Πονόμετρο δε βρίσκεται για να μετρά τον πόνο τον πόνο τον κατέχουνε όσοι τον έχουν μόνο.

There is no instrument to measure pain it can only be measured by those who experience it.

(Cretan mantinada)

Illness as Many Narratives

Arts, Medicine and Culture

Stella Bolaki

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Contents

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4.

Illness as Many Narratives

This book starts from the premise that illness narratives are characterised by multiplicity. Among the texts and artworks I encountered in my research, few have driven this idea home (in all its different senses) to me more than my father's own cancer narrative. His untitled story is unfinished and remains unpublished, handwritten in a language that would not be accessible to an Anglophone audience without translation. Reading it a couple of years after his death in 2009, as two kinds of readers inhabiting the same body – a daughter and an academic equipped with various critical tools – I found myself being moved and intellectually intrigued by several of its features.

of the rich local life of a Cretan village, where he grew up: the lives only the everyday rituals of illness and a body in crisis but also details munity'. My father's story was, consciously or not, documenting no or single narrative. In its multiplicity of styles, it refuses easy categori ing are narrative tools. This is not to say that his is a straightforward ematical equation he devises to explore the relationship between finite what I considered to be the ultimate discipline of abstraction, and never traditions under threat by a range of social and cultural changes in to write on their way to their daily business), small and large events, of its few remaining inhabitants (improvised stories that emerge, as into what has been described in literary studies as 'narrative of comsation: one can find diary sections with medical facts and details, but mathematics), the tools he uses to endow his experiences with mean hid his admiration for numbers. Yet, with the exception of one math his narrative indicates, as these people pass by the porch where he sat these are integrated into a larger life narrative, and the latter, in turn life and the concept of infinity (often treated as if it were a number in illness narrative by investing in other stories and encounters outside Greece; in short, a collective story with the ability to 're-enchant' his My father was trained as a mathematician, acquiring expertise in

Introduction

generation, approach them as a fundamental way of expressing feelconsists of rhyming couplets. It is often improvised and recited in the and performance. Especially prominent on the island of Crete, manaspects of his story better, as well as by what is known as mantináda of the clinical framework of patients and doctors.² These narratives. was also a kind of alternative or complementary treatment. Cretan 'art of living', which in the case of my father's illness experience than a means of entertainment. Many Cretans, especially the older by another person and this in turn leads to another response - the diarhythm of accompanying music at feasts and other singing events tinida refers to a compressed narrative or short poem that typically (μαντινάδα in Greek), an oral tradition associated with poetry, music write), signalling the need to turn to a visual medium to communicate (of his garden and the view of the sky's horizon from where he sat to personal and collective, are often interrupted by interpolated drawings ings such as love, pain, fear and loneliness and even as an ars vivendi, a logue continues until the end of the song. Mantinades are much more When composed and performed in this way, a verse elicits a response

story I knew that, as a representation, it did not offer unmediated graphical justifications), but rather to raise a set of broader questions aim is not simply to account for my personal interest in illness naror of the mantinades? How relevant is my father's national/cultural/ vignettes that populate the narrative with the stories of the villagers, tives? What would critics of self-indulgent memoirs make of these of community' or try to establish connections across distinct narraconsidered more relevant or 'fitting' for an illness narrative. Would a which of the stories or components in my father's account would be the many different strands of his narrative performance, I wondered tive excess that cannot be contained by them. In gathering together and inadequacy of verbal forms of communication, and the affecnoted earlier, even as they draw attention to the contingent nature this does not lessen the work's expressive power; neither does the access to his lived experience during the years of his illness. However, with which this book is also concerned: in (re)reading my father's ratives (though scholarship in this area often still invites autobiopeople? What demands, if any, does his narrative make for anyone his narrative, and what kind of response do they call out in other professional background to the structure and the forms he chose for medical practitioner or educator skip the sections from his 'narrative fragmentation, discontinuity or the switches to alternative genres. who encounters it, and how can these demands be met? What are the In opening Illness as Many Narratives with my father's story, my

ethical and other potential questions raised by my particular mode of responding to this narrative here, or my responsibility in the future (for example, if I were to fulfil my father's wish to make his story available to others)?

seen as furthering the work of the critical medical humanities.⁵ other. It is in all these ways that 'illness as many narratives' can be context of biomedicine or merely the doctor-patient encounter, the ing the field's scope beyond canonical works and those bound by the atre, film, animation and online narratives, many of which have yet include photographic portraits, artists' books, performance art, thenections between different illness experiences. The works I discuss as the paradigm for understandings of this genre and draws conmore inclusive illness narrative canon that decentres the literary form and collaborative projects, including mixed media forms - to create a range of artistic and cultural representations - both autobiographical arts/media and illnesses across and within chapters. I focus on a wide narrative by adopting a comparative approach in its juxtaposition of on the illness memoir but expands current understandings of illness important work that has been done in literary and cultural studies interdisciplinary readings of health, illness and medicine. It draws on growing field of the medical humanities, Illness as Many Narrathe arts/humanities and medicine can critically interact with each links between medical and the broader culture and demonstrate how tions of the arts within the medical humanities, establish important following case studies challenge instrumental or reductive applicalung cancer, chronic fatigue syndrome and mental health. In enlargto receive sustained attention, and treat breast cancer, liver disease, limited methods employed so as to produce more sophisticated and tives offers ways to open up the category of illness narrative and the last decade or so after a period of enthusiastic reception within the Responding to the criticisms that narrative has received in the

Illness narratives and the critical medical humanities

Illness narrative as a term is used across disciplines that inform the medical humanities, including medical sociology, anthropology and literary studies. Since Arthur Kleinman's distinction between illness and disease in the 1980s in *The Illness Narratives*, illness stories or narratives have been seen as giving expression to the subjective or lived experience of a particular disease or condition, which is distinct from the clinical definition of disease understood as an organic

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sises the need for patients to give voice to their suffering and for dysfunction within biomedicine (1988: 3-6). The subtitle of Kleina particular disease, treatment, recovery and interactions with mediliving with an illness with reflections upon the wider implications of cally illness narratives combine an auto/biographical narrative about of patients' and families' stories of experiencing illness' (28). Typimedicine to find ways to 'record this most thickly human dimension man's book, Suffering, Healing and the Human Condition, emphacal professionals. Kleinman's The Illness Narratives does not discuss published accounts of illness by patients and their families, but work give form to illness narratives. In addition to writing his own illness their relation to the religious conversion narratives that enjoyed a what she calls 'pathographies' in the late twentieth century through does. In Reconstructing Illness Hawkins examines the emergence of by Anne Hunsaker Hawkins, Arthur Frank and Thomas Couser narrative (At the Will of the Body), Frank has offered a typology lying myths and metaphors such as rebirth, battle and the journey parallel popularity in earlier centuries, and considers the ways undersituating clinical ethics and social science 'within a more general ethtive. While Frank as a medical sociologist is primarily interested in in The Wounded Storyteller by describing three narrative types: the ics of the body' and moving practitioners 'in the direction of think-'restitution' narrative, the 'chaos' narrative and the 'quest' narraenriched and challenged aspects of the repertoire of life writing. have explored autopathography as a distinctive genre that has both ing with stories' (1995: 23-4), literary critics like Couser (1997)

of scientific technological medicine' (1999: xii). In The Wounded dent that the appearance of pathography coincides with the triumph and twenty-first centuries.6 Hawkins writes that 'it is surely no acciand the 'postcolonial' to capture rhetorically the 'writing back' to after Lyotard's 1984 account of the collapse of grand narratives) Storyteller Frank enlists the 'postmodern' (his study is published tors and changes after the 1950s seem to have contributed to an medicine that illness narratives effect (1995: 13).7 A series of faccommunicate illness experiences in the present moment, these facof the late seventies through to the increasing use of social media to strict chronological structure) from the politicised feminist patient to them. Framing this study as it moves (though not following a by people who experience illness first-hand or those who are close increasing interest in representations of illness, pain and suffering tors include: medical professionalisation and specialisation affecting Illness narrative has grown exponentially in the mid twentieth

> considerably in the age of the rapid development of digital technolof AIDS; and of course the popularity of certain life-writing genres rights and disability movements, as well as the powerful influence doctor-patient relationships; the emergence of the women's, gay ogy and media convergence. publication. These advances remain relevant, and have expanded (self-help narratives, memoirs) and technologies that facilitated self-

tribution to narrative medicine has linked them with the notion of of narrative in an effort to reignite debate about its role in the field. Angela Woods highlights a series of pressing questions about the use recognition, in 'The Limits of Narrative' medical humanities critic insights to medical practitioners as well as patients. Despite this that enhance clinical diagnosis and treatment and provide valuable 'narrative competence' (Charon 2006: 12), turning them into tools conceiving one's life as a narrative or story is fundamentally healthy, normativity of narrativity' (76), in other words the suggestion that assumptions. Woods, however, more fundamentally highlights 'the range of narratives (cross-cultural, queer) that challenge normative les scholars who approach them as 'texts' or draw attention to a narratives in a wider social context,8 and by literary/cultural studbeen equally questioned by social scientists who seek to locate illness to which everyone should aspire in order to reclaim and reorient the desirable and necessary. This is an assumption that characterises lar kind of self (neo/liberal, Western, middle class). These ideas have The valorisation of narrative as 'the mode of human self-expression' self that has been disrupted by illness: Frank's typology whereby the quest narrative is presented as an ideal (2011a: 74) promotes ideas of individual authenticity and a particu-Illness narratives have garnered positive attention, and their con-

illness transitory. Chaos stories are sucked into the undertow of illness and the disasters that attend it. Quest stories meet suffering of a journey that becomes a quest. (1995: 115)⁹ head on; they accept illness and seek to use it. Illness is the occasion Restitution stories attempt to outdistance mortality by rendering

ture, coherence and unity ... What place is there for formlessness, narrative terms', she suggests that scholars in the medical humanities or view with suspicion anyone whose sense of self is articulated in for meaninglessness, for silence?' (2013: 125). Rather than arguing that we should 'discourage patients and doctors from telling stories Woods writes that 'narrative returns us again and again to struc-

can do more 'to foster a critical approach to the normative scripts of particular kinds of narrative', as well as 'more radically' move beyond narrative (2011a: 76). The latter is framed as 'an invitation' that Woods believes 'scholars and practitioners in the medical humanities must be ready to accept' (2013: 126).

and role within the medical humanities field, and that the works I consider in this book invite us precisely to do both. emphasis on Western cultural artefacts' (Hooker and Noonan 2011: and especially of mental distress, are comparatively fewer, and medithat there is room to challenge and expand narrative's conception this should be 'only a first step' (Sartwell 2000: 84), I would argue tiply existing narratives. Even though some critics are adamant that or desired if we were to define narrativity more broadly¹¹ and mulcal humanities is 'culturally limited by a pedagogical and scholarly intersect with narrative. Moreover, stories of particular conditions, ship, but this is not the case for other media and artistic forms that and illness memoirs are well represented in illness narrative scholara wide range of artistic and cultural practices. (Auto)pathographies the question whether moving beyond narrative would be necessary 79). This series of qualifiers, taken up in the following chapters, begs forms of silencing at the hands of biomedicine while also informing illness representations in contemporary culture attests to continuing linking it to different media and artistic forms. The proliferation of this book retains the term 'narrative' even as it defamiliarises it by ongoing potential of illness narratives to shape wider debates about vention in the field, but there is more to say about this term and the health, illness and the medical humanities. This is why the title of Woods' reminder of the limits of narrative is an important inter-

There has been a tendency in the 'first wave of medical humanities', since its establishment as an identifiable field in the early 1970s (first in the US and later in the UK) and the rise of pathography in the 1980s and 1990s, to treat narrative as synonymous with verbal, if not literary, expression and to define it in terms of linearity and coherence. However, as scholars in literary studies and across disciplines have shown, illness stories often challenge chronological causality and unity. Cheryl Mattingly coins the term 'emergent narratives' to describe those stories (in her case within the clinical encounter) that, though still dependent on existing cultural resources, are 'embodied' and 'improvised' rather than told. Emergent narratives are 'clearly allied to performative views of narrative and action' and are not characterised by coherence but rather 'narrative drama'. Mattingly's description of 'how we follow a narrative suspensefully, always reminded of the fragility of events, for

ments; the different arts and media that need to be included in the

things might have turned out differently' (2000: 205) resonates with my discussion of film and performance in Chapters 4 and 5. Illness narratives take many forms and embrace different genres and media, some of which intersect with narrative as it is conventionally understood. In fact, two of Woods' proposed alternatives to narrative discussed in 'The Limits of Narrative' – metaphor and photography – function in this way, rather than as strictly anti-narrative modes. Woods herself acknowledges this when she describes metaphors as 'building blocks of narrative' that drive the story forward even as they lack the larger temporal structure of narrative (2011a: 76). Similarly, the myth of the photograph as a purely visual image has been challenged. Photographs often have captions and titles, if not a longer text attached to them; and as Victor Burgin and others have suggested, even when this is not the case, they are 'traversed by language' when they are interpreted by viewers (1982: 144). 12

approaches to illness narrative can benefit medicine, the arts and documentary collide, but also enrich each other, in the following mentary film; text and the various other elements of an artist's book; often lead to important aesthetic collisions. Thus word and image in category of illness narrative can be opened up by addressing some of distress, do not abandon it altogether. In this way, I show how the expression to give shape to experiences of physical and emotional works which, even though they do not rely exclusively on linguistic mated film that has affinities with metaphor), this book focuses on without appealing to elaborate stories (for example, the short ani-Alongside photography and forms that gesture towards narrative and humanities in order to remain pluralistic and experimental, it new phase, taking stock of the need to forge alliances with the arts cultural studies.¹³ As the medical humanities is moving towards a I believe that expanding rather than limiting current definitions and be trivialised through overuse and overinflated, as Woods cautions case studies. While acknowledging that the term illness narrative can atre; and animated drawing and documentary voice in animated performance art and theatrical conventions in autobiographical thephotography; stories and images or distinct visual modalities in docuthe works' own generic multiplicity and mixed-media nature that its limits and conservative assumptions from within, that is, through process of meaning-making, narrative is not tied to a single medium. the senses of this phrase: the multiplicity of illnesses and their treatis a timely moment to recognise the many narratives of illness in all When approached as a communicative act and as essential to the

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engagement with health, medicine and culture. field; and finally, the range of methods that will foster a more critical

and challenge existing practices within medical education.¹⁶ a less 'utilitarian and artistically conservative model' (2014a: 23-4). radical pedagogy emerging from different sites and media can reshape the artistic forms I consider - particularly the ways a more critical or concerns, I am keen not to dismiss the distinct pedagogical potential of that the value of the medical humanities is not limited to educational with the humanities (108). While in the following chapters I suggest lenged and reshaped' rather than simply 'softened' by its encounter nature, goals and knowledge base of clinical medicine might be 'chal-(or an 'additive' view) towards a more 'integrated' view whereby the 119). She proposes a shift from practitioner pedagogy and training medical humanities in 'purely humanising or humanistic terms' (2014: ciplinary approach that avoids 'Western imperialistic tendencies' and humanities. Bleakley favours critique and resistance, a more interdismedical humanities, emphasise the need for a more critical medical writing from different disciplines but intersecting in their interest in radically critical view'. 15 Woods, Anne Whitehead and Alan Bleakley, prevent it from gaining sufficient distance from medicine to take a with conceptualising the field in an "instrumental way" is that we and practices of medicine and are engaged in serving it'. The problem gested that 'those purposes are very much anchored within the culture aries and approaches. In its response to Howard Brody's three pergoal of enlarging the scope of the medical humanities and sharpening Whitehead also takes issue with the dominant conceptualisation of the Humanities at Durham University (2011) in the UK has recently sugmoral development' and 'supportive friend'), 14 the Centre for Medical sonalities of the medical humanities ('disciplinary list', 'programme of field includes a discussion of defining or redefining its name, boundan identity crisis, and nearly every conference or publication in the its critical edge. The medical humanities, we might say, suffers from Many directions have been indicated in the last few years with the

embraces, is evident in Keir Waddington and Martin Willis' journa special issue 'Rethinking Approaches to Illness Narratives'. They impetus for conversation. This more positive view, which this book ulations in the field, and thus as a form of giving new energy and served as a necessary precondition for renewed transformative articdivisive, but it does not have to be approached in purely negative terms. As a terrain where vital issues are being negotiated it has also the goals and purposes of the medical humanities, has perhaps been The discussion about the limits of narrative, like the debate about

> more broadly) to nothing more than a further set of utterances that qualities from a system that reduces illness narratives (and healthcare cial issue make a plea for 'reclaim[ing]the aesthetic and imaginative even what they might look like' (2013: iv). Contributors to this spesarily restricts what illness narratives might be allowed to mean, and argue that 'the limited range of methods presently employed unneces and analysed through certain methodologies. Even when this is not viewed as data to be solicited through interviews and then transcribed ing from the social sciences, where, typically, illness narratives are provide specialist medical data' (Willis et al. 2013: 68). Such utilitarian sensibility is something that often characterises approaches comaccept the implicit frame of both medicine and literature'. She envismore diverse set of literary texts and a new set of reading practices ics, Susan Merrill Squier argues in favour of the introduction of a in various aesthetic, historical and political traditions. Like these critthe case, the selection and analysis of illness narratives are normally arship (2014: 114). the dominance of realist fiction and autobiography in existing scholmore experimental and 'mixed-media narrative modes' that redress field 'to engage with an expanded notion of literary genre', including sion' (2007: 338). Whitehead similarly endorses the potential of the fiction and poetry, but also 'the full range of written cultural expresages a more inclusive canon that would encompass not only canonical that 'can release us from the contract to which we are bound when we by the context of biomedicine, instead of situating their contribution framed by the doctor-patient encounter rather than other actors, and

approaches deconstruct the idea that illness narratives are linear or writing more broadly, leading to generic experimentation, 'instabilwork of scholars trained in literary and cultural studies, including approaches to illness narratives are beginning to be addressed in the and close reading indebted to New Criticism). However, their concific canon and approach to texts (realist fiction and autobiography, approaches to literature such as Rita Charon's, which privileges a speas opposed to following typologies, and intervene in more traditional offer coherence, place narratives in historical and cultural contexts ity in perspective, narration, medium or authority' (1999: 28). Such the challenges disability and illness pose to autobiography and life the aforementioned critics. Susanna Egan, for example, has explored criticism, which still revolves around the influential models of Brody tribution has not been recognised in mainstream medical humanities Couser, Frank, Hawkins and Charon In many ways such calls for more nuanced and sophisticated which is perceived as valuing indeterminacy and complexity. tic/humanistic value of writing about illness, and literary criticism, humanities criticism, with its interest in the pedagogical or therapeuafter Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, 'reparative' practices (2012: 105).17 reading and writing, Jurecic embraces illness memoirs for the chaland argues against the view that all illness narratives distract from communities, national and otherwise) (xix). Similarly, Jurecic contutions, including in particular the institution of medicine; and to and a movement out (the embodied self in relation to others; to instinarratives: a movement in (the embodied self in relation to itself) which do justice to both the movements that can be found in such and effective histories' (xvii) and synthesises theoretical approaches more than a self-indulgent mining of personal experience' (Diedrich study. Both Lisa Diedrich and Ann Jurecic devote space to counter scholars working in these fields have had to actively make room for These practices can bridge the divide between mainstream medical lenges they present to literary criticism and models what she calls Responding to Rita Felski's call to consider the ordinary motives for the structural through their unashamed valorisation of the personal fronts the suspicion towards emotion and testimony in the academy 2007: xiv). Diedrich's study conceives illness memoirs as 'affective dismissive views of illness memoirs as 'victim art' and as 'nothing illness narratives to be considered worthy of literary or theoretical unequivocally embraced by literary and cultural studies. Many Neither, though, has scholarship on illness narratives been

the performance Still/Here by HIV-positive choreographer Bill T narratives. As is well known, Croce refused to attend and dismissed become a common reference point for scholars working with illness article in the New Yorker, 'Discussing the Undiscussable', which has Many Narratives is concerned, Radley looks at Arlene Croce's 1994 illness. Focusing on the realm of arts and media with which Illness as opens the works to critiques of self-indulgence and of aestheticising experience. This in turn raises the thorny question of truthfulness, or camps approach such works as transparent windows into a person's science' (2009: 30). The common problem he identifies is that both resentations across different forms 'are good art' or constitute 'good Radley opens with a series of debates concerning whether illness rep that these narratives do. Works of Illness by social psychologist Alar humanities and the social sciences fail to address the kind of work tive - that is, to show how rigid interpretations in both the arts/ the limitations of narrow disciplinary approaches to illness narra-A central task for the critical medical humanities is to underline

> of which were photographed close-up, exacerbated the victimisation and private rather than the public and contextual. The images, most of the subjects, thus eliciting pity as opposed to solidarity. As Radley showing pictures of people with AIDS, it emphasised the personal in New York in 1988. While the exhibition gave faces to statistics by a photography exhibition presented at the Museum of Modern Art sympathy and 'a personal, emotional response' from the audience sorry for or hopeless about' (1994/5: 17). The performance elicited Jones. In her words, she could not review someone who she 'feells concludes about the juxtaposition of the two debates: Crimp's commentaries against Nicholas Nixon's Pictures of People, that also relates to people with AIDS: Jan Zita Grover and Douglas Radley juxtaposes Croce's non-review with another controversy that made 'dispassionate analytical judgement' impossible (17).18

the values of art ... cannot serve the needs of ill people. (2009: 23) superficial level there is a sense that art and illness do not mix, that representations of the photographer/artist, and of the media. At a Grover seek to empower afflicted people by freeing them from the hearing the voice of afflicted people. On the other hand, Crimp and On the one hand, Croce strives to preserve art at the expense of

spheres of medicine, science and the arts. other people' (38), Radley shows how aesthetic practice, which is of presentation and in the apparent response that they call out in examining the way works of illness "do their job" both in the mode cal writing to 'the fabrication of illness in the modern age' shifts attention from the idea of the elevated self in autobiographigive form to their experiences of illness for themselves and others documentary perspective? (38) Considering how people shape and is not said more directly or more clearly from a medical, scientific or ence and their situation. What can one say or show in this way that portrayal as the means to say important things about their experibut to address 'why and how ill people might want to use artistic representations of illness should be judged as 'art with a capital A', distinct from aestheticisation, can bear upon ethics as well as the Radley clarifies that the scope of his study is not to determine whether

requires a set of tools that need to be actively fashioned. How to crein the contemporary world but that doing justice to its complexity ate 'critical practices that are grounded in everyday life, practices that this recent scholarship is that illness narratives do important work Despite their disciplinary and other differences, what emerges from

Introduction

at the heart of the critical medical humanities. draws on different disciplines and perspectives, that I argue should be that they retain their power to stand up, effectively to be works' (2009) asserts that illness narratives are 'immune from being quite absorbed 213). It is the active fashioning of tools, this constructive process that between these spheres they are fugitive and yet resilient to the extent into the fields of art, medicine or science: 'Made in the interstices medical' - that it leads to a 'new object' that does not belong to the ing multiple domains - literary, philosophical, cultural, political, methodology (2012: 17). Diedrich notes of her own practice of 'crossthoughtfully empathic' is the question that motivates Jurecic's hybrid are rigorous, compelling and, at the same time, socially engaged and 'experts' of any of these individual domains (2007: viii). Radley, too,

could be addressed in relation to the chapters that follow. However, and art forms whose aesthetic practices and cultural politics can be and the medical humanities. While the majority of the scholars mengenerate and sustain the critical dimension of both illness narratives culturally and politically. It is precisely this commitment that can across environments beyond what is covered here. it is my hope that the critical approaches modelled can be translated forms and media, not to mention geographical and cultural contexts is not an exhaustive study, given that other illnesses as well as art productively examined and re-contextualised under the umbrella of to the illness memoir, this book considers a wide range of media tioned above have shown the importance of expanding our responses polyvalent and important work that illness narratives do personally, is to continue fashioning tools and approaches that can attend to the whether they endorse it or not, another one, taken on in this book, provocation that individual disciplines perceive in distinct ways, illness narrative; whereas moving beyond narrative is one invitation. ies there have been objections about narrative, and specifically about both in medical humanities scholarship and in literary/cultural studulness (as many) narratives and the critical medical humanities. This What all of these urgent and ongoing debates demonstrate is that

The case studies: towards a critical interloping

already mentioned, but the sheer quantity of projects that treat illness, health and broadly-conceived medical topics demonstrate that they There is an assumption that the arts and illness should not 'mix', as frequently do, whether this leads to controversy or not. Audrey Shafer

> academic depth, rigor or demarcation' (2009: 3). Shafer's choice of the of medical humanities. The dilemmas include a snubbing of medical notes that with the exception of art therapy and art practices within medical humanities. and critical approaches (for example on aesthetics, ethics, the body, in which the arts and arts/media scholarship can enlarge their practices inclusive illness narrative canon; and at the same time modelling ways resentations that explore illness within the field of the medical humanichapters participate in what I would like to call a critical interloping well as juxtapositions/comparisons across and within the following six ies of this book. The choice of art forms, genres and specific texts as word 'interloper' is a productive way of describing the work of reconhumanities as a dilute, noncritical mishmash of applied theory without front-line artists and interlopers from distant disciplines to the cause the medical humanities. As she explains, 'The delight is the welcome of For Shafer, 'therein lies the next demarcation, dilemma and delight' for ties but do not affiliate themselves (or publicly associate) with the field. formers who may work with themes and issues of the medical humanihealth and care settings, there are many artists, filmmakers and perdisability and death) through more explicit dialogue with the critica ties to expand its scope and existing approaches, and to create a more that works in two ways: inserting a variety of artistic and cultural reptextualisation and cross-fertilisation that takes place in the case stud-

the medical community in the UK. As she writes: interloper in the 1980s when she brought her photographic work to Spence, whose work is examined in Chapter 1, certainly felt like an notations, since it suggests an unwelcome presence or intrusion. Jo It could be claimed that the term 'interloping' has negative con-

wrote theories of the representation of bodies, without in any way ment, I was equally sick of academics within my own discourse who medical people who viewed me as only an object of study of treatthe same human bodies, if in different ways ... And if I was sick of to contribute to their debates. Medicine and photography tragment them to understand that, as a photographer, I might have something more holistic attitudes towards health. Yet it still seemed difficult for resistance, glimmers of hope, as people talked about and practised Within the [medical] orthodoxy, I occasionally met with pockets of seeming to inhabit their own. (Spence 1995: 130)

academic communities, and her practice of phototherapy - con-Spence saw herself as an outsider from both the medical and tained neither within institutional frameworks of art therapy, nor

Introduction

entail adding a range of texts or genres but also, as the passage cal interloping. I write critical because interloping does not simply across disciplines. ing up space for them to reshape or challenge existing practices above shows, engaging with different methods and actively openterms of bridge-building, or more polemically, as a form of critidocumentary or artistic work on the body - can be envisaged in

contexts and methods within the field, and in turn perpetuates the or utilitarian approach prevents the inclusion of alternative genres, or focus explicitly on the doctor-patient encounter. This reductive medical humanities, are those that are directly linked to medicine those that 'belong' under the umbrella of illness narratives and the dominant assumptions that the more 'relevant' representations, or cal humanities is more recognised today, it is difficult to shake absorbed by either the concerns of the arts or those of medicine, context. In showing how illness narratives resist being fully tices/scholarship and the fields of illness narratives and the medical argues for the need of more cross-fertilisation and mutually illumi-Responding to this problematic view, Illness as Many Narratives or in close collaboration with medical education programmes. little to say to writers and artists not working within art therapy view of the medical humanities as a narrow area of study that has as a sign of either the exhaustion of theory or its renewed life? and in the wake of the fascinating debate into 'the turn to memoir humanities, as well as between medicine and broader culture.19 nating conversations between contemporary arts and media pracand scope of their respective work. medical humanities to overcome divisions and amplify the goals multiple perspectives can help the arts, cultural studies and the the book's examples are drawn in their majority from a Western 'scientific', rather than non-Western, medicine, and this is why The latter division is attached more to perceptions of Western tives suggests that engaging with a range of illness narratives and (Cvetkovich 2012: 3) in literary criticism, Illness as Many Narra-While the value of the insights many artists bring to the medi-

cine from multiple perspectives' (2004: 243), Squier and Hawkins network of connections, including the ability to translate knowledges methodologies. Citing Donna Haraway's call to forge 'an earth-wide testify to the importance of making connections across disciplinary reflections on 'the productive tensions inherent in approaching medi-Though not referring to illness narratives per se, in their epistolary

> Squier and Hawkins conclude: among very different - and power-differentiated - communities;

and cultural studies can enable us to make those connections: to see write for humanities scholars or physicians, the medical humanities school and the home, and how in each site we have the choice to how bodies get made (and remade) in the hospital, the farm, the cultivate better, less compromised, lives. (2004: 253) Whether we teach in a university or a medical school, whether we

practice the idea of critical interloping dialogue and conversation, including critique, that should animate It is the task and challenge of forging, sustaining and expanding such The chapters that follow take on precisely this task by putting in the medical humanities as it defines and redefines its future goals.

methods to forge a more critical medical humanities necessary in order to introduce an alternative range of material and up to now primarily in the context of contemporary artistic practices adding a new interpretative layer to Taylor-Wood's work, considered two American feminist critics/activists, Audre Lorde and Diane Price the responses to mastectomy and prosthesis/breast reconstruction of a conversation between the work of two British photographers who only chapter with a specifically historical emphasis, as it compares such as that of the neoliberal postfeminist subject. Chapter 1 is the ratives about women's health within mainstream public discourse, the body and of breast cancer while also expanding limiting nar-I focus on in Chapters 1 and 2 open up medical understandings of ments between medical perspectives, teminist theory/activism, artisof alternative knowledges/practices about the body. By finding alignen's health movement - which I should stress does not limit itself to ness. This is a way of acknowledging the contribution of the womaddress both the politics of medicine and feminist responses to illbetween artists, theorists and medical humanities scholars that are and postmodernism, the chapter begins the kind of conversations Herndl, who equally speak from different historical moments. In have explored breast cancer, Jo Spence and Sam Taylor-Wood, and narratives of scarred bodies from the 1980s to the present. It stages tic practice, pedagogy and the lived experience of illness, the works breast cancer - to the critique of biomedicine and the development ine narratives about women's health, specifically breast cancer, and Illness as Many Narratives opens with two chapters that exam-

gaze to re-imagine or re-cover bodies - a subject that prepares the and illnesses rather than a historical shift; and the conditions under courses of patienthood (politicised or not) associated with them, a and concealment in illness representations and the competing disdimension, shape public perceptions and debates about: visibility centuries. As such these works, rather than simply having a private of the post-operative body during the twentieth and twenty-first and texts I juxtapose in Chapter 1 share aesthetic concerns but also which they have been received, when read together, the photographs as well as for subsequent chapters which examine other artistic pracground for Chapter 2, which focuses on doctor-patient encounters. which photography can successfully usurp the power of the medical topic addressed in the following chapters in relation to various media mark important stages in the representation of breast cancer and tices as alternative forms of treatment. Despite their national and generic differences or the contexts in

complexity, ambiguity and open-endedness as important tools for caption, and in the context of feminist politics - is staged in subchallenging instrumental approaches to the medical humanities and notion of illness as many narratives, drawing attention to formal sequent chapters in relation to other illnesses, media and cultura here in relation to the tension between visible self/image and voice/ tions and the auto/biographical performance of illness - discussed pointing to the more radical possibilities of the arts. The collision between narrative and image, or between certain kinds of conven-Chapter 1 also introduces a central operation that underlies my

explores a medium that has rarely been discussed in relation to the considerations, as well as with women's artistic practices. In examprovocation and beauty in their narratives of re-covery, Chapter 2 and document her interactions with the medical community as well as until her death in 2003 expand customary definitions of narrative, unlike the women in Chapter 1 did not inhabit the 'identities' of artist, ining the artists' books of Martha Hall, an American woman who that historically has been associated with both aesthetic and political turns to a form that equally negotiates the private and public and ing post-surgical bodies by balancing exposure and concealment or her development as an artist. Art historians and book critics typically medical humanities or breast cancer. The artists' books Hall created feminist or activist prior to her illness diagnosis in 1989, this chapter describe the handling of artists' books in terms of a powerful aesthetic If in Chapter 1 Taylor-Wood and Herndl find new ways of inhabit-

clinical conceptions of health, 'the invisible surgery' to which poor events; and, extending key tropes of the previous chapters beyond

creates spaces for unpredictable and unfinished relational encounters the challenges Hall's work poses to mainstream breast cancer culture cal set of demands upon their readers. As in the first chapter, I analyse and complicate ethical/political discourses of testimony and witnessing of artists' books, this chapter shows how Hall's books also engage tools that can mutually enrich the medical humanities and the field sures of the book. However, in synthesising approaches to fashion new experience that emphasises the visual, tactile and other sensuous pleato performance art. the importance of touch, which Chapter 3 examines further in relation way I open up the question of pedagogy, specifically by reflecting on that can reinvigorate models of empathy in medical education. In this to whom Hall attached special importance, and suggest that her work assess the provocations of her artists' books for medical communities, and the way in which her aesthetic strategies relate to politics. I also through their interactive form and content, thus placing a more radi-

not at first sight appear relevant to debates about illness and the medi the technologically augmented/post-human body; global geopolitical established connections between disparate contexts and discourses. has developed together with the art collective La Pocha Nostra, have last thirty years, as well as the pedagogical methodologies that he humanities. His body-based and spoken-word performances over the strategies - that can challenge instrumental applications of the arts/ a range of methods - most notably, radical pedagogical and political bodies' that draw on medical imagery, but also because it engages with because it introduces a new 'provocative' medium or a set of 'extreme that Gómez-Peña's work can enrich the medical humanities not only medical education/humanities, raised in this Introduction. I argue I return to the key question of what we bring, or fail to bring, into cal humanities. In envisaging him as an interloper into these fields tion, politics of language and 'extreme culture', unlike Hall's, does performance artist Guillermo Gómez-Peña, whose work on immigraindividual and social pathologies. The focus is on Mexican/Chicano tics that expand understandings of medicine and treatment for both important forms of inter-relational and cross-cultural ethics/polipatient-doctor encounter. It shows how performance art can foster readers, as well as their pedagogical potential, by moving beyond the and embodied witnessing that artists' books stage for their various These include the early modern anatomy theatre and the freak show; Chapter 3 broadens the intimate context of ethical responsibility

vision that will keep it vibrant in the future. so as to avoid shrinking into a narrow field and losing the breadth of nation and opportunities for increased individual and social agency. replace specialised knowledge with interdisciplinary dialogue, imagias radical pedagogy can dismantle authoritarian hierarchies and context of pain, suffering and cultural healing, and how performance they voice a message that the medical humanities should adhere to When La Pocha Nostra describe themselves not simply as artists but the province of medical ethics/humanities by addressing a wider this chapter I show how this work speaks to current efforts to expand the popular media (especially since 9/11 and the War on Terror). In people, racial/ethnic minorities and disabled people are subjected in 'as radical pedagogues immersed in the great debates of our times',

and a less critical encounter with cultural difference. within medical education that recycle superficial forms of empathy as the solution to many problems, as well as to existing practices ure, offer instructive provocations to the absolute faith in medicine pedagogical methods, which do not preclude the possibility of failmainstream bizarre' and his commitment to more radical artistic and critical conversations across disciplines. As I argue, Gómez-Peña's educators - can be productively translated and used to forge closer and risk management, setting the stage for a more extensive explorapolitical and artistic/professional struggles. As in the first two chapvidual and in society and become vehicles for broader philosophical, creating palimpsestuous narratives that connect illness in the indiearlier collaborative explorations of the body and border identity by disability - specifically with liver disease and the risk of neurological dilemmas about the place of his work in what he calls the era of 'the different professionals - in this case, performance artists and medical tion in subsequent chapters of how knowledges and practices among Peña adopts to counter neoliberal individualised ideas about health ters, I examine the political ways of performing illness that Gómezdamage after a viral infection. This work reframes and extends his formances, which explore his personal experience with illness and The second part of the chapter turns to Gómez-Peña's solo per-

direction that the medical humanities should take in order to venture health and well-being has been emphasised recently as an important in the field, especially when turning to art forms and media beyond relational narratives of illness, which are still not as well represented beyond a (still dominant in the field) 'neoliberal, humanist notion of literature. The value of intersubjective and relational approaches to The following three chapters shift attention to collaborative and

petence, ethics and narrativity

ous chapters have shown examples of illness narratives where we see rience of illness, and what can the medical humanities and the arts and how does this process depend on the medium at one's disposal? voices and perspectives can be joined together or instead break apart, questions, such as: what kinds of collaborations/relations do the narmethods, in this case collaborative; but I also raise a series of other ratives by bringing in diverse materials and engaging with different of how we can challenge instrumentalising approaches to illness narattempts to construct shared narratives, which are often fragile and the individual body-subject' (Atkinson et al. 2015: 77), and the previlearn from instances of failing to do that? tance of collaborative methods in attempting to apprehend the expehow both are customarily received? Ultimately, what is the imporbetween self-authored illness stories and third-party ones, including In what ways do collaborative narratives complicate the distinction ratives facilitate or efface? Do they document the many ways in which demanding but also carry their own power. I continue the exploration foreclose collaboration, Chapters 4, 5 and 6 more explicitly address this happening. Even though the work already considered does not

ship are important in Chapters 4 and 5, where they are examined in authored or not, such narratives, while embraced within auto/biograrytelling. These narratives have been examined as sites for mourning given to family and carer memoirs, and to doctors' narratives of their education and the medical humanities, including professional comof rethinking a number of aspects which are of concern to medica that engages with inadequacy and failure can be a productive means and the doctor but in other professionals too. I argue that a vision ways illness challenges discourses of mastery, not only in the patient ing threads from previous chapters, these two chapters also reveal the relation to documentary film and auto/biographical theatre. Followof ethical responsibility surrounding artistic practice and spectator giving consent and the appropriation of another's story.²¹ Questions they negotiate power asymmetries and ethical quandaries relating to become sites of struggle; they are scrutinised in terms of the ways phy studies for challenging the myth of the autonomous self, 20 often are unable to narrate their stories independently. Whether jointly or another (for example, due to serious communicative disorders) well as in the context of supporting individuals who for one reason and remembering from psychoanalytic and political perspectives, as patients, which may involve a certain degree of co-constructed sto-Attention to third-person illness narratives has been primarily

21

fields in favour of procedure and a set of moral codes. approaches that equally close down critical conversations with other expressed by some critics, and on the other, narrow healthcare ethics conviction that the values of art cannot serve the needs of ill people and 'messiness' that can open a way beyond, on the one hand, the relationships that it portrays. It is precisely the film's open-endedness ing new ways of looking at, and responding to, the experiences and ambiguity and the difficult ethical questions it raises are not resolved instead by a wider artistic and human context. Even though the film's ratives do not need to be framed by the context of biomedicine, but case studies, this generic multiplicity allows Wenders to explore the forms of witnessing for its collaborators and audiences. As in other ways of representing illness and dying in film, and constructs distinct enacts the process of trying and discarding different conventions and age, snippets from Ray's diary and voice-over commentary, the film including staged documentary, fictional sequences, raw video footand medicine. Through the incorporation of several forms and media alternative treatments that can illuminate aspects of both filmmaking a form of 'terminal care' by supplementing medicine's power to munities either, I approach it as a collaborative project that becomes questions of death and bioethics, is not well known to medical comunlike other more immediately 'relevant' documentaries dealing with come together and successfully settle into one determinate category and its formal self-consciousness, which documents its struggle to subject it treats, which has attracted accusations of exploitation, edited twice, it has been, and continues to be, received with ambivadirector, and Wenders' friend, Nicholas Ray died of lung cancer, and in the end, Lightning over Water affirms the need to continue creatthe cinema as an art form. These themes further show that illness narits displacement, ethics and aesthetics, illness in the individual and in tension between images and stories, loss and consolation, dying and largely define how to live one's final days, and presenting us with (for example, fictional film or documentary). While this early work, himself. The film's perceived failures are due to the difficulty of the lence by film scholars and viewers more widely, as well as by Wenders Water (1979-80). Filmed in the last few weeks before American Chapter 4 discusses Wim Wenders' Nick's Film/Lightning over

Lisa Kron's play Well (2004), the focus of Chapter 5, is characterised by a similar 'messiness' and enacts the volatile process of telling a story when things do not go as planned. Not as familiar to medical communities as other plays that have gained popularity in medical education curricula, Well brings together autobiographical

applies not only to the community but, as I argue, to the play too: cal education. Allowing her original agenda and expert knowledge performing that can offer insight to the fields of medicine and medirework existing 'professional' practices can generate other ways of another person. It shows how difficulty, inadequacy and the will to narratives in its content and form, Well, like Lightning over Water, play gradually dismantles the initially chosen 'professional, theatand well-being. With humour and ample metafictional gestures, the thus opening up the medical to consider a wider context of health community through its exploration of racial segregation/integration, chronic fatigue and multiple chemical sensitivity, the play intertwines the uncertainties and debates surrounding contested illnesses such as treatment in an allergy hospital and recovery. While engaging with experience with chronic allergies and on her own story of illness, structs a relational narrative of illness that draws on Kron's mother's performance and more traditional theatrical conventions. It conbecome signs of 'wellness' messiness that seep through the play's porous performance structure don't seem to fit'. Rather than an indication of failure, the doses of weaving into the whole even the parts that are uncomfortable or interruptions, Kron learns the true meaning of integration - which to be affected (and infected) by the mother's and the other actors' foregrounds the challenges of the live event as well as of relating to healthy and the ill. Drawing attention to the fragility of joint/broken health, and challenges the previously erected oppositions between the rical context' in which to explore so-called universal questions of the theme of illness in the individual with a discussion of illness in the

While Jo Spence met resistance in her efforts to demonstrate the relevance of her photography to public health debates in the 1980s, in recent years a whole range of unconventional media for representing illness are making important contributions and have the capacity to reach increasingly larger and more heterogeneous audiences, especially as they circulate via public broadcasters and the Internet. For example, the animated documentary has become part of the wider ways public health intersects with a vast web of media and forms, rather than consisting of images predominantly drawn from biomedicine. The potential for comics and animation to communicate embodied perception and subjective states of mind that are hard to describe has only begun to be researched in the medical/health humanities. The key focus of Chapter 6 is *Animated Minds* (2003), a series of short documentaries created in the UK to raise public awareness of different forms of mental distress including schizophrenia, agoraphobia, obsessive

and keep the practices of witnessing and response-ability open. Animated Minds, or misidentification ending in stigma. In this way, and of self-reflexivity that characterise this form stage an ethical encounter tion too narrow, and relevant only to documentary studies specialists. parameters of live-action documentary. This would make its contribusubjective experiences, does not merely enlarge the epistemological animated documentary's evocative power, which allows it to penetrate continuing to synthesise tools and critical approaches, I suggest that the mated documentary as a genre and on witnessing in illness narratives, material such as the body. By bringing together scholarship on the anicate through an excess of elements - design, movement, shape, colour, ists' books and graphic narratives, animated documentaries communifilms, like the other case studies, expand narratives about mental health through the 'unfinished' nature of the Animated Minds testimonies, the for viewers that escapes either easy identification with the subjects of Rather, the dialectic between 'absence and excess' and the distinct kind texture, voice - despite the absence of conventional visually indexical and various animation techniques by professional animators. Like artin a collaborative manner, and use real testimony for their soundtrack compulsive disorder and self-harm. These documentaries were created

of visible self and voice in the context of the complex relation of connection in the documentary. Chapter 6 resituates this discussion of mask like the prosthesis that Lorde criticises through her illness as Many Narratives opened. This is not in the (perhaps simplistic) issues, it also returns to common critiques of narrative/narrativity in lic discourse. As the only chapter to explicitly discuss mental health and the relative absence of a range of mental illness stories from pubrelation to the difficulty of 'finding a language' for mental distress tory of medical illustration and in mainstream media, as well as in relation to the visual stereotyping of mentally ill people in the hismental illness to both visibility and invisibility: in other words, in performance of breast cancer, even as the soundtrack retains that the replacement of the real person by an animated character, a kind 1. Animation problematises the idea of embodied presence through between concealment and visibility as the one addressed in Chapter ing on the ways animated documentary negotiates a similar tension are the invisibly ill people of the twenty-first century, but by reflectsense that the mentally ill, rather than women with breast cancer, tion, Chapter 6 returns to the politics of visibility with which Illness ters, such as the ethical responsibilities and challenges of collabora-In addition to developing several of the ideas from previous chap-

> that certain forms of mental distress are inherently 'anti-narrative' beyond an emphasis on pathology. riences they document, many of which are surrounded with stigma, line the urgency of paying attention to such narratives and the expe-By looking closely at the Animated Minds audio testimonies, I under-

online) and genre (are social media trivialising illness experiences?). tions of boundaries (how far to go with public self-representation ences, illness and dying into the digital sphere foregrounds quesunderstandings of visibility, treatment and recovery, as well as to platforms, and social media like Facebook and Twitter, add to our I provide some final reflections on what online and collaborative these forms and those discussed in the previous chapters. Focuscal and political questions for both authors and readers raised by developed in the so-called decade of Health 2.0, or 'participatory snapshot of the new media landscape of illness narratives that has its own controversies. The entrance of intimate embodied experithe preceding chapters. the intimate processes of witnessing and collaboration examined in ing on their distinctly public nature, immediacy and interactivity, healthcare, drawing connections between the ethical, narratologi-Following on from the previous chapter, the Afterword offers a mixing of illness and social media in the present moment creates If the mixing of art and illness often causes heated debates, the

culture as well as cross-disciplinary enquiry more broadly. narrative and enlarge the goals and scope of all these fields in ways cal humanities does not degenerate into a narrow discipline. A critimedia and methods to forge more explicit and critical links between ent meanings of this phrase, and of engaging with a wide range of that can enrich debates about health and illness in contemporary cal medical humanities can expand current understandings of illness the arts, cultural studies and medicine so as to ensure that the meditance of attending to the many narratives of illness, in all the differ-Throughout the case studies of this book, I argue for the impor-

Notes

- See Zagarell 1998
- Tallude here to the essay 'Imaginary Investments' (Willis et al. 2013: 67).
- See the epigraph of this book for an example in translation. For a tradition, see Sykäri 2009. detailed discussion of the register and performative contexts of this

the field of illness narratives, specifically the problematic assumptior

- The term 'health humanities' has emerged as an alternative to the mediated with the medical humanities. Also see Atkinson et al. 2015. of medical or scientific understandings, as well as to include a range is not meant to reproduce the exclusivity that some critics have associcommon goals, and my use of the former term throughout this book critical medical humanities and the health humanities as having certain Jones, Wear and Friedman 2014 and Crawford et al. 2015. I see the occupational therapists, social workers and others. See for example of health practitioners who are not doctors, such as dentists, nurses, cal humanities to encompass practices that bear upon health outside
- Ann Jurecic briefly uses the phrase 'illness as many narratives' in the in this Introduction. the phrase to more widely explore illness narratives across several art title of this book has been inspired by Jurecic's work, I have adopted tive The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down (2012: 128). While the ness stories, using as her example Anne Fadiman's ethnographic narraconcluding section of her study to resist narrow interpretations of illforms and media, and to point to their multiple meanings, as outlined
- scholarship. See Waddington and Willis 2013 and Whitehead 2014. tury has not received the attention it deserves in medical humanities The historical dimension of illness writing prior to the twentieth cen-
- On postmodern illness, see also Morris 1998.
- See for example Atkinson 2009, and Woods' overview of these critiques in 'The Limits of Narrative'.
- Frank further calls chaos stories 'anti-narrative', distinguished by and broken narratives' (2013: 193). acknowledge difficulty: 'life-as-normal narratives, borrowed stories Storyteller he complements this typology with three new types that an 'incessant present' tense that precludes temporal development (1995: 98-9). In the Afterword of the second edition of The Wounded
- 10. Woods engages with philosopher Galen Strawson's distinction between and Sara Maitland's work to debates about narrativity and language. nosed with Alzheimer's (see for example Freeman 2008). into approaching stories by cognitively impaired people or those diag-(2004). Elsewhere (2013), she discusses the relevance of Crispin Sartwell narrative and non-narrative (or episodic) people in 'Against Narrativity' Though not examined in this book, such perspectives can offer insights
- 11. According to Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, one of the things that illness rethought 'in terms of contingency, randomness, and chaos rather than narratives can teach narratologists is that narrative theory should be order and regularity' (2006: 243).
- 12. See also McKechnie 2014: 2 about the need to consider the role of limitations of illness narratives. the narratee, as opposed to simply the narrator, before assessing the

- 13. On multidisciplinary understandings of illness narrative, see Raoul et al. 2007, Mattingly and Garro 2000, and Hydén and Brockmeier 2011. On definitions of narrative across different media, see Herman
- 14. See Brody 2011.
- 15. The personality the Centre has proposed to emphasise resistance is that of 'disruptive teenager'.
- On how pedagogy fits the 'pervasive calls' in the medical humanities streams of the critical medical humanities, situated in medical education and medical humanities respectively, see Bleakley 2015. literature for a more resistant model, see Shapiro 2012. On the two
- 17. See Felski 2008 and Sedgwick 2005. 18. For more discussion on this case, see Diedrich 2007, Radley 2009 and Jurecic 2012.
- On medicine as culture, see Lupton 2012.
- See Miller 2000, Eakin 1999 and Egan 1999.
 See Egan 1999, Couser 2004, Tanner 2006, Diedrich 2007, Jurecic 2012, Hydén 2011. to co-constructed storytelling due to communicative disabilities, also see DeShazer 2013, and Frank's 'broken narratives' (2013: 201). In relation