENI in a favourable position for hegemony in relation this particular minority group.

SBENI's goals for a local environmental network include fostering a sense of solidarity among groups which would form a stronger more visible environmental community. In doing so, SBENI could become a major player in advancing the prominence of these groups within the hegemonic process. Plans for SBENI include the

potential creation of a centralized network and/or resource center for both the environmental sector and the public. If actualized, the dissemination of knowledge could be effected on a larger scale, therefore reaching a larger number of groups and individuals. Only once a community is knowledgeable and concerned can it be mobilized. As Gramsci states “every relationship of ‘hegemony’ is necessarily an educational relationship” (350). This smaller and less economically powerful community of groups could, with their knowledge and dedication, rise to become more influential in terms of values, beliefs and mobilization—a dominant, hegemonic group. However, as it stands now, the visibility of more economically secure and prominent groups such as the mining industry and the municipality are still seen at the forefront of local green initiatives. Their visible cooperation with other groups and efforts in disseminating knowledge are suggestive of a leading dominant position in the local environmental sector.

SBENI’s impact is already observable in the environmental community; its twenty-five advisory members have shown tremendous support for the initiative. It should be noted nonetheless that SBENI itself is a non-profit organization in its first year of operation and relies on government funding. The network’s success, I believe, can be achieved only if capable of securing a reliable financial source. With this, and a dedicated staff, SBENI could lead the grassroots sector toward a stronger and more influential position within the environmental sector, one more viable for hegemony.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that the local environmental sector is still in its infancy, and in addition to my brief exposure to the community, this analysis is a limited one and cannot reflect a comprehensive investigation of the unfolding struggle for

hegemony. Nevertheless, a few necessary factors can be identified for the achievement of hegemony within the local community. Firstly, the group in question will require a secure financial state in order to reliably sustain its endeavours. It will also be necessary for the group to be visible in the community and therefore have the ability to promote itself to the public and skilfully network within the environmental community. The successful group will be dedicated to an effective and extensive dissemination of knowledge and will obtain the confidence and support of the local community. As many groups are still in their formative stages, there is potential for a long-term struggle which could be beneficial to the community as various sources of knowledge can be made available and facilitate the general goal of having a community that is more educated, aware, and concerned about the local environment.

Works Cited

Community Building : Sudbury. INCO. 25 Nov. 2004. 15 April 2005 <http://www.INCO.com/development/community/profiles/Sudbury/default.aspx>

Gramsci, Antonio. Selections from the Prison Notebooks. Trans., ed. Quintin Hoare and ed. Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International Publishers, 1971.

Joll, James. Antonio Gramsci. ed. Frank Kermode. New York: The Viking Press, 1977.

Penna, Philip. Ontario Trillium Foundation Grant Application for Sudbury Basin Environmental Network Initiative. Ontario Environment Network. Section B12. 2004.

Thompson, Pat and Glen Watson. Interview with the Sudbury Basin Environmental Network. 7 Feb. 2005.

Why a Study? The Sudbury Soils Study. 15 April 2005. <http://www.sudburysoilsstudy.com/EN/indexE.htm>

Williams, Raymond. Marxism and Literature. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Wolfreys, Julian. Critical Keywords in Literary and Cultural Theory. New York: Palgrave, 2004.