

## Benjamin Mali Macfadyen: Religion and Ritual

### Creating Rites for Lost Species: Mourning, Ecology, and Theatrical Re-ritualisation



[Image from 'Day of Dead Birds' [www.vimeo.com/57050735] by Ben Macfadyen]

Waves roar onto the stones of Brighton beach, a crimson Autumnal sky announces the dying of the day, a murmuration of starlings head to roost and flashing lights illuminate evening pier wanderers and hot dog sellers. Amidst the familiar rattling of water on stone and tinny pop music, however, a new sound emerges. Song. "Ah poor bird, take thy flight, far from the sorrows of this dark night." A small gathering has assembled after parading through the town, their ornately painted faces resembling skeletal beings. They crowd around a candle-lit shrine in order to make salt dough offerings for a creature now confined to the worlds of myth, singing for the now extinct birds that they will never meet. There is a sombre air, one of grief and despair, and yet there is also a sense of relief, as if this day has nourished some deep part of their emotional souls. A poetic eulogy is spoken, imagining what it was like to have lived in the body of such special creatures. A large willow bird veiled in hundreds of handmade paper feathers is lifted as children fill its hollow form with offerings, before being carried onto the shifting stones of the beach. Here it is gently laid to rest, lit, and consumed by flame. A crowd gathers and by the light of the smouldering effigy, stories are told of the life of the Rodrigues Solitaire.

For these people, answering the call to ritual, it seems that the spirits of these

extinct species were at last able to be laid to rest. Honoured, venerated, memorialised.

“In some weird way it almost felt like it was going to stimulate evolution somehow. It can't bring back those species, but it felt like it was bringing something to life where there was only death.”

- *Emily Laurens, Feral Theatre.*

Ritual acts of remembrance for lost species mark a turning point in the anthropological study of ritual. Rites may be ‘the social act basic to humanity’ (Rappaport, 1999, 31), but ritualised performance has never been anthropologically analysed in the form of synthesised theatrical rituals for ecological loss. ‘For one species to mourn the death of another is a new thing under the sun’ (Windle, 1995, 136). In what ways are these ritual performances different? Why are we witnessing a resurgence of ritual behaviour now? And how do individuals engaged with this work feel that ritual is a pertinent form for exploring such a scientifically abstract phenomena as extinction?

Rituals do much more than merely depict the world, and within this ethnographic reflection I will argue that ritual can assist personal engagement with some extremely complex and overwhelming contemporary issues. Extinction is a concept that is deeply abstracted from everyday experience for most people within modern society. By deconstructing ritual remembrance performances I will argue that performative ritual may be utilised to assist individuals towards feeling deep pain and grief for environmental loss in order to transition to a deeper sense of interconnectedness and will toward action. Feral Theatre company<sup>1</sup> are the creative

---

<sup>1</sup> Feral Theatre was founded in 2007 by Emily Laurens, Persephone Pearl and Rachel Porter. Called by a desire to ‘shake theatre out of the slumber of aestheticism’ (Grimes, 1982, 539) and bring celebratory ritual back into peoples lives, they explore through the medium of theatre themes of loss, memory, wilderness and interconnectedness. Their ongoing engagement with the extinction crisis culminated in a ritual-like performance, ‘A Funeral for Lost Species’, as part of the Brighton Fringe Festival in 2011. The company have since created remembrance events around the UK, each focusing on a different anthropogenic extinction story. The Day of the Dead Birds was the contribution of Persephone and other Brighton-based participants to a national day of remembrance for lost species. By engaging audiences with death and mourning, Feral Theatre aim to provide a space in order to “move through that dark night of the soul in order to come to some transcendent place” (Rachel Porter, co-creator of Feral Theatre). Ritual is hereby approached as a vital component

force behind these pieces, and I will draw from the rich pool of my own experiences collaborating with them to deconstruct what makes these pieces effective. I have supported this exploration with a short film of the Day of the Dead Birds which took place this November ([www.vimeo.com/57050735](http://www.vimeo.com/57050735)) as well as extensive interviews<sup>2</sup> with the founders of Feral Theatre Company and the creator of the Onca gallery in Brighton, Laura Coleman, where the preparation for the Day of Dead Birds ceremony was held.

I will begin by briefly articulating the current state of our world regarding ecological diversity. An environmentalist perspective will here support the argument that our dualistic conception of the natural world is a primary cause of the sixth mass extinction we are experiencing. I will then outline academic understandings of the ritual form and how mortuary rites can assist the mourning of the dead and healing of the living. From there I will chart the path towards a more holistic vision of our interaction with the natural world by exploring ritual themes of reconnection, commemoration and emotional engagement with death and loss, drawing from diverse sources in anthropology as well as across disciplines of ecopsychology, religion and ritual studies, deep ecology, performance studies and philosophy. In conclusion, I will propose an emotional approach to the anthropological study of ritual, one in which the expression of personal feeling takes an equal standing to symbolic or performative perspectives. In doing so I hope to elucidate the ways in which emotion, symbol and performance are combined within Remembrance for Lost Species pieces in order to transition participants through mourning towards action in response to extinction.

“Regarding the changing environment and climate change we hear so many facts and figures and we don’t hear them any more, I don’t hear them, I can’t hear them. It’s too much, and I feel so powerless. I think art can help with that. It can inspire a sense of action. It can help us to feel we can do something. It creates a relationship between us and nature that I think has been lost.”

- *Laura Coleman, Onca gallery.*

In our interview, Emily Laurens, the co-founder of Feral Theatre, explained the

---

of social change (Turner, 1987), a powerful tool with which to critically assess our impact on the Earth and instigate a forum for mourning ecological loss.

<sup>2</sup> These interviews were formally assessed as ‘low risk’ by the academic advisor for anthropology, James Fairhead ([j.r.fairhead@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:j.r.fairhead@sussex.ac.uk)) and did not require an ethical review application.

current situation. “We are in the midst of the sixth mass extinction event this world has ever experienced. It is the biggest and it’s the fastest”...“I don’t know how much hope I have when it really comes down to it.” In an exploration of rituals for extinct species, it is necessary to first outline the impetus for this work, the stakes regarding our impact on Earth.

We are now entering a new historical epoch that has been named the Anthropocene, as Sodikoff details in her exploration of the anthropology of extinction (2012, 2). The impact human beings are having upon the Earth's ecosystems is unparalleled by any other species in the history of this planet. The ripple effect of imminent categorical loss and an ever expanding ‘impoverishment and homogenisation of being in the world’ will result in the irreversible extinction of thousands of animal and plant species (ibid. 13). But, as Paul Shepard writes, ‘why does society persist in destroying its habitat?’ (1995, 22). How do we respond to the statistics of such categorical destruction? How are we interwoven in this web of extinction? And what role does belief and ritual play in this loss and our transition towards healing?

The histories of ideologies are often obscured (Latour, 1993; Marx, 1998 in Charnela, 2012, 30), and the conception of humanities privileged status in the world is no exception. It has been widely argued that our perceived separation from the natural world is rooted in cartesian dualistic conceptions which place nature as a subservient machine to human domination (Shepard, 1995, 23). The doctrine of cultural relativism may be seen to have blinded anthropology from questioning the intentions of entire societies. As Emily professed to me, “I went through a period of time where I felt there really was something wrong with the western mind”. Shepard goes so far as to say that this environmental destruction constitutes a form of madness (Shepard, 1995, 24).

Joanna Macy argues that awareness of this state can cause individuals to respond with three psychological strategies - disbelief, denial, or an anguished continuation – “work as usual” (Macy, 1995, 242). Change can often be experienced as alienated and distant from individuals (Bloch, 1977, 278), and if loss becomes the normality, as Nancy Scheper Hughes explores in her work on the normalisation of death, then one can expect ‘the social production of indifference’ (Scheper-Hughes, 1993, 272).

“I think there is an instinctive need for ritual to help us process complexity in

our lives, transition.”

- Rachel Porter, *Feral Theatre*.

In order to explore how ritual acts of remembrance can reduce these harmful effects of change in social conditions (Metcalf and Huntington, 1991, 29) I will now draw from anthropological analysis of mortuary rites.

The study of ritual has fascinated key writers within anthropology from the inception of the discipline (Gellner, 1999, 135; Malinowski, 2004 [1925]). By providing depth to human life, rituals have been seen to provide societies with a thread that connects humans to past, present and future worlds (Campbell, 1972, 43; Connerton, 1989, 45; Kertzer, 1988, 10). At times of loss, mortuary rites act in ‘resistance to accepting biological death as a self-contained event’ (Robben, 2004, 9). Sacred ‘tributes of sorrow’ (Durkheim, 1976 [1912]: 397) can transform an experience that cannot itself be reversed, enabling the triumph of a society over powerlessness and fear (Lienhardt, 2002 [1961], 335; Myerhoff, 1992, 159; Malinowski, 2004 [1925], 21).

Van Gennep’s theory of transformative rituals as rites of passage can be applied to widely conceived ideas of death as an initiation (Hertz, 2004 [1907], 209; Danforth, 1982, 33). The first stage within this processual tripartite structure is the pre-liminal rite of separation, followed by a liminal period of transition through a threshold, to a post-liminal rite of integration into society (Van Gennep, 1960, 13). Death can here be seen not to be an act of *separation* but one of *incorporation* to the afterlife (Van Gennep, 1960, 146; Kisiara, 1998, 127).

This dynamic perspective allows scope for social change and integrates both symbolic and performative approaches to the anthropology of ritual<sup>3</sup> (Tambiah, 1985,

---

<sup>3</sup> On the symbolic/performative approach - Many anthropologists (Durkheim, 1976 Geertz, 1957; Tambiah, 1985, 128), in attempting to unravel ritual acts seen as ‘vulnerable to emotion and immune to reason’ (Hope, 1988, 98), have focused upon their form rather than their content (Connerton, 1989, 52). Symbolic meaning is hereby pinpointed as the originating ‘practical logic’ (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980], 95), that ‘basic unit of ritual’ that produces action (Grimes, 1982, 546. Also see Turner, 1967, 19). Whilst these symbols may act to create order (Kertzer, 1988, 4), a symbolic analysis can often claim unqualified universals whilst ignoring the subtleties of action, and overemphasise their conservative power (Metcalf & Huntington, 1991, 10; Hope, 1988, 74).

More recently, a performative approach to ritual study has proposed that it is in fact practices and behaviours that determine ideas (Bell, 1992, 91; Myerhoff, 1992, 129). This perspective, influenced by performance studies, has broadened horizons to allow for an more integrated approach (Rappaport, 1999, 30; Tambiah, 1985, 1), one which allows scope for improvisation and cultural change embedded in its experienced context (Parkin, 1992, 19; Asad, 1982, 50). Contemporary ideas of ritual strive to unify these two seemingly dichotomous

1). It is not possible, however, to draw from these mirrors between mortuary rituals and rebirth in relation to the subject of extinction (Bloch and Parry, 1982; Metcalf and Huntington, 1991). There can be no 'orientation towards continuing, meaningful existence' (Seale, 1998, 1) for species that will never be born again. But if, as Radcliffe-Brown wrote, funerals are more about the living than the dead (1964, in Turner, 1967, 8), then there is an opportunity yet to utilise the ritual form in order to transform the experience of extinction for humans from that of denial, despair or inertia towards that of action.

"I think one of the really exciting things about it is that it feels like no-one has done it before. When I talked about the Western Black Rhino in those terms and said "we are gathered here today to remember the Western Black Rhino" no one had ever done that before. That feels like a really powerful thing."

- *Emily Laurens, Feral Theatre.*

In this next section I will explore some of the ways in which theatre and rituals may aid our ability to transform our experience of environmental loss through commemoration, reconnection and emotional engagement, using examples from the *Remembrance for Lost Species* to support these claims.

The act of commemoration is often perceived to be a recollection of what has once been, but as Connerton argues in his writing on the ways in which society remembers, our knowledge of the past greatly influences our experience of the present (Connerton, 1989, 2). Following his argument that memory is a matter not of reproduction but of construction (Connerton, 1989, 27), it is necessary that we intentionally manifest images of the past that reflect values that may sustain us into the future. Within the *Remembrance for Lost Species* pieces participants often speak of the need to create loving accounts of these extinct animals, honouring the lives they once had by creating a ritual space to allow 'the voices of the dead [to] speak freely... through the bodies of the living' (Roach, 1996, xiii).

Unlike the linear narrative of western tragic drama that places catastrophe in the future, these pieces, like most ceremonies that explore cycles of life and death, place loss in the past 'as a grief to be expiated' (Roach, 1996, 35). Extinction can therefore entail an act of healing, rather than attempting to overcome an

---

perspectives with a view to explore the political power of ritual to transform societies (Kertzer, 1988, 2).

overwhelming fear of loss that is yet to occur. Within Feral theatre's ritual pieces an effigy is often collectively constructed as the physical manifestation of this past loss, taking the form of the extinct species that is the focus of each performance. These are often puppeteered, for example during one show a lifesize Caspian Tiger skeleton was brought to life, bounding through a forest and sharpening its claws on the trees before it was at last dismantled and laid to rest in a shrine. The Rodrigues Solitaire effigy in the Day of the Dead Birds met another fate by being ritualistically burned. Each paper feather that covered its form had been hand made alongside discussions and thoughts of the animal, the life it once lead as well as recounts of its brutal extermination. Those memories could be seen to have been embodied in each feather, and the collaborative construction of a surrogate form allowed participants to think about the life the bird once had and become involved in its story. The spirit of the bird, as it was set alight, was ritually released from its physical form. To immolate not only dramatically surrenders what no longer exists but in some symbolic way also brings it back to life (Roach, 1996, 36). As Parry writes in relation to Indian cremation rites, the dead are often physically cremated in order that they may symbolically return to life (1982, 76). Roach proposes that performance is also a form of effigy (Roach, 1996, 36). Ritualistic theatre, fashioned from flesh, is all the more elusive and powerful, all the more able to honour 'the encounter between imagination and memory' (Schechner, 1993, 263), to commemorate what is lost and in some way bring it back to life once more through our presence.

"If you feel connected to the planet, part of it, if the natural and human worlds are one then you cannot harm it. Because that would be harming yourself."

- Emily Laurens, *Feral Theatre*.

In order to turn to the means by which we can 'reconnect' in order to take action regarding ecological destruction, I must first explore some ways in which we have become disconnected. Structuralist analysis (influenced by the work of Levi-Strauss within anthropology) portrayed human cognition as inherently binary (Ortner, 1984), particularly regarding distinctions between humankind and nature (Charnela, 2012, 30). In celebrating western achievement in its attempts to make the world, the scientific paradigm has to a large extent destroyed what was already there (Shepard, 1995, 32) and organised our conceptions to align with particular dualistic models. But whilst the modernist epistemology endeavours to 'cut trees into parts',

Bird-David shows that for many societies with animistic cosmologies the relationship is instead one of 'talking with trees'. If we are to redefine ourselves as in relationship with the natural world rather than in opposition to it, we must deconstruct these dualistic limitations that separate nature and culture. As the founder of the deep ecology movement Arne Naess writes, we cannot possibly hope to act morally in relation to the natural world until we recognize ourselves as interconnected within it (Naess, 2008, 136).

Theatre has likewise seen a bifurcation between forms, in this case of performer and audience (Schechner, 1985, 135). Augusto Boal argues that Greek aesthetics have coercively incited apathy on the part of the audience, the charismatic authority of the performer demanding passivity of the spectator (Boal, 2008: 134). His theatrical 'forum theatre' work which was first utilised in Brazil aims to break down barriers that block people from engaging with oppression within their own lives. He proposes that the audience must be shifted from spectators to actors, or 'spect-actors', a transformation whereby individuals publicly and ritually express their belief in the 'capacity to aspire for transformation' (Mohan, 2004, 189).

By recognising the existence of our disconnection with the natural world and our ability to engage in it, we are then faced with the possibility of reconnecting. Ritual performances have the potential to do just that, and this is symbolically portrayed in the form of the two central Remembrance for Lost Species characters. On the one hand 'High Priestess Augusta', the personification of feeling, myth, spirit and kinship to animals, is the leader of ceremonies, and stresses the need to pay due homage to each being that passes into extinction. On the other hand 'Ms Owl', her accomplice, is deeply rooted in scientific thought, pushing for statistics and rational efficiency in processing such a backlog of extinct species. At some stage in each performance there is a rupture between the two and after a huge argument they storm out of view. The audience are then left to create an appropriate ritual themselves, with the pair eventually returning transformed somehow, stripped of their ego and acting as spiritual facilitators of the ritual at hand. Following Turner (1987) and Van Gennep (1960), this space could be seen as a period of liminal transition, of anti-structure, within which participants are able to explore how to progress with both feeling and reason. In this way dualistic approaches to these issues are unified in relation to one another (Meyer-Dietrich, 2004, 7) and integrated to the collaborative ritual work at hand.



“For me, a Remembrance for Lost Species creates an almost therapeutic container for processing this collective trauma of loss and fear.”

- *Rachel Porter, Feral Theatre*

Participants and creators of Remembrance for Lost Species events have often spoken of the need to “come from a place of feeling” (Persephone Pearl) and create spaces for ‘emotional experiences’. But what is meant by such statements and how can they contribute to a more positive approach to environmental loss?

Grief is often constructed as a private emotion (Hockey, 2001, 185), counter to both rationality (Durkheim, [1976] 1912) and reason (Macy, 1995, 248). Even amongst environmental activists and ecologists it seems there is a fear of progressing beyond statistics and abstractions ‘lest we be bowled over and broken by our dismay at the relentless devastation of the biosphere’ (Abram, 2011, 7). In her work creating collective mourning rituals, Joanna Macy, who greatly influenced the creators of Remembrance for Lost Species, encourages participants to collectively process repressed emotional responses to ecological disaster (Macy, 1995, 240). She explores how fears can ‘hold us captive’ (ibid., 244), numbing our ability to feel pain and therefore blocking possibilities of creatively responding to our damaged relationship with the Earth. As Shakespeare once wrote, ‘give sorrow words: the grief that does not speak whispers the o’er-fraught heart, and bids it break’ (Malcolm: Act IV Scene 3: 240, 2007).

The Remembrance for Lost Species pieces often incorporate theatrical elements that encourage an emotional engagement with extinction. ‘A Funeral for Lost Species’, performed in a graveyard, ended with the strikingly evocative image of flocks of spirit-like paper birds “flying” out of the Norman church carried by participants. Some of the most powerful events occur spontaneously, for example when a small child announced the desire to speak of his wonder of the Caspian tiger during a ceremony.

‘Grief work’ (Small, 2001, 30) and the importance of facing death and loss rather than suppressing it is becoming increasingly recognised by psychologists as fundamental to emotional healing (Walsh and McGoldrick, 1998, 3). When practiced collectively, it has been shown that this process not only allows individual transition but creates a forum that extends beyond the separate self (Macy, 1995, 252), traversing individualistic isolation (Boissevain, 1992, 7) to create a sense of solidarity

with ritual participants as well as the natural world (Campbell, 1972, 45). During an opportunity to speak at the Day of the Dead Birds one participant expressed her feelings through tears. “If a critical mass of people start to feel this we might just stop the mother of all ironies: the anthropogenic extinction of the human species. There is no separation, the grief that I’m feeling now is the grief for everything. If I’m feeling it then maybe I can do something. If we don’t feel it then nothing’s gonna’ change and it will be too late. Let us hold the space for it to regenerate again”.

There is a strong cybernetic relationship between ritual and emotion (Metcalf and Huntington, 1991, 1). The theatricality of ritual performances have the capacity to provoke ‘an emotional response’ (Kertzer, 1988, 11), and therefore to act as powerful opportunities to emotionally re-engage with such distressing issues and motivate individuals to take action (Anderson, 1996, 123).

“Good theatre moves people. But what we want is to make a more radical movement, a shift in people's consciousness. To begin a movement, a self healing or self realisation that will spiral out from that person and affect the decisions they make in life.”

- Emily Laurens, *Feral Theatre*.

In order to analyse the experienced shifts made possible through ritual theatre, anthropological study must also shift its gaze towards an area often ignored within the discipline, the examination of subjective experience (Myerhoff, 1990, 245) and ‘the problem of emotion’ (Lutz and White, 1986, 406). Lutz and White, in their review of the anthropology of emotion, negate the dominant materialist paradigm of biologically “hard-wired” emotion (1986, 407), which portrays feeling as a purely bodily experience situated in opposition to thought. Instead they propose an interpretivistic social epistemology, where emotional comprehension is collaboratively negotiated (Ibid., 408). Whilst we cannot assume people feel what they express, or that rituals necessarily have ultimately positive emotional results (Metcalf and Huntington, 1991, 50), to negate emotion is to ignore what is arguably both the source and outcome of ritual.

Within this essay I have attempted to explore, from an emotional perspective, the possibilities of ritual to aid personal and environmental healing. In doing so I am able to detail the ways in which ritual can affect people directly, beyond merely physical enactment or symbolic interpretation. With more time a detailed study of the

audiences experiences during one of the ritual performances and in particular how they feel it may have affected them emotionally would support this claim further. As Myerhoff argues, 'maximum sensitivity, subtlety, inference and courage are required of an ethnographer' (Myerhoff, 1990, 245) if anthropology is to progress towards a more integrated approach to the study of ritual practices, and this is especially the case regarding environmental loss.

"Keeping the light on. That's what is important. There is something about going into some kind of trance as you do as an audience in something that has a ritual form. We associate with trance going into a sleep state but you can also see it as a waking up state. Sometimes I wonder what is the waking up and what is the going to sleep. Waking up. Maybe that is what ritual is for."

- Rachel Porter, *Feral Theatre*

In conclusion, I would agree with Jennings in his argument that ritual is above all a pattern of action (1982, 111). It does not depict the world, it creates it. Through the act of performing, of transitioning through a liminal state, the 'social drama' of the everyday is shifted inwards towards the work at hand (Turner, 1987) and participants have the potential to be 'changed' as a result (Schechner, 1985, 4). These 'transformances' (Schechner, 1977, 71 in Driver, 1991, 91) have life spans themselves. The ritual state swings 'between *ossification* and *revivalism*' (Tambiah, 1985, 165), and as Grimes writes, 'entropy is the rule, therefore they must be raised up constantly from the grave of book, body, memory, and culture' (1982, 542-3). A further study would be required in order to explore in greater depth this tendency towards triviality of meaning and the ways that largely essentialised rituals, particularly global celebrations and memorials, have either been incorporated to local custom or not felt to be emotionally meaningful to individuals.

Through writing this essay it has become clear to me that the work of Remembrance for Lost Species embodies the intention to counteract this stagnating force. Creating theatrical rites about extinction makes palpable the conviction that we have the capacity to transform our future relationship with the natural world as well as each other. As Geertz has observed, within ritual 'the lived-in order merges with the dreamed-of order' (1973: 112) and participants are faced with the opportunity to emerge transformed 'with an enlarged sense of [their] own possibilities' (Myerhoff, 1992, 342).



[Image from 'Day of Dead Birds' [[www.vimeo.com/57050735](http://www.vimeo.com/57050735)] by Ben Macfadyen]

## **Bibliography**

Abram, D. (2011) *Becoming animal: An earthly cosmology*. Vintage Books.

Anderson, E. N. (1996) *Ecologies of the Heart: Emotion, Belief, and the Environment*. Oxford: University Press.

Asad, T. (1993 [1982]) 'The Construction of Religion as an Anthropological Category'. *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Bell, C. (1953) *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. Oxford: University Press.

Bird-David, N. (1999) "Animism" Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology'. *Current Anthropology*. Vol. 40, No. S1, pp. S67-S91.

Bloch, M (1977) 'The Past and the Present in the Present.' *Man*. Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 278-292.

Bloch, M. and Parry, J. (1982) *Death and the Regeneration of Life*. Cambridge: University Press.

Boissevain, J. (1992) *Revitalizing European Rituals*. London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1990 [1980]) *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Campbell, J. (1972) *Myths to Live By: How we Re-create Ancient Legends in our Daily Lives to Release Human Potential*. New York: Bantam Books.

Castro, E. B, V de. (2004) 'Exchanging Perspectives: The Transformation of Objects into Subjects in Amerindian Ontologies.' *Common Knowledge*, Vol. 10, No. 3. pp. 463-484.

Connerton, P. (1989) *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: University Press.

Connerton, P. (2009) *How Modernity Forgets*. Cambridge: University Press.

Davies, D. J. (1997) *Death, Ritual and Belief: The Rhetoric of Funerary Rites*. London: Cassell.

Driver, T. F. (1991) *The Magic of Ritual: Our Need for Liberating Rites Transform our Lives and Our Communities*. New York: HarperCollins.

Durkheim, E. (1976 [1912]) *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Surrey: Biddles Ltd.

Geertz, C. (1957) 'Ritual and Social Change: A Javanese Example'. *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 59. No. 1. pp. 32-54.

Geertz, C., and Banton, M. (1966) *Religion as a cultural system*. London: Tavistock.

Gellner, D. N. (1999) 'Religion, Politics, and Ritual: Remarks on Geertz and Bloch'. *Social Anthropology*, Vol. 7, Issue 2, pp. 135-153.

Grimes, R. G. (1982) 'Defining Nascent Ritual'. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*. Vol. 50, No. 4, pp. 539-555.

Hertz, R. (2004 [1907]) 'A Contribution to the Study of the Collective Representation of Death'. In Robben, A. (Ed.) *Death, Mourning, and Burial: A Cross-Cultural Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hockey, J. (2001) 'Changing Death Rituals'. In Hockey, J, Katz, J and Small, N. (Eds.) *Grief, Mourning and Death Ritual*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Hope, M. (1988) *The Psychology of Ritual*. Element Books: Dorset.

Jennings, T. W. (1982) 'On Ritual Knowledge'. *The Journal of Religion*, Vol. 62, No. 2, pp. 111-127.

Kershaw, B. (1992) *The Politics of Performance: Radical Theatre as Cultural Intervention*. London: Routledge.

Kertzer, D. (1988) *Ritual, Politics, and Power*. New York: Yale University Press.

Latour, B. (1993). *We Have Never Been Modern*. Harvard University Press.

Kisiara, R. (1998) 'Some Sociopolitical Aspects of Luo Funerals'. In *Anthropos*, Vol. 93, No. 1/3 pp. 127-136.

Lienhardt, G. (2002 [1961]) 'The Control of Experience: Symbolic Action' in. Lambek, M. (Ed.) *A Reader in the Anthropology of Religion*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lutz, C. and White, G. M. (1986) 'The Anthropology of Emotions'. *Annual Review of*

*Anthropology*, Vol. 15, pp. 405-436.

Macy, J. (1995) 'Working Through Environmental Despair' in Roszak, Gomes, M. E., Kanner, A. D. (Eds.) *Ecopsychology : Restoring the Earth, Healing the Mind*. London: Sierra Club Books.

Malinowski, B. (2004 [1925]) 'Magic, Science and Religion'. In Robben, A. (Ed.) *Death, Mourning, and Burial: A Cross-Cultural Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Maeckelbergh, M. (2009) *The Will of the Many: How the Alterglobalisation Movement is Changing the Face of Democracy*. Pluto Press, London.

Metcalf, P. and Huntington, R. (1991) *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*. Cambridge: University Press.

Meyer-Dietrich, E. (2004) 'When Natural Phenomena Enter the Symbolic Sphere: An Ecological Perspective on Ritual Texts within the Egyptian Funerary Cult.' *Numen*, Vol. 51, No. 1, pp. 1-19.

Mohan, D. (2004) 'Reimagining Community: Scripting Power and Changing the Subject through Jana Sanskriti's Political Theatre in Rural North India'. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, Issue 33, No. 2, pp. 178-217.

Myerhoff, B. (1990) 'The Transformation of Consciousness in Ritual Performances: Some Thoughts and Questions'. In Schechner, R. and Appel, W. (Eds.) *By Means of Performance: Intercultural Studies of Theatre and Ritual*. Cambridge: University Press.

Myerhoff, B. (1992) *Remembered Lives: The Work of Ritual, Storytelling, and Growing Older*. Michigan: University Press.

Nabhan, G. P. (1997) *Cultures of Habitat*. Washington: Counterpoint.

Naess, A. (2008) *The Ecology of Wisdom*. Berkeley: Counterpoint.

Ortner, S. B. (1984) 'Theory in Anthropology Since the Sixties.' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. Issue 26, No. 1, pp. 126-166.

Parkin, D. (1992) 'Ritual as Spatial Direction and Bodily Division' in De Coppet, D. (Ed.) *Understanding Rituals*. Oxon: Routledge.

Parry, J. (1982) 'Sacrificial Death and the Necrophagous Ascetic'. In Bloch, M. and Parry, J. (Ed's) *Death and the Regeneration of Life*. Cambridge: University Press.

Rappaport, R. (1999) *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*. Cambridge: University Press.

Roach, J. (1996) *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. Columbia: University Press.

Robben, A. (2004) 'Death and Anthropology: An Introduction'. In Robben, A. (Ed.) *Death, Mourning and Burial: A Cross Cultural Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Schechner, R (1985) *Between Theater and Anthropology*. Pennsylvania: University Press.

Schechner, R. (1993) *The Future of Ritual: Writings on Culture and Performance*. London: Routledge.

Scheper-Hughes, N. (1993) *Death without weeping: The violence of everyday life in Brazil*. California: University Press.

Seale, C. (1998) *Constructing Death: The Sociology of Dying and Bereavement*. Cambridge: University Press.

Shakespeare, W. (2007) *Complete Works*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.



Shepard, P. (1995) 'Nature and Madness' in Roszak, Gomes, M. E., Kanner, A. D. (Eds.) *Ecopsychology : Restoring the Earth, Healing the Mind*. London: Sierra Club Books.

Small, N. (2001) Theories of Grief: A Critical Review'. In Hockey, J, Katz, J and Small, N. (Eds.) *Grief, Mourning and Death Ritual*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Sodikoff, G. M. (2012) Accumulating Absence: Cultural Productions of the Sixth Extinction. In Sodikoff, G. M. (Ed.) *The Anthropology of Extinction: Essays on Culture and Species Death*. Indiana: University Press.

Tambiah, S. J. (1985) *Culture, Thought and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective*. London: Harvard University Press.

Turner, V. (1967) *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. London: Cornell University Press.

Turner, V. (1987) *The Anthropology of Performance*. New York: PAJ Publications.

Van Gennep, A. (1960) *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: University Press.

Walsh, F. and McGoldrick, M. (1998) 'A Family Systems Perspective on Loss, Recovery and Resilience'. In Sutcliffe, P., Tufnell, G, and Cornish, U. (Eds.) *Working With the Dying and Bereaved: Systemic Approaches to Therapeutic Work*. London: Macmillan Press.

Windle, P. (1995) 'The Ecology of Grief'. In in Roszak, Gomes, M. E. and Kanner, A. D. (Eds.) *Ecopsychology : Restoring the Earth, Healing the Mind*. London: Sierra Club Books.