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"YOUR LITTLE FROWN DIDN'T EVEN FURROW": GENDER AND IDEOLOGICAL CODES OF GRIEF IN LENA DUNHAM'S *GIRLS*

ABSTRACT

Martin and Doka (2011) define grief as a reaction to loss, which results from the tension caused by an individual's desire to "maintain their assumptive world as it was before the loss, accommodate to a newly emerging reality resulting from the loss, and incorporate this reality into an assumptive world" (p. 18). In Western society, expectations for appropriate grieving reactions following the loss of a loved one are that emotional distress is expected and necessary following loss, that the emotions following loss should be worked through and that an intense phase of distress eventually ends, allowing closure and resolution. Furthermore, societal norms governing grief are shaped by gender, with women expected to be expressive in their responses to loss, and disciplined if their responses do not adhere to these gender-based norms. HBO's *Girls*, created by Lena Dunham and co-produced by Judd Apatow, charts the lives of four upper class, white girls in their mid-twenties, navigating life in Brooklyn, New York. In Season Three's Episode 4, "Dead Inside", Hannah's editor, David Pressler-Goings, is found dead, and Hannah's reaction is to be more concerned about the fate of her e-book than the loss of her "champion". Although Hannah's non-normative response to the death of her editor could work to dismantle gendered norms of grieving through showing what women's mourning practices might look like when not based upon the experiences of women who conform closely to patterns of heterosexual marriage where domestic commitments are privileged over an independent career, the responses of those around Hannah, particularly the men, function to reveal and reinforce traditional ideological codes about grief and grieving, and hysteria as a model of what "appropriate" grieving should look like for women.

KEYWORDS: gender, grief, ideological codes, *Girls*

STRESZCZENIE

Martin i Doka (2011) definiują żałobę jako reakcję na stratę, co jest rezultatem napięcia spowodowanego przez pragnienie człowieka, by "jego świat pozostał taki sam, jaki był przed tą utratą, dostosował się do nowej rzeczywistości, po tej stracie i zaadoptował tę nową rzeczywistość do swoich założeń" (str. 18). Według zachodniego świata, poprawne emocje towarzyszące żałobie po stracie ukochanej osoby to m.in. emocjonalne rozbicie, które jest potrzebne, praca nad tymi emocjami oraz fakt, że po jakimś czasie te intensywne emocje miną, pozwalając pogodzić się ze stratą i zakończyć okres żałoby. Co więcej, oczekiwania wobec przeżywania żałoby zależą od płci; po kobietach oczekuje się, że będą ekspresyjnie wyrażać swoje emocje związane ze stratą lub będą powściągliwe, jeśli ich reakcja nie pasuje do tych oczekiwań. Serial „Dziewczyny", stworzony na potrzeby kanału HBO przez Lenę Dunham i współprodukowany przez Judda Apatowa, opowiada historię czterech białych, młodych,

dwudziestokilkuletnich kobiet pochodzących z klasy wyższej, które prowadzą swoje życie na Brooklynie w Nowym Jorku. W odcinku 4 sezonu 3 „Martwa w środku", redaktor Hanny, David Pressler-Goings, zostaje znaleziony martwy, lecz dziewczyna jest bardziej zmartwiona przyszłością swojego e-booka niż utratą „guru". Nietypowa reakcja Hanny na śmierć jej wydawcy odrzuca wszystkie normy społeczne dotyczące żałoby. Przedstawiono kobietę, która odrzuca wzór zachowania typowych kobiet zaangażowanych w heteroseksualny związek małżeński, gdzie zobowiązania rodzinne są ważniejsze niż kariera i sposób, w jaki ludzie wokół niej, zwłaszcza mężczyźni, na to reagują. Jednakże reakcja Hanny jedynie mocniej podkreśla i umacnia tradycyjne, ideologiczne i głęboko zakodowane w ludziach wierzenia dotyczące przeżywania żałoby, a także ukazuje histerię jako „odpowiednią" cechę przeżywania żałoby przez kobiety.

Słowa kluczowe: płeć, żałoba, ideologia, kodowanie, „Dziewczyny"

The loss of a loved one is one of the most painful experiences many of us will ever need to face in our lives (Parkes and Prigerson 2013) and nearly every life includes the loss of a loved one (Jordan and Litz 2014). Indeed, the emotions that follow the severance of an emotional tie have been recorded across cultures and historical periods; Catullus, Roman poet living in the late Roman Republic (c. 60 BCE), writes powerfully of these emotions following the death of his brother, noting both his sadness and weeping (Green 2005: 203):

> "Still, here now I offer those gifts which by ancestral custom
> Are presented, sad offerings, at such obsequies:
> Accept them, soaked as they are with a brother's weeping,
> And, brother, forever now hail and farewell." (Catullus: Carmen 101).

Despite the ubiquity of grief and the apparent universality of its manifestations, both the experience and expression of grief are shaped by a range of factors, not the least of which is the individual's gender and what is culturally expected of that gender. Indeed, in Western cultures, gendered stereotypes of the "expressive" woman and the "affectively muted" man continue to shape what is expected of both men and women in terms of the experiences of and expression of grief (Doka and Martin 2011); with responses not adhering to these stereotypes disciplined and censured. The ways in which the experience and expression of grief is circumscribed (at least in part) by stereotypes attached to gender make it difficult to communicate about grief in ways that move beyond these gender codes of female hysteria and male silence (Kanter 2002). In this paper, I suggest that media representations of grief and the grieving process might allow us to open a conversation that permits us to move beyond this gendering of grief. However, in an analysis of HBO's *Girls* Season Three's Episode 4, "Dead Inside", I show that, rather than move us beyond gendered representations of grief, this example of contemporary popular media reinforces traditional binary ideological codes about grief and grieving.

Classical psychological definitions of grief, as informed by psychoanalytic perspectives and foregrounded in the works of Freud (1917/1957) and Bowlby (1980),

have emphasised that the biological and psychological roots of grief are situated in the process of attachment. In these definitions, individuals grieve when an attachment to an object is lost. Adaptation to the loss therefore occurs when the individual withdraws attachment from the lost object and reinvests their psychic energy elsewhere (Martin and Doka 2011). In contrast, sociological theories tend to focus not on the primal aspects of grief, but the "symbolic constructions or meanings that are disrupted by the loss" (Martin and Doka 2011: 19). From this perspective, the experience of grief is affected by the meaning of the loss and the social expectations and norms that dictate the "appropriate" expression of grief. Bridging the understandings of grief inherent to both of these perspectives, Martin and Doka (2011) ultimately define grief as a multi-faceted reaction to loss, which results from the tension caused by an individual's desire to "maintain their assumptive world as it was before the loss, accommodate to a newly emerging reality resulting from the loss, and incorporate this reality into an assumptive world" (Martin and Doka 2011: 18). For Martin and Doka (2011), then, grief is an emotion: it is an attempt to make internal and external adjustments to the change in the individual's world that results from loss, and it can be expressed through a wide variety of physical, affective, cognitive and spiritual reactions.

Although the grieving process is not fully understood, one key theory posits that grieving is a process of adaptation, in which the individual must adapt internally and externally to their loss (Martin and Doka 2011). Such adaptation involves both short- and long-term work, and typically includes the dynamic completion of dual-processes of loss-focused tasks and restoration-focused tasks (Stroebe and Schut 1999). The griever confronts loss stressors when doing things that involve engagement with stimuli that serve as reminders of the reality of the loss while simultaneously focusing on the restoration of everyday life functions that depended critically on the lost loved one (Jordan and Litz 2014). In addressing these tasks, individuals may use a variety of cognitive (e.g., redefinition and reframing), affective (affect regulation), spiritual (e.g., prayer) and behavioural (e.g., seeking information and support) strategies, and it is through the completion of loss- and restoration-focused tasks that the griever is able to come to an acceptance of irrevocably changed circumstances and reengage with life (Jordan and Litz 2014).

Miller (2015) argues that in Western societies, there are strict expectations – or ideological codes – for the "appropriate" expression of grief following loss, including that emotional distress is expected and necessary following loss, that the emotions following loss should be worked through and that an intense phase of distress eventually ends, allowing closure and resolution. These codes are shaped around three premises: that emotional distress is expected and necessary following loss, that the emotions following loss should be worked through, and that an intense phase of distress eventually ends, allowing closure and resolution about the loss (Miller 2015). Furthermore, Harris (2009) maintains that Western society has prescribed four further norms that dictate appropriate reactions and responses to loss; that is, ways in which loss may be *expressed*.

First, only select individuals or social relationships are worthy of social recognition toward the bereaved, with the death of a marital partner or child deemed to be the most devastating form of loss (Harris 2009 in Miller 2015: 62). Second, appropriate responses to loss are determined by the extent to which the loss might involve some type of stigma, as is common in disenfranchised grief (e.g., the grief experienced by a mistress following the death of a married lover). Third, there is a belief that grief is time-specific, with a clear beginning and end (Miller 2015). Indeed, this norm is reflected in recent changes to the American Psychological Association's *DSM-5* (APA 2013) which delineates "normal" (time-bound) expressions of grief, from pathological (*prolonged* [my emphasis], distressing and disabling) expressions of grief, in its inclusion of complex bereavement disorder as a condition and simultaneous removal of bereavement as an exclusion criterion for both major depressive disorder and adjustment disorder (Penman, Breen, Hewitt and Prigerson 2014). Fourth and finally, there are clear societal expectations circumscribing what constitutes appropriate expression of grief, especially relating to gender. Within these codes, women more so than men, are expected (and permitted) to be expressive in their grief (Miller 2015).

These ideological codes that circumscribe appropriate *expressions* of grief following bereavement also shape the individual's *experience* of grief following bereavement, although often in complicated and nuanced ways. Psychological explorations of grief have tended to focus more on these grief experiences, with particular attention devoted to the factors that might shape these experiences. Overall, the research has consistently supported the notion that the experience of grief should be early and be short-lived (Miller 2015; Penman et al. 2014), and that higher social expectations regarding appropriate grief responses are held for those who have lost a child rather than a partner (Miller 2015). However, less consistent support has been found for the notion that loss as a consequence of a traumatic death is more likely to be associated with a pathological experience of grief (Penman et al. 2014) and for the role of gender in the experience of grief. Indeed, whereas some research points to poorer outcomes for men following the experience of bereavement (e.g., Stroebe, Stroebe and Schut 2001), other studies suggest that higher levels of traumatic grief, depression and anxiety are experienced by women following bereavement (e.g., Schwab 1996). Still others report no differences between men and women in their grief experiences (Miller 2015; Penman et al. 2014), but differences in ways of coping that arise from patterns of gendered socialization have been documented, with women preferring more intuitive responses focusing on affective expression and men preferring more instrumental expressions focusing on the physical expression of grief through bodily symptoms such as restlessness (Doka and Martin 2011; Martin and Doka 2011).

However, despite this mixed research regarding the effect of gender on the experience of grief, Kanter (2002) argues that in Western society, traditional gender codes of female hysteria and male silence continue to influence how individuals

express, experience and communicate grief following bereavement. Kanter (2002), and also Wilcox (2006), trace the existence of these ideological codes to Ancient Greece (Kanter), where women's grief was considered a form of "madness", particularly dangerous to the social order in its potential to incite rage, and to ancient Rome (Wilcox), where men were rebuked for displaying signs of feminine "softness" and mourning "like women" (Wilcox 2006: 74). Kanter (2002) furthermore notes that Freud's pioneering work on mourning and melancholia established the association of grief with neurosis; an association later reflected in the disciplines of psychology and psychiatry with pathologising of particular types of mourning and the association of mourning (through its connection with neurosis) with the feminine. Indeed, the feminisation of grief receives clear expression in the glorification in Western society of the melancholic woman (Szmigiero 2014). Furthermore, Kanter (2002) noted that much of the bereavement literature derived from medical sources in Britain and the United States in the 1960s and 1970s was grounded in studies of women's experiences of the death of a partner. In these studies, the women conformed closely to traditional patterns of heterosexual marriage where domestic commitments were privileged over independent careers, and so the death of the partner represented the obliteration of the woman's identity – and thus a greater propensity to the experience and active expression of grief.

Consequently, Kanter (2002) argues that the ideological codes of grief that shape both the expression and experiences attached to grief following bereavement in Western society very much continue to be situated in wider discourses of gender and heteronormativity, privileging certain types of grief over others (grief experiences following the death of a child or long-tern relational partner), certain expressions of grief (affective for women, instrumental for men) and the pathologising of grief that is deemed to be "excessive" (possibly because of its potential to disrupt the social order – in ancient times through the expression of rage, but in post-modern times, through preventing the mourner from engagement in productive labour). These observations lead Kanter (2002: 2) to ask: "How can we create ways of communicating about grief that move beyond traditional gender codes of female hysteria and male silence?", and it is this question that I wish to take up for the remainder of this paper.

One possible answer to Kanter's (2002) question might be found in contemporary popular media. Indeed, the scape that such media provide for the loosening, troubling and even active dismantling of traditional ideological codes of gender and heteronormativity would seem to provide particularly rich opportunities for our understandings of grief expressions and experiences to be opened, probed and re-assembled. One such example of contemporary popular media is HBO's series, *Girls*, created by Lena Dunham and co-produced by Judd Apatow. *Girls* charts lives of four upper class, white girls in their mid-twenties, navigating life in Brooklyn, New York (Levine 2012) and it premiered on April 15th, 2012. Dunham herself produces, directs and writes for the series, and she also plays the show's lead

character, Hannah Horvath, a self-obsessed, twenty-something aspiring writer, who has been described by critics as "spoiled, morally entitled, narcissistic, clueless, selfish, brusque, promiscuous and empty-headed" (Darweesh 2014: 23). Indeed, Darweesh (2014) links the power (and controversy) of *Girls* to the ways in which the characteristics consistently demonstrated by Hannah and her female friends, Marnie, Jessa and Shoshana, disrupt traditional ideological codes of gender that specify that a woman must be likeable, thin and sexually passive. Darweesh (2014) argues that the noticing of Hannah – who is not thin, who actively seeks sex and who (debatably) is in control of her sexuality – by the media points to the deep embeddedness and taken-for-granted nature of Western ideological codes of gender and heteronormativity. If such codes, then, are actively challenged and dismantled in the series, *Girls*, such challenging and dismantling should also be evident in the ways in which the series deals with grief. This issue is what I explore through an analysis of several scenes drawn from the series' Season Three, Episode 4, "Dead Inside", which deals with Hannah's response to the death of the editor of her e-book, David Pressler-Goings.

In "Dead Inside", Hannah arrives at Millstreet, the company where David works, concerned that she is late for a meeting with him. The receptionist informs her that he is not in yet and directs Hannah to a couch. A co-worker enters, and upon asking if there is anything wrong with the receptionist, the receptionist informs Hannah and the co-worker that David is dead. In the subsequent scene, Hannah relays her experience at Millstreet to Jessa. Although the tone of Hannah's description and the increasing pitch of her voice as she speaks with Jessa both hint at distress, Jessa is laconic in her response: "It's death, Hannah. It's something that happens, like jury duty or floods" (S3E04, 2:08–2:09). Hannah's partner Adam subsequently enters and Hannah reveals to him that David is dead. Adam responds: "Fuck, Hannah, baby. That sucks shit." Hannah continues:

> Hannah: It was so crazy. Everyone was just running around the office and freaking out and screaming and acting like their world had gone out of orbit and it's like everyone comes in thinking it's a normal day and then they leave 'cause he's dead. I mean, just amidst all that chaos and insanity, I left. What else was I supposed to do? And no one even began to tell me what was next for my e-book.
>
> Adam: What?
>
> Hannah: I know. And so I'm left wondering when and how and to whom I can even bring this up to get some answers.
>
> Adam: Well, they probably weren't thinking about your book, Hannah, and I pretty much can't believe you are either. You knew someone. Like, really knew him. He came to your birthday party, et cetera.
>
> Jessa: I think Adam's feeling is that you're callous and disconnected. (S3E04, 3:15–4:20)

Dunham in this excerpt initially sets up Hannah's response to Pressler-Going's death as within the boundaries of what would be expected for both a response to death and a woman's response to death – shock, disbelief, heightened distressed affect

that could be construed as approaching hysteria, and a hint of tears as a behavioural expression of grief (e.g., Kanter 2002; Miller 2015). Indeed, Hannah's use of hyperbole to describe the office reactions to David's death – "crazy", "freaking out", "screaming", "chaos", "insanity", and "the world … gone out of orbit" – all allude to the expected and appropriate feminine affective response bordering upon hysteria and madness (Kanter 2002). However, Dunham manipulates the reading of Hannah's response when it becomes clear that it is directed not toward Pressler-Goings himself, but toward Hannah's concern over the fate of her e-book. Adam's repost to Hannah is to berate her for her self-concern (further labelled by Jessa as "callous and unfeeling"), particularly as she "really knew" Pressler-Goings and thus, as a result of this implied attachment, ought to be distressed by loss of her relationship with him, rather than what his loss means for her posterity and fame as future author. Both the responses of Adam and Jessa, and the vehemence of Adam's response and his question of Hannah: "why aren't you mourning quietly?" (S3E04, 6:20), work to demonstrate both how deeply embedded ideological codes of grief are and how women are disciplined for reactions to loss that are deemed inconsistent with their gender.

It is particularly interesting in this scene that it is Hannah's [male] partner, Adam, who is the primary agent of this discipline; an agency that continues in subsequent scenes. Later, the following morning when Hannah and Adam are in bed, Adam continues his exposition around the inappropriateness of Hannah's response, noting: "If you died, the world would blur. I wouldn't know what a tree was" (S3E04, 8:38–8:39), a response so powerful that it elicits a dissociation from reality. Adam's continued disciplining of Hannah and his elucidation of his reaction to Hannah's hypothetical death serve both to highlight the inappropriateness of Hannah's reaction to Pressler-Going's death and to reinforce what is understood to be a normative response to loss in Western society: grief immediately contingent upon the loss, with affective expression for women (e.g., emotional distress bordering upon hysteria) and instrumental expression for men (e.g., dissociation from the "real" world) (Kanter 2002; Martin and Doka 2011; Miller 2015). These scenes, then, serve simultaneously and paradoxically, to dismantle traditional ideological codes of grief through Hannah's response and to reinforce them through a man's disciplining of Hannah's response in which the death is met with grief not for the loss of the person or relationship, but what that loss might mean for her, her livelihood and the success of her writing endeavours (all valid concerns, and more likely to be interpreted as particularly valid concerns in the event of her character being male).

The disciplining of Hannah's reaction to the death of Pressler-Goings is furthered in the reaction of Ray, her employer and Shoshana's former partner. However, in Hannah's narration of the event to Ray, Pressler-Goings becomes not only her editor, but fallaciously "a friend, a close friend" (S3E04, 9:18). When Ray asks Hannah how she feels, she responds "You know, I actually feel nothing. Like, I literally feel nothing. Like, maybe I'm numb, but I don't even feel numb. I feel nothing." (S3E04, 9:43)

Ray rejoins:

> Hannah, why don't you place just one crumb of basic human compassion on this fat-free muffin of sociopathic detachment? See how it tastes…Hannah, you don't think it's slightly odd that I feel worse than you do right now, and the one time I met this dude, he hurled me across the room into a small table? (S3E04, 9:46–10:19)

Ray's response also serves to depict Hannah's reaction to the death as problematic; the magnitude of the inappropriateness highlighted by his allusion to "just one crumb of basic human compassion" and his representation of Hannah's response as pathological through its association with sociopathy, one of the personality disorders listed in the *DSM-5* (APA 2013); interestingly, a disorder more frequently associated with men. Similarly, in a later scene where Hannah, her neighbour, Laird, and Caroline, Adam's sister, are walking together toward a graveyard, Hannah explains her response to Caroline, noting that she does not want to be seen as "odd" or as a "monster" (S3E04, 12:52) in a parallel that associates women who behave inconsistently with gender norms with the "monstrous" (see Szmigiero 2014).

> Hannah: You know, I just don't want to be considered a monster for caring what happens to my work. I've always been incredibly invested in my work and knew it would be really hard for whatever man ended up with me. So, now are you gonna call me self-involved, too? 'Cause I'm ready for it.
> Caroline: No, I'm gonna call you secure. (S3E04, 13:12)

Hannah's acknowledgement of the centrality of her work to her life and Caroline's response to Hannah could function as a troubling of the ideological code governing the gendered expression of grief, especially their grounding in heteronormativity, where women obtain their identities from their relationship status and male partner (Kanter 2002). Indeed, Caroline's response is captured in the analysis of this episode by van der Werff (2014), who writes:

> David was that most vital thing to a young writer: someone who really believed Hannah had a voice worth cultivating. That's not the sort of thing that can be found just anywhere, and without Hannah's book already out there, she doesn't have anything she can point to when trying to get other editors interested in her work. It might seem ghoulish for her to treat this death primarily as a chance to worry about her career, but it also makes complete sense. (van der Werff 2014: http://www.avclub.com/tvclub/deep-inside-107065)

However, the ability of Caroline's response to trouble ideological codes of grief is limited because it *is* Caroline – described by van der Werff (2014) as "horrific" (and depicted in previous episodes as emotionally unstable, unpredictable, and violent and thus "mad") – rather than a more sympathetic and psychologically reliable character. Furthermore, later in the episode when Caroline relates a fictional episode concerning Adam and the death of his young cousin to Hannah and Laird, Caroline

observes concerning Hannah's reaction that: "…you didn't even shed a tear. Your little brow didn't even furrow" (S3E04, 21:18), reinforcing the inappropriateness of Hannah's response in the lack of compassion and overt expression of negative affect that is expected from her as a woman following not only her own loss but another's loss, especially when that loss involved a child (Miller 2015).

Similarly, the conclusion to the episode also has the power to dismantle ideological codes of grief, yet does not succeed in so doing. Initially, Hannah explains herself – while crying – as needing to take time to process her emotions; this verbal response offering a challenge to the gendered code of grief in which women are expected to respond immediately and overtly with negative affect (Kanter 2002; Miller 2015). Hannah's tears at this point also suggest remorse and appropriate grief at the loss of Pressler-Goings: a gender-consistent response which could function paradoxically to reinforce her initial response as one of many styles available and appropriate to loss (a perspective articulated by Doka and Martin (2011) in their research exploring grieving styles). However, the sincerity of Hannah's monologue is undermined by her appropriation of Caroline's story about Margaret, which Hannah relays to Adam in a justification for the failure of her response to adhere to what is expected: tears, sorrow and compassion (Kanter 2002).

> Hannah: I don't know how you're feeling now, but I think that I was just shocked about how random, uh, life can be and how, um one day you can just be walking around talking, using your gay phone app, and then the next, you're, you know, face-down in a river, and no one has a good explanation … It always takes me a little while to process my emotions. And I don't I really liked David. I really felt connected to him and very grateful about how supportive he had been with me, and it's just hard to realize that my champion is gone. I feel like I think I should tell you about Margaret. She was my cousin, and she died… (S3E04, 22:42–24:18)

This final scene which details Hannah's collusion with gendered expectations, then, serves to emphasize and reinforce, rather than trouble or dismantle, gendered ideological codes of grief – and also demonstrates the need for women to take up these codes becoming "docile bodies" (Foucault 1977) in order to avoid discipline and sanction. Indeed, the extent to which Hannah actually does require time to process her grief, or is simply performing what she knows is expected to garner Adam's continued approbation, cannot be known.

In conclusion, grief can be defined as an emotion in which internal and external adjustments are made to the change in the individual's world that results from loss (Martin and Doka 2011). Although grief can be expressed through a wide variety of physical, affective, cognitive and spiritual reactions (Martin and Doka 2011), in Western societies, there are strict expectations – or ideological codes – for the "appropriate" expression of grief following loss, including that emotional distress is expected and necessary following loss, that the emotions following loss should be worked through and that an intense phase of distress eventually ends, allowing

closure and resolution (Miller 2015). Further, although these codes are shaped by a variety of factors, Kanter (2002) maintains that they very much continue to be situated in wider discourses of gender and heteronormativity, such that it becomes challenging to speak about grief in ways that are not limited to the binary categories of masculine and feminine. I argued that in its potential to provide rich opportunities for our ideological codes to be opened, probed and re-assembled, the handling of grief by contemporary media might provide a scape in which we can explore experiences and expressions of grief that are not limited to and by this gender binary. However, through an analysis of several scenes in HBO's *Girls* Season Three's Episode 4, "Dead Inside", I show that, rather than move us beyond gendered representations of grief, this example of contemporary popular media reinforces traditional ideological codes about grief and grieving. Indeed, although Hannah's non-normative response to the death of her editor, David Pressler-Goings, as depicted in this episode, could work to dismantle gendered norms of grieving through showing what women's mourning practices might look like when not based upon the experiences of women who conform closely to patterns of heterosexual marriage where domestic commitments are privileged over an independent career (Kanter 2002), the responses of those around Hannah, particularly the men (Adam and Ray), function both to highlight and reinforce traditional ideological codes about grief and grieving, in which hysteria continues to be the accepted and actively fashioned model of what "appropriate" grieving should look like for women.

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