Gender Equality in Selected Novels of Jane Austen: Coping with Anxiety to Redefine Home and Gender Roles

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Abstract

The thesis is concerned with understanding the creation and evolution of gender equality in selected novels of Jane Austen. The characters' lived experiences of home, anxiety due to the lived experience, defining and redefining home based on anxiety and their execution of gender roles is examined to understanding the process of creation of gender equality. A significant amount of research has been conducted on Austen's creation of home and its meaning to her protagonists as well as the characters' implementation of gender roles. Most of the studies focus on women from Austen's major novels with relatively lesser studies analysing the meaning of home for Austen's male protagonists or protagonists from her minor novels. Austen's portrayal of home has been analysed mostly from sexual or social perspectives. Sources of anxiety in the lived experience of home of Austen's protagonists have rarely been analysed in connection with the processes of defining home and interpreting gender roles. This research examines how coping with anxiety in the lived experience of home to define and/or redefine home and perception of gender roles creates gender equality between the protagonists in selected novels of Austen. A domestic lens is applied to analyse six characters from the major and minor mature works of Austen. The defense mechanisms of "isolation" and "undoing" defined in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* by the American Psychological Association are used to investigate how the selected characters cope with anxiety arising from sources in the lived experience of home. The construct of Psychological Home by Sigmon, Whitcomb and Snyder is utilised to understand how the characters define home through associations with people, spaces and/or objects. The concepts of "doing gender" and "undoing gender" by Francine Deutsch are employed to study the characters' implementation of gender roles. Finally, Janet Shibley Hyde's Gender Similarities Hypothesis is applied to the selected texts to understand the creation and evolution of gender equality. The selected characters suffer from anxiety about losing their home which stems from tyrannical and/or indifferent treatment at the hands of family members, displacement and homelessness. The characters' anxiety and experiences influence the manner in which they define home as well as their understanding of gender roles. They employ defense mechanisms to cope with their anxiety until they learn to control it by creating psychological homes or havens through their fluid implementation of gender roles. The fluid interpretation of gender roles highlights similarities between the sexes and creates equality between them.

Contents

List of Tables **9**

List of Figures **9**

Chapter I Introduction **10**

1.1 Background to the Study 10

1.2 Aims of the Study 22

1.3 Methodology 23

1.3.1 Dealing with Anxiety in the Lived Experience of Home 24

1.3.2 Defining and Redefining of Home by Male and Female Protagonists 24

1.3.3 Perception and Implementation of Gender Roles 25

1.3.4 Gender Similarities in Coping with Anxiety, Defining and Redefining Home and Implementing Gender Roles 26

1.4 Significance of the Study 26

1.5 Limitations of the Study 27

1.6 Definitions of Key Terms 28

1.6.1 Family of Choice and Family of Origin 28

1.6.2 Gender Roles 29

1.6.3 Displacement 30

1.6.4 Anxiety 31

1.6.5 Familial Tyranny 32

1.7 Structure of the Thesis 32

1.8 Chapter Summary 33

Chapter II Literature Review **35**

2.1 Introduction 35

2.2 Review of Literature 35

2.2.1 Coping with Anxiety in the Lived Experience of Home 35

2.3.1.1 Displacement and Loss of Home 36

2.3.1.2 Tyrannical and indifferent families 40

2.2.2 Defining and Redefining Home 42

2.2.3 Shaping of Gender Roles in the Domestic Space 46

2.2.4 Gender Equality through Similarities in Coping with Anxiety, Interpretations of Home and Gender Roles 48

2.3 Chapter Summary 50

Chapter III Methodology 51

3.1 Introduction 51

3.2 Critical Theories Employed to Analyse the Texts 51

3.2.1 Defense Mechanisms 51

3.2.1.1 Isolation 54

3.2.1.2 Undoing 54

3.2.2 Sandra T. Sigmon, Stacy R. Whitcomb and Charles Richard Snyder's Theoretical Construct of Psychological Home 55

3.2.3 Francine Deutsch's Concepts of "Doing Gender" and "Undoing Gender" 57

3.2.4 Janet Shibley Hyde's Gender Similarities Hypothesis 58

3.3 Research Plan 59

3.4 Criteria for Selection of the Characters 61

3.5 Chapter Summary 63

Chapter IV Coping with Anxiety in the Lived Experience of Home 65

4.1 Introduction 65

4.2 Anxiety-Inducing Factors in the Lived Experience of Home 65

4.2.1 Familial tyranny 65

4.2.2 Familial indifference 84

4.2.3 Displacement from Home 93

4.2.4 Loss of Home 100

4.2.5 Summary of Discussion 107
4.3 Use of Defense Mechanisms to Combat Anxiety 108
4.3.1 Isolation 110
4.3.2 Undoing 115
4.4 Conclusion 124

Chapter V Defining Home Through Psychological Associations 127
5.1 Introduction 127
5.2 The Establishment of Psychological Home 127
5.3 Psychological Home as a Haven 155
5.4 Conclusion 160

Chapter VI Doing and Undoing Gender 162
6.1 Introduction 162
6.2 Interpretation and Implementation of Gender Roles 162
6.2.1 Doing Gender 163
6.2.2 Undoing Gender 175
6.2.3 Gender Similarities 192
6.3 Gender Equality 196
6.4 Conclusion 203

Chapter VII Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research 204
7.1 Introduction 204
7.2 Conclusions of the Analysis 204
7.2.1 Employing Defense Mechanisms to Cope with Anxiety 204
7.2.2 Using Psychological Associations to Define Home 205
7.2.3 Doing and Undoing Gender to Create Gender Similarities and Equality 206
7.3 Contributions and Limitations of the Thesis 207
7.4 Suggestions for Future Research 208

Bibliography 210

List of Tables

Table 1 Primary Causes of Anxiety and Defense Mechanisms Employed to Cope with Them 126

List of Figures

Figure 1 The Sources of Conflict which Prompt the Use of Defense Mechanisms 53
Figure 2 Theoretical Framework 60

Chapter I Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

Jane Austen's novels inquire into gender inequality by establishing similarities between the protagonists' psychological and emotional association with home and their perception and enactment of gender roles. Similarities between the interpretation of home and gender by male and female protagonists create fluidity in the implementation of gender roles resulting in the establishment of equality between the sexes. Several scholars argue over the 'patriarchal order itself [being] Austen's essential subject matter' in her novels.[1] Patriarchy, a system based on the subjugation of women by men, is one of the root causes of gender inequality both in the public and the private sphere. To present gender (in)equality, Austen writes about socio-economic issues in her novels like marriage, the possession or inheritance of property and the incomes of households, all of which were products of patriarchy, by presenting them through a domestic lens.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Britain (the time when Jane Austen wrote a major part of her mature novels), 'home and public space were subject to progressively sharper differentiation'.[2] The domestic sphere began to be associated strictly with females while the public sphere was associated with males.[3] The division was based on physical differences between the sexes and the inherent characteristics that each sex imparted to its members with females being stereotyped negatively to justify their designated position as the weaker sex.[4] 'Nature as biology was invoked' for the purpose of limiting women 'to the moral and social domain of the domestic affections' where they were limited to the roles of 'mother and wife'.[5] Another popular belief propounded at that time was of home as a spiritual place where women were expected to nurture and care for the members and were 'constructed as "angels" rather than workers'.[6] The differentiation of spheres signalled the importance of home as 'unique and indispensable'.[7] 'The family circle was seen as the source of comfort, the home

1 Sarah R. Morrison, 'Of Woman Borne: Male Experience and Feminine Truth in Jane Austen's Novels', *Studies in The Novel*, 26.4 (1994), 337-349 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/29533008> [accessed 26 March 2020] (p. 337).
2 John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (London, NY: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), p. 71. Ebook Central ebook.
3 Øystein Gullvåg Holter, 'Social Theories for Researching Men and Masculinities: Direct Gender Hierarchy and Structural Inequality', in *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, ed. by Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn and R. W. Connell (California, London, New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 2005), pp. 15-34 (p. 27).
4 Linda L. Lindsey, *Gender Roles: A Sociological Perspective* (Boston, Pearson: 2015), p. 3.
5 Gary Kelly, *Revolutionary Feminism: The Mind and Career of Mary Wollstonecraft* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), p. 15.
6 Eleanor E. Maccoby, *The Two Sexes: Growing Up Apart, Coming Together* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), p 75.
7 Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p. 71.

and the fireside were the location and symbol of that warmth'.[8] Sarmiento believes that men 'were solely responsible for earning an income for the household' while women 'were solely responsible for managing household affairs'.[9] Akman similarly observes that 'men fought wars for protecting the homeland while women were solely responsible for producing and maintaining healthy citizens'.[10] This differentiation was based primarily on biological differences between the sexes.[11] While males were considered independent, active and fit for working in the public sphere due to their biological makeup, women were considered dependent, passive and fit for domestic work. These differences were held as the standard for the separation of the private and public spheres and the gender roles assigned to these spheres.[12]

'The system of female manners' in place was designed to make women 'so quiescent and tractable that they sweetly serve in the designs of [their] fathers or guardians' without ever realising that they were subordinates.[13] In the early nineteenth century, 'domestic femininity' was linked inextricably with the notions of 'gentility', the rejection of which would result in a woman's exclusion from 'socially elite womanhood'.[14] Women were, hence, forced to embrace the ideals of domestic femininity in order to be accepted by other women (and men). Even if they did not mind being ostracised, most women were financially and socially dependent on men and, therefore, likely to espouse the ideology that favoured the latter.[15] Confining women to the domestic hearth was due to the 'desire to secure both men's property and their peace of mind'.[16] The restricted social movement of women was seen as providing them with lesser chances of having illicit affairs and producing illegitimate heirs and, at the same time, to be dependent on their male kin and desire to serve them for their own safety. Basing the division of spheres (or labour) on biological differences provided a means to justify women's subordination to men and convincing women of the spiritual nature of their role as

8 Leonore, Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (London, NY: Routledge, 2003), p. 166. Ebook Central ebook.
9 Sharon Sarmiento, 'Household, Gender and Travel', *Women's Travel Issues: Proceedings from the Second National Conference* (2000), pp. 36-52 (p. 37).
10 Filiz Barin Akman, 'An Investigation of Socio-Economic Incentives and Implications of Matrimony on Women's Lives in Jane Austen's Novels', *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, 58.1 (2018), 1101–1127 <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/330571988_An_Investigation_of_SocioEconomic_Incentives_and_Implications_of_Matrimony_on_Women's_Lives_in_Jane_Austen's_Novels> [accessed 15 April 2020] (p. 1124).
11 Jim McKay, Janine Mikosza, and Brett Hutchins, '"Gentlemen, the Lunchbox Has Landed": Representations of Masculinities and Men's Bodies in the Popular Media', in *Handbook of Men and Masculinities*, pp. 270-288 (p. 282); Alice H. Eagly and Wendy Wood, 'Social Role Theory', *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology*, ed. by Paul A. M. Van Lange, Arie W. Kruglanski and E. Tory Higgins, Vol. 2 (London, California, New Delhi: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2012), pp. 458-476 (p. 459).
12 Ibid.
13 Claudia L. Johnson, *Jane Austen: Women, Politics and the Novel* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 104.
14 Deborah Kaplan, *Jane Austen Among Women* (Maryland, London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. 51
15 Ibid.
16 Mary L. Poovey, *The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 21.

homemakers, promoted their acceptance of the role that men expected them to play, without question.

After convincing women to occupy a specific role, patriarchal institutions have proceeded to promote the belief that 'preference for home toward work is a free choice in the case of women', a belief that is prevalent even now.[17] While inequality appears to be perpetrated by the division of spheres where particular gender roles are assigned to the sexes, the internalisation of these roles perpetuates gender inequality. Gender roles based on constructed notions of what work is appropriate to each sex prevail even today and women who have progressed fairly well in terms of work and educational opportunities, still face inequality in the domestic sphere.[18] Several scholars assert that, even now, when women work in the public sphere, domestic duties are still associated with femininity.[19] It is, moreover, believed that as home plays a different role for each gender, both attach different meanings to home.[20] These basic yet fundamental differences in the way both genders associate with and understand home have provided strong reasons to justify the division of spheres, gender roles and, subsequently, gender inequality.

Jane Austen's novels are believed to reflect her times and the same is true of her representation of gender inequality. 'For the social historian, Austen's own novels are a fascinating repository of the manners of 'polite' society''.[21] Along with contemporaries like Fanny Burney, Jane West, Mary Hamilton and Maria Edgeworth, she strove 'to foreground ordinary family life' but the others, 'on the whole seemed unable to resist heightening the excitement by the inclusion of well-worn stereotypes' compared to Austen who 'contrived, exceptionally, to rid her fiction of these'.[22] 'Austen's presentation of the 'ordinary, recognisable, often chaotic doings of everyday life' in her novels made people realise, 'perhaps for the first time, how fiction could not only enthral without seeking to astonish, but also enlighten without the need to preach'.[23] Austen, through her novels, created a 'new school of

17 Javier Cerrato and Eva Cifre, 'Gender Inequality in Household Chores and Work-Family Conflict', *Frontiers in Psychology*, 9.1330 (2018), 1-11 <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.01330> (p. 2).
18 Belinda Luscombe, 'Fewer Young People Want Gender Equality at Home', *Time*, 2017 <https://time.com/4718281/young-people-gender-equality-home/> [accessed 17 April 2020].
19 Aliya Hamid Rao, 'Even Breadwinning Wives Don't Get Equality at Home', *The Atlantic*, 2019 <https://amp.theatlantic.com/amp/article/589237/> [accessed 19 April 2020]; Deana F Morrow and Lori Messinger, *Sexual Orientation and Gender Expression in Social Work Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Sarmiento, 'Household, Gender and Travel', p. 37.
20 Elvira Cicognani, 'Psychological Home and Well-Being', *Rassegna di Psicologia* (2011), 85-95 <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/269930525_Psychological_home_and_well_being> [accessed 4 April 2020].
21 Paula Byrne, 'Manners', in *Jane Austen in Context*, ed. by Janet Todd, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 297-305 (p. 299)
22 Mary Waldron, 'Critical Responses, Early', in *Jane Austen in Context*, pp. 83-91 (p. 87).
23 Waldron, 'Critical Responses, Early', p. 90.

fiction which she was seen to head'.[24] The features of this fiction were 'plain style, fidelity to public fact and the avoidance of anything […] unnatural'.[25] It is possible that her realistic portrayal made her 'the subject of books by non-specialists, in some cases non-academics, published by mainstream presses' more so 'than any other canonical English writer'.[26] The difference between the writing of Austen and that of Burney and Edgeworth is not only in the use of realism but in the focus of their realism.[27] What truly renders Austen unique among other novelists of the era, however, is her distinct narrative style. Her novels are 'experimental', whether in terms of their different opening styles, unique heroines or the portrayal of similar situations but with completely different outcomes based on' the relationship of behaviour and personality to environment'.[28]

The female Romantic novel was 'the site of a powerful struggle over the very construction of gender'.[29] 'As objects of desire and derogation, women […] [were] denied any independent intellectual or moral existence' in Austen's era.[30] The era was marked, therefore, with the rise of a small army composed 'of bright, undereducated women' who entered 'the eighteenth-century world of letters' in order to stage a 'protest against the social and economic conditions which had taken them there'.[31] Rather than accepting the division of spheres, these female novelists expressed dissent against the idea of being governed by a 'benign patriarch'.[32] The three leading female philosophers in the 1790s – Mary Wollstonecraft, Hannah More, Anna Letitia Barbauld – 'advocated the radically improved education of women and increased female control' in Britain and the women writers of the era rallied behind them.[33] It is important to note, however, that while all three demanded better education for women, Wollstonecraft wanted women to use that education to replace men in politics, Barbauld wanted them to become 'didactic writers, educators, and critical judges' and More wanted them to 'engage in a life of active service for the welfare of others'.[34]

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24 Peter Knox-Shaw, 'Philosophy', in *Jane Austen in Context*, pp. 346-356 (p. 346).
25 Ibid, p. 349.
26 Rajeswari Sunder Rajan, 'Critical Responses, Recent', in *Jane Austen in Context*, ed. by Janet Todd, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jane Austen (Cambridge, NY: CUP, 2005), pp. 101-110 (p.108).
27 Rachael Scarborough King, 'The Pleasures of "the World": Rewriting Epistolarity in Burney, Edgeworth, and Austen', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 29.1 (2016) 67-89 <muse.jhu.edu/article/632054> [accessed 3 June 2023] (p. 88).
28 Janet Todd, *The Cambridge Introduction to Jane Austen*, Cambridge Introductions to Literature (Cambridge, NY: CUP, 2006), p. 17.
29 Anne Kostelanetz Mellor, *Romanticism and Gender*, (London, NY: Taylor & Francis Group, 1992), p. 10. Ebook Central ebook.
30 Barbara Taylor, 'Mysogyny and Feminism: The Case of Mary Wollstonecraft', *Constellations*, 6.4 (1999) 499-512 <https://doi-org.unm-ezproxy.idm.oclc.org/10.1111/1467-8675.00159> (p. 504).
31 Ibid, p. 506
32 Mellor, *Romanticism and Gender*, p. 9.
33 Mellor, 'Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* and the women writers of her day', in *The Cambridge Companion to Mary Wollstonecraft*, Cambridge Companions to Literature, ed. by Claudia L. Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 141-159 (p. 154).
34 Ibid.

'Unlike many other female novelists of the period from across the political spectrum, Austen chose not to write overtly polemical fiction'.[35] She has, for this reason, been subjected to 'unflattering criticism by feminist critics' but many still maintain that 'her works should be regarded as important early contributions to the debate on the Woman Question'.[36] While Gothic novels and Mary Wollstonecraft's *Maria: or, The Wrongs of Woman* (1798) might have gone further than others in depicting the injustices of the legal and religious systems against 'women who do not obey their fathers, husbands or priests', other novelists of the age also draw attention to the cruelty of men against women and their failure to be good leaders (of their homes as well as the nation).[37] Both Austen and Edgeworth 'responded positively to many of Wollstonecraft's feminist arguments without ever mentioning her by name'.[38] In keeping with the female novelistic trend of dissent against patriarchal rule, 'all of Austen's novels are novels of female education'.[39] Jones believes that Austen inherited 'Burney's ambivalent gender politics', both in her awareness of the problems faced by women and her conservative approach in discussing them.[40] Employing this 'subtler form of gender politics', Austen criticises injustice against women, campaigning for a 'social status and an intellectual and moral development equal to that of men'.[41]

While there are irrefutable differences between inequality as it prevailed in Austen's time and exists in ours (especially in terms of women being allowed to work outside the house), one can trace patterns that are similar in both eras. Gender inequality in Austen's time was noticeable in the lack of females possessing property (particularly a place of their own to call home), being provided with very few opportunities to work outside home and being looked down upon for working. It is also pertinent to mention here that although Austen's protagonists belonged to different levels of a social class known as the gentry, all of them could afford servants and we, therefore, do not see Austen's female (or male) protagonists performing domestic chores which are delegated to the servants. The novels can, however, be said to address gender inequality through the bleakness which characterises the life of any female character who has to or is considering to work as well as Austen's recurring use of the theme of homelessness and financial dependence of her female protagonists. As women were assigned

35 Vivien Jones, 'Feminisms', in *A Companion to Jane Austen*, ed. by Claudia L. Johnson, and Clara Tuite, Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture (Malden, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2009), pp. 282-291 (p. 288).
36 Kathryn L. Ambrose, *The Woman Question in Nineteenth-Century English, German and Russian Literature: (en)gendering Barriers*, (Leiden: BRILL, 2015), p. 13. Ebook Central ebook.
37 Mellor, *Romanticism and Gender*, p. 60.
38 Mellor, 'Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*', p. 156.
39 Mellor, *Romanticism and Gender*, p. 53.
40 Vivien Jones, 'Burney and gender' in *The Cambridge Companion to Frances Burney*, Cambridge Companions to Literature, ed. by Peter Sabor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) pp. 111-130 <doi:10.1017/CCOL0521850347.008> (p. 128).
41 Mellor, *Romanticism and Gender*, p. 61.

gender roles based on the belief that it was their duty to concern themselves with the domestic space instead of the public sphere, avenues like inheriting property, pursuing a job or becoming financially independent on their own were not easily accessible to them.[42] In Austen's world, 'female gentility […] [was] unstable without marriage or money'.[43] Austen's characters, therefore, view their world 'through the prisms of money, inheritance law, and the values and obligations imposed on gentlemen and gentlewomen by their estates'.[44]

In all her works, 'arrangements covering inheritance, jointures and portions […] are of major importance to the plot'.[45] Eddleman observes that 'large inheritances, rather than binding people together, can make them interchangeable commodities in the marriage market'.[46] Marriage in Austen's time had, for perhaps the same reason, come to be considered the easiest way for a female to acquire a house of her own and be financially independent. Alexander and McMaster posit that Austen's early writing treats love in a satirical way to expose the 'mercenary motives for marriage'.[47] The intertwining of the elements of marriage and courtship in the plot with the issue of home, brought gender disparity in Austen's novels into clearer focus. Rajan proposes that Austen's 'anti-romantic, pragmatic, frequently satirical representations of romantic love came from the recognition of the middle-class woman's lack of alternatives to marriage'.[48] Austen not only provides social commentary on the issue of marriage, but also puts forth a moral dilemma about its commodifying aspects while recognising that it might be the only means for a certain section of women to live a respectable life. Austen, then, 'seeks to question marriages of convenience and the need for women to be 'accomplished''.[49] The 'reverence' for women's accomplishments originally developed when Scottish Enlightenment philosophers identified the advent of 'medieval chivalry […] as a decisive stage in women's transition from barbaric oppression to their current happy position as the ''friends and companions of man"'.[50] Knowing how to 'properly appreciate their womenfolk' came to be seen as 'a key index of Britain's civilized status' and it, ironically, found its manifestation in the appreciation of female accomplishments as opposed to their

42 Robert Markley, 'The Economic Context', in *The Cambridge Companion to 'Pride and Prejudice'*, ed. by Janet Todd, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 79-96 (p. 80)
43 Jan Fergus, 'Biography', in *Jane Austen in Context* ed. by Janet Todd, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 3-11 (p.7).
44 Markley, 'The Economic Context', p. 80.
45 Chris Jones, 'Landownership', *Jane Austen in Context*, pp. 269-277 (p. 270).
46 Stephanie M. Eddleman, '"The Family of Dashwood": The Effect of Wills and Entailments on Family Connections', *JASNA Essay Contest* (2002) <https://jasna.org/essaycontest/2002/graduate.html> [accessed 2 March 2020]
47 Christine Alexander and Juliet McMaster, 'Children Writing in Jane Austen's Time', *Persuasions*, 37 (2015), 13-28 (p. 21).
48 Rajan, 'Critical Responses, Recent', p. 104.
49 Ambrose, *The Woman Question*, p. 14.
50 Barbara Taylor, 'Feminists Versus Gallants: Manners and Morals in Enlightenment Britain', *Representations*, 87.1 (Summer 2004) 125-148 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/rep.2004.87.1.125> [accessed 13 June 2023] (p. 130).

innate nature.[51] Deprived of their family property and having no means to seek independence, marriage is the only respectable way for Austen's female protagonists to have a financially stable life. Austen condemns 'the social and legal conditions that restrict a poor woman's choices to marriage, spinsterhood, the governess trade, or, *in extremis*, prostitution'.[52]

Austen pitches not marriage as the ideal end, but marriage to 'the best gentleman', a person who will be capable of heading the community appropriately.[53] Sigler contends that Austen's novels talk about 'sexual difference and its discursive, cultural, and economic implications, even as it trains readers to accept the inevitability and desirability of marriage'.[54] This 'social concern' differentiates Austen from her predecessors like Richardson and Burney who did not discuss 'the claims which the community has the right to exact from its leaders'.[55] Austen also highlights 'the transformation of what had been a sacred contract, marriage, into a mercenary calculation'.[56] While marriage was necessary to gain stability, it diminished the legal status of married women for in the eyes of the law, 'husband and wife are one person, and that person is the man'.[57] Austen's women are, then, confined to playing specific gender roles even if they have servants to perform domestic chores for them as they do not have the freedom or agency that males have.[58] Austen further problematizes the representation of gender (in)equality by intertwining domestic issues like elements of displacement, exile, homelessness and tyrannical treatment from family members with the notion of gender roles**.** These issues arise from the above-mentioned laws of inheritance (which are inclined towards patriarchy), distribution of work opportunities in Austen's time and traditional notions of gender entertained by the families of the protagonists.

Analysing the transfer and inheritance of property in Austen's time, Bailey states that the property was usually transferred to eldest sons to keep the property in the family and in the case of an untimely death of the owner, the estate became entailed by law.[59] Markley argues that an entail generally restricted the inheritance of property to eldest sons or closest living

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51 Ibid.
52 Patrick McGraw, '"The World is Not Theirs": The Plight of Jane Fairfax in *Emma*', *Persuasions*, 37 (2015), 218-225 (p. 222).
53 Marilyn Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries: English Literature and its Background 1760-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 105.
54 David Sigler, '"It is Unaccountable": Anxiety and the Cause of Desire in *Pride and Prejudice*', in *Sexual Enjoyment in British Romanticism: Gender and Psychoanalysis, 1753–1835* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015) p. 58, cited in Barbara Leonardi, *Marriage in James Hogg's Work: Plotting for Gender, Class, and Ethnic Equality*, Scottish Cultural Review of Language and Literature, Vol. 32 (Leiden, The Netherlands: Koniklijke Brill NV, 2022), p. 15, Google eBook.
55 Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, p. 105.
56 Barbara M. Benedict, 'Satire, Sentiment and Desacralization: The Relic and the Commodity in Jane Austen's Novels', in *Dynamics of Desacralization: Disenchanted Literary Talents*, ed. by Partenza (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht & Co., 2015), p. 63.
57 Ibid.
58 Beth Lau, 'Home, Exile, and Wanderlust in Austen and the Romantic Poets', *Pacific Coast Philology*, 41 (2006), 91-107 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25474202> [accessed 10 June 2019] (p. 96).
59 Martha Bailey, 'The Marriage Law of Jane Austen's World', *Persuasions On-Line*, 36.1 (2015) <http://jasna.org/publications/persuasions-online/vol36no1/bailey/> [accessed 2 March 2020].

male relatives if the dead proprietor left no sons.[60] While property, according to Bailey, was preferably bequeathed to sons through wills, entails (in the absence of a will) also benefitted men, thus, effectively leaving women without any property of their own. Austen's novels also portray the same where men inherit property, whether through a will or an entail, like Colonel Brandon, John Dashwood, Edward and Robert Ferrars (*Sense and Sensibility*), Fitzwilliam Darcy and Mr. Collins (*Pride and Prejudice*), Henry and Frederick Tilney (*Northanger Abbey*), John and George Knightley (*Emma*), Tom Bertram and Henry Crawford (*Mansfield Park*) and Mr. Elliot (*Persuasion*). Female protagonists are either deprived of a share in the family estate as it is inherited by a brother (*Sense and Sensibility*) or may be left without a share in the house after the death of their fathers due to an entail (*Pride and Prejudice* and *Persuasion*).

In Austen's novels, first-born sons are often financially secure as they will inherit the family estate. Younger sons, meanwhile, have to secure themselves by seeking employment but have limited career paths to pursue like studying the law or medicine, joining the army or navy or becoming clergymen. While younger sons, deprived of the family property, could, at least, join a profession, the females did not have even this choice. There were limited opportunities for the employment and education of women.[61] Moreover, the class that Austen herself belonged to (and assigned to the females in her novels) was the lower end of the gentry (or pseudo gentry) where it was not considered respectable for a woman to join a profession.[62] Bailey suggests that Austen demonstrates how the tradition of selecting the eldest son as the heir to keep the property in the family, 'left women in particular at the mercy of the charity of their male relatives'.[63]

Craig argues that Austen's novels do not address the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, or the British Empire with the same vehemence that they discuss 'English politics in the House of Commons and national economic policies in England'.[64] While taking up a profession is recommended for Austen's male characters who will not inherit property or are disinherited by their parents (like Edward Ferrars from *Sense and Sensibility*, Edmund Bertram from *Mansfield Park* and Captain Wentworth from *Persuasion*), it is considered degrading for women who never try to gain employment unless their financial circumstances leave them with no other option (like Elizabeth and Emma Watson in *The Watsons,* Jane Fairfax in *Emma* and Mrs Smith in *Persuasion).* It is generally families which solidify traditional notions of

60 Markley, 'The Economic Context', p. 84.
61 Bailey, 'The Marriage Law of Jane Austen's World'.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid.
64 Sheryl Craig, *Jane Austen and the State of the Nation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 19.

masculinity and femininity at home to 'teach us that women and men should occupy different places in the social order'.[65] This is problematic not only for females who internalise the notion of being inferior to men but also for males as they feel pressurised to be masculine which drives them away from familial relations.[66] Gender equality is, therefore, as desirable for the psychological well-being of males as it is for females.

Gender inequality, today, might not be as big an issue as it was in Austen's time, but it is still significant as can be seen by the various movements for gender equality initiated by people all over the world. Austen's work has been analysed and lauded in the context of contemporary movements for women's rights and gender equality. Aeschliman identifies Austen as an 'exemplary [figure] in the quest for true justice for women in the sense of equal treatment under law and equal educational opportunities'.[67] Analysing the character of Elizabeth Bennet, McSpadden states that she is 'a contemporary woman who wants to be treated as any man's equal, with a voice that is heard, a mind that is respected, and a body that belongs to her and no one else'.[68] Easton states that in her novels, 'Austen explores and seeks to confound the silencing of women's voices'.[69] She avers that 'Austen is less worried about direct attacks on women and more about the cultural tolerance of women's broader subordination'.[70] She examines *Emma* and declares that the 'novel points to the interior effects on women whose assertions are disbelieved and refusals rejected, expanding the very notion of assault from sexual crime to cultural dominance'.[71]

The notion of gender has become a sexist discourse that perpetuates gender inequality. West and Zimmerman argue that gender is dynamic and a social construct since the behaviour expected from each gender changes over time.[72] Considering gender to be a social construct, gender roles, as a part of this construct, might also be said to be constructed. These constructs have not existed in isolation after their creation but have affected people across time and space. The constructs appear to work in two ways – man constructs notions of gender and notions of gender then construct man. It would not be wrong to say that the concept of gender, constructed

65 Michele Adams and Scott Coltrane, 'Boys and Men in Families: The Domestic Production of Gender, Power and Privilege', in *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, pp. 230-248, (p. 232).
66 Olga Silverstein and Beth Rashbaum, *The Courage to Raise Good Men* (New York: Penguin, 1994).
67 Michael D. Aeschlimann, 'Two Great Literary Women in The Light of Today's Sexual-Harassment Scandals', *National Review*, 2017 <https://www.nationalreview.com/2017/12/jane-austen-madame-de-stael-women-society-sexual-harassment-discrimination/> [accessed 4 April 2020].
68 Kay McSpadden, 'What Jane Austen Can Teach Us about Today's Sexual Harassment', *The Charlotte Observer*, 2017 <https://www.charlotteobserver.com/opinion/op-ed/article181327496.html> [accessed 4 April 2020].
69 Celia A. Easton, '"The Encouragement I Received": Emma and the Language of Sexual Assault', *Persuasions On-Line*, 32.1 (Winter-2016) <http://jasna.org/publications/persuasions-online/vol37no1/easton/> [accessed 5 March 2020].
70 Ibid.
71 Ibid.
72 Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman, 'Doing Gender', *Gender and Society*, 1.2 (1987), 121-151 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243287001002002> (p. 126).

centuries ago by man, became entangled with the fabric of society in such a way that even now it is nearly impossible for man to escape the effects of this construct on one's mind, appearance and behaviour. In the contemporary era, gender inequality is more prevalent in the domestic sphere than in areas related to work or education.[73] Scholars argue that, even now, when women work in the public sphere, domestic duties are still associated with femininity and whether working or not, women are still expected to do more household work than males.[74]

While patriarchy is certainly not what it used to be during Austen's time, recent studies in gender suggest that 'while young men openly believe in progressive gender issues […] they still fall into traditional roles at home'.[75] It is still a widespread belief that 'women should take on the bulk of domestic responsibilities'.[76] Good and McMahon believe that men resist doing household chores both in order to protect the notion of separate spheres and gender roles that underpins masculine ideals and perpetuates a gender-order which privileges males over females in both public and domestic spheres.[77] Coltrane reviews literature and shows that historically, women have always borne greater responsibility of the household and have spent thrice the amount of time on domestic work than men do.[78] The similarity between Austen's and today's time, then, would lie in the assignment of specific gender roles to men and women (based on the division of spheres and sexual differences in both eras), the implementation of which perpetrates gender inequality. According to Eagly and Wood, 'sex differences and similarities in behavior reflect gender role beliefs that in turn represent people's perceptions of men's and women's social roles in the society in which they live.'[79] While the feminist movements of the past decades have allowed more women to enter the workforce, the expectation for women to uphold traditional gender norms as caretaker has not shifted and has, in fact, become part of

73 Luscombe, 'Fewer Young People Want Gender Equality At Home'; Jeremiah Rodriguez, 'More Young Men Believe In Gender Equality But Still Have Traditional Roles At Home', *CTV News*, 2020 <https://beta.ctvnews.ca/national/lifestyle/2020/2/11/1_4807259.html> [accessed 9 April 2020]; Brittany N. Dernberger and Joanna R. Pepin, 'Gender Flexibility but not Equality: Young Adult's Division of Labour Preferences', *Sociological Science* (2020), 36-57 <http://dx.doi.org/10.15195/v7.a2> (p. 36); Aliya Hamid Rao, 'Even Breadwinning Wives Don't Get Equality at Home', *The Atlantic*, 2019 <https://amp.theatlantic.com/amp/article/589237/> [accessed 19 April 2020].
74 Kimmell and others, 'Home and Gender Spaces'; Morrow and Messinger, *Sexual Orientation and Gender Expression*; Sarmiento, 'Household, Gender and Travel'.
75 Rodriguez, 'More Young Men Believe in Gender Equality'; Dernberger and Pepin, 'Gender Flexibility but not Equality'.
76 Rao, 'Even Breadwinning Wives Don't Get Equality at Home'.
77 Mary Good and Henry McMahon, 'Gender Inequality in the Domestic Sphere', *Gender and Society*, 22.7 (2017), 32-45 (p. 32)
78 Scott Coltrane, 'Research on Household Labor: Modeling And Measuring the Social Embeddedness of Routine Family Work', *Journal of Marriage And Family*, 62.4 (2000), 1208-1233 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1566732> [accessed 3 April 2020] (p.1210).
79 Eagly and Wood, 'Social Role Theory', p. 459.

the criteria for the 'modern feminine role'.[80] 'The forms of patriarchal male might have altered over time, but the fact of patriarchal dominance has been constant'.[81]

Khazan observes that men who earn less than their wives or take jobs considered feminine (like nursing, childcare, etc.), do lesser housework to assert their masculinity.[82] Rao supports the opinion by arguing that 'women's success in the workplace is penalized at home'.[83] She believes that 'by outearning their husbands, wives worry that they are breaking norms on gender expectations'.[84] In order to overcome this problem, women do more household work to ensure that they do not upset the existing status quo. Moreover, 'women in male-dominated occupations such as law enforcement, tend to do more feminine tasks such as cooking and washing the dishes'.[85] These men and women are "correcting" their choice of undertaking jobs that are not traditional by asserting their masculinity and femininity through household work.[86] Unless the issue of gender inequality in the domestic sphere is addressed, the traditional notions of gender perpetrated by patriarchy will continue to enforce the idea of men's superiority over females.

Although several attempts have been made to combat gender inequality today, it is believed that studies have attempted to resolve this problem by focussing on gender differences – an intrinsic part of the core from which inequality arises.[87] Adams and Coltrane suggest that by 'institutionalising gender differences, we have also institutionalised gender hierarchy and the power of men who have shaped institutions to reflect their own interests'.[88] Vandermassen observes that 'an evolutionary account of sex differences may well be presented as a mere explanation of the existence of sex roles' but the actual aim of sociobiologists is to demonstrate that 'it is impossible to establish a society where true sexual equality exists'.[89] Differences between the sexes, according to Vandermassen, 'should be ignored because of the great deal

80 Irène Padavic and Barbara Reskin, *Women and Men at Work* (London: Pine Forge, 2002); Ronald Levant and others, 'The Femininity Ideology Scale: Factor Structure, Reliability, Convergent and Discriminant Validity, and Social Contextual Variation', *Sex Roles*, 57 (2007), 373–83 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9258-5>; Mimi Schippers, 'Recovering the Feminine Other: Masculinity, Femininity and Gender Hegemony', *Theory and Society*, 36.1 (2001) 85-102 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-007-9022-4>; R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
81 Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities c. 1660 – c. 1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2012), (p. 10).
82 Khazan, 'Emasculated Men Refuse to Do Chores - Except Cooking', *The Atlantic*, 2016 <https://theatlantic.com/health/archive/2016/10/the-only-chores-men-will-do-is-cook/505067/> [accessed 14 April 2020].
83 Rao, 'Even Breadwinning Wives Don't Get Equality at Home'.
84 Rao, 'Even Breadwinning Wives Don't Get Equality at Home'.
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid.
87 Cătălina-Ionela Rezeanu, 'The Relationship between Domestic Space and Gender Identity: Some Signs of Emergence of Alternative Domestic Femininity and Masculinity', *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology,* Vol. 6.2 Winter (2015), 9 – 29 <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/303372544_The_relationship_between_domestic_space_and_gender_identity_Some_signs_of_emergence_of_alternative_domestic_femininity_and_masculinity> [accessed 25 March 2020].
88 Adams and Coltrane, 'Boys and Men in Families', p. 232.
89 Griet Vandermassen, *Who's Afraid of Charles Darwin?* (Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield, 2005), p. 129

of overlap between men and women.'[90] Deutsch similarly contends that focussing on the distinctions arising from gender roles 'puts the spotlight on the development of differences that legitimate discrimination and inequality based on sex category.'[91] She argues that the focus on traditional notions of gender and gender differences to find a solution to the problem of gender inequality, only serves to 'show how gender relations are maintained and even to argue that the more things change, the more they stay the same'.[92] Deutsch believes that it is necessary to subvert traditional gender norms in order to "undo" gender and produce equality.

Rezeanu similarly argues that 'gender studies tend to give priority to gender differences that legitimize masculine hegemony'.[93] Her suggestion for countering the issue of gender inequality is that we must focus on the similarities between genders in order to overcome the bias that a focus on gender differences produces.[94] While the achievement of gender equality is seen as a problematic issue, a notable Evangelical group from eighteenth century America known as the Shakers has been successful in implementing gender equality for nearly two centuries. In 1859, Shaker Elder Frederick Evans, explained the foundation of the group by declaring that it procured for women 'those just and equal rights with man that, by her similarity to him in organization and faculties, both God and nature would seem to demand'.[95] Benningfield comments that the group did not merely propose that gender equality was achievable but also demonstrated how to achieve it effectively.[96] The Shaker Elder's statement illustrates the point that a focus on women and men as possessors of similar strengths and weaknesses instead of positing them as the opposites that they are projected to be in dominant patriarchal discourses can help to generate and sustain gender equality.

As gender hierarchies are based on gender differences, the focus on gender similarities will help to dissolve these hierarchies while the simultaneous, conscious subversion of gender roles will lessen the hold that they have over our minds and lead to the establishment of gender equality. This study, therefore, aims to explore issues of gender (in)equality in Austen's novels through an examination of the similarity between genders based on their psychological associations with and definitions of home and their interpretation of gender roles.

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90 Ibid, p. 157.
91 Francine M. Deutsch, 'Undoing Gender', *Gender And Society*, 21 (2007), 106-127 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243206293577> (p. 109).
92 Ibid, p.108.
93 Rezeanu, 'The Relationship between Domestic Space and Gender Identity', p. 10.
94 Rezeanu, 'The Relationship between Domestic Space and Gender Identity', p. 10.
95 Frederick William Evans, *Shakers: Compendium of the Origin, History, Principles, Rules and Regulations, Government, and Doctrines of the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing* (New York: D. Appleton & Co, 1859), p. 34.
96 Wendy R. Benningfield, *'Appeal of the Sisterhood: The Shakers and the Woman's Rights Movement'* (University of Kentucky Lexington doctoral dissertation, 2004), p. 73.

1.2 Aims of the Study

This research aims to examine how coping with anxiety in the lived experience of home to define and/or redefine home and perception of gender roles leads to gender equality in Austen's novels. While men and women are expected to define home in different ways based on their gender, the notion should be applicable only to homes where gender inequality or gender differences exist which influence the inhabitants' understanding of the roles they play home according to the (unequal) roles they play in the domestic space. As the difference in the attitudes of the genders towards home is one of the strongest reasons to defend gender inequality today, it is important to examine how the male and female protagonists in Austen's novels define home and associate themselves with it. Since the protagonists share similar lived experiences of home, there are strong possibilities for the development of a similar attitude towards home. A comparison of their definitions of and associations with home will help to identify gender similarities and also analyse how they perceive gender roles based on their understanding of home and the place they occupy therein. The character's association with home is analysed in terms of the character's interpretation of the physical space and their interaction with members of their family, who may or may not be co-dwellers of their home (see section 1.6.1).

Anxiety in the lived experience of home caused by displacement, homelessness, and/or tyrannical or indifferent family members, causes characters to form revised notions of home as painful memories are connected by the characters to the idea of home. For the female protagonists, the experiences of displacement, exile or homelessness often arise because of their gender so they not only redefine home but also come to understand and implement gender roles in a different manner. Male protagonists who have the same experiences as females are better able to empathise with them and understand the power dynamics which give rise to these experiences. This renewed understanding, in turn, affects their implementation of gender roles. Further, the examination of the implementation of gender roles by the protagonists will help to understand whether they subscribe to traditional notions of gender (promoting gender inequality) or subvert them (creating gender equality). Finally, taking gender similarities as a focal point, a comparison of the manner in which both sexes cope with anxiety, associate with

and interpret the meaning of home and carry out gender roles will help to explain how gender equality is established. The research questions for the study are as follows:

1. How do the characters cope with anxiety arising from the lived experience of home?
2. How do the characters define and redefine home through their psychological association with it?
3. How are gender roles perceived and implemented based on the characters' experience of anxiety in the lived experience of home and their defining home?
4. How does the enactment of gender roles contribute to the creation of gender equality in the selected novels?
5. How does gender equality evolve over the course of Austen's selected novels?

With regard to the above questions, the dissertation intends to:

1. Investigate how the selected characters cope with anxiety resulting from different factors in their lived experiences of home.
2. Examine the process of defining and redefining of home by the selected characters.
3. Analyse the understanding and implementation of gender roles by the selected characters and its role in creating gender equality.
4. Explore the relationship between the implementation of gender roles, the defining and redefining of home and the manner of coping with anxiety employed by the selected characters.
5. Study how gender equality is established in Austen's novels and how it evolves over the course of the novels.

1.3 Methodology

The study will focus on four major aspects to understand how gender equality is produced in Austen's novels: the manner in which the characters cope with the anxiety caused by factors in the lived experiences of home, the defining and redefining of home by the characters, their perception and enactment of gender roles and the existence of gender similarities. Through the proposed framework, the thesis links psychological studies of home to socio-psychological

gender studies to analyse gender equality in the selected novels. The theories which will be used to examine these aspects are discussed in brief below:

1.3.1 Dealing with Anxiety in the Lived Experience of Home

This aspect will be analysed using the defence mechanisms provided by the American Psychiatric Association (APA) in its fourth and revised fourth editions of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* or *DSM* (1994 and 2000).[97] The text revision of the fourth edition of *DSM* (2000) defines defense mechanisms as 'automatic psychological processes that protect the individual against anxiety and from the awareness of internal or external dangers or stressors'.[98] The mechanisms will be used to examine the characters' responses to anxiety in their lived experiences of home caused by displacement, homelessness and/or tyrannical or indifferent family members. The theory will serve to explain how the anxiety experienced by the characters is integral to their mental and emotional relationship to home. It will pave the way for exploring how the characters form particular ideas about the implementation of gender roles as the experiences which cause them anxiety are gender-based and inform their understanding of gender roles. Moreover, as one of the strongest reasons for considering women as the weaker sex is the suggestion that they are more emotional than men, the application of these mechanisms to male and female characters undergoing the same situation will help to probe the claim in the case of Austen's novels.[99] This will, in turn, be useful when examining similarities between the genders.

1.3.2 Defining and Redefining of Home by Male and Female Protagonists

This aspect will be examined using the concept of Psychological Home (2002) proposed by Sandra T. Sigmon, Stacy R. Whitcomb, and Charles R. Snyder.[100] The theory will be employed to understand how the characters define home and associate themselves with it. Psychological Home 'refers to a dynamic process by which an individual modifies, structures and maintains

97 *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, Fourth Edition (Washington DC: APA, 1994), p. 751; *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, Fourth Edition Text Revision (Washington DC: APA, 2000), p. 807.
98 *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, Fourth Edition (Washington DC: APA, 1994), p. 751; *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, Fourth Edition Text Revision (Washington DC: APA, 2000), p. 807.
99 Nicole M Else-Quest and others, 'Gender Differences in Temperament: A Meta-Analysis', *Psychological Bulletin*, 132.1 (2006), 33-72, <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.132.1.33>.
100 Sandra T. Sigmon, Stacy R. Whitcomb and C. R. Snyder, 'Psychological Home', in *Psychological Sense of Community: Research, Applications and Implications*, ed. by Adrian T. Fisher, Christopher C. Sonn and Brian J. Bishop (Boston, MA: Springer, 2002), pp. 25-41 <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4615-0719-2_2>.

an environment so as to reflect and communicate his/her sense of self'.[101] Meanings associated with psychological home are derived from the emotional connection to the things people own, the places where they live and the people that they find themselves surrounded with. The theory will not only help to explain how a character defines home but also provide a better understanding of how home is redefined after being exposed to anxiety inducing factors in the lived experience of home. Since the construct includes relationships with the people surrounding the individual, the relationship of the selected protagonists with their family members will be studied. By making use of a single construct to understand the meaning of home for both genders who have experienced home in similar ways, it will be easier to probe the similarities or differences in their approach towards home. The construct itself implies that a female's view of home differs from that of a male, thereby laying emphasis on gender differences. The study will broaden the application of the construct by making use of it to examine gender similarities in the understanding of the meaning of home.

1.3.3 Perception and Implementation of Gender Roles

'Constrained by gendered assumptions of what women's proper roles in society should be' or how men should act, Austen's protagonists navigated the divide between the sexes, sometimes successfully and other times ending up transgressing boundaries.[102] Francine Deutsch's concepts of "doing gender" and "undoing gender" (2007) will be applied to the texts to see how the selected characters follow or subvert traditional gender roles. Deutsch's theory is based on West and Zimmerman's article 'Doing Gender' in which they propose that people are not born with certain behaviours but learn to "do gender" depending on the society they are brought up in.[103] Deutsch proposes that we reserve the phrase "doing gender" to refer to social interactions that reproduce gender difference and use the phrase "undoing gender" to refer to social interactions that reduce gender difference. The theory will help to understand how gender roles are shaped and performed in Austen's novels.

101 Cicognani, Psychological Home and Well Being, p. 86.
102 Michelle Boswell, 'Women and Science', *The Routledge Research Companion to Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Science*, edited by John Holmes, and Sharon Ruston, (London, NY: Taylor & Francis Group, 2017). Ebook Central ebook.
103 West and Zimmerman, 'Doing Gender', p. 126.

1.3.4 Gender Similarities in Coping with Anxiety, Defining and Redefining Home and Implementing Gender Roles

Janet Shibley Hyde's "gender similarities hypothesis" model (2005) will be applied to the texts to examine the similarities demonstrated by the characters in coping with anxiety in the lived experience of home, (re)defining home and enacting gender roles.[104] Hyde's "gender similarities hypothesis" model proposes that males and females share more similarities than differences. The model will help to explain how gender roles become fluid in Austen's novels through an exploration of the similarities that both genders exhibit in their manner of dealing with anxiety, their emotional and psychological relationship to home and their implementation of gender roles. The fluidity in the characters' perception and implementation of gender roles produced due to gender similarities in coping with anxiety and associating with home, combats inequalities based on gender differences and produces gender equality.

1.4 Significance of the Study

A significant amount of research has been conducted on the presence of tyrannical parents, indifferent families, displacement and homelessness in Austen's novels but their relationship to the characters' definition of home and interpretation of gender roles has not received much importance. Very few studies investigate the role that the protagonist's families play in influencing their implementation of gender roles. Most of the studies examining the meaning of home in Austen's works focus on the female protagonists with relatively lesser studies analysing the meaning of home for Austen's male protagonists. The dominant social discourse promotes different views of associating with home for the genders (see section 1.1). While the domestic sphere is associated with femininity, the public sphere is considered essentially masculine. The lack of scholarship pertaining to the manner in which males associate with and define home serves to portray the domestic sphere as a feminine space in Austen's novels which is not the case. The thesis explores the meaning of home from the points of view of three male protagonists to highlight the similarities and dissimilarities in the ways men and women define home and why women or men cannot be given exclusive authority or be completely excluded from one sphere.

104 Janet Shibley Hyde, 'The Gender Similarities Hypothesis', *American Psychologist*, 60.6 (2005), 581-592 <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.60.6.581> (p. 581).

The relationship between the protagonists' emotional association with home and their perception and enactment of gender roles is also missing from contemporary scholarship. The role that male and female characters from the family (influenced by patriarchal or traditional notions of masculinity and femininity) play in the lives of the selected male and female protagonists respectively in determining their attitudes towards gender roles has also not received much attention. The study of the influence of males upon males and females upon females is especially important as Austen usually presents close confidantes in a position to influence the male and female protagonist as being from the same gender as their own. This can be seen in the female pairings of Jane and Elizabeth or Elizabeth and Charlotte in *Pride and Prejudice,* Elinor and Marianne in *Sense and Sensibility,* Lady Susan and Alicia Johnson in *Lady Susan* and so on. Male pairings include Darcy and Bingley (*Pride and Prejudice*), Mr. Knightley and Robert Martin (*Emma)* and the three Parker brothers (*Sanditon)* among others.

Scholarship pertaining to the study of home and/or gender inequality in Austen's novels, focusses on her major works even though her minor works feature a similar treatment of home, gender roles and gender in(equality) and are also popular in the contemporary world. The examination of these issues in Austen's minor works will not only broaden our knowledge of Austen's treatment of these themes but will also provide a fresh perspective for examining the protagonists of her minor novels. Finally, the study will make use of a domestic lens to understand gender roles and gender (in)equality in place of the social or sexual lenses frequently used by scholars. Social or sexual lenses focus the attention on people or institution and the ways in which they create gender (in)equality. By employing a domestic lens, this study divides the focus between the role of family, the lived experience and perception of home in influencing notions of gender and creating gender (in)equality. This is important because gender roles are originally formed and, later, shaped by a person's psychological association with home (the place and the people who live there) and it is due to following or subverting these roles that gender (in)equality is produced.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

The analysis of gender will be limited to the examination of gender roles, gender similarities and gender differences in Austen's novels. This is because Austen's novels present a vast space for discussions on gender which would not be possible to cover in this study unless the area is

restricted. The thesis will also limit the analysis of relationships influencing gender roles, similarities and differences to familial relationships as the study is concerned with evaluating gender equality through a domestic lens. The characters selected for the study are those who have been subjected to anxiety in their lived experience of home (in the form of displacement, exile, homelessness and/or tyrannical or indifferent family members) and are part of a family which has played a role in causing their anxiety (intentionally or unintentionally). Although Austen herself experienced nearly all of these factors, the thesis will not take a biographical approach to analyse them as scholars have already investigated it quite thoroughly (see sections 2.4.1, 2.4.2 and 2.4.3). The characters (re)attain home at some point in the novel. As the thesis is concerned with the creation and evolution of gender equality in Austen's novels, the characters selected for the study span across different years during which Austen wrote her mature works to investigate the similarities or differences in her approach to gender equality.

1.6 Definitions of Key Terms

1.6.1 Family of Choice and Family of Origin

With the rise of Puritanism in Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 'the benefits of family life' were highlighted and the importance of family as a social unit increased considerably.[105] The nuanced families created by Austen 'fully reflected the weighting of power that came from the kinship structures and inheritance practices of her day'.[106] She presents two major types of families – the family of origin and the family of choice – in her novels. Schonian and Cravens define the family of origin as 'the immediate and extended family a person grows up in'.[107] The immediate family is the nuclear family consisting of parents and children while the extended includes grandparents, uncles, aunts and their children. The family of origin is responsible for providing information to the members 'about who they are, how to act, and what beliefs and values to adopt.'[108]

In late eighteenth century Britain, 'the biologically given family into which one was born was gradually becoming secondary to the chosen family constructed by marriage'.[109].

105 Mary L. Poovey, *The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 8.
106 Ruth Perry, 'Family Matters', in *A Companion to Jane Austen*, pp. 323-331 (p. 323).
107 Sarah Schonian and Jaclyn D. Cravens, 'Family of Origin', *The Sage Encyclopedia of Marriage, Family, and Couples Counseling* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2017), pp. 625-629 (p. 625).
108 Ibid.
109 Perry, *Novel Relations: The Transformation of Kinship in English Literature and Culture 1748-1818* (Cambridge, NY: CUP, 2004), p. 2.

While family began with parents and sibling, 'the social concept of marriage was its heart and this strengthened over the period'.[110] In today's era 'modern definitions of family have become more expansive and may include any configuration of individuals who provide support for one another'.[111] This type of family is referred to as "family of choice" or "chosen family" and is formed from 'nonbiological kinship bonds, whether legally recognized or not, deliberately chosen for the purpose of mutual support and love'.[112] The primary difference between chosen families of Austen's era and ours lies in the need for a relationship, whether legal or biological to create a family.

1.6.2 Gender Roles

Gender might be defined as 'a way of denoting "cultural constructions"-the entirely social creation of ideas about appropriate roles for women and men'.[113] Tosh states that 'historians of masculinity are in a strong position to demonstrate (not merely assert) that gender is inherent in all aspects of social life'.[114] The term 'gender role' was coined by John Money who defined it as 'all those things that a person says or does to disclose himself or herself as having the status of boy or man, girl or woman, respectively'.[115] The study employs the definition of gender roles provided by Wood and Eagly who, taking into consideration, 'the malleability of role structures', define gender roles as 'expectations for female and male behavior'.[116] They further state that gender role beliefs 'arise because people observe female and male behaviour and infer that the sexes possess corresponding dispositions.[117] Gender roles 'are not stuck inevitably' in any single era, but are subject to changes 'depending on the typical work and family roles of the sexes.'[118] 'In legal and practical terms, if anything, women's position had deteriorated from the seventeenth century'.[119] Gender roles 'were seen to partake of clear cut gender characteristics'.[120] This was primarily due to the 'ascendance of Puritan and then

110 Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (London, NY: Routledge, 2003), p. 321. Ebook Central ebook
111 Trevor G. Gate, 'Chosen Families', *The Sage Encyclopedia of Marriage, Family, and Couples Counseling*, pp. 240-242 (p.240).
112 Ibid.
113 Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *The American Historical Review*, 91.5 (1986) 1053–75 <https://doi.org/10.2307/1864376> (p. 1056)
114 John Tosh, 'What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth Century Britain', *History Workshop*, 38 (1994) 179-202 (p. 180) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4289324> [accessed 30 May 2023].
115 John Money, Joan G. Hampson and John Hampson, 'An Examination of Some Basic Sexual Concepts: The Evidence of Human Hermaphroditism', *Bull John Hopkins Hosp.*, 97.4 (1955), 301-319 <https://doi.org/10.1001/archpsyc.1960.03590100019002> (p. 304).
116 Eagly and Wood, 'Social Role Theory', p. 461.
117 Ibid, p. 459.
118 Ibid, p. 461.
119 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 276.
120 Ibid, p. 356.

Evangelical principles' and the rise of the middle class.[121] While Puritanism stressed the importance of family life and domesticity, Evangelicalism emphasised 'charitable work [which] simply extended women's domestic activities into the neighborhood'.[122]

It was particularly 'during the last decade of the eighteenth century, [that] women were increasingly assigned a central role in maintaining this "moral institution"'.[123] 'Genteel domesticity assigned to women a devalued role and only that role' and the practise of this role 'effectively inhibited other ways of life'.[124] Women were legally at a disadvantage compared to men (as they were often prevented from inheriting property so as to keep it in the family), were dependent on men for both social and financial support and were rarely able to build long-lasting businesses.[125] It was, more or less, men who 'created and ran societies and organizations'.[126] The division of labour between the sexes in the nineteenth century was also in accordance with the capitalist ideology of the rising middle class as 'the sympathetic, non-judgmental affection the ideal [domestic] wife offered her husband' helped to ease the strain of his mind from working outside the home as well as energising him for the next day of labour.[127] Consequently, there was an emphasis on 'differential roles for boys and girls' while growing up so that boys would be aware that 'they were made of sterner stuff and prepare to enter a wider world' than girls.[128] Mothers were also responsible for imparting 'lessons in submissiveness' to their daughters.[129] Over the years, 'womanly skills have been consistently seen as generalized, almost natural attributes of femininity' despite clear historical evidence 'that adult women taught them to young girls'.[130] While women have been granted greater access to the public sphere, they are still responsible for performing most of the household work today (see 1.1). It appears, therefore, that even if gender roles differ from one era to another as posited by Eagly and Wood, the adoption of gender roles inevitably enforces traditional notions of masculinity and femininity.

1.6.3 Displacement

121 Poovey, *The Proper Lady*, p. 8.
122 Ibid.
123 Ibid, p. 9.
124 Kaplan, *Jane Austen Among Women*, p. 41.
125 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 278.
126 Ibid.
127 Poovey, *The Proper Lady*, p. 10.
128 Ibid, p. 340.
129 Kaplan, *Jane Austen Among Women*, p. 58
130 Leonore Davidoff, 'Gender and the "Great Divide": Public and Private in British Gender History', *Journal of Women's History*, 15.1 (Spring 2003) 11-27 <doi:10.1353/jowh.2003.0020> (p. 16).

Nine points out that 'most philosophical analyses of place attachment and displacement have focused on our attachments to large-scale places, like cultural homelands or countries' but the displacement resulting from 'moving home' is equally important.[131] Moving home, according to Nine, 'can be a harmful instance of displacement'.[132] She argues that 'moving house can be burdensome for individuals and families on multiple cognitive levels, because the home serves as part of our extended mind'.[133] Displacement, in this study, is used to describe a similar movement from home. Displacement is 'the state that results from the loss of a familiar physical or social environment'.[134] The 'damaging effects' of displacement can be traced 'on anyone who loses a home and a place in society'.[135]

1.6.4 Anxiety

Anxiety is recognisable as 'unpleasant emotions that have the quality of fear, dread and alarm in the presence or absence of an identifiable psychosocial stressor or stresses.'[136] People with anxiety have a tendency to withdraw from situations where they are afraid of becoming anxious.[137] Anxiety may further be characterised by 'overactivity, panic attacks, agoraphobia, sexual dysfunction, mood changes, depersonalization and derealisation.'[138] Anxiety can also be identified by 'the specific behaviours of fight-or-flight responses, defensive behaviour or escape'.[139] The effects also include 'a person's conscious state of worry over a future unwanted event, or fear of an actual situation'.[140] The emotional effects of anxiety may be observed through 'feelings of apprehension or dread, trouble concentrating, feeling tense or jumpy, anticipating the worst, irritability, restlessness, watching (and waiting) for signs (and occurrences) of danger, and, feeling like your mind has gone blank'.[141] The behavioural effects

131 Cara Nine, 'The Wrong of Displacement: The Home as Extended Mind', *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 26.2 (2018), 240–257 <https://doi.org/10.1111/jopp.12133> (p. 240).
132 Ibid.
133 Ibid.
134 Lisa M. Vandemark, 'Promoting the Sense of Self, Place, and Belonging in Displaced Persons: The Example of Homelessness', *Archives of Psychiatric Nursing*, 21.5 (October, 2007), 241–248 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apnu.2007.06.003> (p. 241).
135 Ibid, p. 242.
136 Chrissoula Stavrakaki and Yona Lunsky, 'Depression, Anxiety and Adjustment Disorders in People with Intellectual Disabilities', in *Psychiatric and Behavioral Disorders in Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities*, ed. by Nick Bouras and Geraldine Holt, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 113-130 (p. 118).
137 Ibid, p. 119.
138 Ibid, p. 120.
139 Alexandre Heeran, 'On the Distinction Between Fear and Anxiety In a (Post)Pandemic World: A Commentary on Schimmenti et al. (2020)', *Clinical Neuropsychiatry*, 17.3 (2020) 189-191 <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/341252779_On_the_Distinction_between_Fear_and_Anxiety_in_a_PostPandemic_World_A_Commentary_on_Schimmenti_et_al_2020> [accessed July 3 2020] (p. 190).
140 Ibid.
141 Ibid.

of anxiety may include ‘withdrawal from situations which have provoked anxiety or negative feelings in the past’.[142]

1.6.5 Familial Tyranny

Familial tyranny can occur in varying forms like ‘maltreatment, violence, abuse, assault, and neglect experiences including familial physical, sexual, emotional abuse […]; physical, medical, and emotional neglect; […] as well as serious and pervasive disruptions in caregiving as a consequence of […] abrupt separation or traumatic loss’.[143]

1.7 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter functions as an introduction to the study. It identifies the primary field and outlines the aims of the study. The theoretical framework to analyse the texts is presented. The contribution of the study to the field of Austen studies and the relevance of the research to current world issues is discussed. The delimitations of the study are identified and reasons provided for their presence. Definitions are proposed for the key terms of the study.

The second chapter contains a review of the scholarly literature. It discusses the biographical and historical factors that may have affected Austen’s portrayal of home and gender. A review of literature is presented which deals separately with the aspects of coping with anxiety in the lived experience of home, defining home, shaping of gender roles and presence of gender similarities, all of which lead to the creation of gender equality in Austen’s novels. The gaps in the literature are identified and the significance of the study is outlined. The third chapter presents the theoretical framework derived from the review of literature. It explains the theories that will be used to examine the texts and defends the proposed theoretical framework for the study. The criteria for selecting the characters for the research is stated. The theoretical framework for examining each aspect is explained. The application of the theory to the texts is discussed.

142 Ibid.
143 Sophie Isobel, Melinda Goodyear and Kim Foster, ‘Psychological Trauma in the Context of Familial Relationships: A Concept Analysis’, *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse,* 20.4 (2019), 549-559 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838017726424> (p. 552).

The fourth, fifth and sixth chapters are dedicated to answering specific research questions. Chapter four examines the sources of anxiety in the characters' lived experience of home and the mechanisms used to cope with anxiety. It employs the theory of Defense Mechanisms provided in the *DSM IV* TR to probe the questions. Chapter five makes use of the construct of Psychological Home to analyse the meaning of home for each character. It also evaluates the relationship between suffering from anxiety arising due to factors in the lived experience of home and the defining of home by the characters. Chapter six is concerned with questions related to gender. Employing the concepts of "doing gender" and "undoing gender", it first investigates the implementation of gender roles by the characters. The gender similarities model is then applied to the findings to understand the effect that coping with anxiety in the lived experience of home to define or redefine home has on the perception and implementation of gender roles to produce gender equality. Finally, the conclusion of the study and directions for further research are presented in chapter seven.

1.8 Chapter Summary

Gender inequality, though not as severe, is yet as important an issue today as it was in Jane Austen's time. The issue has become more problematic in today's world after the introduction of LGBTQ rights. The dissolution of gender roles to procure equal rights for every person is a matter of much debate. The issue has been addressed at an international level and people have focussed on achieving equality in the workspace and equal educational opportunities for both sexes. While the issue is being dealt with effectively in the public sphere, the inequality in the domestic sphere still persists. Women who earn more than their husbands or work for an equal number of hours, still take on most of the burden of the housework which leads to a persistence of inequality in the domestic sphere. Research focusses on attempting to resolve the issue of gender inequality through a study of gender differences. Studies show that the focus on gender differences, instead of posing solutions, perpetrates gender inequalities. In order to resolve the issue of inequality, it has been suggested to consider similarities between the genders since it will be easier to consider the genders equal to each other and deserving equal treatment if they are considered to be similar instead of different. A conscious subversion of traditional gender roles will also help to undermine the system.

This chapter serves to provide a background to this research and discusses the aims and significance of this study. The research itself is focused on examining the creation of gender equality in Austen's novels through the exploration of four major aspects: coping with anxiety arising from factors in the lived experience of home, defining home, the perception and implementation of gender roles and gender similarities in the novels of Jane Austen. The texts will be analysed using the Defence Mechanisms proposed in the *DSM,* Sandra T. Sigmon, Stacy R. Whitcomb, and Charles Richard Snyder's model of Psychological Home, Janet Shibley Hyde's Gender Similarities Hypothesis and Francine Deutsch's concepts of "Doing Gender" and "Undoing Gender". The study contributes to the field of Austen studies through the analysis of the meaning of home for male protagonists and protagonists of minor works, a comparison of the performance of gender roles by male and female protagonists, analysing the relationship between home and gender and the effects of same sex interactions in the interpretation of gender roles. The study also attempts to evaluate the way to overcome gender inequality in the novels by focussing on gender similarities which lead to gender equality.

Chapter II Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an investigation of gender inequality in Jane Austen's novels, its causes, and its implications for Austen's characters. The biographical experiences of Jane Austen and the socio-economic factors which might have played a role in influencing her depiction of home and gender have been discussed. The relevance of both concepts to Austen's work is emphasised. A review of scholarly literature on home and gender is presented. The gaps in the scholarship are identified and the significance of the study is outlined. The unanswered questions arising due to the gaps in the literature are posed. The reasons why this study is suited for examining these questions and the theoretical methods through which these questions will be resolved are also discussed.

2.2 Review of Literature

A significant amount of research has been conducted on Austen's employment of the term 'home' and what 'home' means to the female characters of her major novels. The themes of homelessness, displacement and exile (frequently used by Austen to enrich the lived experience of home for her characters) have received considerable attention. Scholars have also examined the portrayal of gender roles within the domestic sphere in her novels. This section begins with a discussion of the mechanisms employed by the protagonists to cope with anxiety in their lived experiences of home. The literature analysing how home has been defined by male and female protagonists in Austen's oeuvre is reviewed. Scholarly discussions pertaining to the portrayal and shaping of gender roles in Austen's novels are presented. Finally, the literature studying the creation and evolution of fluidity of gender roles in the domestic space in Austen's novels is analysed. The contribution and uniqueness of the study has been outlined by locating gaps in the scholarship.

2.2.1 Coping with Anxiety in the Lived Experience of Home

The selected characters for the study suffer from anxiety in their lived experience of home due to painful events involving tyrannical and/or indifferent family members, displacement, homelessness and exile.

2.3.1.1 Displacement and Loss of Home

Jane Austen herself suffered from exile and homelessness, experiences which are depicted in the cases of almost all her female protagonists, as well as a few of her male protagonists. Further, Austen was writing during the Romantic era when the use of such themes by male poets like William Wordsworth, Lord Byron, Percy Shelley and Walter Scott was quite popular. The incidences of displacement, exile and homelessness in Austen's novels are, therefore, read as reflections of Austen's own experiences of home and alternately as themes stemming from the influence of the literary age that she was writing in. Despite some similarities 'in inner–outer interaction', Austen's protagonists are generally 'unlike the self-obsessed heroes of Romantic poetry'.[1] This is in keeping with her intent to present a realistic picture of society, as opposed to an imaginary Utopian version of it that the Romantic poets portrayed. Instead of being engaged in a constant struggle with 'an almost abstract entity called Society', her heroines, therefore, exist as a part of society which 'they [often] analyse and sometimes disapprove' of, but never withdraw completely from, either voluntarily or involuntarily.[2] Her balance between public interaction and private introspection also differentiated her from other novelists of the era. Unlike the 'lengthy public self-analysis and introspection' and 'the self-absorption' of the heroines of her predecessors (like Ann Radcliffe, Fanny Burney and Maria Edgeworth) and successors (like the Bronte sisters and Virginia Woolf) respectively, 'there is interaction between thought and speech, private and social selves' in the case of Austen's heroines.[3]

'Jane Austen's mentality was formed in a household very much more engaged with the shaping forces of the British economy than in the insulated genteel home that is usually presumed'.[4] Austen's father died in 1805 and 'as the settlements [he] enjoyed were life benefits, it left the Austen women in a precarious pecuniary position'. [5] They were displaced from their home, rendered homeless for a few years and had to depend on the generosity of

1 Janet Todd, *The Cambridge Introduction to Jane Austen*, p. 28.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Robert Clark and Gerry Duton, 'Agriculture', in *Jane Austen in Context*, pp. 185-193 (p. 192).
5 Perry, 'Home at Last: Biographical Background to *Pride and Prejudice*', in *Approaches to Teaching Austen's Pride and Prejudice*, ed. Marcia McClintock Folsom, (New York: MLA, 1993), p. 49.

their friends and relatives for a place to live in temporary.[6] Fortunately for Austen, her brothers contributed to financing the dependent females, thus 'saving [their mother] from misery and their sisters from the "slave-trade" of governessing.'[7] However, even Austen's brothers were not able to provide a house for her until 1809 when one of her brothers who had been adopted by a rich uncle, inherited Chawton Cottage and secured it for his mother and sisters. Her repetitive use of the theme of displacement in her novels has, therefore, been interpreted as preoccupation stemming from her own experiences.

Austen's use of the themes of displacement, homelessness and exile in her depiction of home are also read as being influenced by the Romantic temperament of her time. Austen was writing during a time when the literary tradition was undergoing a transition from the ideals of Enlightenment to those of Romanticism. She 'inherited no obvious, no precisely defined tradition' and, as a result, her fiction tends to exhibit features and themes from both movements.[8] Due to this, 'scholars in three once-distinct literary historical periods—eighteenth century, Romantic, and Victorian—have seen fit to claim her as "theirs"'.[9] Austen is, mostly situated within the Romantic tradition with several scholars advocating for her 'affinities with one or more of the male Romantic poets'.[10] Kelly argues that Austen's novels make use of the Romantic sense of home by presenting it as 'the principal space for biological, cultural, and economic reproduction of the family'.[11] Quite a few other scholars, however, refute the claim that she was a follower of the Romantic tradition.[12] Harris and Grundy consider 'Austen's natural place in the course of English literature as being among the Augustans'.[13]

Lau studies similarities between Jane Austen and the Romantic poets, Byron and Wordsworth, in the way that these writers depict 'home' and 'exile' in their works.[14] She states that having experienced 'homelessness' first hand, Austen must have felt a certain connection

6 Ibid.
7 Boyle, 'The Reverend George Austen and Mrs Austen: A Closer Look at Jane Austen's Parents', *Jane Austen,* 2011 <https://www.janeausten.co.uk/the-reverend-george-and-mrs-austen-a-closer-look-at-jane-austens-parents/> [accessed 13 March 2020].
8 Isobel Grundy, 'Jane Austen and Literary Traditions', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen,* ed. by Edward Copeland and Juliet McMaster, Cambridge Companions to Literature, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 192-214 (p. 192); David Daiches, *A Critical History of English Literature*, Vol II (New Delhi: Supernova Publishers, 2010), p. 892.
9 Devoney Looser, 'Introduction: Jane Austen and her Contemporaries', *The Eighteenth Century,* 56.2 (2015), 147-149 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24575156> [accessed 9 April 2019] (p. 147).
10 Lau, 'Home, Exile and Wanderlust', p. 91.
11 Gary Kelly, 'Jane Austen and the Modern Home', in *Home and Nation in British Literature from the English to the French Revolutions,* ed. by A. D. Cousins and Geoffrey K. Payne (Cambridge: CUP, 2015), pp. 219-233 (p. 219).
12 James Mulvihill, '*Lady Susan*: Jane Austen's Machiavellian Moment', *Studies in Romanticism,* 50.4 (2011), 619-637 <www.jstor.org/stable/23209287> [accessed 5 December 2019]; Marilyn Butler, *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), pp. 102-3, cited in Gina Luria, 'Reviewed Works: *Charlotte Brontë: The Self Conceived* by Helene Moglen; *Elizabeth Gaskell: A Biography* by Winifred Gerin; *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas* by Marilyn Butler', *Signs,* 4.2 (Winter, 1978), 374-380 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3173035> [accessed 15 April 2019] (pp. 379-380); Jerome J. McGann, *The Romantic Ideology: A Critical Investigation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983) pp. 18-19, 29-31.
13 Grundy, 'Jane Austen and Literary Traditions', p. 196.
14 Lau, 'Home, Exile, and Wanderlust'.

with the Romantic themes of exile, homelessness and banishment. She was, therefore, writing about her own experiences but under the influence of the Romantics. Lau draws attention to Austen's view of celebrating home 'usually nostalgically, from the vantage point of exile' which, she says, is shared by Byron and Wordsworth.[15] She believes that this notion of 'home' is inspired by the anxieties of the age about social development and mobility brought about by the industrial revolution and new ideologies of democracy, meritocracy and individualism. Her understanding of home in Austen's work is, therefore, simultaneously social criticism and biographical reading.

Deresiewicz analyses the influence of the Romantic poets on Austen and concluded that she 'responded not to a movement, but to four powerful individual talents' represented by Sir Walter Scott, William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Lord Byron.[16] According to Deresiewicz, Austen's reading of Scott, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Byron, altered her perception of 'home'. To support his argument, he compares Austen's earlier novels (*Northanger Abbey, Pride and Prejudice* and *Sense and* Sensibility) to her later novels (*Emma, Mansfield Park* and *Persuasion*) to examine how the word 'home' is used in two distinctly different senses. He points out that the Romantic themes of displacement, exile and homelessness are present in every novel of Austen, but the effects of these themes are treated more severely in her later novels. His analysis is accompanied by a comparison of the later novels to poems written by these poets like "Tintern Abbey", "The Convict", "The Dungeon", "Anecdote for Fathers", "Giaour", "Turkish Tales", "The Lay of the Last Minstrel" and "Marmion". He also refers to several of Austen's letters to prove that she had read the literature - which he contends to have influenced her perception of home.

Stabler compares the notion of Fanny's exile in Portsmouth to that depicted in the poetry of the male Romantic poets, Byron and Shelley.[17] Powell also attributes Austen's conception of home and her use of the themes of displacement, exile and homelessness to the Romantic temperament of the age.[18] Though examining Austen in the broader context of the Romantic Age, Powell's approach to Austen's depiction of 'home' and 'exile' is unique. Powell is not interested in studying Austen to illustrate the influence of other Romantic writers on her work. Through a comparison with Wordsworth and Byron, Powell argues that 'Austen

15 Ibid, p. 101.
16 William Deresiewicz, *Jane Austen and the Romantic Poets* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), p. 2.
17 Jane Stabler, *The Artistry of Exile, Romantic and Victorian Writers in Italy* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 8.
18 Elizabeth Brooke Powell, The Sublime Uniting Romanticism and Feminism in Jane Austen' (Undergraduate Honors Theses, College of William and Mary, 2011) <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/honorstheses/458> [accessed 18 September 2019].

belongs within the Romantic Movement'[19] and tries 'to identify Austen *with* the Romantic poets, *within* Romanticism'.[20] Both Austen's male and female characters suffer displacement, exile and homelessness. Austen, then, uses themes adapted by the male Romantic poets to portray the anguish and growth of both women and men. As Morrison aptly says, 'whether critics emphasize her eighteenth-century roots or stress her affinities with Romanticism, almost always the big question is her valuation of the established patriarchal order.'[21]

Biographical and/or historical readings might be sufficient to account for the presence of these themes in Austen's works, but they do not explain the role that these experiences play in the redefinition of home by the protagonists. The experiences have, more or less, been treated as creative elements derived from Austen's own experiences used to enrich the plot. The readings explain how the experience of home is problematized based on Austen's socio-cultural background but leave out the emotional complexity of these experiences for the protagonists who go through them in the novels. The experiences, in Austen's case, were gender-based as it was only herself, her mother and sister who had to suffer from displacement after the death of her father. None of her brothers experienced what the females of the family did as they were free to seek employment opportunities, option not provided to respectable women. As all these experiences form a part of the lived experience of home, it is possible that they play a role in developing a particular attitude to homes. Since the experiences, moreover, are gender-based, they might also affect the perception of gender roles and a reaction towards the same. While the themes of displacement, exile and homelessness might have been influenced by the Romantic literature she read, her own experiences, along with her creative expression, were also crucial in her adaption of these themes for women (as opposed to men in Romantic literature) and men (as opposed to her personal lived experience of home). No in-depth exploration of these ideas is found in contemporary Austen scholarship.

While a major portion of the scholarship focusses on Austen's use of the themes of exile, displacement and homelessness in terms of her own experience and the influence of Romanticism, the themes have also been read as a means of problematizing the very notion of domesticity and the domestic sphere in Austen's novels, particularly her last completed novel, *Persuasion* (1817). Morgan says that four out of Austen's six major novels open with the heroine experiencing displacement.[22] Instead of elaborating upon the effects of this

19 Ibid, p. 5.
20 Ibid, p. 6.
21 Morrison, 'Of Woman Borne', p. 337.
22 Morgan, 'Adoring the Girl Next Door: Geography in Austen's Novels', *Persuasions On-Line*, 21.1 (Winter-2000) <http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol21no1/morgan.html> [accessed 23 March 2020].

displacement, Morgan is content to observe that Austen's personal experiences of displacement, exile and homelessness served as 'the biographical basis for the mobile openings of Austen's plots'.[23] Having justified the use of these themes, she proceeds to examine how the movement (whether voluntary or forced) of Austen's heroines 'hardly adds up to a stable, in the sense of settled and static, domestic universe as the geographic setting of Austen's work'.[24] The problem of locating domestic spaces in Austen's novels is valid not only in geographical spaces but also in terms of traditional notions of domesticity. The domestic sphere which is considered to be a feminine sphere includes both males and females in Austen's novels thereby making it difficult to recognise domesticity in a traditional sense. The movement of her heroines serves to emphasise her challenging of traditional notions related to domesticity and the roles that genders were expected to play in the domestic sphere.

Clearly, Austen redefines domesticity and the domestic space, especially in her last completed novel, to expand the horizon of females limited to a single hearth due to inequality between the genders. Changing the concept of the private or domestic sphere in her novels is not merely a statement of Austen's personal experiences in this regard but a summation of the same. Whether it is Austen's purpose or not, she divulges the wisdom she won through hardships experienced in her life as a dependent female to other people through the experiences of her characters. Moreover, as explained in the next section (2.2.2), not only females but also younger sons were victims of the system of primogeniture in Austen's time and the effects on both men and women have been portrayed in her novels. Scholarship on the use of the themes of exile, displacement and homelessness by Austen focuses on females, perhaps to emphasize how Austen portrays gender inequality. Examining the experiences of both males and females might, in turn, help to understand how Austen works towards creating gender equality in her novels.

2.3.1.2 Tyrannical and indifferent families

The presence of tyrannical family members in the protagonists' families has been acknowledged by several scholars. Sturrock employs the term 'dysfunctional' to describe 'those families whose interactions either harm the younger generation morally or cause the younger generation exceptional pain' [25]. He believes that such families exist in *Sense and*

23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 Jane Sturrock, *Jane Austen's Families* (London, New York: Anthem Press, 2013), p. 16.

Sensibility, Pride and Prejudice (1812) and *Northanger Abbey* (1817). Considering Sir Walter Elliot's lack of consideration towards Anne in *Persuasion*, Mrs Norris' mistreatment of Fanny in *Mansfield Park* and Mr. Woodhouse's control over Emma (*Emma*), dysfunctional families, as Sturrock defines them, exist in these novels too. Graham comments that General Tilney *(Northanger Abbey)* is an extremely domineering father and represses both his daughter and his 'sensitive son'. Graham believes that General Tilney's behaviour forces Henry into the role of the beta male (forming his gender identity and influencing his portrayal of gender roles). The presence of father figures in Austen's novels who function as alpha-males serves to emphasise how traditional masculinity is asserted in the domestic sphere. It is worth pointing out that though children usually imbibe the behaviour of the same-sex parent, Austen's male protagonists are often seen refusing to follow in the footsteps of their patriarchal fathers and subverting traditional gender roles to produce gender equality (discussed in more detail in Chapters 4 and 6).

Ray states that child abuse takes different forms according to the home where it is practised. While some families might be extremely disciplined and authoritarian, some might be more flexible.[26] He identifies the former in Fanny's case who, for most part, receives only indifference, both from her own family at Portsmouth and her extended family at Mansfield Park. The same can be said of Anne who is treated indifferently by all her family members, except her mother who dies when she is quite young. Emma Woodhouse and Elizabeth Elliot, on the other hand, would fall into the latter category as their fathers focussed exclusively on them. Ray is interested in the elaboration of how different forms of child abuse are inflicted on Fanny. His article does not provide information about the way Fanny copes with this abuse. Several other scholars have also observed how Austen's protagonists often face abuse at the hands of their families but they have purposely been omitted from this study as they only point out the presence of tyrannical families in Austen's novels and not the way these affect the psyche of the person or how the person copes mentally and physically with the abuse.[27] While the role of tyrannical families in Austen's novels has been examined, it is necessary to

26 Joan Klingel Ray, 'Jane Austen's Case Study of Child Abuse: Fanny Price', *Persuasions,* 13 (1991), 13-26 <http://jasna.org/persuasions/printed/number13/ray.htm> [accessed 23 March 2020].

27 Ashley L. Combest, 'Definition and Redefinition: Finding a Home in Mansfield Park', *JASNA Essay Contest* (2003) <http://www.jasna.org/essaycontest/2003/graduate.html> [accessed 16 April 2019]; Joyce Kerr Tarpley, 'Playing with Genesis, Sonship, Liberty and Primogeniture in *Sense and Sensibility',* *Persuasions,* 33 (2011), 89-102 <https://www.jasna.org/persuasions/printed/number33/tarpley.pdf> [accessed 28 March 2020]; John Wiltshire, 'Exploring Mansfield Park: In the Footsteps of Fanny Price', *Persuasions*, 28 (2006), 81-100 <http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/printed/number28/wiltshire.pdf> [accessed 23 March 2020].

analyse the protagonist's reaction to this role in order to understand how gender identities are created and gender roles understood by Austen's characters.

2.2.2 Defining and Redefining Home

Scholarly literature examining the meaning of home in Austen's novels focusses on her female characters and her own life. Very few interpretations of the meaning of home for Austen's male characters exist. Readings studying the relationship of male protagonists with their homes focus on the way their estate serves as a reflection of their character. Zohn studies *Pride and Prejudice* and asserts that Pemberley 'reflect[s] the excellence of [Darcy's] character' to both the readers as well as Elizabeth.[28] Stafford points out that 'it is at Pemberley that Elizabeth appreciates just how complex Darcy's masculinity really is'.[29] Elizabeth understands Darcy's character by going over his house and grounds and observing the objects he has chosen to grace his house. Commenting on Darcy's relationship to Pemberley, Ashfaq suggests that Darcy can be observed at his best in Pemberley.[30] Graham suggests that not only Darcy but also other male characters like Knightley, Sir Thomas Bertram and Mr. Palmer 'are at their best at home, at their worst away'.[31] Duckworth comments that 'in his home, Darcy is exemplary, and the description of his estate, though general, is a natural analogue of his social and moral character'.[32] Moreover, the 'excellent aesthetic taste' visible in the style of decoration at Pemberley is a reflection of Darcy's 'excellence of moral character'.[33]

While comparisons of the male characters' personal traits with the physical interiors or exteriors of their houses can be found, literature evaluating the meaning of home for male characters is missing. As traditional notions of patriarchy associate the domestic sphere with femininity, the lack of scholarship related to the meaning of home for males serves to reinforce the belief. By focussing only on the association of females with the domestic sphere, the idea that the domestic sphere is a feminine sphere is reinforced though it is not the case in Austen's novels. Homes in nineteenth century Britain were said to reflect the status of the male owner

28 Kristen Miller Zohn, '"A Fine House Richly Furnished": A Look at Pemberley and its Owner', *Persuasions OnLine*, 34.1 (Winter 2013) <https://www.proquest.com/docview/2309789641?> [accessed 11 December 2019].
29 William Stafford, 'Gentlemanly Masculinities as Represented by the Late Georgian "Gentleman's Magazine"', *History*, 43.1 (2008), 47–68 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24428626> [accessed 20 December 2019] (p. 51).
30 Samina Ashfaq, 'Self-deception vs. Self-realization', *The Dialogue* (2014), 87-96 <https://www.qurtuba.edu.pk/thedialogue/The%20Dialogue/9_1/Dialogue_January_March2014_87-96.pdf> [accessed 18 July 2019].
31 Peter W. Graham, 'Henry Tilney: The Portrait of the Hero as the Beta Male', *Persuasions On-Line*, 31.1 (2010) <http://jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol31no1/graham.html?> [2nd March 2020].
32 Alistair Duckworth, '*Pride and Prejudice*: The Reconstruction of Society', *The Improvement of the Estate: A Study of Jane Austen's Novels* (Johns Hopkins UP, 2019), <https://books.google.com.my/books?id=frzTDwAAQBAJ> [accessed 15 October 2019].
33 Ibid.

and females were hence encouraged to decorate them as well as they could.[34] It is pertinent to point out that Austen's property-owning male protagonists are not dependent on women for decorating or maintaining their homes. They are, instead, involved in the process themselves, thereby engaging in an activity deemed as the job of a female. Through such subtle yet significant subversions of traditional gender norms by male characters, Austen creates gender equality in her novels. It is necessary to examine how males define home and associate with their homes to identify such patterns through which equality is established.

Conflicting perceptions about the meaning of home for females can be found. While a group of scholars argues that the idea of home is connected to imprisonment since women were denied access to the public or male sphere, another group focusses on interpreting home as a place that represents the importance of relationships built on trust, respect and affection. The two ways represent two discourses related to home – the feminist discourse which considers home as a prison for females and the patriarchal discourse which presents home as a feminine space where females care for and nourish the members of their families. It is pertinent to mention here that Austen's female protagonists not only love and care for their families but are also given mutual love, trust and respect in the places they consider their homes. The treatment of women as creatures whose thoughts and feelings matter, is what distinguishes Austen's homes from traditional homes based on patriarchal notions of domesticity. The study will examine readings on home as a prison first and then analyse the role of relationships that convert a house into home.

Examining home as a prison, Lau argues that though Austen's heroines 'often yearn for a settled residence', they also consider 'home as claustrophobic' and experience a 'stifling confinement and a longing for travel and expanded horizons'.[35] Marianne Dashwood wishes to escape the Middletons, Elizabeth Bennet is glad to escape Longbourn to travel to the lakes with the Gardiners, Emma Woodhouse wishes to leave Highbury and visit the sea, Maria Bertram wants to escape Mansfield Park and Mary Crawford feels a need to keep moving constantly.[36] *Persuasion* presents change and travel as the means to overcome grief as compared to domestic confinement which does not let a person forget their bad memories.[37] Barchas contends that *Emma* is 'the most parochial of Jane Austen's novels'.[38] Burgan asserts that 'boredom is one

34 Linda McDowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (London, John Wiley and Sons, 2018), p. 75.
35 Lau, 'Home, Exile, and Wanderlust', p. 96.
36 Ibid, pp. 96-97.
37 Ibid, p. 98.
38 Janine Barchas, 'Setting and Community', in *The Cambridge Companion to 'Emma'*, ed. by Peter Sabor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 120-134 (p. 120).

of the motivating forces in Emma's adventures throughout the novel'.[39] This boredom is brought about by 'physical confinement of all sorts'[40]. One of the major reasons for Emma's confinement is her father, Mr. Woodhouse.

Powell comments that the domestic confinement of women has been criticised in *Persuasion* as well.[41] Auerbach analyses *Sense and Sensibility* and claims that 'Marianne's movement in the novel is one long fight for escape from the functional prison of Barton Cottage'.[42] As prisons are places where one's freedom is compromised, the view that home functions as a prison for women should only be applicable to homes where gender inequality is prevalent and the women feel trapped. Of all the houses Austen inhabited in her life, Chawton Cottage is seen as the one she really considered as her home and where she, consequently, wrote a major part of her novels.[43] Austen did not write for nearly eight years while she was living the life of a nomad after her father's death.[44] Austen resumed writing once she was settled at Chawton which suggests that 'the sense of a stable home and routine apparently was essential to Austen as an artist'.[45] Austen's characters, similarly, show improved mental states once they are secure of 'home' (discussed in detail in Chapter V). Austen, moreover, often differs between a 'house' and a 'home' on the basis of the freedom both places afford women (see Chapter V, 5.2 and 5.3). While a house can be often seen as stifling, homes are places which liberate the female. In order to define 'home', it is important to first identify which place is really called home by the protagonist.

In the space of home, it is further important to understand the role that family members play in influencing a character's perception of home, gender identity and gender roles. Scholars have analysed how families affect the way Austen's female protagonists define or associate with home. Combest believes that Fanny adapts to Mansfield Park by forming relationships with her extended family and feels comfortable in the house once she recognises the place that she been granted by the family. She states that 'what […] [Fanny] essentially finds is her role, a way of fitting into the family that does not diminish her'.[46] McMaster asserts that as true as

39 Mary Burgan, 'Mr. Bennet and the Failure of Fatherhood in Jane Austen's Novels', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 74 (1975), 536-552 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27707956> [accessed 20 March 2020] (p. 547).
40 Barchas, 'Setting and Community', p. 120.
41 Powell, 'The Sublime Uniting Romanticism and Feminism in Jane Austen'.
42 Nina Auerbach, 'Jane Austen and Imprisonment', *Jane Austen in a Social Context*, ed. by David Monaghan (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble, 1981) pp. 9-27 (p. 24), cited in Lau, 'Home, Exile and Wanderlust', p, 96.
43 Mary Lascelles, *Jane Austen and her Art* (London, New Jersey: The Athlone Press, 1995), pp. 29, 32; Claire Tomalin, *Jane Austen: A Life* (Harmondsworth: Viking, 2000) pp. 218-219; Carol Shields, *Jane Austen* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2001); Lau, 'Home, Exile and Wanderlust'.
44 Lascelles, *Jane Austen and her Art*, p. 25; Lau, 'Home, Exile, and Wanderlust'.
45 Lau, 'Home, Exile, and Wanderlust', pp. 92-93.
46 Combest, 'Definition and Redefinition'.

it is that Austen's novels are based on marriage, sexual love and courtship, it is equally true that they are based on family. She believes that 'the family is the essence of the world from which the heroine moves, with more or less of relief and delight, to her new sphere as wife and mother, in a family of her own'.[47] McMaster asserts that Austen employs the family as 'the context and battleground for the heroine's moral and psychological testing'.[48]

The nineteenth century, according to Davidoff, was 'kinship hot' and featured 'extensive, reliable, and well-articulated structures of exchange among connected families over many generations'.[49] It is, therefore, equally important to understand the influence of the family irrespective of the relationship that the members share. While positive familial relationships promote the well-being and healthy development of the protagonists, negative associations put the characters through painful experiences which eventually helps them to develop in painful but positive ways. Sodeman comments on the importance of Anne's moving beyond the influence of the 'psychologically damaging insularity' of the Elliot family. She believes that 'Austen extends familial ties to include the affective bonds of friends' and by 'doing so, she redefines the widening circle Anne is part of in order to give her domestic virtues greater social import'.[50] Sodeman does not examine the effects of the Elliot family on Anne's psyche as her focus is not a study of the family in the domestic realm but the broadening of the notion of domesticity in Austen's novels.

Family members might also be pitted against one another for a character to understand what they value in a family. Francus suggests that the more time she spends with them, Fanny is convinced 'of her parents' monstrosity' as a result of which she 'identifies [herself] as a resident of Mansfield Park, which she now calls home'.[51] Francus concludes that Fanny's fantasy of being loved by her parents is fulfilled towards the end of the novel at Mansfield Park by Sir Thomas Bertram and Lady Bertram instead of her own parents. It is pertinent to mention here that while her uncle and aunt are genuinely fond of her, the former accepts her as a daughter because she is the only one (among the children who grew up at Mansfield Park) to

47 Juliet McMaster, 'God Gave Us Our Relations: The Watson Family', *Persuasions*, 8 (1986), 60-72 <https://jasna.org/publications-2/persuasions/no8/mcmaster-2/> [accessed 10 December 2019] (p. 65).
48 Ibid, p. 68.
49 Davidoff, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and their Relations, 1780-1920* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), p 21.
50 Melissa Sodeman, 'Domestic Mobility in *Persuasion* and *Sanditon*', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 45.4 (2005), 787- 812 <link.gale.com/apps/doc/A139836968/AONE?u=anon~e37fee69&sid=googleScholar&xid=05d3a238> [accessed 15 December 2019] (p. 798).
51 Marilyn Francus, 'The Monstrous Mothers of *Mansfield Park*', *Persuasions On-Line*, 35.1 (Winter 2014) <http://jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol35no1/francus.html?> [accessed 22 March 2020].

embrace his moral values, while the latter is dependent on her for emotional support as well as carrying out physical tasks like letter-writing, sewing, etc..

Examining Austen's use of the mother figure, Sturrock states that she 'represents the mother as a determining factor in the relations between her daughters'. Moreover, the mother 'affects her daughter's sense of domestic obligations', whether directly or indirectly and 'it is through the figure of the mother and her attitude to her familial obligations that the protagonists acquire the sense of their traditional domestic obligations'.[52] Sturrock presents an extensive critique of motherhood in Austen's works focussing on the role that the mother (living or dead) plays in the daughters' lives. Her assertion of the mother influencing the daughter's idea of domesticity supports the claims put forward in this study but as she is focussed on analysing the mother-daughter bond, it is left to the reader to deduce how the mother's influence on domesticity is understood by the daughter and translated into action. Though various scholars have acknowledged that the families of protagonists affect them, the way these effects are translated into an understanding and implementation of gender roles or gender identities has not been explored.

2.2.3 Shaping of Gender Roles in the Domestic Space

Gender roles in the domestic space in Austen's novels are shaped by the influence of families (including both families of choice and families of origin), a character's own understanding of gender roles according to the lived experience of home and the character's association with home. Literature pertaining to the role of the family and the character's association with home was analysed in the previous section. This section will focus on the manner in which gender roles are followed or subverted to produce (in)equality. Although the scholarship on gender is expansive, I have included only that literature which studies gender roles, gender differences and the relationship between gender and the division of spheres which is one of the delimitations of this study.

Southam comments that Jane Austen followed Richardson's model of Sir Charles Grandison -- the ideal man.[53] Sir Charles fulfils every role assigned to him perfectly. He is a perfect husband, son, brother, friend, master, companion and neighbour. He is also a man who

52 Sturrock, *Jane Austen's Families*, p. 47.
53 Brian Southam, 'Sir Charles Grandison and Jane Austen's Men', *Persuasions*, 18 (1996) 74-87 <https://jasna.org/publications-2/persuasions/no18/southam/> [accessed 20 March 2020] (p 77).

is wealthy, eligible, respects and protects women and still fits in as a domestic man. Austen's alpha males, who own their own estates, like Darcy, Colonel Brandon and Mr. Knightley have been modelled on this description. While the description includes masculine characteristics like chivalry, the kindness and compassion required to embody all these qualities subverts the traditional notion of masculinity. Banister believes that in *Sanditon,* Austen 'challenges the militaristic masculine roles' that are celebrated by poems like Southey's "The Poet's Pilgrimage" or Scott's "Marmion" and indicates that these poems ultimately contributed to sustaining 'ideas of masculinity that legitimized men's desires for masculine victory and victorious masculinity'.[54] The danger of militaristic masculine roles is presented by the exposition of the figure of Sir Edward who 'correctly identifies [Clara] as his equal […] in matters financial' and wants to kidnap and marry her 'to restore her to the more suitably feminine role of sexual victim'.[55] The text makes it appear like Sir Edward's ideas stem from the literature of the age, thereby criticising the perpetration of toxic notions of masculinity by the contemporary texts. Clara's being posited as Sir Edward's equal in being considered as Lady Denham's heiress also subverts traditional gender norms.

Sailors like Captain Harville and Admiral Croft are seen as reflecting not only masculine ideals of the navy but also being good at domestic jobs. Cohen discusses how Captain Harville made the domestic space more comfortable by doing odd jobs like carpentering, painting, varnishing, making toys for children, crafting netting needles -- jobs that were not considered entirely masculine.[56] Cohen believes that *Persuasion* not only 'tells the story of how domesticity is professionalized' but also how the navy is domesticated.[57] She argues that Captain Harville's naval career where he occupied a small space, fended for himself and found ways to survive on whatever was available at the moment, 'prepared him for homecrafts'.[58] She, moreover, argues that it is not only 'small spaces [which] are improved through such naval arts' but 'the same sorts of household measures [are] taken at Kellynch-hall' by Admiral Croft who 'moves the umbrellas from the butler's room to a more accessible place by the front entryway, repairs the laundry door, and gets his wife to help him move the

54 Julia Banister, 'Masculinity and Militarism in Jane Austen's *The Brothers*', *Persuasions On-Line*, 38.2 (Spring 2018), <http://jasna.org/publications/persuasions-online/volume-38-no-2/banister/> [accessed 5 March 2020]
55 Ibid.
56 Monica F. Cohen, 'Persuading the Navy Home: Austen and Married Women's Professional Property', *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction*, 29.3 (Spring 1996), 346-366 <https://doi.org/10.2307/1345593> (p. 347).
57 Cohen, 'Persuading thw Navy Home', p. 347.
58 Ibid, p. 352.

mirror out of the master bedroom'.[59] The practical approach of the navy sailors towards making their homes more comfortable is praised by Cohen who labels it as the navy's domesticity.

Contemporary scholarship has been able to identify the subversion of gender roles in the domestic sphere but we do not have detailed analysis on how the subversion creates equal relationships between the genders. As can be understood from the literature, cross comparisons of characters subverting gender notions are limited even though they would lend a better understanding of Austen's stance on femininity and masculinity. A progressive model of cross-comparisons between the novels would prove especially enlightening in this regard.

2.2.4 Gender Equality through Similarities in Coping with Anxiety, Interpretations of Home and Gender Roles

While no articles are concerned specifically with the examination of the similarities between the male and female characters' manner of coping with anxiety in the lived experiences of home and their interpretations of home, studies have been presented that note how the notion of the domestic sphere has been constructed in a fluid manner to expand the idea of the space itself and by extension, the gender roles associated with it. Other articles which have been included are those which examine the fluidity of gender roles in Austen's novels. Literature belonging to the latter category will be presented first.

Morgan presents a contrary view by stating that it is hard to locate a 'stable', 'settled' and 'static domestic universe as the geographic setting of Austen's work'.[60] She reasons that Austen's 'novels are not set so much in domestic spaces as in social spaces: all the places where men and women, whether relatives, friends, acquaintances or strangers, meet and make connections and live their lives'.[61] This suggests that Austen attempts to bridge the gap between the two spheres that separate men and women from each other. An analysis of the manner in which Austen's men define home compared to her women, would help to explore the idea further. This idea can also be found in Phayakvichien's observation that if the domestic sphere is considered to be the sphere where the women are present, then 'that sphere is surely the sphere where everyone lives, men as well as women, and not some separate women's world'.[62]

59 Ibid.
60 Morgan, 'Adoring the Girl Next Door'.
61 Ibid.
62 Ploy Phayakvichien, 'Jane Austen's *Persuasion* and the Creation of Balance in Gender Roles through Courtship and Marriage', *Thoughts*, 1 (2012), 14-41 <https://so06.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/thoughts/article/view/59306> [accessed 20 March 2020] (p. 16).

In a way, Austen 'uses domestic space to map conflicting social currents'.[63] This is helped by travel, which may take the form of 'trips to London, to Bath or Weymouth or Brighton, or to other family's estates', as being 'typical behavior for the leisured gentry of Austen's time'.[64]

Austen's use of travel for her heroines in her novels blurs the distinction between the public and private spheres. It becomes nearly impossible to 'define the domestic sphere […] as somehow isolated or retired or set apart from public life'.[65] Vorachek suggests that 'because the home is traditionally the sphere of women in the aristocratic society, this movement from a fixed, external space to an internal space seems to allow women greater movement and an expanded role'.[66] Phayakvichien believes that Austen is interested in capturing the moment when her protagonists 'whether by choice or by economic force, leave the protection, the safety, and the sheltering innocence of their homes'.[67] She comments that Austen does not follow the dictates of society but 'infuses her own ideals of courtship, domesticity and marriage in her work'.[68] She argues that 'Austen disassociates women from the traditional idea of domesticity by distancing them from the realm of the hearth and by giving them greater say and decision over their future'.[69] While Phayakvichien acknowledges that Austen draws men closer to the domestic sphere by making their implementation of gender roles fluid, the focus of her study is the physical broadening of the notion of the domestic sphere to include public spaces generally associated with men. Both observations support the idea of equality of gender in Austen's works through similar interpretations of home and gender roles by the men and women. Commenting on Austen's transformation of the domestic sphere, Sodeman says that Austen creates a notion of domesticity which 'acquires the aspect of sociability'.[70] Sodeman believes that the domestic mobility portrayed by Austen in her works reflects her awareness of the unstable and constantly shifting meaning of domesticity. Austen, therefore, redefines traditional notions of domesticity and broadens the concept of the domestic space. To quote Jones, Austen has 'progressive ideas about gender' which she uses for 'patriotic effect'.[71]

63 Stabler, *Burke to Byron*, p. 197.
64 Morgan, 'Adoring the Girl Next Door'.
65 Ibid.
66 Laura Vorachek, 'Crossing Boundaries: Land and Sea in Jane Austen's *Persuasion', Persuasions,* 19 (1997), 36-40 <http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/printed/number19/vorachek.pdf> [accessed 20 February 2021] (p. 38).
67 Phayakvichien, 'Jane Austen's *Persuasion',* p. 16.
68 Ibid, p. 20.
69 Ibid, p. 37.
70 Sodeman, 'Domestic Mobility', p. 798.
71 Jones, 'Feminisms', p. 289.

2.3 Chapter Summary

Gender differences include biological differences between the sexes as well as the way these differences are manifested through their behaviour. By introducing a divide between the sexes, gender differences act as one of the greatest perpetrators of gender inequality. Patriarchal institutions, the division of spheres, gender roles and traditional notions of masculinity and femininity are all based on gender differences. In order to counter gender inequality, it has been suggested to focus on gender similarities instead of gender differences. The selected characters, though situated in a world defined by patriarchal discourses, manage to transcend traditional notions of gender through gender similarities and subversion of traditional gender roles to produce gender equality in the novels.

This chapter attempts to provide a better understanding of the interpretation and lived experience of home and representations of gender in Jane Austen's novels. The factors in Austen's own life which influenced her portrayal of gender are examined. The chapter discusses scholarly literature related to the factors causing anxiety to the characters in their lived experience of home, the meaning of home for the characters, the representation of gender roles and the relationship between all in terms of producing gender equality in Austen's novels.

Chapter III Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This research aims to examine how coping with anxiety in the lived experience of home to define home and enact gender roles leads to gender (in)equality in Austen's novels. The grounding argument of this study is that male and female protagonists in Austen's novels display similarities in their emotional relationship to home and practice of gender roles to which gender roles become fluid and equality is established. Although Austen's novels are fictitious, they are based on social realism. The novels include Austen's own lived experience of home as well as the struggle against the institutions of patriarchy prevalent in her era (see Chapter II, section 2.3). Since the research analyses the meaning of home for both genders, their association with home, their handling of anxiety-inducing factors in the lived experience of home and their fluid enactment of gender-roles, theories from the fields of psychology, sociology, gender studies and psychoanalysis are employed to analyse the texts. The chapter discusses the selected theories and explains the method of their application to the texts. The criteria for the selection of the characters is stated and each character discussed to show how they fulfil the criteria.

3.2 Critical Theories Employed to Analyse the Texts

This section includes a detailed and critical discussion of the theories that will be used to analyse the texts in terms of the four major aspects in this study: the methods employed by the protagonists to deal with anxiety in the lived experience of home, the defining of home by the male and female protagonists, the shaping of gender roles and the creation and evolution of equality of gender in Austen's novels. The theoretical framework has been derived from the review of literature (Chapter II, Section 2.4).

3.2.1 Defense Mechanisms

The concept of defense mechanisms was originally proposed by Sigmund Freud in his article 'Further Remarks on the Neuro-Psychoses of Defence' (1896) and developed further in his

book *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* (1916–17).[1] It has been discussed and elaborated upon by various contemporary psychoanalysts.[2] The contemporary theory of defense mechanisms provided by the American Psychiatric Association (APA) in its *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (or *DSM*) will be employed to analyse the texts.[3] The *DSM* provides standard criteria for evaluating mental disorders and treating them and is used as a reference worldwide by clinicians, researchers, drug regulation authorities and pharmaceutical and health insurance companies.[4] Its reliability and validity has been questioned due to its inclusion of questions that researchers are still attempting to answer, possible cultural bias and its use of arbitrary lines to distinguish between mental illness and normalcy.[5] The recent editions (fourth, revised fourth and fifth), however, have been lauded for standardising psychiatric diagnosis grounded in empirical evidence as opposed to the theory-based classifications provided until the third edition (1980).[6]

Defense mechanisms are 'automatic psychological processes that protect the individual against anxiety and from the awareness of internal or external dangers or stressors'.[7] The theory and critical methods of evaluating the presence and use of defense mechanisms have been practically tested and verified by various other contemporary scholars.[8] The mechanisms serve to 'control or modulate the expression of unacceptable impulses to protect the individual from

1 Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Completed Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. III (London: Hogarth Press, 1961), p. 170; Freud, *The Standard Edition*, Vol. XV-XVI, pp. 358–9.

2 Phebe Cramer, 'Seven Pillars of Defense Mechanism Theory', *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 2.5 (2008), 1963–1981 <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2008.00135.x>; Nancy McWilliams, *Psychoanalytic Diagnosis: Understanding Personality Structure in the Clinical Process* (New York, London: The Guilford Press, 2011); George E.Vaillant, *Triumphs of Experience: The Men of the Harvard Grant Study* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2012); Otto F. Kernberg, 'Unconscious Conflict in the Light of Contemporary Psychoanalytic Findings', *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, LXXIV.1 (2012), 65–81 <https:///doi.org/10.1002/j.2167-4086.2005.tb00200.x> (pp. 66, 70).

3 *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, Fourth edn. Text Revision (Washington DC: American Psychiatric Association, 2000), pp. 107-110; *DSM*, Fifth edn. (Washington DC: APA, 2013), p. 819.

4 Enrique Baca-Garcia, Maria Perez-Rodriguez, Ignacio Basurte-Villamor and others, 'Diagnostic Stability of Psychiatric Disorders in Clinical Practice', *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 190.3 (March 2007) 210–216 <https://doi.org/10.1192/bjp.bp.106.024026>; American Psychological Association, 'ICD VS. DSM', *Monitor on Psychology*, 40.9 (2009), p. 63.

5 Paul Kline, 'A Critical Perspective on Defense Mechanisms', in *The Concept of Defense Mechanisms in Contemporary Psychology*, ed. by Uwe Hentschel, Gudmund J. W. Smith, Wolfram Ehlers, Juris G. Draguns, (New York: Springer, 1993), pp. 3-13 <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4613-8303-1_1>; Rachel Cooper, 'What is Wrong with the *DSM', History of Psychiatry*, 15 (2004), 5-25 <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0957154X04039343>; Cramer, 'Defense Mechanisms: 40 Years of Empirical Research', *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 97.2 (2015) 114-122, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00223891.2014.947997>.

6 Benjamin J. Sadock, Virginia A. Sadock, *Kaplan and Sadock's Synopsis of Psychiatry: Behavioral Sciences/Clinical Psychiatry*, 10th edition (New York, London, Hong Kong: Lippincott Williams and Wilkins, 2007); Promod Kumar Dalal, Thanapal Sivakumar, 'Moving Towards ICD-11 and DSM-V: Concept and Evolution of Psychiatric Classification', *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*, 51.4 (October, 2009), 310–319 <https://doi.org/10.4103/0019-5545.58302>.

7 *DSM* IV TR, p. 807.

8 Mary C. Zanarini, Frances R. Frankenburg and Garrett Fitzmaurice, 'Defense Mechanisms Reported by Patients With Borderline Personality Disorder and Axis II Comparison Subjects Over 16 Years of Follow-Up: Description and Prediction of Recovery', *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, 170.1 (2013), 111-120 <https://doi.org/10.1176/appi.ajp.2012.12020173>; Manfred Diehl and others, 'Change in Coping and Defense Mechanisms Across Adulthood: Longitudinal Findings In a European American Sample', *Developmental Psychology*, 50.2 (2014), 634–648 <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0033619>; Christopher Perry and Michael Bond, 'Addressing Defenses in Psychotherapy to Improve Adaptation', *Psychoanalytic Inquiry*, 37.3 (2017), 153-166 <https://doi.org/10.1080/07351690.2017.1285185>; Mariagrazia Di Giuseppe and others, 'Defense Mechanisms in Cancer Patients: A Systematic Review', *Journal of Psychosomatic Research*, 115 (2018) 76-86 <https://doi:10.1016/j.jpsychores.2018.10.016>; Graham Walker and Thomas McCabe, 'Psychological Defence Mechanisms During the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Case Series', *The European Journal of Psychiatry*, 10.1016 (2020) <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpsy.2020.10.005>; Mariagrazia Di Giuseppe and others, 'Defense Mechanisms, Gender, and Adaptiveness in Emerging Personality Disorders in Adolescent Outpatients', *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 208.12 (2020) 933-941 <https://doi.org/10.1097/NMD.0000000000001230>.

being overwhelmed by the anxiety that would result from conscious recognition of these impulses.'[9] Of the 31 defense mechanisms listed in the *DSM* IV TR, the study will focus only on isolation of affect (or isolation) and undoing which fall under the category of mental inhibition or compromise formation. Compromise formation protects people 'from the perceived feeling of anxiety, conscious or unconscious'.[10] 'Defensive functioning at this level keeps potentially threatening ideas, feelings, memories, wishes, or fears out of awareness'.[11] The following diagram provided by Vaillant identifies the sources of intrapsychic conflict which trigger the use of defense mechanisms to clarify how the mechanisms operate:

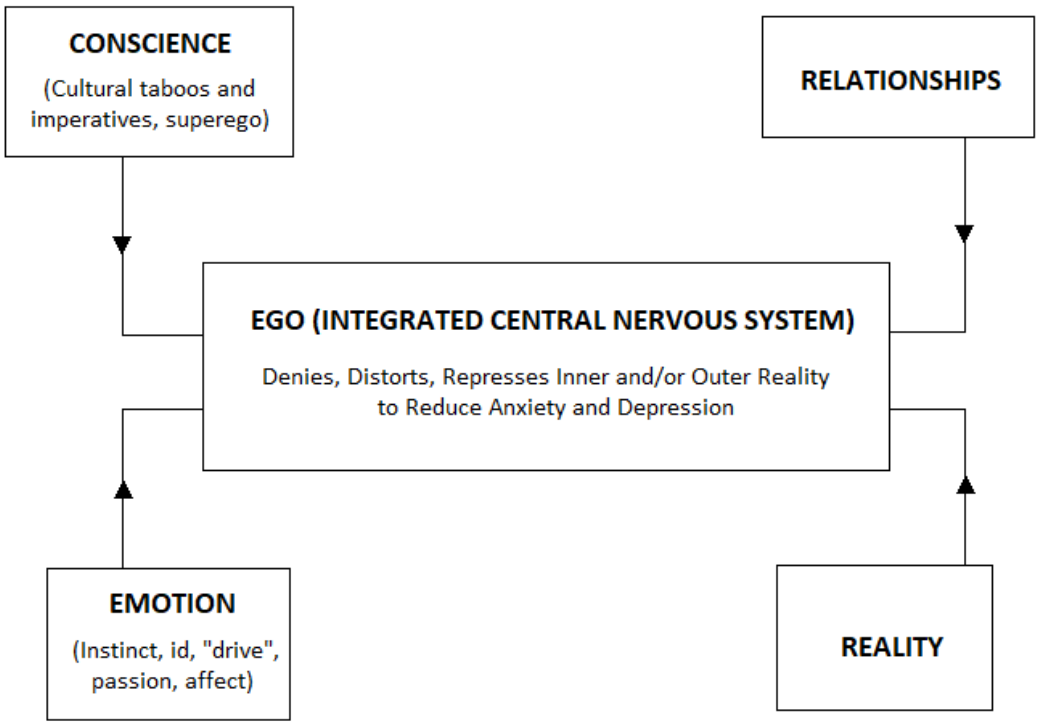


Figure 1 The Sources of Conflict which Prompt the Use of Defense Mechanisms

According to the diagram, the use of defense mechanisms is prompted by unpleasant thoughts or memories in one's own conscience (referred to as the super ego by psychologists), one's immoral or socially unacceptable impulses (the id), relationships with others and stressful experiences in the present (reality). Any of these working on the central consciousness of a person (ego), produces feelings of discomfort, stress, anxiety and/or

9 Antonella Granieri and others, 'The Relationship between Defense Patterns and *DSM 5* Maladaptive Personality Domains', *Frontiers in Psychology*, 8.1926 (2017), 1-12 <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2017.01926> (p. 1).
10 'Compromise formation', in *American Psychological Association Dictionary of Psychology* [online], <https://dictionary.apa.org/compromise-formation> [accessed 22 December 2020].
11 *DSM* IV, p. 752; *DSM* IV TR, p. 808.

depression. These experiences trigger the use of defense mechanisms to escape from their unpleasant effects. Vaillant explains that the use of defense mechanisms to escape unpleasant thought, memories or experiences can 'alter our perception of any or all of the following: subject (self), object (other person), and idea or feeling (affect)'.[12] The mechanisms of isolation and undoing operate on the same principle. Examining the defense mechanisms presented in the *DSM,* Vaillant lists both isolation and undoing among the eighteen mechanisms that 'have withstood the test of time'.[13]

3.2.1.1 Isolation

Isolation is employed to deal with 'emotional conflict or internal or external stressors by the separation of ideas from the feelings originally associated with them.'[14] Through the use of isolation, an 'individual loses touch with the feelings associated with a given idea (e.g., a traumatic event) while remaining aware of the cognitive elements of it (e.g., descriptive details)'.[15] Through the use of isolation, the individual, then, is 'letting it be understood symbolically that he will not allow his thoughts about that impression or activity to come into associative contact with other thoughts'.[16]

3.2.1.2 Undoing

The mechanism of undoing comes into process when an 'individual deals with emotional conflict or internal or external stressors by words or behavior designed to negate or to make amends symbolically for unacceptable thoughts, feelings, or actions.'[17] In order to "undo" 'an unhealthy, destructive or otherwise threatening thought', a person acts out 'the reverse of the unacceptable thought'.[18] By using the mechanism, 'individuals try to *symbolically* revert not only the consequences of an event but the event proper, as if it had never existed'.[19]

12 Vaillant, 'Defense Mechanisms'.
13 Ibid.
14 *DSM* IV, p. 756; *DSM* IV TR, p. 812.
15 Ibid.
16 Freud, *The Standard Edition,* Vol. 20, p. 122.
17 *DSM* IV, p. 757; *DSM* IV TR, p. 813
18 Ibid.
19 Rui Miguel Costa, 'Undoing (Defense Mechanism)', in *Encyclopedia of Personality and Individual Differences*, ed. by Zeigler-Hill and T. K. Shackelford (Springer, Cham., 2017) <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-24612-3_1434>.

3.2.2 Sandra T. Sigmon, Stacy R. Whitcomb and Charles Richard Snyder's Theoretical Construct of Psychological Home

The defining and redefining of home by the male and female protagonists will be analysed using the concept of Psychological Home proposed by Sandra T. Sigmon, Stacy R. Whitcomb, and Charles Richard Snyder. Of the authors, Sandra T. Sigmon and Stacy R. Whitcomb have worked on the physical and mental health of adults paying special attention to the effects of seasons and menstrual cycles on women's behaviour. Sigmon has also attempted to evaluate how psychological disorders like panic, eating and anxiety disorders affect physical health, especially the menstrual health of women and has further examined the role that sexist events play in triggering menstrual distress in women as well as gender-related issues in psychopathology. Charles Richard Snyder is an internationally renowned figure for his work on positive psychology focussing on health, personality, clinical and social aspects. His theories were concerned with people's reactions to personal feedback, the human desire for individuality, the motive of hope in people and the desire to forgive others found in all humans. Clearly, the common thread connecting the work of all authors is their focus on the well-being of people. The Psychological Home construct also reflects this concern, especially in case of women.

Psychological Home is a theoretical construct which examines the motivations behind the relationship between an individual and their home as well as the implications of this relationship for the identity and physical and mental health of the individual. It is defined by the authors as 'an underlying motive that is driven by an individual's need to identify a sense of self with a physical locale'.[20] This need 'transcends time and place' by continuing throughout the life of the individual and not being limited to their home of origin.[21] PH is a theoretical construct which examines the motivating factors for the relationship shared by an individual with their home. These motivating factors are responsible for the manner in which the individual defines home. The meanings that the individual accords to their PH are derived from the emotional bond that the individual forms with the objects, places and people present in the PH. The authors suggest that the PH comes into existence due to 'an individual's need to develop an identity independent from the social community, as well as to establish a safe refuge from the group or to lay claim to a portion of the geographic location'.[22]

20 Sigmon and others, 'Psychological Home', p. 39.
21 Ibid, p. 33.
22 Ibid, p. 31.

The construct has three broad functions. Firstly, it affords security to an individual by providing a space where the individual can retreat to in order to maintain their privacy. Secondly, the individual develops affection for the objects and areas present in the physical place associated with the construct and these, in turn, reflect the individual's sense of self-identity. Finally, the construct plays a key role in influencing the psychological well-being of the individual. Psychological Home consists of cognitive, affective and behavioural components.[23] The cognitive components examined by the construct include: the manner in which an individual relates their self with the environment of the psychological home; the beliefs of the individual about what home should be; and, the meaning accorded to home by the individual. The affective components comprise the feelings attached to the psychological home like 'warmth, attachment, consistency, resiliency, identity and familiarity. The behavioural components comprise the physical actions of the individual in relation to their home. These actions include the maintenance or personalisation of the territory covered by the construct along with the constructions carried out in the area.

While the construct 'explains how an individual may interact with and manipulate their physical space', it has been criticised for not being able to 'predict time, circumstances, or specific behaviors'.[24] Cicognani argues that an individual's personality may also affect the way a sense of psychological home is fostered.[25] Moreover, if we consider Psychological Home as an individual-level construct as proposed by the authors, it creates the 'expectation that [the construct] should be relatively independent from the physical structure of the house building'.[26] The authors have not provided much information about this issue or 'the relationship between subjective experiences of home and physical characteristics of the house buildings'.[27] Moreover, cases where houses are owned will display differences in the manifestation of the construct from houses which have been rented as owners of the latter will face limitations in personalising the interior and exterior spaces. In case of house-owners, socio-demographic characteristics might also affect the cultivation and manifestation of the construct but the authors have not provided cases for the examination of this aspect. The application of the theory to Austen's novels will help to examine Cicognani's suggestion that the personality of an individual affects the way they interpret their psychological home. Due to the variety of characters selected for this study (those who own homes, those who live with their relatives or

23 Sigmon and others, 'Psychological Home', p. 33
24 Cicognani, 'Psychological Home and Well-Being', p. 85.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid, p. 87
27 Ibid.

friends and those who live in rented spaces), the thesis can also contribute information about the effect that house ownership has on the construct as well as elucidate the relationship between subjective experiences of home and the physical characteristics of the place.

3.2.3 Francine Deutsch's Concepts of "Doing Gender" and "Undoing Gender"

The shaping of gender roles in Austen's novels will be examined using Francine Deutsch's concepts of "doing gender" and "undoing gender".[28] Deutsch is a social psychologist who has worked on issues of gender justice to analyse how the construct shapes people's lives. She has studied contemporary American families to probe the division of domestic labour between partners and explore the issue of gender equality at home. Her concepts of "doing gender" and "undoing gender" are especially suited to the study because of her particular interest in examining how gendered norms can be resisted by undoing gender to create families based on equally shared workloads. She has authored works on splitting parental duties between couples (*Halving It All*: *How Equally Shared Parenting Works*, 1999) as well as dividing household chores equally between partners (*Creating Equality at Home*, 2020). Given that the similarity between inequality in Austen's era and ours lies in performing gender roles, applying Deutsch's concepts (which she created to tackle modern problems) will provide a clearer perspective of the solutions to inequality provided by Austen that can be used fruitfully even in our world.

West and Zimmerman assert that "doing gender" stems from socially guided perceptions that focus on different expressions or activities as having either masculine or feminine natures. They indicate that the concept of "doing gender" is applicable both in cases where an individual follows the norms of gender and cases where the norms are subverted. According to them, 'it is individuals who "do" gender, but this "doing" is a situated "doing", carried out in the virtual or real presence of others who are presumed to be oriented to its production'.[29] Deutsch argues for the need of an improvised theory on the grounds that West and Zimmerman's theory does not emphasise the subversion of gendered norms so that a revision of those norms might be considered. Deutsch is concerned that as 'people are still "doing gender" when they transgress according to [West and Zimmerman's] view, it is difficult

28 Deutsch, 'Undoing Gender'.
29 West and Zimmerman, 'Doing Gender', p. 126.

to imagine how the theory could ultimately lead us to understand how gender inequality could be dismantled'.[30]

Deutsch argues that one of the crucial points of West and Zimmerman's theory is the view of gender as 'an accomplishment that is created and re-created in social interaction.' While the emphasis on the creation and re-creation of gender makes it easy to investigate the construction of gender, it is nearly impossible to make use of the concept to examine how gender can be dissolved. It leads to the notion of the perpetuity of gender thereby shifting the focus to the development of differences that legitimate discrimination and inequality based on one's sex. Deutsch strengthens her argument by citing several studies that have made use of the concept to examine gender differences while there has been no use of the concept as a means to remove gender inequality (which was West and Zimmerman's original purpose). She finally points out that 'even their language, which uses the word "doing," evokes the notion of creating difference rather than erasing it'.[31] To avoid overemphasising gender differences through West and Zimmerman's use, Deutsch proposes that we 'reserve the phrase "doing gender" to refer to social interactions that reproduce gender difference and use the phrase "undoing gender" to refer to social interactions that reduce gender difference'.[32] By "undoing gender", says Deutsch, 'we can dismantle the gender system to create real equality between men and women.'[33]

3.2.4 Janet Shibley Hyde's Gender Similarities Hypothesis

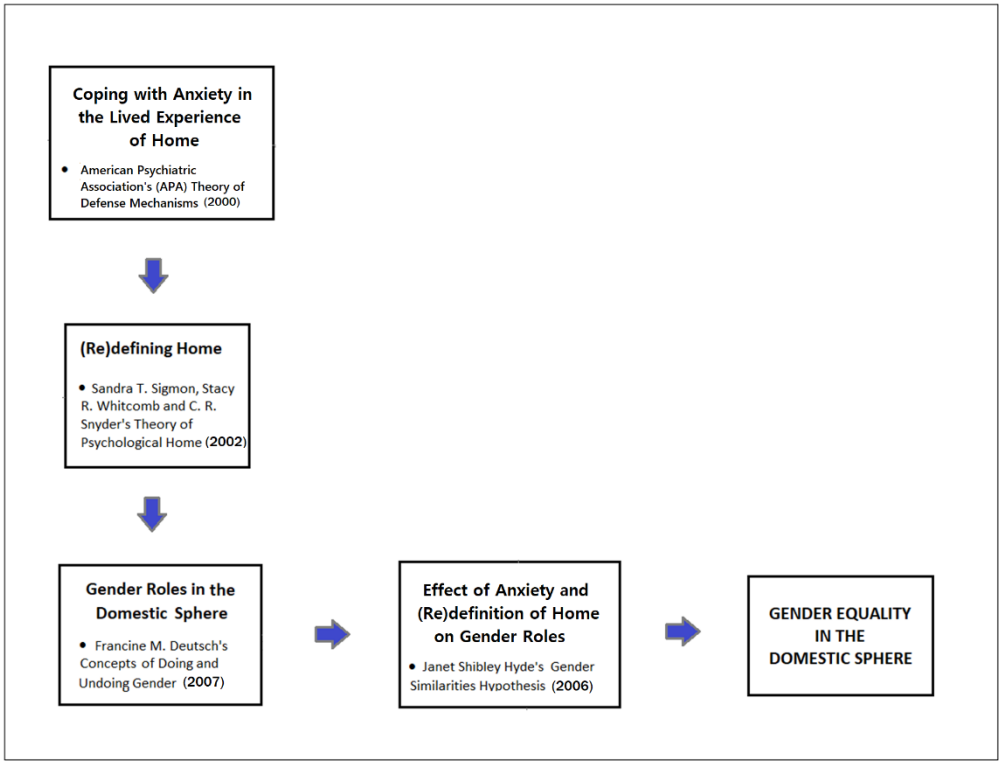
Janet Shibley Hyde's "gender similarities hypothesis" will be applied to the texts to examine the creation and evolution of equality of gender. Hyde asserts that 'males and females are similar on most, but not all, psychological variables […]That is, men and women, as well as boys and girls, are more alike than they are different'.[34] Hyde believes that the biological phenomenon of natural selection acts equally on males and females. She states that 'theorists have focused on sexual selection and its capacity to create gender differences in the realm of evolution' while the phenomenon of natural selection which creates gender similarities has not been given its due importance.[35] Both males and females possess twenty three pairs of

30 Deutsch, 'Undoing Gender', p. 107
31 Deutsch, 'Undoing Gender', p. 107
32 Ibid, p. 108.
33 Ibid.
34 Hyde, 'The Gender Similarities Hypothesis', p. 581.
35 Ibid, p. 582.

chromosomes, out of which twenty two pairs (autosomes) are same while only one pair (the sex chromosomes) is different in males and females. Hyde, therefore, argues that the evolutionary psychologist's focus on the creation of differences through sexual selection (based on a single pair of chromosomes and neglecting the other twenty two) should not make other scholars overlook the process of natural selection which clearly creates more similarities than differences between the sexes. Hyde's "gender similarities hypothesis" will help to explain how gender roles become fluid in Austen's novels through an exploration of the similarities in their enactment exhibited by both genders influenced by their evaluation of and psychological associations with home. By positing traits which should be specific to each gender as having similar manifestations in both genders, the theory will help to examine how gender identities and gender roles in the domestic space become fluid in Austen's novels establishing gender equality between the sexes.

3.3 Research Plan

The methodology will address the research questions laid out in Chapter I (Section 1.2) using the theories discussed in the previous section. The following diagram shows the theoretical



framework that will be the basis of the methodology and analysis of the texts and has been drawn from the review of literature to achieve the research objectives:

Figure 2 Theoretical Framework

This study will begin with the examination of the conscious or unconscious methods employed by the selected protagonists to overcome anxiety in their lived experience of home. If home is considered to be 'a place of safety, security, comfort and belonging', a perceived threat to or loss of any of these aspects will lead to a de-territorialisation of 'our concept of home and problematize the orientation we have taken for granted'.[36] The loss of home serves to create an impression of 'home based on rejection, disruption, and the breakdown of expectations'.[37] The protagonists of Austen's novels find themselves in similar situations created through experiences of displacement, exile, homelessness and/or tyrannical and indifferent family members. Though these experiences are treated more or less as inconveniences on the surface, the pain they have caused lingers beneath the conscious surface of the mind threatening to erupt at any time and disturb the apparently peaceful life of the protagonists. The process of mental and emotional anguish that the characters undergo due to these experiences influences their perception of the meaning and importance of home as well as their perception and enactment of gender roles. To analyse this aspect, the concept of defense mechanisms proposed in the *DSM* IV TR will be used.

After this, the study will explore how home is defined while dealing with the anxiety which has been a part of the lived experience of home. The definition of home will also be analysed in terms of the protagonist's association with the physical domestic space called home which includes the family members of the protagonist, specific places and objects related closely to the protagonists. As discussed in Chapter I (Section 1.1), the division of spheres into private and public is based on differences between the genders. Scholars believe that women are content playing the part of the housewife which justifies these divisions and, at the same time, encourages the division of spheres and the low status it grants to women. Studies related to gendered perceptions of home show that women and men view home differently. It has been suggested that women think of home as a prison (due to domestic violence or restrictions related to study, work or going outside the house) and men consider it a haven (a place where they can rest after working all day).[38] Clearly, the idea of women considering home as a prison,

36 James A. Tuedio, 'Ambiguities in the Locus of Home: Exilic Life and the Space of Belonging', in *Homes in Transformation: Dwelling, Moving, Belonging*, ed. by Hannah Johanssen and K. Saarikangas (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2009), pp. 284-310 (p. 290).
37 Ibid.
38 Chapman and Hockey, 'The Ideal Home as it is Imagined and as it is Lived', in *Ideal Homes: Social Change and Domestic Life*, ed. by Tony Chapman and Jenny Hockey (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 1-13 (pp. 10-11).

stems from various kinds of oppression at home, probably due to gender inequality. It has, moreover, been suggested that possessing a stable home is far more important to a female than it is to a male.[39] These basic, yet fundamental differences, in the way both genders define home serves as the base for justifying the division of spheres and, subsequently, gender inequality. The study will, therefore, examine the defining of home by the protagonists to try and evaluate how Austen projects home for the genders to create equality instead of continued inequality. Further, at home, family members play the most important role in forming a person's gender identity and educating them about gender roles so the role of certain family members will also be studied. This aspect will be examined using Sandra T. Sigmon, Stacy R. Whitcomb and C. R. Snyder's concept of Psychological Home.

Next, the study will analyse how gender roles are carried out by the characters. At this point, the protagonists are aware of the traditional or appropriate gender roles assigned to them based on their gender. They can choose to abide by these roles or subvert them to undermine patriarchal structures. The protagonists have to come to terms with what is right for them according to societal notions of gender and what they, themselves, feel is right. The protagonists struggle with themselves while following or subverting traditional gender norms. To examine this aspect of struggle between the subversion or maintenance of gender roles by the protagonists, Francine M. Deutsch's concepts of 'doing gender' and 'undoing gender' will be used which can identify the instances where gender roles are followed as well as the instances where they are subverted.

As a consequence of the defining of home and following or subverting of gender norms, similarities are created between the genders. These similarities blur the distinction between the genders creating fluidity in their approach to gender roles. As genders roles become fluid, equality is created. Gender equality is seen in all novels of Austen and a comparison of the novels will help to form a comprehensive analysis of its evolution in Austen's mature works. This aspect will be examined using Janet Shibley Hyde's Gender Similarities Hypothesis.

3.4 Criteria for Selection of the Characters

39 Sigmon and others, 'Psychological Home'; Cicognani, 'Psychological Home and Well-Being'.

The following six protagonists (three males and three females) have been considered for this research:

- Edward Ferrars from *Sense and Sensibility* (written in 1795, reworked in 1797, published in 1811)
- Henry Tilney from *Northanger Abbey* (written from 1798-1799, published posthumously in 1817)
- Emma Watson from *The Watsons* (written from 1803-1805)
- Fanny Price from *Mansfield Park* (written from 1811-1813)
- Anne Elliot from *Persuasion* (written from 1815-1816)
- Mr. Parker from *Sanditon* (written in 1817)

The characters have been picked based mainly on the following criteria concerning the lived experiences of home and the enactment of gender roles:

- The characters have been subjected to anxiety in their lived experiences of home in the form of displacement, exile, homelessness and/or tyrannical family members.
- The characters are part of a family which has, intentionally or unintentionally, played a role in causing their anxiety and/or homelessness.
- The characters (re)attain 'home' at some point in the story.

The characters were selected not only because they exhibit all the characteristics mentioned above but also because the thesis is concerned with both the creation and evolution of gender equality in Austen's works to examine which the characters should span across various years in Austen's career. *Sense and Sensibility* (1810) was written in 1795 and revised in 1797 and was the first novel of Austen to be published.[40] Shortly afterwards, Austen started to work on *Northanger Abbey* between 1798 and 1799.[41] She hardly wrote during the years 1801-1809 while she first visited seaside resorts with her family (1801-1804) and later resided with various relatives and friends after the death of her father in 1805.[42] *The Watsons,* written between -1803-1805, 'has huge significance as the only original prose piece extant from the long period between the first completion of what would become *Northanger Abbey* in 1799

40 Ryan West and Beau Patterson, 'Major Writers of the 19th Century: The Victorian Period', in *English Literature: Nineteenth Century* (Scientific e-Resources, 2018), pp. 116-135 (p. 125); Kathryn Sutherland, 'Chronology of Composition and Publication', in *Jane Austen in Context* ed. by Janet Todd, (Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 12-22 (p. 13).
41 Sutherland, 'Chronology of Composition and Publication', p. 16.
42 Lascelles, *Jane Austen and her Art,* p. 24; Shields: *Jane Austen;* and Tomalin, *Jane Austen: A Life.*

and the beginning of *Mansfield Park* in 1811'.[43] Austen wrote fairly consistently from 1811 until her death in 1817. The selection process, therefore, covers nearly all the years during which Austen wrote her mature works to analyse the similarities or differences in her characters' approach to questions related to defining home and enacting gender roles.

The characters have further been selected based on the amount of attention they have received in scholarly discussions on this topic. The selected characters include those whose relationship with home has been greatly debated (Anne Elliot and Fanny Price) and those who have received a negligible amount of attention in this context (Edward Ferrars, Henry Tilney, Emma Watson and Mr. Parker). The characters have, moreover, been chosen keeping in mind not only their similar situations but also the different circumstances which give rise to these similar situations. The selected characters include protagonists from both Austen's minor and major novels to examine a broader area than has generally been selected for the study of gender. The minor novels or fragments are important due to the years in which they were written, their content and Austen's unique manner of treating that content. The analysis of characters from the minor novels will not only broaden the scope of the study by encompassing all the years in which Austen wrote her mature works but will also provide an opportunity to explore Austen's presentation and treatment of themes and characters which are similar to and yet different from those found in her major works. Finally, the selection has been done keeping in mind contemporary adaptations and popularity of Austen's works.

3.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter provides explanations for the manner in which the theories will be applied to analyse the texts. The American Psychiatry Association's theory of defense mechanisms, Sandra T Sigmon, Stacy R. Whitcomb and C. R. Snyder's concept of Psychological Home, Francine M. Deutsch's concepts of "Doing Gender" and "Undoing Gender" and Janet Shibley Hyde's Gender Similarities Hypothesis will be employed to examine how the protagonists cope with anxiety due to displacement, exile and/or homelessness and tyrannical or indifferent family members in the lived experience of home, how they define home, how they enact gender

43 Janet Todd, 'Lady Susan, The Watsons and Sanditon', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen* (Cambridge Companions to Literature) ed. by Edward Copeland & Juliette McMaster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 87-96, <https:doi.org/10.1017/CCO9780521763080.006> (p. 89).

roles and how equality of gender is created and evolves over the course of Austen's novels. An explanation is provided for the proposed theoretical model of the study. The chapter further lists the selected characters and clarifies the criteria for their selection.

Chapter IV Coping with Anxiety in the Lived Experience of Home

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is focussed on providing an answer to the research question concerned with examining the causes of anxiety in the lived experience of home and the methods employed by the characters to cope with their anxiety. As the research is concerned with analysing home and gender roles, only the anxiety-inducing factors which are a part of the lived experience of home for each character are identified and analysed. The effect that these experiences have upon the psyche and emotions of each character is discussed. After developing an understanding of the causes responsible for a character's anxiety, the manner in which each character employs defense mechanisms to cope with their anxiety is examined. Throughout the chapter, the characters will be compared to each other to understand the similarities and differences between the effects that varied experiences have on them and the manner in which they cope with their anxiety.

4.2 Anxiety-Inducing Factors in the Lived Experience of Home

Anxiety is characterised by 'unpleasant emotions that have the quality of fear, dread and alarm in the presence or absence of an identifiable psychosocial stressor or stresses.'[1] This section examines factors in the characters' lived experience of home which have the potential to cause anxiety. The selected characters experience anxiety due to four different factors in their lived experience of home: the tyrannical behaviour of family members, familial indifference, displacement from home and loss of home. The anxiety of the selected characters will be probed by examining whether they display any of the symptoms of anxiety mentioned and how these symptoms are linked to any of the four causes stated above.

4.2.1 Familial tyranny

1 Stavrakaki and Lunsky, 'Depression, Anxiety and Adjustment Disorders', p. 118.

Austen employs the 'parent-as-a-handicap mechanism' in her novels to feature several 'dysfunctional' families.[2] Hufstader points out the existence of overbearing or tyrannical parents in *Persuasion* and *Mansfield Park,* Sturrock brings the same to our notice in *Northanger Abbey*, *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice*, and Ingrassia highlights their presence in *Emma.*[3] Both Hufstader and Ingrassia focus on the parents of female protagonists but Sturrock also includes the families of male protagonists in her analysis. The family members considered tyrants by different scholars have extremely different natures and, therefore, attitudes towards their children. Mrs Bennet (*Pride and Prejudice)*, labelled as 'horror-in-chief' by Hufstader, is a tyrant because she tries to force her daughters to get married.[4] The Bennet's house is entailed but they have no son to inherit it and the mother and daughters will be rendered homeless after Mr. Bennet's death. The pressure Mrs Bennet exerts on her daughters, therefore, may be interpreted as her way of fighting against 'the cruelty of settling an estate away from a family of five daughters'.[5] Her "tyranny" in forcing her children to marry, is different from that of General Tilney (*Northanger Abbey)* or Mrs Ferrars (*Sense and Sensibility)* examined by Sturrock. Both General Tilney and Mrs Ferrars are rich but want their sons to marry heiresses to increase their wealth and social status. The tyranny of all three, in turn, is extremely different from the possessively dominating behaviour of the hypochondriac Mr. Woodhouse (*Emma)* pointed out by Ingrassia.

Considering the different types of behaviour labelled as tyrannous by different scholars, familial tyranny has been defined in Chapter I, section 1.6 as it will used in this research. Familial tyranny, for the selected characters, takes the form of 'maltreatment […] and neglect experiences' like 'emotional abuse, physical, medical and emotional neglect' and 'serious and pervasive disruptions in caregiving as a consequence of […] abrupt separation or traumatic loss'.[6] Of the selected characters Henry Tilney (*Northanger Abbey*), Emma Watson (*The Watsons),* Fanny Price (*Mansfield Park),* Edward Ferrars (*Sense and Sensibility)* and Anne Elliot (*Persuasion)* are exposed to tyrannical behaviour by members of their family. While tyrannical behaviour in the characters' family members is often motivated by a coldness

2 Alice Hufstader, 'Family Patterns in *Persuasion'*, *Persuasions*, 6 (1984), 21-23 <http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/printed/number6/hufstader.htm> [accessed 4 August 2019] (p. 22); Sturrock, *Jane Austen's Families*, p. 16.
3 Catherine Ingrassia, 'Emma, Slavery, and Cultures of Captivity', *Persuasions*, 38 (2016), 95-106 <https://jasna.org/publications-2/persuasions/no38/emma-slavery-and-cultures-of-captivity/> [accessed 13 December 2019] (p. 99); Sturrock, *Jane Austen's Families*, p. 16.
4 Hufstader, 'Family Patterns', p. 22
5 Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, ed. by Pat Rogers, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jane Austen (NY: CUP, 2006), p. 56.
6 Isobel, Goodyear and Foster, 'Psychological Trauma in the Context of Familial Relationships', p. 552.

towards them, some members genuinely care for them and behave tyrannically only due to certain circumstances.

Emma Watson (*The Watsons)* belongs to a poor family but is adopted by Mrs Turner, her rich aunt, at a very young age. While we are not given the exact number, it is mentioned that she has been with Mrs Turner for fourteen years and as she is nineteen when she returns home, it is quite likely that she is adopted at the age of five. At the Turners' house, she is 'the first object of hope and solicitude' of her uncle while her aunt is 'delighted to give her every indulgence'.[7] Mr. Turner dies when Emma is seventeen, leaving everything to his wife. As Emma is his wife's niece, he leaves it to his wife to decide what she wants to bequeath to Emma (LM, p. 272). Since the Turners have no children of their own, Emma is expected to be her aunt's heiress and inherit eight to nine thousand pounds from her (p. 271). However, her aunt gets married again and her new husband, Captain O'Brien, does not want Emma to live with them (p. 225). Mrs Turner sends Emma back without any money to her father's home at Stanton. Not only is Emma's father, Mr. Watson, extremely poor, but he is also ill and it is expected that he will pass away soon (p. 273). It appears that Emma on her return will, therefore, be an accomplished woman without any money and, after her father's death, without any place to live and probably in desperate need of a husband like her other sisters.

Mrs Turner emerges as a tyrant as she is emotionally and physically neglectful of Emma and abruptly ends her role as a parent after her second marriage. She first adopts Emma at an age where she is too young to remember her family and her family has spent too little time with her to be attached to her and later sends her back to adjust to a life of poverty amidst people who barely consider her a family member. As she is fully aware of the circumstances of the Watson family both while adopting and sending Emma back, her behaviour is highly irresponsible and characteristic of emotional neglect and abuse towards Emma. She has brought Emma up to believe that she will have 'an easy inheritance' (*LM*, p. 289) but then sends her back to be 'a weight upon [her] family, without a sixpence' (p. 271). She brings up Emma in 'comfort and elegance' giving her 'every indulgence' (p. 289) but then sends her to a place occupied by 'inferior minds with little chance of domestic comfort, and as little hope of future support' (p. 289). Her lack of consideration of the physical, mental and emotional problems Emma will face with the transition marks both physical and emotional neglect of her niece. Although Emma appears to submit to her changed circumstances without complaint, she

7 Austen, 'The Fiction', in *Later Manuscripts*, ed. by Janet Todd and Linda Bree, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jane Austen (Cambridge, NY: CUP, 2020), pp. 3-210 <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108993487> (p. 134).

gloomily acknowledges the striking difference between the life that she enjoyed with the Turners and the one she will have to lead with the Watsons (pp. 288-289).

The tyrannical behaviour of Mrs. Turner appears to be one of the primary causes of Emma's anxiety in her lived experience of home. Emma has lost not only her home by her forced displacement but also her family (see section 4.2.2). Of the effects of anxiety mentioned earlier (see Chapter I, section 1.6.3), Emma displays irritation, apprehension, feels tense and jumpy and finally attempts to withdraw from the negative situation where any mention of her aunt's cruelty is made. When the Watsons' neighbours, Mr and Mrs Edwards, allude to her displacement by questioning her about her aunt's second marriage, she answers with 'some agitation' and 'perturbation' (*LM*, p. 225). When they learn that Mrs Turner abandoned Emma, they begin to criticise the former which prompts Emma to draw 'her hand across her eyes' perceiving which Mrs Edwards 'changes the subject to one of less anxiety to all' (p. 226). The gesture of covering her eyes appears to signal the triggering of anxiety and a wish to withdraw from the conversation as it triggers unpleasant emotions. When her brother, Robert, similarly accuses their aunt and uncle of behaving unjustly towards her, she is 'equally irritated and grieved' (p. 273). The feelings of irritation are possibly triggered by her anxiety of finding herself in a situation where she has to cope with the knowledge of having lost her home and family due to her aunt's neglect. This, in turn, leads to a wish of avoiding Robert to such an extent that she declares it would be 'better to look at her sister-in-law's finery than listen to Robert' (ibid).

The fate of Fanny Price resembles that of Emma Watson in several ways. Both belong to poor families and are adopted by a rich aunt at a young age. Emma's aunt and uncle, however, are childless and indulge her, while Fanny's uncle and aunt, Sir Thomas and Lady Bertram, have four children of their own and are merely attempting to provide necessities like clothing, food and education which she would not have received properly at her own home.[8] Fanny is 'just ten years old' (*MP*, p. 13) when she is adopted and, therefore, has stronger memories of her family than Emma. Francus points out that Austen provides us with a 'claustrophobic representation of family' through the Bertrams.[9] This can be observed in the narrator's comment that none of the Bertrams 'meant to be unkind, but nobody put themselves out of their way to secure [Fanny's] comfort' (p. 15). As a result, Fanny is 'as unhappy as

8 Austen, *Mansfield Park*, ed. by John Wiltshire, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jane Austen (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 132.
9 Francus, 'The Monstrous Mothers'.

possible' (p. 14) and is nostalgic for the Price family and home that she considers as her own. The only room where Fanny is at complete peace in Mansfield is the east room which can be considered 'compensatory, a refuge from the "tyranny" outside'.[10] Fanny looks upon the room as her 'nest of comforts' (p. 179) which offers her refuge from painful recollections and any threats posed by the family members (discussed in more detail in Chapter V, section 5.2.1).

Ray asserts that 'Fanny Price is Austen's insightful study of "the battered-child syndrome"'.[11] He believes that both families of Fanny 'exhibit many symptoms of the dysfunctional family that modern health care and social work professionals now recognize in situations of child abuse'.[12] Based on the definition of tyranny provided earlier, it is primarily her uncle, Sir Thomas Bertram, and her eldest aunt, Mrs Norris, who emerge as tyrants due to their emotional neglect and emotional abuse of her based on class differences. Scott believes that Austen's work 'is concerned, in fact almost obsessed, with questions of rank and status'.[13] Fanny's biological parents, Mr and Mrs Price, also appear to be emotionally neglectful but it is her uncle and aunt who, by virtue of adopting her, are in a position to influence her more strongly than her absent parents busy in handling their 'house full of little children' (*MP*, p. 428).

Benditt believes that Austen depicts three types of pride in her novels of which she criticises only the one which arises by 'glorying in your social rank or status and regarding yourself as superior to others, usually not with respect to some particular trait or accomplishment'.[14] This type of pride in seen in both Sir Thomas and Mrs Norris. The pride of both is punished when Fanny, after growing up, becomes an embodiment of the Christian values and virtues upheld by her uncle while his own daughters (on whom Mrs Norris dotes) tarnish the family's reputation by eloping. It is important to note here that Sir Thomas appears to realise that morality matters more than class and accepts Fanny and her sister as his own daughters at the end of the novel. Mrs Norris is banished from Mansfield Park and lives with Maria Bertram which suggests that she has not given up her way of thinking and is incapable of changing. While Sir Thomas is not there to witness a significant portion of Mrs Norris' neglect and abuse towards Fanny, his authority to Mrs Norris to draw a line between his

10 Kathleen E. Urda, 'Buried in Plain Sight: Jane Austen's Gothic Critique of Interiority in *Mansfield Park* and *Persuasion*', *Women's Writing*, 27.2 (2017), 134-149 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09699082.2017.1402988> (p. 138).
11 Ray, 'Jane Austen's Case Study', p. 18.
12 Ibid.
13 James M. Scott, '"If Art could Tell": A Miltonic Reading of *Pride and Prejudice*', *Persuasions On-Line*, 37 (2016) <https://jasna.org/publications-2/persuasions-online/vol37no1/scott/> [accessed 8 September 2020].
14 Theodore Benditt, 'Jane Austen and Pride', *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews*, 29.2 (2016), 62–66 <https://doi.org/10.1080/0895769X.2016.1207500> (p. 63).

children and niece as she sees fit (*MP*, p. 12) is what allows her to get away with most of it. While both share a similar attitude in considering Fanny lesser than them because of her class, it is almost as if Sir Thomas relegates being the person who emphasises this to Mrs Norris. He is then, morally responsible for the abuse inflicted on Fanny even if the abusive actions themselves are primarily carried out by Mrs Norris.

Fanny is subjected to the emotional neglect of her aunt, Mrs. Norris, even before she enters Mansfield Park. Even though it is Mrs Norris who wants the Bertrams to relieve Mrs Price 'from the charge and expense of one child entirely from her great number' (*MP*, p. 6), she declares that she 'could never feel for this little girl the hundredth part of the regard she bear[s] [the Bertrams'] own dear children, nor consider her, in any respect, so much [her] own' (p. 8). As the children she is comparing share the same relationship of being her nephews and nieces, her claim of never loving Fanny like she loves the Bertram children suggests a love for wealth and social status as opposed to familial relations. It also suggests that she plans to emotionally neglect the child that she is persuading the Bertrams to adopt. She advises Lady Bertram to assign Fanny a room that is 'near [the governess], and not far from the girls, and close by the housemaids' (p. 11). The placement appears to signify the place that Fanny occupies in the house for most of her childhood. She is a family member by virtue of being related to Lady Bertram but treated more as an outsider or a servant because her father's family is poor and occupies a much lower social status than the Bertram family. It also foreshadows that the behaviour of Mrs Norris towards Fanny will be calculated to make her remember that Mansfield Park is not her home and her status is inferior to her cousins.

In accordance with her resolution of not giving Fanny as much importance as the Bertram children, she impresses upon her nieces, Maria and Julia Bertram, that though Sir Thomas and Lady Bertram are bringing Fanny up, 'it is not at all necessary that she should be as accomplished as [they] are' and it would be 'much more desirable that there should be a difference' (*MP*, p. 21). Poisoning the mind of her impressionable nieces against Fanny due to the class difference between the cousins, results in emotional abuse as Maria and Julia grow up to be indifferent towards Fanny, forcing her to be a 'miserable girl who [is] completely alone at Mansfield Park'.[15] It is only Edmund's support, whether mental, physical or emotional, and the knowledge of being useful, even, dear, to Lady Bertram that helps Fanny survive at Mansfield Park. Mrs Norris not only attempts to turn her nieces against Fanny but also her own

15 Melissa Edmundson, 'A Space for Fanny: The Significance of Her Rooms in *Mansfield Park'*, *Persuasion On-Line*, 23.1 (Winter 2002), <http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol23no1/edmundson.html> [accessed 20 March 2020].

sister, Lady Bertram. When Sir Thomas wants to send Fanny back to the Price family for two months and Lady Bertram is not in favour of the idea as she 'shall miss her very much', Mrs Norris attempts to convince her 'that Fanny could be very well spared […] and, in short, could not really be wanted or missed' (p. 428).

When Maria, the beloved niece of Mrs Norris, elopes with Mr Crawford after her marriage, Mrs Norris labels Fanny the 'daemon of the piece' and suggests that if she had 'accepted Mr. Crawford, this could not have happened' (*MP*, p. 518). Her actions while suggesting an interest in ensuring that the Bertrams do not regard Fanny with affection due to her lower social status, also reveal her emotional abuse of Fanny by alienating her from the family. The effects of her abuse can be seen in Fanny's assertion to Edmund that she can 'can never be important to any one' due to her 'situation, [her] foolishness and awkwardness' (p. 191). Fanny's awareness of her "situation" -- her low station as compared to the Bertrams who belong to have a higher class and have much more money than she ever will – has been brought about primarily by the ill-treatment and constant reminders of Mrs Norris about the same. When Fanny is assigned a new room after a few years, Mrs. Norris considers it an 'indulgence' and is only 'tolerably resigned' to Fanny's owning it after receiving the conviction that Fanny has 'the use of what nobody else wanted' (*MP*, p. 177). To further satisfy herself, she makes sure of 'there never being a fire in it on Fanny's account' (ibid). This appears to be done to remind Fanny of her lower class as compared to the other members of the family.

The actions of Mrs Norris not only display an obsession with maintaining social hierarchies but also lead to physical neglect of Fanny whose health might be affected by the coldness in the room as she is 'not strong' (p. 361). Mrs Norris also attempts to convince her nephew - Edmund that Fanny should not be given a horse. She finds it 'unnecessary, and even improper, that Fanny should have a regular lady's horse of her own in the style of her cousins' (*MP*, p. 42). Her insistence on Fanny not being provided with a horse 'in spite of the acknowledged importance of [Fanny] riding on horseback' and 'the loss in her health' (p. 41) due to not being able to do so, again suggests physical neglect. She similarly attempts to persuade Sir Thomas to arrange for 'a less expensive conveyance of Fanny' (p. 429) when she is sent to Portsmouth to visit the Price family. She appears to be focussed on saving money and does not care about the effect that cheap transportation might have on Fanny's health. Fanny herself says that she has 'never received kindness from her aunt Norris, and [can] not love her' (p. 28).

Sir Thomas Bertram is, 'fully resolved to be the real and consistent patron of [Fanny]' (*MP*, p. 9) but is also concerned with wealth and status and wants to ensure that Fanny always remembers 'that she is not a Miss Bertram' (p. 12). His unkindness towards Fanny, often unintentional, arises primarily from a lack of emotional intelligence. While he does not wish to be unkind, he finds it difficult to be 'outwardly affectionate and the reserve of his manners repressed all the flow of [his children's] spirits before him' (p. 22). Fanny, like the Bertram children, also appears to be afraid of him. When Sir Thomas leaves Mansfield Park to visit his estate in Antigua, she feels 'grieved because she could not grieve' (p. 212) which suggests that she is afraid of her uncle and glad at his going away but feels guilty for being ungrateful to him by rejoicing at his departure. Though giving importance to money and social status, Sir Thomas appears to be kind and generous as even after adopting Fanny, he does 'not forget to do what he could for the children of Mrs Price' (p. 23). Fanny herself admits that his actions are 'thoughtful and kind' and if he would only 'have smiled upon her, and called her "my dear Fanny" […] every former frown or cold address might have been forgotten' (p. 37). This suggests that Fanny is afraid of him due to his outward manner which is not affectionate and not necessarily because of his nature itself.

As he has to leave for Antigua for an indefinite amount of time (*MP*, p. 37), he does not occupy an active role in Fanny's life until much later. As stated earlier, however, his grant of authority to Mrs. Norris makes him indirectly responsible for the abuse Fanny suffers at her hands. He comes back some time before Fanny is made an offer of marriage by a wealthy man named Henry Crawford and is keen on her accepting the proposal. On his entering her room to convey to her the news that Crawford has approached him to ask for her hand, the first thing he notices is the absence of a fire and the next time Fanny enters the room (after a strong disagreement with him), 'the first thing which [catches] her eye [is] a fire lighted and burning' (p. 372). His rectifying Mrs Norris' misdeed even though he is upset with Fanny's behaviour suggests genuine concern for her. He cannot understand Fanny's refusal of Crawford's proposal as she is too timid to reveal to him that she witnessed him flirting simultaneously with both of her cousins, particularly Maria who was already engaged to Mr Rushworth at the time. He attempts to force her to marry Crawford by first advising, then insisting and finally sending her back to her parents in Portsmouth to make her realise the value of money and the benefits that accepting Crawford's proposal will provide her with.

While his intention of seeing her 'nobly settled' (*MP*, p. 368) might excuse his encouragement of the alliance, it does not justify his actions to force her to accept him.

Throughout the interaction where Fanny is crying bitterly, he emphasises how she is being ungrateful to the people who have done so much for her (ibid). While the favours he bestows on her appear to stem from a genuine concern for her welfare, his reiteration of those favours while convincing her to accept the proposal seems like a manipulation tactic employed against her based on his knowledge of her character. It further suggests that though he appears more affectionate towards Fanny on his return from Antigua, he has not forgotten her lesser status as compared to his own and believes she has a duty of obeying his wishes. When he does not succeed in manipulating her, he decides to send her to her parents as a punishment and lesson. Although Fanny is happy when she is informed that she is going to Portsmouth, he has not done it with 'any idea of making her happy' (*MP*, p. 425). He wants her to be 'heartily sick of home before her visit ended' (ibid) which suggests that he is aware of Fanny not considering Mansfield Park as her home.

Considering her understanding 'diseased', he wants her to be brought into a 'sober state' by her visit to Portsmouth so that she can develop a 'juster estimate of the value of that home of greater permanence, and equal comfort [to Mansfield], of which she had the offer' (*MP*, p. 425). His decision is, in part, motivated by his improper understanding of Fanny's character and his unawareness of her being in love with his son, Edmund. His plan of ending Fanny's attachment to her paternal home is emotionally abusive as the indifferent behaviour of her family makes her endure severe emotional toil. Fanny believes that he is 'quite unkind, both to her aunt and to herself' (p. 491) as Lady Bertram 'often expressed a wish for her, but there was no notice, no message, from the uncle on whom all depended' (p. 499). The time period for which he postpones the date of her return in order to teach her the importance of Mansfield Park is 'a cruel, a terrible delay to her' (ibid). It is, ironically, during this period that he, himself, is taught the lesson that morality is more important than social status when both his daughters elope. Recognising his mistake, he recalls Fanny, along with her younger sister, Susan, to Mansfield Park where they are finally accepted as his daughters.

Hufstader draws our attention to Fanny and Anne Elliot's fathers - Lieutenant Price and Sir Walter Elliot - as the most tyrannous father figures created by Austen.[16] She criticises both for inflicting upon their daughters 'that most painful of filial sufferings – humiliation'.[17] It is true that, as opposed to Sir Thomas who is only an uncle related by marriage and not blood, Fanny's own father - Lieutenant Price, is expected to feel affection for her. It is, however, not

16 Hufstader, 'Family Patterns, p. 22.
17 Ibid.

his lack of affection but his humiliation of Fanny that makes Hufstader label him as a tyrannous father. It is important to point out that Fanny does not feel humiliated due to any specific mistreatment on Lieutenant Price's part as 'her confidence had not been sanguine' (*MP*, p. 450) on receiving any affection from him from the very beginning. She was never able to 'recall anything approaching to tenderness in his former treatment of herself' (ibid) due to which she did not expect any affection from him and placed all her hopes, in that quarter, with her mother. Fanny fully expects to find him negligent of his family, having bad habits and coarse manners and which are present in an even greater amount 'than she had been prepared for' (p. 450). While Lieutenant Price is culpable of emotional neglect, it must be remembered that he has many children and not enough means to provide for all which might explain his behaviour. Sir Thomas, by comparison, is initially culpable of unintentional emotional neglect towards Fanny in her formative years, and later by deliberately exposing her to the inelegance of her family and various discomforts of her home to chastise her into accepting a person she dislikes, becomes physically neglectful and emotionally abusive as well.

Sir Thomas and Mrs Norris, then, share similarities in the manner in which they think of Fanny (based primarily on her lower social rank). Comparing the two, Ferguson suggests that Mrs Norris 'represents his displaced tacit approval of heinous cruelty'.[18] This is supported by Sir Thomas requesting assistance from Mrs Norris in his endeavour 'to choose exactly the right line of conduct' to maintain a distinction between Fanny and his daughters as their 'rank, fortune, rights, and expectations, will always be different' (*MP,* p. 12). While their thoughts and concerns regarding Fanny are similar, their behaviour to her is not. While Mrs Norris, at different instances in the novel, directly shows (and tells) Fanny that she and the Miss Bertrams 'cannot be equals', Sir Thomas is interested in conveying the same impression but 'without depressing her spirits too far' (ibid). The difference between Sir Thomas and Mrs Norris, then, appears to be that the former is more sensitive towards people, even if he is as strongly influenced by notions of rank and fortune as the latter. This is best demonstrated by his 'well-meant condescensions' (p. 14) to console Fanny when she is adopted by the family. Although he is certainly well-meaning, his attitude is condescending due to her inferior social status.

While Lady Bertram is by no means a mother-substitute for Fanny and oblivious of her feelings to the extent that she mostly appears indifferent, Fanny likes her more than either Mrs Norris or Sir Thomas. Fanny equates being loved with being needed (discussed in more detail

18 Moira Ferguson, '*Mansfield Park:* Slavery, Colonialism, and Gender', *Oxford Literary Review,* 13.1/2 (1991), 118-139 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43973713> [accessed 25 December 2020] (p. 131).

in Chapter VI) and she is so useful to her Aunt Bertram that she harbours serious doubts of the latter's 'being comfortable without her' (p. 427). Fanny is content to love Lady Bertram for the latter's mental and emotional dependence on her. Fanny's love for Lady Bertram, then, is like the love of a parent for an adopted child who depends on them as opposed to the love of an adopted child for their parent, which should actually be the case. Despite Lady Bertram failing to become Fanny's mother, Fanny not only loves her but also likes her own mother (Mrs Price) more because she reminds her of her aunt (p. 436). While she has the conviction of being needed (and, by extension, loved) by Lady Bertram, it is possible that the behaviour of Sir Thomas and Mrs Norris aimed at emphasising her status in the Bertram family triggers her anxiety. Reminders, however small or big, of the difference between herself and the Bertrams, force her to recall, from time to time, the unpleasant truth of having lost her family and home as well as strengthen the notion of the Bertram family and Mansfield Park home not being her own. Her anxiety can be seen in her feelings of apprehension and dread towards both. Despite understanding his ways and 'the best manner to conform to them', Fanny cannot 'cease to fear' (*MP*, p. 19) her uncle. Even after he becomes affectionate towards her, she is in 'awe of [him]' and has a 'dread of taking a liberty with him' (p. 505). When Mr. Norris dies and it is suggested that Fanny should go to live with Mrs Norris, she is so apprehensive that even the kind assurances of her beloved cousin, Edmund, cannot 'persuade […] [her] out of […] [her] fears' (p. 196). This suggests that she is equally afraid of both Mrs Norris and Sir Thomas even if their treatment of her is not the same. This might be because she understands they both consider her unequal to them.

Edward Ferrars, like Fanny, becomes the victim of parental tyranny through emotional abuse when he refuses to marry, Miss Morton, the rich heiress that his mother, Mrs Ferrars, has selected for him. Edward is inherently different in temperament and character not only from his mother but also from the other members of his family – his sister, Fanny Dashwood; and his younger brother, Robert Ferrars. The difference in their behaviour and thinking isolates him from the other members of his family. Mrs. Ferrars is 'serious, even to sourness, in her aspect' and possesses the 'strong characters of pride and ill nature'.[19] His sister, Fanny Dashwood, is cold hearted and selfish with 'an insipid propriety of demeanor, and a general want of understanding' (*S&S*, p. 275). His brother, Robert, is a 'coxcomb' (pp. 176 and 299). All three are shallow and have an 'inclination for show' (p. 280). Edward, in contrast, is 'shy',

19 Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, ed. by Edward Copeland, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jane Austen (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), p. 265.

'diffident', 'awkward' and possesses an 'open, affectionate heart' (p. 17). Ray points out that 'emotionally or mentally cruel parents or parental figures may see one child as "different," in a pejorative sense, from other family members'. [20] As suggested by Ray, due to being different from the other members, Edward is often treated poorly, whether intentionally or unintentionally.

Edward's inheritance depends 'on the will of his mother' (*S&S*, p. 16) who is presented as a selfish parent. She is what Deresiewicz calls 'the domineering dowager on the man's side' like Lady Catherine, Willoughby's Aunt Smith and General Tilney (as a male version).[21] She neither makes Edward feel comfortable at home, nor encourages him to feel that he can settle on his own 'without strictly attending to her views for his aggrandizement' (p. 25). Her affection, tainted with her own selfish interests, extends to attempts to make Edward's material life prosperous and explore avenues to make him famous. Her greatest wish is 'to see him distinguished' and occupy a position where he will be 'connected with some of the great men of the day' (p. 18). Realising that he is 'neither fitted by abilities nor disposition to answer her wishes' (ibid), she decides that the only way to accomplish this is by his marriage to a woman who is rich and will be able to introduce him into higher circles than the one the family currently occupies. Being unemployed, Edward is dependent on Mrs Ferrars and she tries to use his dependence as a crutch to convince him to marry the woman of her choice. As is clear from John Dashwood's words, she 'with the utmost liberality, will come forward' and settle a large sum of money to make Edward's life comfortable only 'if the match [that she decides upon] takes place' (p. 269). Since Edward clearly states that 'greatness will not make [him happy]' and he has 'no wish to be distinguished' (p. 109), her methods of promoting his happiness are fundamentally incorrect and suggest a complete lack of understanding of his character as well as a blatant disregard of his emotions.

Ray, in a study of dysfunctional families in Austen's novels, suggests that abusive parents fail to see the uniqueness of each child and hurt their emotions by comparing them to the other in order to point out their weaknesses.[22] This can be seen in Edward's case where his brother, Robert, is favoured by their mother (and sister) even after he marries the woman that Edward was disinherited for merely being engaged to. Instead of promoting her son's happiness, she appears to be singularly focussed in maintaining her pride and increasing her

20 Ray, 'Jane Austen's Case Study', p. 19.
21 Deresiewicz, *Jane Austen and the Romantic Poets*, p. 41.
22 Ray, 'Jane Austen's Case Study', p. 18.

wealth and social status through him. Edward complains that his family members neither chose a profession for him themselves nor 'allowed [him] to chuse any [himself]' (*S&S*, p. 434**)** as they could not 'agree in [their] choice of a profession' (p. 124). When Mrs Ferrars learns about Edward's secret engagement with Lucy Steele, she attempts to reinforce the idea of his dependence on her by first bribing and later threatening him.

She promises to 'settle on him the Norfolk estate' which will bring him a yearly income of one thousand pounds and offers, 'when matters grew desperate, to make it twelve hundred' (*S&S*, p. 316). When he still refuses to break his engagement, her selfish nature overrules her motherly affection and she demonstrates emotional abuse in her warning that not only will she disown him, but will also be so far from assisting him 'that if he were to enter into any profession with a view of better support, she [will] do all in her power to prevent him advancing in it' (p. 317). When he still resists, she disowns him and settles the Norfolk estate on his younger brother, Robert as punishment for his disobedience. Such attempts to first coax and then force Edward into submission highlight Mrs Ferrars disrespect for his choices, her ignorance of his character and her refusal to allow him to be happy unless it is in accordance with her own wishes. Mrs Ferrars' behaviour, therefore, is not only emotionally neglectful but also emotionally abusive as she abuses the authority she has over her son due to his being financially dependent on her.

Edward finds love and acceptance with Lucy Steele and her family who become equally, if not more, important to him than his own family (*S&S*, p. 435). While the Ferrars family is his family of origin, the Steele family becomes his family of choice (see Chapter I, section 1.6.1). Lucy's family might also be compared to that of the aunts of Emma and Fanny who adopt them and provide more love than their own families. Lucy, however, does not have 'the smallest regard' (p. 441) for Edward and is interested in the fortune Edward will inherit due to being the eldest son. Lucy is 'very sure' that she has 'long lost [Edward's] affections' but appears to have no problem 'to accept a hand while the heart [is] another's' (p. 438) until she receives a better proposal from Edward's brother, Robert, who has been chosen as the heir by his mother in Edward's stead. Due to her own selfish interests, she emotionally neglects Edward by refusing to allow him to be happy by breaking the engagement when she realises that he does not love her. She emotionally abuses him by not only eloping with his younger brother but also attempting to create a misunderstanding between him and Elinor, the woman he loves, by misleading the latter into believing that she has married him instead of his brother, Robert (p. 440). Such behaviour towards a person who, with her happiness in view, has

maintained an engagement that has 'been a continual source of disquiet and regret to him' (p. 441) is clearly emotional abuse.

Mrs Ferrars and Lucy appear to share characteristics like selfishness, and a love for money and social status. Along with Fanny Dashwood, Tomalin classifies the pair as a 'trio of black-heartedly villainous women' who dominate 'much of the action' of the novel.[23] Incidentally, they both favour Robert instead of Edward, the brother who is selfish, shallow and materialistic like them. Edward admits to Elinor that 'Robert always was [Mrs Ferrars'] favourite' and though his marriage to Lucy will hurt her more, she 'on the same principle will forgive him much sooner' (*S&S*, p. 439) than she would have forgiven Edward in his place. Mrs Ferrars provides the greatest proof of her preference for Robert when she wholeheartedly forgives him for marrying Lucy while Edward is 'never cordially forgiven for having once intended to marry her' (p. 454). While Mrs Ferrars does not promise any material help 'either for the present or in future' (p. 450) to Edward who has an income of two hundred and fifty pounds a year, she provides 'very liberal assistance' (p. 454) to Robert, on whom she has already settled one thousand pounds a year which suggests physical neglect of the former. Lucy, though poorer than Elinor and occupying a much lower social status, is acknowledged as a 'favourite child' (ibid). This appears to be because not only is she selfish and shallow like Robert, Fanny and Mrs Ferrars but she also appeals to their vanity and conceit by flattering them constantly (p. 453).

The primary source of Edward's anxiety is the loss of his home and family. His anxiety can be traced in his anticipation of the worst outcome and avoidance of situations that trigger negative feelings. Throughout the novel, he is either in 'wretched spirits' (*S&S*, p. 162), 'not in spirits' (p. 109), feels 'dreadful low-spirited' and 'miserable' or is 'sadly out of spirits' (p. 161). He remains 'much distressed' (p. 343), 'uncheerful' (p. 346) and is generally 'suffering from 'low spirits' which suggests that he is unhappy. His despair appears to be motivated by his anticipation of the worst outcome (in terms of losing his family) which is reflected in his pessimistic claim that he 'may defy many months to produce any good to [him]' (p. 125). His anxiety appears to stem from his unwillingness to be selfish like his other family members and break Lucy's heart when he falls in love with Elinor. By doing so, he might believe that he will expose Lucy to the same pain that his own family's rejection put him through. It appears that being in Elinor's presence after his realisation of his love for her triggers his anxiety which can

23 Tomalin, *Jane Austen: A Life*, p. 160.

be seen in his avoidance of her. Thrice, he leaves the room when the two are alone (pp. 47 and 116). Though initially open with Elinor, he gradually becomes more reserved towards her than he is with the other members of her family (pp. 25, 114 and 116).

Henry Tilney, the protagonist of *Northanger Abbey*, is subjected to the domineering behaviour of his father, General Tilney, to such an extent that he appears to be quite afraid of him. Graham comments that General Tilney is an extremely dominating father and 'represses both his daughter and his sensitive son'.[24] The siblings' fear of their father is articulated in the General's description of being 'a check upon his children's spirits'.[25] General Tilney imposes restraint on his children – determining when and what they should eat (*NA*, p. 141), where they may go (p. 63), who they can associate with (p. 166) and how they might spend their time (p. 148). Due to his strictness, his children experience a 'positive cheerfulness' (p. 112) in his absence. The 'subtle delineation of General Tilney's tyranny over his children' can be traced in his order to both his sons to marry heiresses even though both of them are employed and will also inherit considerable property (p. 140).[26] This suggests that though quite wealthy, he shares Mrs Ferrars and Sir Thomas Bertram's greed for money and love for social status.

Due to a misunderstanding that the female protagonist, Catherine Morland, is a rich heiress, he gives 'an almost positive command to [Henry] of doing everything in his power to attach her' (*NA*, p. 165). When he discovers his error, he turns Catherine out of the house and orders Henry 'to think of her no more' (p. 164). It is important to point out that by this time, he has already 'discerned a liking towards [Catherine] in the countenance of his son' (p. 165). When Henry refuses to adhere to his father's wishes, 'the general [is] furious in his anger and they [part] in dreadful disagreement' (p. 167). This suggests that like Mrs Ferrars, the General only cares about Henry's happiness as long as it aligns with his own wishes. His neglect of his son's emotions if they clash with his selfish desires is characteristic of tyrannical behaviour. He is a 'stern family patriarch' viewed initially 'as a Gothic tyrant' through the eyes of the heroine Catherine who believes that he murdered his wife and he 'indeed proves by the book's end to embody parental tyranny' even if he is not a murderer.[27] Despite the General's dominating nature, Henry appears to follow all his commands except his order to forget Catherine. It is possible that Henry does so in order to not appear ungrateful towards his father

24 Graham, 'Henry Tilney'.
25 Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, ed. by Barbara M. Benedict and Deirdre Le Faye, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jane Austen (Cambridge, NY: CUP, 2006), p. 159.
26 Deresiewicz, *Jane Austen and the Romantic Poets*, p. 27.
27 Alan Richardson, 'Reading Practices', in *Jane Austen in Context*, pp. 397-405 (p. 400).

and to protect the imagined notion of being a part of a loving family. After falling in love with Catherine, he realises that he can form the same kind of family in reality with her. The General's disapprobation of Catherine threatens Henry's wishes for this new family. It is possible that the fear of losing the opportunity to build a better family with Catherine is what gives him the courage to oppose his father.

The General's presence triggers Henry's anxiety which can be observed in his dread of his father, watching for signs or occurrences of danger in his father's presence and withdrawing from situations that have triggered negative feelings in the past. Instead of being at ease in his family party, Henry is quiet and subdued in the presence of his father (*NA*, p. 86). He wants to ask Catherine about her surprisingly sad reaction to a letter from home but 'is prevented from even looking his surprise by his father's entrance' (p. 136). His concealment of his feelings to the point that he cannot express them even through expressions, effectively demonstrates the fear that he harbours for his father. His silence and the act of suppressing his emotions around General Tilney also suggest a withdrawal from the negative situation that might arise if he is vocal either about his thoughts or feelings in front of his father.

When the General orders Henry to prepare for a visit from him at his house in Woodston, Henry can be seen doing his best to do things exactly as the General likes. It appears that his focus is on preventing the creation of any situation where the General might be displeased. This is demonstrated when he feels pressurised to leave Northanger Abbey 'two days before [he] intended it' to prepare for the visit even though he 'had much rather stay' (*NA*, p. 142). He declares that 'our pleasures in this world are always to be paid for' (p. 141) and connects the statement to his pleasure of hosting Catherine, his father and his sister, Eleanor, at Woodston and the inconvenience of having to leave early to prepare for them. His early, unhappy, and, more importantly, unwilling departure to make the preparations suggests that he does not want to run the risk of displeasing his father by the arrangements and giving him an occasion to get angry. He is, therefore, leaving early to watch for and remove all signs which might make his father angry and give rise to an unpleasant situation. His eagerness to avoid such a situation at all costs is also a symptom of anxiety.

As mentioned above, Anne Elliot's father, Sir Walter Elliot, from *Persuasion* is also labelled as a tyrannous father by Hufstader for humiliating his daughter. Unlike Lieutenant Price, however, he is 'a conceited, silly father' who earns the label by his conscious emotional

neglect of Anne.[28] 'Vanity [is] the beginning and the end of [his] character: vanity of person and of situation' (*Persuasion*, p. 63). He is slightly well-disposed towards Anne during her youth when she is beautiful and he feels that she might marry someone of importance. However, at the age of nineteen, she gets engaged to Captain Wentworth, a person without rank or fortune, and is persuaded to break off the engagement by her godmother, Lady Russell. The broken engagement leaves a 'lasting effect' on her in the form of 'a loss of bloom and spirits' (p. 106), The narrator informs us that 'there could be nothing in [her features] now that she was faded and thin, to excite [Sir Walter's] esteem' (p. 70). She becomes of 'very inferior value' to him and 'her word ha[s] no weight; her convenience [is] always to give way' (p. 69). Her treatment at the hands of her father plays a significant role not only in causing anxiety but also in the way she implements gender roles (see Chapter VI, 6.2.2). Sir Walter's appraisal of Anne solely on the basis of her looks and the chance 'of reading her name in […] his favourite work' (ibid) suggests severe emotional neglect especially as her mother has passed away and she is not close to her sisters. Anne's fate appears similar to Fanny's as 'each heroine's life continues to be dominated by her relationship with a difficult, domineering father or surrogate father'.[29]

Like Edward, Anne is different from the proud, conceited and selfish members of her family and is treated as an outsider due to her humility and simplicity. Ray points out that 'emotionally or mentally cruel parents or parental figures may see one child as "different," in a pejorative sense, from other family members'.[30] This is true for Anne who, instead of 'the Elliot self-importance' (*Persuasion*, p. 119) and 'the Elliot pride' (p. 209), possesses 'an elegance of mind and sweetness of character, which must have placed her high with any people of real understanding' but makes her a 'nobody with either father or sister' (p. 69). Brodey points out that 'not only does Sir Walter Elliot vacate his family estate and rent it out to others because of his financial follies, but the family is divided by greed and pretention.'[31] 'Anne's family relations are flawed' and her 'mobility and the almost constant contact it gives her with friends and family members does little to relieve her lack of companionship'.[32]

Like Fanny, Anne also has only person who genuinely cares about her in her godmother, Lady Russell. Although Lady Russell's support provides Anne with 'some

28 Austen, *Persuasion*, ed. by Janet Todd, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jane Austen (Cambridge, NY: CUP, 2006), <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316848630> pp. 69, 86, 170, 182.
29 Deresiewicz, *Jane Austen and the Romantic Poets*, p. 27.
30 Ray, 'Jane Austen's Case Study', p. 16.
31 Inger Sigrun Brodey, 'Resorting and Consorting with Strangers: Jane Austen's Multiculturalism', *Persuasions*, 19 (1997), 130-143 <https://jasna.org/publications-2/persuasions/no19/brodey/> [accessed 11 December 2019] (p. 132).
32 Sodeman, 'Domestic Mobility', p. 794.

occasional appreciation and relief, in the domestic circle in which she primarily resides, the true Anne simply cannot come out'.[33] Fanny is similarly kept back from being true to herself by her docile temperament and lower class. Both heroines are starved for affection which they receive from Edmund and Wentworth respectively. However, Lady Russell, who, like Sir Walter, also has 'prejudices on the side of ancestry, […] [and] a value for rank and consequence, which blinded her a little to the faults of those who possessed them' (p. 79) convinces Anne to break her engagement with Captain Wentworth. While it is, in a way, opposite to Sir Thomas trying to force Fanny to accept Henry Crawford's proposal, their individual attempts to persuade the heroines are similar as their purpose is to establish the importance of rank and fortune over love.

Lady Russell is concerned that Anne, 'with all her claims of birth, beauty, and mind' would 'throw herself away' by marrying Wentworth as the marriage would sink her 'into a state of most wearing, anxious, youth-killing dependence' (*Persuasion,* p. 103). Anne could have withstood 'her father's ill-will, though un-softened by one kind word or look on the part of her sister' (p. 105) but Lady Russell's advice persuades her to break off the engagement. As she has 'loved and relied on' Lady Russell, the latter 'could not, with such steadiness of opinion, and such tenderness of manner, be continually advising her in vain' (ibid). Though unintentionally, Lady Russell, therefore, becomes a reason for the greatest sorrow and primary cause of anxiety in Anne's life – the loss of a person who loved and accepted her and with whom she could have built a home and family. It should be noted that because of Lady Russell's role in persuading Anne to break her engagement to Wentworth, the two becomes estranged from each other even if they're close. Anne is aware of Lady Russell's feelings for Wentworth and 'cannot and does not want to share her real thoughts about his return with her'.[34]

While she never blames Lady Russell, she does assert that 'were any young person, in similar circumstances, to apply to her for counsel, they would never receive any of such certain immediate wretchedness, such uncertain future good' (*Persuasion*, p. 107). This suggests that she is aware of Lady Russell's mistake and blames her for her pain. Sodeman and Waldron point out that Lady Russell's prejudice against Captain Wentworth has cut off Anne's ability to confide in her.[35] Heeding the well-intentioned but mistaken advice of Lady Russell, therefore, appears to rob Anne of the only two people in the world whom she truly loves and who

33 Urda, 'Buried in Plain Sight', p. 143.
34 Kieko P. Kagawa, 'Jane Austen, The Architect: (Re)Building Spaces at Mansfield Park', *Women's Studies*, 35.2 (2006), 125-143 <https://doi.org/10.1080/00497870500488081> (p. 129).
35 Sodeman, Domestic Mobility, p. 795; Mary Waldron, *Jane Austen and the Fiction of Her Time* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), pp. 11, 138-139.

reciprocate that love. While both her father and godmother's role in neglecting her emotions and separating her from Captain Wentworth is tyrannical, the former is motivated by selfishness and vanity and the latter by true affection which is evident in their response to her engagement. Sir Walter shows his disapprobation by 'a professed resolution of doing nothing for his daughter' (ibid) while Lady Russell is determined to break the engagement by her 'fair interference of friendship' as she has 'almost a mother's love, and mother's rights' (p. 104) with Anne. The question of Anne's happiness never appears to occur to Sir Walter while disapproving of her engagement with Wentworth which can be observed in his 'great coldness' and 'great silence' (ibid). Lady Russell, on the contrary is 'grieved' (ibid) to think of Anne being unhappy and regretful by her choice.

Anne's anxiety of losing her family by the loss of Wentworth and the intimacy she shared with Lady Russell, can be observed in her experiencing feelings of apprehension and dread, having trouble concentrating, overreacting to situations that appear threatening but are not, withdrawing from situations that might cause her pain, waiting (and watching) for signs of danger and anticipating the worst outcome. She experiences anxiety when forced to encounter Wentworth after their separation which is seen in her having difficulty in concentrating or her mind going blank. On first meeting Wentworth, eight years after their separation, she cannot focus: 'the room seemed full—full of persons and voices—but a few minutes ended it' (*Persuasion*, p. 156). While this may simply be read as love depicted in romances, this behaviour of Anne's towards Wentworth does not remain consistent even though her feelings do. Her behaviour changes notably once she starts feeling that he has forgiven her and is still in love with her. Instead of being agitated, hesitant or unconscious of what is going on around her, she purposely seeks him out and talks to him (pp. 347, 354, 367-369). Her changed behaviour after the realisation of his being in love with her and not Louisa suggests that it is not love but anxiety that produces symptoms of agitation and nervousness whenever she meets Wentworth.

She envisions the most dismal outcome of their renewed acquaintance -- 'a perpetual estrangement' where they were 'worse than strangers, for they could never become acquainted' (p. 162). When she notices him looking at her, she imagines the worst outcome of his 'observing her altered features […] trying to trace in them the ruins of the face which had once charmed him' (p. 176). To escape the pain and anxiety which seeing Captain Wentworth's indifferent behaviour causes her, she also tries to avoid him by staying at home when they are invited to the same place (p. 185). When Captain Wentworth accidentally walks into a room

where she is alone with her nephew, she 'would have been out of the room the next moment, and released Captain Wentworth as well as herself' if her nephew had not 'called her to come and do something for him' (*Persuasion,* p. 188). She finds it difficult to attend to Wentworth's sister and brother-in-law's inquiries when she rides with them as she is only conscious of owing the ride to Wentworth's 'perception of her fatigue' (*Persuasion,* p. 207). They have travelled half-way 'before she [is] quite awake to what they said' (p. 208). Her mind is in turmoil because she feels that Captain Wentworth 'could not forgive her,—but he could not be unfeeling' (p. 196) and had, therefore, helped her. She is painfully aware that he is 'perfectly careless of her' and 'becoming attached to another' (ibid) which triggers her anxiety of having lost his love and her home with it. She is also keen 'to avoid ever seeing Captain Wentworth at the hall' because 'those rooms […] [have] witnessed former meetings which would be brought too painfully before her' (p. 212). She is 'yet more anxious for the possibility of Lady Russell and Captain Wentworth never meeting any where' as she envisions the worst outcome of that meeting which would be Lady Russell thinking that 'he had too much self-possession, and [Anne] too little' (*Persuasion,* p. 212). As he goes to visit his brother instead of staying with his sister who lives close to Lady Russell's home, Anne believes that 'every thing [is] safe enough, and she smile[s] over the many anxious feelings she ha[s] wasted on the subject' (p. 265). When she sees Wentworth while travelling in a carriage with Lady Russell, she waits and watches for signs of danger i.e. Lady Russell and Wentworth's seeing each other (p. 351). All these instances are related to her anxiety of losing either Wentworth or Lady Russell and consequently, her home and family. Her dread of Captain Wentworth and Lady Russell meeting each other might also be brought on by the fact that they are the people whom she loves the most and any differences or coldness between them will cause pain to her by serving as a reminder of their broken engagement.

4.2.2 Familial indifference

Analysing the behaviour of parents towards their children, Ray asserts that parental figures in Austen's novels 'either demonstrate detachment and even unawareness of the child or focus intently, even exclusively, on the child'.[36] Examples of the former include Robert Ferrars, Mary and Henry Crawford, Maria Bertram, Betsy Price, Lydia Bennet, Georgiana Darcy, Isabella Thorpe, Emma Woodhouse and Emma Watson. With the exception of Emma Watson and

36 Ray, 'Jane Austen's Case Study', p. 20.

Georgiana, all the characters are somewhat spoilt. This suggests that exclusive focus on the child is not good for their development and, therefore, cannot be considered as a good parenting technique. It is possible that Emma's displacement from the Turner's home and the change in her social status makes her humbler and as we are not provided with sufficient information of her behaviour while she was living with the Turners, it is safe to presume that she might have been somewhat similar to Emma Woodhouse (also an heiress and the only child as her sister lives in London) or Georgiana Darcy. The 'detachment' and 'unawareness' of parents towards their children, pointed out by Ray, is more commonly observable in the selected characters' relationship with their parents and/or family members. Of the selected characters, familial indifference serves as the cause of the anxiety of Emma Watson, Fanny Price, Anne Elliot, Edward Ferrars and Mr. Parker. As in the case of tyrannical behaviour, familial indifference might also be unintentional.

Emma Watson is adopted by Mr and Mrs Turner at a very young age. Her aunt marries again after her uncle's death and sends her to live with her own family. Even if Emma remembered anything about her family when she was adopted, 'an absence of fourteen years ha[s] made all her brothers and sisters strangers' to her (*LM*, p. 265). When she is sent home, she finds only her sick father and elder sister, Elizabeth there. Her other sisters, Penelope and Margaret, are at Chichester and London respectively in order to look for husbands. Their absence suggests that they are either indifferent or not well disposed towards Emma. The narrator tells us that at least one of his children 'was always necessary as companion to him, for he was sickly and had lost his wife' (p. 205). As it is often the eldest daughter, Elizabeth Watson, who stays at home to take care of her father, it is possible that her being at home to welcome Emma might be prompted by the necessity of looking after her father and not any affection that she feels towards Emma.

All the Watson sisters (except Emma) are desperate to be married in order to improve their situation financially. Given their poverty, it makes sense for the sisters to be more interested in their own fates than welcome another sister who will only drain their resources further. It does not, however, make it easier for Emma who was 'the life and spirit of a house' to accept the transition of becoming 'a burden' for people 'whose affection she could not expect' (*LM*, p. 289). She believes herself to be an unfortunate addition to a house that is not only 'overstocked' but also consists of 'inferior minds with little chance of domestic comfort, and as little hope of future support' (ibid). While the sisters' indifference is justified to some extent, that of her brother, Robert, is not. Robert has married an heiress and is well-settled. He

is, however, singularly money-minded and on reuniting with Emma, appears more intent on discussing the cost of the post with the post-boy rather 'than on welcoming a sister, who was no longer likely to have any property for him to get the direction of' (p. 267). The indifferent behaviour of her siblings has a profound effect on her interpretation of gender roles.

Emma is 'eager to be as little among [her siblings] as possible' (*LM*, p. 287) and is 'delighted with the alternative of sitting above, with her father' (p. 288). We are, however, not given any indication that her 'sensible but selfish father' is affectionate towards her.[37] This suggests that her pleasure in his company arises from her dislike of that of her siblings. When one of their neighbours, Mr. Howard, enquires after Emma, Mr. Watson carelessly informs his daughters that 'he enquired after one of my daughters, but I do not know which' (p. 258). His comment suggests that not only does he not distinguish Emma by any particular regard, but is equally indifferent towards all his daughters. Although Emma deems her father to be 'a welcome companion', it is due to his 'being a man of sense and education' (p. 288) and not for being affectionate towards her. It is also important to point out that Emma prefers his company as it provides her an escape from witnessing the indifference and vulgarity of her siblings.

It is possible that as her aunt belonged to a higher class than her father and had much more money than he did, Emma's adoption might have influenced her siblings to envy her situation or even dislike her. Her eldest sister, Elizabeth, points out that she is 'rather refined' (*LM*, p. 211) and is afraid 'that it will not be to [her] happiness' (p. 212). She even suggests that their sister, Penelope, 'will laugh at [her] very much' (ibid) for her refined manners. It is possible that to Emma's siblings, her refinement would serve as a constant reminder of the privileged life she led while they struggled with poverty. This might, in turn, motivate them to behave cruelly towards Emma. Elizabeth's suggestion of Emma's refined ways making her unhappy and immediately drawing attention to their sisters poking fun at her, appears to point towards such a conclusion. Emma's refinement might, moreover, pose a problem in her marriage as any man suited by his social status to marry a woman of the Watson family could not have the upbringing that she had received from the Turners. While it is difficult for Emma to adjust at her father's house, the idea of her being superior to the men who belong to the same social strata as she now does and being inferior in social status to the men who possess the same superiority of mind and manners as her, poses a threat to the possibility of her ever gaining a proper home again.

37 McMaster, 'God Gave Us Our Relations', p. 71.

The pain of losing her home and family by being sent back to her father's house is strengthened by the indifference of the Watson family and triggers feelings of anxiety in Emma manifested as dread, apprehension, irritation and withdrawal from situations that have been negative in the past. As Elizabeth has painted Penelope as someone who will make fun of Emma instead of empathising with her (like Elizabeth herself), she will naturally be anxious of being acquainted with her. The anxiety in seen in her feelings of dread when she considers meeting Penelope (*LM*, pp. 208-209). She is similarly apprehensive of Margaret and her brother, Robert's visit to the home. She attaches the dread of the worst possible outcome in their arrival by terming it 'the probable conclusion of almost all that had been comfortable in the house' (p. 266). It is possible that the unrefined ways of the Watsons repulse her as they bring the loss of her aunt and former home more forcibly into her mind by contrast. Her anxiety in the presence of her family members is so strong that she begins to feel that 'a family party might be the worst of all parties' (p. 282). Her retreat to her father's room to escape her siblings' company, then, appears to be motivated by her irritation with Robert due to his accusing Mr and Mrs Turner, her dread of Margaret and her apprehension of her siblings and sister-in-law hurting her emotionally if she were to spend time with them.

Fanny, like Emma, 'is sent away from a nuclear family with too many children and too little money, to live with her [wealthy] relatives at Mansfield Park'.[38] Her mother, Mrs. Price, is 'fond of her sons' and her 'daughters never [have] been much to her' (*MP*, p. 451) so she can easily part with her though she is 'rather surprised that a girl should be fixed on, when she had so many fine boys' (p. 12). She is treated with the same kind of indifference by the Bertrams also and 'is never completely part of the Bertram family until later in the novel; and in her first years with the family, Fanny does not feel fully accepted as a member of the household'.[39] Her female cousins, Maria and Julia consider her 'prodigiously stupid' (p. 20) and 'odd' (p. 21) and treat her with 'easy indifference' (p. 14). Her male cousins 'mortified her by reflections on her size, and abashed her by noticing her shyness' (p. 16) although the younger brother, Edmund, later understands her and behaves with such 'positive kindness' (p. 19) towards her that she begins to feel at ease in Mansfield. 'Kept back as she [is] by everybody else' (p. 24), Edmund's affection supports her spirits but she cannot help missing her siblings to whom she has 'always been important as play-fellow, instructress, and nurse' (p. 16).

38 Morgan, 'Adoring the Girl Next Door'.
39 Edmundson, 'A Space for Fanny'.

When Fanny is sent back to Portsmouth, she expects to be loved by her family. Her mother though 'not unkind', has 'neither leisure nor affection to bestow on Fanny' (*MP*, p. 450). She meets Fanny 'with looks of true kindness' (p. 436) and then fawns over her son, William, until he reminds her that she has 'hardly looked at [her] dear Fanny' (p. 437). Her behaviour reinforces the fact that she loves her sons more than her daughters. Fanny's father (alerted again by her brother, William, to her presence), greets her with a 'cordial hug', observes that she has grown and 'would be wanting a husband soon' and then appears 'very much inclined to forget her again' (p. 440). Francus believes that Fanny entertains a 'fantasy of validation' which will be fulfilled by receiving her mother's love.[40] While it is true that Fanny has 'hoped much' (p. 450) for her reconciliation with her mother, she appears equally excited to reunite with her siblings.

Fanny has 'never known so much felicity in her life' as she does in an 'unchecked, equal, fearless intercourse with [her] brother', William (*MP*, p. 274). It is possible that she experiences inhibitions while interacting with the Bertrams as she belongs to a lower class than they do and has never been treated as a proper member of the family. With William, she does not have to worry about following any rigid etiquettes, as he belongs to the same class and family as she does. The treatment she has received at the hands of the Bertrams appears to have affected her notions of class and her own place in the world due to her low class quite strongly. Her desire to go to Portsmouth is motivated by the expectation of being able to 'feel affection without fear or restraint' there and to, moreover, 'feel herself the equal of those who surrounded her' (p. 426). While she feels affection for Edmund too, it is forbidden as they belong to different classes and he has been deliberately raised from childhood to see her as a sister (p. 7). Her love for her siblings, however, is not subject to any barriers of class or money and, therefore, offers her freedom in its experience. Her flight to Portsmouth, in fact, is partly motivated by the thought of being able to leave behind any concern about Edmund and the chances of his marriage to Miss Crawford (p. 427).

Fanny, however, does not receive the love she expects from her family members in Portsmouth. Edmundson proposes that Fanny, faced with disappointment in her family of birth, is content to be 'a minor character at Mansfield—than to feel like a nobody, even with [her sister,] Susan's love, at Portsmouth'.[41] Even though both families appear indifferent towards her, with the Bertrams she, at least, has the conviction of feeling 'very much wanted' (*MP*,

40 Francus, 'The Monstrous Mothers'.
41 Edmundson, 'A Space for Fanny'.

p.491) by her aunt Bertram, of being an occasionally 'acceptable companion' (p. 19) to her female cousins and being one of 'the two dearest objects' of Edmund's heart (p. 306). Her anxiety of losing her home and family is evident in her dread of doing something that might offend the Prices. She is 'fearful of appearing to elevate herself as a great lady at home' and 'anxious to be useful, and not to appear above her home, or in any way disqualified or disinclined, by her foreign education, from contributing her help to its comforts' (p. 459). This suggests that she wants the Prices to love her so that she can be secure of possessing a family. Her similar dread of everyone in Mansfield reflected by her 'finding something to fear in every person and place' (p. 16) at Mansfield, appears to be motivated by the anxiety of offending the inhabitants and never gaining a family at Mansfield or being able to call it her home.

Anne and Fanny not only show similar temperaments but also 'share another, related characteristic: marginality within their family or community'.[42] They share experiences not only of paternal tyranny but also sibling indifference. These heroines are quite different from heroines like Elizabeth, Jane, Elinor, Marianne, Catherine, Emma Woodhouse and Emma Watson who are 'all young and lovely, all cynosures of their circle, all avidly courted'.[43] They are similar to the minor characters Harriet Smith and Jane Fairfax (*Emma*), all of them being women 'whom no one regards'.[44] When the family is making preparations for their forced relocation to Bath due to Sir Walter's financial extravagance, Anne's hypochondriac younger sister, Mary, 'entreated, or rather required her' (*Persuasion*, p. 113) to come to her house and nurse her. Her eldest sister, Elizabeth permits her to go with the dismissive that she is sure that 'nobody will want her in Bath' (p. 114). Both sisters appear indifferent towards Anne's needs and desires as neither bothers to ask Anne whether she wants to go to Mary's house or not. She is "required" by one sister and not required by the other so both see fit to settle the matter between themselves without consulting Anne who is the person to be most affected by this scheme. The former's selfishness and latter's indifference, both bordering on emotional neglect, justifies Francus' observation that 'with the exception of our heroine, Anne, the Elliots are not only useless, they are parasites'.[45]

'The virtual familylessness' of Austenian heroines like Fanny, Emma Watson and Anne Elliot 'can be read both as a literary convention' inspired by writers like Fanny Burney, Charlotte Smith, Mary Hays, etc. as well as 'corroboration of its symbolic truth'.[46] The

42 Deresiewicz, *Jane Austen and the Romantic Poets*, p. 36.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
45 Francus, 'Monstrous Mothers'.
46 Perry, *Novel Relations*, p. 65.

heroines' relationship with their family members stands in strong contrast to the affectionate bonds shared by the family members of Mr. Parker (*Sanditon)*. Mr. Parker is part of a closely-knit family whose manners are 'always pleasing among themselves' (*LM*, p. 404). Copeland observes that 'Austen emphasizes the warm family feelings that govern the Parker family's relations with one another.'[47] He points out that 'Mr. Parker and his wife appear to be genuinely delighted with the unexpected appearance of [Mr. Parker's] sister, Diana' at his house and 'insist that she stay with them'.[48] The Parkers consider it 'a thing of course' that she would 'belong to them' (p. 370) during her stay at Sanditon. When they learn that she is not alone but has brought the other Parker siblings, Susan and Arthur, they are delighted at the news getting 'better and better' (ibid). The same behaviour can be observed in 'a very friendly meeting between Sydney & his sister in law, who was most kindly taking it for granted that he was on his way to Trafalgar' (p. 404) when the second Parker brother, Sydney, arrives in Sanditon.

While it can be argued that Mr Parker's public manners are deceptive and hide darker feelings, his description by the narrator as 'an amiable, family-man, fond of wife, children, brothers and sisters' (*LM*, p. 307) suggests that he is genuinely affectionate towards his siblings and does not have any complaint against them. Although there is no animosity or indifference between the siblings, they unintentionally function as a secondary source for Mr. Parker's anxiety. The primary source of Mr. Parker's anxiety is the loss of his home in Sanditon, a seaside resort which he has helped to establish and develop by investing money in it. His two sisters, Diana and Susan and his youngest brother, Arthur are hypochondriacs who employ their 'imagination and quick feelings' in 'the invention of odd complaints' (p. 380). While we do not see Susan and Arthur providing any opinion about Mr. Parker's speculation in Sanditon, Diana is 'most active' (p. 333) in helping him. Her enthusiasm could have been construed as a positive influence if she possessed the capability to follow through on the assistance that she believes she can provide to her brother.

Due to her overestimation of her own influence, she believes that she has two large families for Sanditon, 'one, a rich West Indian' and 'the other, a most respectable girls' boarding school' (*LM*, p. 335). She is mistaken, however, as the sources which informed her of what she believed to be two different families, turns out to be one small family which comprises of only four people (p. 395). Her being 'less clear-sighted and infallible than she had

47 Edward Copeland, '*Sanditon* and "My Aunt": Jane Austen and the National Debt', *Persuasions*, 19 (1997), 117-129 http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/printed/number19/copeland.pdf [accessed 8 February 2020] (p. 121).
48 Ibid.

believed herself' (ibid), fails to yield the result that Mr. Parker expects and adds to his anxiety for the success of the resort. Diana, though well-meaning, appears to be both overenthusiastic and unable to fully appreciate the risk that Mr. Parker has taken by investing in Sanditon. If she was conscious of it, she would either be more focussed in her efforts to support him or be equally earnest in her opposition of his ideas. Her support, while it does not provide much help to Mr. Parker, inadvertently encourages him to continue in schemes that are only going to result in financial (and emotional) loss that he might find very difficult to recover from.

Of all the siblings, only the 'good brother', Sidney, appears to be intelligent enough to understand that Mr. Parker should not continue to invest in Sanditon.[49] Analysing the way he mocks 'his brother's enthusiasms and his sisters' imaginary debilities', Mudrick comments that he is 'perhaps heartless'.[50] He appears, at the same time, perceptive enough to understand Mr. Parker's desire to be a successful businessman due to which he advises him 'to make a hospital' (*LM*, p. 325) of their ancestral house. Unfortunately, while Mr. Parker takes Diana seriously despite proof of her overenthusiasm and incapability, he receives Sidney's caution and advice more lightly. As Sidney is known to possess a unique sense of humour, Mr. Parker convinces himself that Sidney simply 'pretends to laugh at his improvements' in Sanditon and the suggestion of converting the ancestral house into a hospital is 'merely a joke of his' (ibid). It is possible that if Sidney had been more persistent in his efforts to convince Mr. Parker that speculating in Sanditon is not a good idea, he might have been able to lessen the latter's anxiety considerably. Whether he is comfortable or exasperated at not being taken seriously, his efforts to dissuade Mr. Parker from his unintelligent schemes are not as strong as they should be. Due to his lack of trying harder to convince Mr. Parker, he functions as an unintentional contributor to the primary source of Mr. Parker's anxiety. The entire family, then, by not influencing Mr. Parker to refrain from investing in Sanditon or later, to give up his childish ideas of developing Sanditon further, appear to be indifferent to his fate even though they love him.

By virtue of being far less ambitious, proud and selfish than his family members, Edward's family is indifferent towards him and he feels alienated. His sister, Fanny, like his mother, first wants him to join a profession that raises his social status considerably and later wants him to marry Miss Morton for the same purpose. Due to the pressure of his mother and sister, Edward declares that he feels 'no pleasure at Norland' (Fanny's house) and 'detest[s] being in town' with his mother and brother (*S&S*, p. 122). He accuses his mother of not making

49 Copeland, '*Sanditon* and My Aunt', p. 128.
50 Marvin Mudrick, *Jane Austen: Irony as Defense and Discovery* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1952), p. 252.

his ‘home in every respect comfortable’ and laments that he has ‘no friend, no companion in [his] brother’ (p. 435). When Edward is disowned by Mrs Ferrars, Robert shows ‘gay unconcern’, ‘happy self-complacency’ and enjoys the unjust ‘division of his mother’s love and liberality’ (p. 356). He provides the greatest proof of his insensitivity by eloping with Edward’s fiancée, Lucy. Instead of feeling awkward or embarrassed, he is ‘proud of his conquest, proud of tricking Edward, and very proud of marrying privately without his mother’s consent’ (p. 453). Robert emerges as the most selfish member of Edward’s family which, in a way, highlights the appreciation and presence of the same quality in Mrs Ferrars and Fanny because both prefer him to Edward. The tyranny of his mother coupled with the indifference of his siblings is not only a cause of his anxiety but also affects the manner in which he defines home and implements gender (see Chapter V, 5.2 and Chapter VI, 6.2.3).

Due to his family’s indifference, he gets infatuated with and engaged to Lucy who displays false love towards him. The engagement appears to become a primary source of his anxiety as it simultaneously reminds him of the love and acceptance that he wanted from his family and the love and acceptance that he can receive from the Dashwood family if he breaks the engagement. He is convinced that Lucy is ‘a well-disposed, good-hearted girl, and thoroughly attached to himself’ (*S&S*, p. 440) which stops him from dissolving the engagement. His reluctance suggests that he is grateful towards Lucy for providing him with the love and acceptance that he required from his own family and does not want to lose her regard by breaking their relationship. His forced loyalty, however, does not nothing to ‘keep [his] heart as safe and sacred as [his] honour’ (p. 442) and he still loves Elinor. The pressure to remain faithful despite having fallen out of love triggers his anxiety noticeable in his avoidance of Elinor’s company to protect himself from the painful knowledge that they can never be together. As Edward is ‘an honest man’ (p. 317), it is possible that he is reluctant to break the engagement because his anxiety is prompting him to envision the worst outcome where he is rejected by Elinor due to his honest confession of being secretly engaged when he fell in love with her and breaking Lucy’s heart to be with her. The symptoms of anxiety displayed by Edward are anticipation of the worst outcome and withdrawal from situations that trigger negative feelings (see section 4.2.1).

Clearly, the indifference of the parents of the selected characters is harmful. The difference between good and bad parenting can be more clearly understood by comparing Lydia Bennet and Georgiana Darcy. Georgiana is several years younger to Darcy who is ‘the best brother’ and anything that ‘can give his sister happiness, is sure to be done in a moment’

(*P&P,* p. 276). ‘There is nothing that […] [Darcy] would not do for’ Georgiana (ibid) but he is strict too and does not let her ‘take liberties’ that do not seem appropriate to him for her age (p. 430). Under his guardianship, Georgiana, at a ‘little more than sixteen’ years of age is ‘exceedingly shy’, ‘womanly and graceful’, with ‘sense and good humour in her face’ and ‘gentle and unassuming manners’ (p. 288). As a father, Mr Bennet is ‘contented with laughing’ at Lydia and ‘would never exert himself to restrain the wild giddiness’ that she displays while her behaviour is ‘supported by […] [Mrs Bennet’s] indulgence’ (p. 236). Between Mrs Bennet’s fond indulgence and Mr Bennet’s indifference, Lydia, at nearly sixteen years of age, is a ‘self-willed and careless girl’ who is not only ‘ignorant, idle and vain’ (p. 236) but also ‘wild, noisy and fearless’ (p. 348). Interestingly, Wickham tries to convince first Georgiana and then Lydia to elope with him. Georgiana is ‘but fifteen’ (p. 224) at the time while Lydia is nearly sixteen (p. 87). Wickham’s attempt to elope with both women brings out not only the differences in their characters but also the difference (and faults) in the parenting styles they were brought up with.

Georgiana is initially ‘persuaded to believe herself in love, and consent to an elopement’ with Wickham (*P&P,* p. 224). She is, however, ‘unable to support the idea of grieving and offending a brother whom she almost looked up to as a father’ (p. 225), and confesses to Darcy ‘before the intended elopement’ (p. 224). Lydia, on the other hand, elopes with Wickham without understanding or realising the consequences of her actions. In the letter she leaves informing Mrs Forster of her elopement, she ‘can hardly write for laughing’ at the surprise her friend will receive and thinks that it will be ‘a good joke’ (p. 321) when she writes to her family and informs them of her marriage to Wickham. The marked difference in the behaviour of both women at nearly the same age when seduced by the same person suggests that good parenting should be neither too passive (like Mr Bennet) nor too aggressive (like Mrs Bennet) but a mixture of both along with appropriate restrictions (like Darcy) in order to inculcate the best values and understanding. This principle, when applied to other novels of Austen, marks Mrs Norris, Lady Bertram, Sir Thomas, Mr and Mrs Price, Mr Watson, Mr Woodhouse, General Tilney, Sir Walter and Mrs Ferrars as poor parents due to their negligence of their children or, alternatively, over-involvement in their children’s lives.

4.2.3 Displacement from Home

Our homes are a 'part of our extended mind' due to which 'moving house can be burdensome for individuals and families on multiple cognitive levels.'[51] One of the most prominent themes found in Austen's novels is that of 'moving house'.[52] The displacement of females was not only common during Austen's time but also experienced by Austen herself. Austen first left her childhood home in Steventon at the age of 25 (in 1801) to spend a few years in Bath.[53] She is reported to have fainted from shock when she was first told that the family would have to leave Steventon.[54] At the death of her father, Austen, along with her mother and elder sister, Cassandra Elizabeth, was forced to 'shuttle for years among rented lodgings and the residences of various relatives and friends'.[55] The ideal home for Austen's female characters, therefore, is often one which provides financial security and stability since both were qualities that Austen had not experienced in her own home as a female dependent on males.[56] 'Leaving home, seeing something of a world beyond the neighborhood, is a major part of all of Austen's novels' - just as it was a major part of her own lived experiences.[57] This has led various scholars to conclude that she took inspiration from both her life as well as the social reality of the time in her use of this theme. My research, however, does not concern itself with Austen's aim of introducing the element of displacement but will focus on identifying which characters experience displacement leading to anxiety and studying the methods employed to cope by the characters.

While the effects of displacement, according to Morgan, are subtle in *Northanger Abbey,* other novels like *Mansfield Park, Persuasion* and *Sense and Sensibility* use displacement as a major theme.[58] Displacement is further present as a theme in *Emma* (through the characters Jane Fairfax and Frank Churchill) and all three minor mature works of Austen (*Lady Susan, The Watsons, Sanditon).* Emma Watson, Fanny Price, Anne Elliot, Mr. Parker, and Edward Ferrars all experience displacement though it has an interestingly different effect on all of them. Austen often designs the plots of her novels in such a way that there are 'acute financial problems which result in the heroine regretfully leaving home'.[59] Both Emma Watson and Fanny Price are displaced from their homes not once but twice. The first time is at the ages of five and ten respectively when a rich aunt adopts them in order to ease the financial burden of their relatively poor families. The second time is when both are sent back to their childhood

51 Nine, 'The Wrong of Displacement', p. 241.
52 Stabler, *Burke to Byron,* p. 192.
53 Lau, 'Home, Exile, and Wanderlust', p. 92.
54 Ibid; Perry, 'Home at Last', p. 49.
55 Perry, 'Home at Last', p. 49.
56 Christopher Toner, '"With What Intense Desire She Wants Her Home": Jane Austen on Home as Telos', *Persuasions On-Line*, 36.1 (2015) 95-106 <http://jasna.org/publications/persuasions-online/vol36no1/toner/> [accessed 20 March 2019].
57 Morgan, 'Adoring the Girl Next Door'.
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid.

homes, Emma permanently and Fanny temporarily. Commenting on Austen's use of the theme of displacement with respect to her own life, Perry contends that 'leaving Steventon was the most traumatic event in Jane Austen's life' and 'the obsessiveness with which she wrote about […] [displacement] in her novels' is a proof of the same.[60] The use of this theme in *The Watsons* and *Mansfield Park* supports this claim.

'Displacement provokes anxiety and depression and reduces social, functional, and self-management skills.'[61] While Emma's first displacement takes her from one possibly affectionate family into another which is even more so (*LM*, p. 289), the second one effectively destroys the illusion of both families that she had considered her own. As if being displaced twice is not enough, there is the added fear of Mr. Watson dying soon and the sisters being rendered homeless, and necessarily, displaced once again (p. 271). Emma's anxiety of being rendered homeless is evident in her irritation with Robert when he alludes to her forced displacement (ibid). Her dread and apprehensions about not getting along with her sisters, Penelope and Margaret, appears to reflect her apprehension of never fitting in and being able to feel at home in the Watson family house at Stanton. 'Displacement provokes anxiety and depression and reduces social, functional, and self-management skills.'[62] Unlike Emma, Fanny is 'as unhappy as possible' (*MP*, p. 14) on her first displacement to Mansfield Park, primarily because she is treated like an outsider by the Bertrams.

Emma, in her first displacement, was possibly five years old (see section 4.2.1) and would, therefore, not have very strong memories or impressions of the Watson family. In her second displacement, she goes to Stanton without expecting much affection from her family and is at a disadvantage to talk about her life with the Turners as her siblings have led miserable lives by comparison. Fanny, on the other hand, clearly remembers her family of birth and is displaced to Portsmouth believing that 'to be at home again would heal every pain that had since grown out of the separation' (*MP*, p. 426). Even before the end of the week, however, Fanny is disillusioned and convinced that 'though Mansfield Park might have some pains, Portsmouth could have no pleasures' (p. 454). Due to the indifference of her family and 'noise, disorder, and impropriety' (p. 450) in the house, 'the elegance, propriety, regularity, harmony, and perhaps above all the peace and tranquillity, of Mansfield, were brought to her remembrance every hour of the day, by the prevalence of everything opposite to them' at

60 Perry, 'Home at Last', p. 49.
61 Vandemark, 'Promoting the Sense of Self', p. 246.
62 Ibid.

Portsmouth (p. 453). From Lady Bertram and Edmund's letters, moreover, she receives the 'conviction of being missed by her best friends' (p. 500). The nostalgia she suffers due to the contrast convinces her that 'Portsmouth was Portsmouth; Mansfield was home' (p. 499). In its initial stage, then, Fanny's second displacement, is worse than the first one because she, like Emma, realises that she has no family at either Mansfield or Portsmouth but, unlike Emma, she is not prepared for this realisation.

The displacement is necessary for both Fanny and the Bertrams so that each may understand the worth of the other. It is equally important for Fanny to stay at Portsmouth to understand that the Price family ceased to be hers the moment she left for Mansfield. Fanny's displacement begins with the deepest dissatisfaction but ends on an extremely positive note. Moreover, Fanny has been sent to Portsmouth for a short period of time while Emma has to live at Stanton until Mr. Watson dies or she, herself, gets married. She displays anxiety about the loss of her home and family through dread (see section 4.2.2). Nine suggests that displacement 'can upset family relationships […] [as] moves change relationships between those who move away and those who stay'.[63] In their second displacement, Emma and Fanny meet their siblings as indifferent strangers. Fanny initially, acted as a 'play-fellow, instructress, and nurse' (*MP*, p. 16) to her siblings but her years at Mansfield have alienated them from each other. They have learnt to live without her and she is treated, at best, as a guest. Fanny's displacement to Portsmouth not only marks the change of her relationship with the Price family but also the Bertram family. Her absence from Mansfield Park makes the Bertrams realise that she has, over the years, become an invaluable companion and a member of the family. It also emphasises upon her and the reader that she has begun to regard Mansfield as home instead of Portsmouth due to her changed roles and relationships in both houses. Emma's relationships with her siblings are similar to that of Fanny's. The heroines are also similar in that they establish a close relationship with one sister in the family and merely tolerate the rest of the members.

Four years of Austen's own life were spent without a fixed place to consider as her home.[64] This uncertain phase is seen in the lives of her heroines like Lady Susan, Elinor and Marianne Dashwood, Anne Elliot, Emma Watson and Fanny Price. Austen 'scrutinises the pleasures and pains of imagination in [these] characters who "must move"'.[65] The period,

63 Nine, 'The Wrong of Displacement', p. 251.
64 Boyle, 'The Reverend George Austen'.
65 Jane Stabler, *Burke to Byron, Barbauld to Baillie, 1790-1830* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p. 192.

however, ends much more quickly for the heroines than it did for Austen, except Anne, and, to a certain extent, Fanny and Emma who appear to be in an extended state of displacement and homelessness throughout the novels (discussed in more detail in Chapter IV). It is possible that Austen's shortening of the period is deliberate as her novels are pseudo-social comedies and she does not want to dwell for long on the unpleasant effects of displacement. Both *Sense and Sensibility* and *Persuasion* 'begin with homes disrupted by irresponsible landlords and masters'.[66] Analysing Anne Elliot's displacement in *Persuasion,* Sodeman comments that 'in no other novel of Austen does a heroine experience such domestic dislocation'. [67] While this holds true, there are no observable effects of anxiety caused by Anne's displacement and it will, therefore, not be considered a cause of her anxiety even though it forms a prominent part of her lived experience of home. This might possibly be because 'at the heart of the experience of displacement is the sense that one is without a place to be.'[68] Anne always has a place to go to following her displacement from Kellynch, be it Mary's home, her father's lodgings in Bath or Lady Russell's place.

The constant relationship between Anne, Elizabeth and Sir Walter is altered when the family is displaced to Bath. Anne is greeted by 'a degree of unexpected cordiality' (*Persuasion,* p. 279) by her father and sister when they meet after a few months' separation. Even though the warmth is short-lived and stemming from the selfish motive of showing off their new lodgings and furniture, it makes Anne feel 'good' (ibid). It is possible that Anne is not as affected by her displacement as her father and sister are behaving better towards her and she has the added value of Mr Elliot's company. Anne's displacement, then, is somewhat similar to that of Lady Susan. Both women are forced to move due to unforeseen financial difficulties but have family members whose homes they can share. Lady Susan manipulates and deceives everyone she stays with and is hardly valued by anyone. Anne, by comparison, is helpful to everyone she comes in contact with and wins everyone's heart. This suggests that Anne might not be as affected by her displacement as Lady Susan who has turned bitter and deals with her grief by manipulating others. There is, however, a stronger probability of Anne's being more resistant to the pain of displacement than Lady Susan as she has a much humbler opinion of her own worth and gracefully accepts the grief inflicted upon her as her due.

66 Stabler, *Burke to Byron,* p. 194.
67 Sodeman, 'Domestic Mobility', p. 789.
68 Fullilove, 'Psychiatric Implications of Displacement', p. 1521.

Bailey says that 'the relative poverty of women was the result of legal rules favoring men, in particular eldest sons'.[69] Doody comments that in Austen's time, 'property [was] held from generation to generation, going from one male heir to another'.[70] Marriage is inseparable from the issue of home (especially for females) as it was considered the best way to achieve a home of one's own. McSpadden suggests that the unhappy female characters portrayed by Austen are those who have been 'abandoned by scoundrels, mocked by uncaring husbands, forced to choose between a loveless marriage or destitution' while the happy female characters 'marry men who treat them as partners'.[71] It would not be wrong to say that Austen presents happy households as places where gender equality prevails (discussed in more detail in Chapter VI). The painful experiences of homelessness, exile and displacement, moreover, are not limited to the female protagonists but also extend to many of the male protagonists in Austen's oeuvre. This inclusion of men in the experience of displacement is different from Austen's own life where only the women of the Austen family became homeless after the death of Austen's father.[72] By creating men whose lived experience of home is similar to that of the women, Austen might, then, be said to not only borrow the elements of displacement, exile and homelessness from her own life but to also build upon them.

Nine remarks that while 'moves can be burdensome' for most people, they sometimes turn out to be 'overall beneficial experiences' in certain cases.[73] Morgan believes that 'Austen repeatedly use[d] plot patterns of moving away from home as ways of educating her heroines'.[74] She analyses *Emma* and observes that the protagonist is 'wrong in the personal and class snobbery that keeps her so geographically limited and wrong in the melodramatic conventionality of the romance stories she invents'.[75] She argues that the stasis of Emma is portrayed as undesirable and Austen promotes the view that 'Emma should have left home, imaginatively if not literally, should have moved beyond the blindnesses attendant on her overly confined-life'.[76] It is important to point out, however, that even if helpful, displacement, for Austen's women is always involuntary as it was for her own self. We also witness voluntary displacements involving male characters in her novels. These usually bring happiness to the characters implementing them. Prominent examples include Mr. Parker shifting from his ancestral home to Trafalgar House in Sanditon to fulfil his dream of building a successful resort

69 Bailey, 'The Marriage Law of Jane Austen's World'.
70 Margaret Anne Doody, 'Foreward', in *Sense and Sensibility* by Jane Austen (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990), pp. vii-x1vi (p. viii).
71 McSpadden, 'What Jane Austen Can Teach Us'.
72 Ibid.
73 Nine, 'The Wrong of Displacement', p. 252.
74 Morgan, 'Adoring the Girl Next Door'.
75 Ibid.
76 Ibid.

there, Mr Knightley shifting from his home, Donwell Abbey, to Emma's home, Hartfield, in order to marry her and Edward consciously making Longstaple his home to be with his fiancée, Lucy's family as much as possible. In these cases, the characters intentionally shift from one home to another which is equally, if not more, important to them. Although Mr. Parker experiences anxiety after his voluntary displacement, it is arguable that he had the means of controlling that anxiety by deciding not to shift, a power not given to the female characters.

Mr. Parker's displacement from his ancestral home to Trafalgar House in Sanditon is voluntary. However, by shifting to Sanditon, he has committed himself to a future of instability as the fate of the resort is unpredictable. Mr. Parker's interpretation of gender roles is affected by his investiture in Sanditon as he might lose not only his money and home but also his masculine status with the failure of the resort (see Chapter VI, 6.2.1). His anxiety of the loss of his home can be detected in his overreaction to situations that are considered threatening by him due to his anxiety. He overreacts by launching into a lengthy defence of Trafalgar House when his wife and their guest, Charlotte Heywood, praise his ancestral home (*LM*, pp. 321-324). Although fond of his ancestral home, he labels it as 'a gutter' (p. 324) compared to Trafalgar House and proceeds to disregard every good thing about the house. As he considers the house 'an old friend' (p. 324), his reaction appears to be motivated by the anxiety of leaving his home for an unstable future in Sanditon.

Moore emphasises that if we want to establish 'any control over our lives, we have to have control over the most fundamental elements in background conditions of our existence', among which 'the ability to stay in our communities' is fundamental.[77] With the exception of Emma Woodhouse (*Emma*), Elizabeth Bennet (*Pride and Prejudice)* and Catherine Morland (*Northanger Abbey*), all female protagonists of Austen's major and minor mature works experience involuntary displacement and homelessness. The women are 'vulnerable' as they do not possess 'financial security or social stability' and are also 'more susceptible to experience the harms of moving house'.[78] As discussed in Chapter II (Section 2.3.1), Austen, along with her mother and sister, was rendered homeless after her father's death but her brothers were not as they had avenues to establish themselves financially (and socially) due to their sex. This appears to be reflected in the freedom that she grants the male characters like Mr. Parker, Mr Knightley or Edward Ferrars, while restricting female characters even if they

77 Margaret Moore, *A Political Theory of Territory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 38, cited in Nine, 'The Wrong of Displacement', p. 257,
78 Nine, 'The Wrong of Displacement', p. 241.

are as strong-willed as Lady Susan or financially independent like Emma Woodhouse. The laws of inheritance and different household incomes also draw our attention to the disparity between the genders. Emma has never seen the world outside Highbury as she has to take care of her father.[79] She is even apprehensive of marrying as 'while her dear father lived, any change of condition must be impossible for her' (p. 488). Sales contends that 'the detail about the travel arrangements in *Emma*, together with the way in which much of it highlights relationships between mobility and power, needs to be seen as an important part of a political argument about the positioning of women'.[80] It can be inferred from his observation that mobility is an opportunity that is not as easily accessible to women as it is to men in Austen's novels. Morgan suggests that 'mobility can as easily represent lack of power'.[81] Of the selected characters, the women, then, can be said to possess less social and financial freedom and influence than the men.

4.2.4 Loss of Home

Homelessness may be defined as 'an experience of displacement that alters a person's sense of self, place, and belonging.'[82] Folsom argues that 'Austen's own trauma of having to leave Steventon when she was twenty five years old casts a shadow in all her novels'.[83] Acknowledging the prominence of the issue of homelessness of females in Austen's time due to primogeniture, Sodeman comments that 'few, if any of Austen's female protagonists were entirely immune to the threat of homelessness'.[84] Tomalin states that Austen had 'developed terrors about banishment and exile' after she had been displaced from her original home several times.[85] It is possible that, like Austen, her heroines value home because they have been 'uprooted from their original homes, and for some home remains an elusive, perhaps unattainable goal'.[86] Austen uses the theme for a few of her male characters too even though her own brothers did not become homeless after the death of their father. The characters who lose their home or have a constant fear of losing their home are Emma, Fanny, Anne Elliot and Mr. Parker. Edward Ferrars is not mentioned in this section because even though he is disowned

79 Austen, *Emma*, ed. by Richard Cronin, Dorothy McMillan, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jane Austen (NY: CUP, 2005), p. 329.
80 Roger Sales, *Jane Austen and Representations of Regency England* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 162, cited in Morgan, 'Adoring the Girl Next Door'.
81 Morgan, 'Adoring the Girl Next Door'.
82 Vandemark, 'Promoting the Sense of Self', p. 241.
83 Marcia McClintock Folsom, 'Emma: Knowing her Mind', *Persuasions*, 38 (2016), 41-55 <https://jasna.org/publications-2/persuasions/no38/emma-knowing-her-mind/> [accessed 20 May 2019] (p. 41).
84 Sodeman, 'Domestic mobility', p. 789.
85 Claire Tomalin, *Jane Austen: A Life* (Harmondsworth: Viking, 2000), p. 173.
86 Lau, 'Home, Exile, and Wanderlust', p. 92.

by his mother, he does not consider her house as his home, so the experience is not a cause for his anxiety like the other characters discussed in this section.

Emma Watson first loses the home where she lived with the Watsons by the Turners' adoption of her and then the home where she resided with the Turners after the death of her uncle and second marriage of her aunt. It is highly probable that with the death of her father, she will also lose the home that she has returned to after fourteen years. Her anxiety about losing her home is apparent in her anticipation of the worst outcome in terms of gaining a home. She is in despair that she has 'little chance of domestic comfort, and as little hope of future support' (*LM*, p. 289). While her anticipating the worst is justified, she can still achieve a secure home filled with love through marriage. She is aware that the wealthiest man in their neighbourhood, Lord Osborne, is interested in her when he visits their home after seeing her at a ball for the first time. Mr. Watson asserts that he has 'lived [at Stanton] for fourteen years without being noticed by the [Osborne] family' (p. 264) which, incidentally, is the same amount of time that Emma has spent away from Stanton. Mr Howard (who she is romantically interested in) has also inquired after her. She has, thus, by appearing at a single ball, gained two admirers who are well-settled and can offer her a good home. Her anticipation of the worst outcome, therefore, appears to stem from the anxiety of losing her home as opposed to a sincere belief that she will never be able to call a place home again.

Like Emma, Fanny first loses her home when she is adopted by the Bertrams. 'Exclusion from society is a less obvious but equally painful denial of existence that many homeless people experience.'[87] Fanny feels homeless for several years at Mansfield Park because the inhabitants do not treat her as a family member unlike Emma who is a priority for her aunt and uncle while growing up. Both Fanny and Emma experience a loss of home at Portsmouth and Stanton respectively because of the indifference of their family members. Displacement, according to Vandemark, 'influences behaviors that are relevant to reentry into healthy and meaningful societal roles' and is, therefore, an important aspect of homelessness.[88] Both Fanny and Emma are first adopted into families which belongs to a higher class than their own and later return to their original homes to find that they do not fit with the members any longer. Fanny's inferior social status to her cousins is established by Sir Thomas and Mrs Norris early on and she judges on her visit to Portsmouth that her former acquaintances and family members are vulgar compared to the people at Mansfield Park. She fits neither at

87 Vandemark, 'Promoting the Sense of Self', p. 246.
88 Ibid, p. 241.

Portsmouth, then, nor at Mansfield due to her displacement due to her adoption. Emma, similarly, does not belong with her 'husband-hunting' sisters or unconcerned brother due to her displacement. Both the characters, by being displaced, play different roles at the places of their adoption and in their birth-home due to which the very foundation of their identity is shaken. Displacement, for both these characters, acts as a poignant reminder of being homeless - even at places that they should be able to consider home.

They are homeless, not because they have no fixed place(s) to consider as home, but because they are unable to occupy healthy and meaningful roles in the social circles they inhabit due, initially, to their social inferiority and, later, their social superiority in the communities to which they are displaced. Anne, on the other hand, though impoverished, does not suffer a drastic change in her social status. She is already familiar with the roles she will have to play at Mary's house where she has stayed before, in Lyme where she is travelling with familiar companions and at Bath with her father and sister. It is likely that her steady social identity and roles make her displacement less effective even though she is displaced more times than any other female heroine of Austen. The fear of 'social death [may] provoke anxiety' in displaced people.[89] Emma, in her transition from the heiress of the Turners to another burden on the ailing Mr Watson to marry off, experiences 'social death'. Fanny experiences 'social death' when she is sent to Mansfield Park where the Bertrams and their acquaintances are superior to her in social status and remind her of her inferiority through their behaviour and she herself feels that the Prices and their acquaintances are inferior to her and does not associate with them. Losing a 'familiar environment can mean loss of the sense of self or a diminished sense of self-cohesion.'[90] Anne, while seemingly unaffected by her physical displacement, does display a diminished sense of self after losing Wentworth's love. When they meet again, she is heart-broken because they are 'worse than strangers, for they could never become acquainted' (*Persuasion,* p. 162). The familiar environment she loses, then, might be the assurance of Wentworth's love and the conviction of their closeness to each other. For Fanny, this environment is Portsmouth at first and later shifts to Mansfield Park after her she realises that her relationship with her family of birth has changed. For Emma, it is the house where she lived with the Turners and the social status she occupied by being considered their heiress.

Fanny returns to Portsmouth to find that the years which have made her fonder of her family members, have caused them to turn indifferent towards her. Treated as an outsider by

89 Vandemark, 'Promoting the Sense of Self', p. 246.
90 Ibid, p. 244.

her own family, she loses her home once again on her displacement to Portsmouth. However, she also realises that she has, without being aware of it, built a place for herself in Mansfield Park and grown accustomed to the society and comforts there. Before going to Portsmouth, 'she had loved to call it her home' and 'had been fond of saying that she was going home' (*MP*, p. 499). The intense feelings that were associated for her with the word "home" had made the word itself 'very dear to her; and so it still was, but it must be applied to Mansfield' (ibid). At Mansfield, she now has clear roles to play – helper and companion to her aunt, listener to Edmund and Sir Thomas, nurse to Tom and a scapegoat for Mrs Norris. At Portsmouth, with the exception of acting as a mentor for Susan, she has no clearly defined roles to play either at home or in the society to make her existence there meaningful. She, therefore, begins to think of Mansfield as her home and is finally accepted into the family as a daughter at the end of the novel when Maria and Julia elope. Emma, then, experiences a better childhood than Fanny but Fanny's adulthood appears to be more promising than Emma's. Both heroines, however, experience their share of tragedy.

The primary causes of Fanny's anxiety are the loss of her family and home which is reflected in her feelings of dread, apprehension, irritation, withdrawing from stressful situations and anticipating the worst outcome. The anxiety of losing her family and home by her adoption makes her creep about 'in constant terror of something or other' (*MP*, p. 16) during her initial days at Mansfield. She experiences anxiety again when she returns to Portsmouth in the form of 'agitation' and 'apprehension' (p. 435) as she hopes to find a home and family with the Prices. As stated before, she is in love with her cousin, Edmund Bertram, which is part of the reason of her rejection of Henry Crawford. As Edmund is also genuinely affectionate towards her, it is possible that she is hopeful of marrying him and gaining a true family and home in his love. This idea is threatened by Mr Crawford's proposal and any mention of the same, therefore, triggers Fanny's anxiety of losing Edmund. This can be seen in her extreme dread of Henry Crawford's presence. When he unexpectedly visits her at Portsmouth, she turns 'pale' (p. 463) upon hearing his voice and is terrified 'of what this visit might lead to' (p. 464). Her feelings of anxiety are 'overpowering' and she feels on the verge 'of fainting away' (ibid).

As Edmund is close to Fanny, she is given 'confidential treatment' (*MP*, p. 492) by him and informed in detail about his interest in Crawford's sister, Mary. Fanny is glad to go to Portsmouth as she will be able to withdraw from the negative situation of being constantly informed of his love for Mary and thus be 'safe from the perpetual irritation of knowing his heart' (p. 427). As he is planning to propose Mary while Fanny is in Portsmouth, Fanny

apprehensively awaits his letter which is 'a subject of terror' (p. 431) as it will bring the news of their marriage to her. She is also glad that her removal to Portsmouth will allow her to escape 'from all mention of the Crawfords' (p. 426). As the mention of both is related to her and Edmund's marriage to different people, it is bound to cause her anxiety. As she shifts her affection from Portsmouth to Mansfield, the remembrance of Mansfield (now her home) makes her anxious and she tries to occupy her time by reading so as 'to bury some of the recollections of Mansfield, which were too apt to seize her mind if her fingers only were busy' (p. 461). When she is informed by Lady Bertram of Edmund's having gone to London, she anticipates the worst, which is, the 'promised notification' (p. 462) of his marriage. She is so apprehensive of this news that she considers 'the postman's knock within the neighbourhood' as the bringing of 'daily terrors' (ibid).

Anne Elliot loses her home, Kellynch Hall, at the very opening of *Persuasion* and does not regain a permanent home even at the end of the novel. Throughout the novel, we see her trying to form some semblance of home at the various places that she resides (discussed in detail in Chapter V, section 5.2). Mr. Parker's situation is similar to and yet different from Anne. It is different because he intentionally leaves his ancestral home to live at Trafalgar House in Sanditon (unlike Anne's involuntary displacement), but as the fate of the resort is undecided, the fate of his home (like that of Anne's home) is just as impermanent. Mr Parker is constantly anxious for the success of the resort which stems largely from the fear of losing his home. While the fragment of *Sanditon* that we possess does not reveal the whether the seaside resort is successful, scholars believe that it is doomed to fail.[91] A confirmation of this appears to be given by Austen's choice of her brother, Henry Austen as the inspiration for Mr. Parker's character.[92] Henry, the most enterprising of all the Austen siblings, was a successful banker who was bankrupted after speculating in his bank.[93] The failure of Henry's bank appears to foreshadow the failure of Sanditon while his bankruptcy foretells the loss of Mr. Parker's home in Sanditon.

91 Craig, *Jane Austen and the State of the Nation*, p. 161; Elaine Bander, *'Sanditon, Northanger Abbey* and *Camilla:* Back to the Future?', *Persuasions*, 19 (1997), 195-204 <http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/printed/number19/bander.pdf> [accessed 8 February 2020] (p. 195); Reginald Hill, 'Jane Austen: A Voyage of Discovery', *Persuasions*, 19 (1997), 77-92 <http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/printed/number19/hill.pdf> [accessed 4 March 2020] (p. 89).

92 Kathryn Davis, '"Rotatory Motion": The Circle and Human Flourishing in *Sanditon*', *Persuasions On-Line*, 38.2 (Spring 2018) <https://jasna.org/publications-2/persuasions-online/volume-38-no-2/davis/> [accessed 14 December 2019]; Copeland, '*Sanditon* and "My Aunt"', p. 121.

93 Laura Dabundo, *Jane Austen: A Companion*, McFarland Companions to 19th Century Literature, ed. by Laurence W. Mazzeno (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company Inc., Publishers, 2021), <https://books.google.com.my/books?id=b5cuEAAAQBAJ> [accessed 12 December 2019] (p. 42).

At the very opening of the novel, Mr. Parker and his wife meet with an accident on their way to Willingden where Mr. Parker hopes to find a doctor to employ at Sanditon. The carriage that they are travelling in is 'overturned in toiling up its long ascent of half rock, half sand' (*LM*, p. 292). The accident can be interpreted as a symbol foreshadowing the failure of Sanditon. As Sanditon is a beach with both sand and rocks, the statement appears to represent the overturning or reversal of all Mr Parker's grand schemes for Sanditon (represented by the long ascent). The Parkers get into an accident because of Mr Parker's 'abominably stupid blunder' (p. 297) of not understanding which place they should be travelling to. The road on which the accident takes place appears to be 'expressing with a most intelligent, portentous countenance that beyond it no wheels but cart wheels [can] safely proceed' (p. 292) but Mr. Parker still forces his unwilling carriage driver to proceed. His unwillingness to bend in the face of clearly identifiable difficulties characterises his way of doing business. Instead of appearing brave or dedicated, however, his behaviour seems to be both rash and stupid.

Just as his ankle is sprained and he finds himself 'unable to stand' (*LM*, p. 293) due to the overturning of the carriage, it appears that his hare-brained schemes for Sanditon will be overturned and he will barely be able to stand the loss. His anxiety can be detected in his overreaction to situations that he feels threaten the future of Sanditon in some way. While he appears to be quite confident of his own schemes and Sanditon's attractions, he is apprehensive of rival sea resorts like Brighton, Worthing, East Bourne and Brinshore. This is apparent when he goes out of his way to convince Mr. Heywood (the person who rescues him after the accident) that Brighton, Worthing and Eastbourne are 'large, overgrown places' (*LM*, p. 300) and Brinshore, of which he is particularly apprehensive, is a 'paltry hamlet, lying […] between a stagnant marsh, a bleak moor and the constant effluvia of putrifying sea weed' (p. 302). As Mr. Heywood 'did not know there was such a place [as Brinshore] in the world', Mr. Parker's exertions to convince him of its being 'a disappointment' (ibid) appear to be an overreaction arising from the anxiety of Sanditon's failure due to Brinshore's popularity. He lists reason after reason for Sanditon's success merely because Mr. Heywood observes that sea resorts are 'bad things for a country' as they are 'sure to raise the price of provisions and make the poor good for nothing' (p. 300). As Mr. Heywood and his wife 'never left home and […] had a gratification in saying so' (p. 310), Mr. Parker's detailed explanation is unnecessary as they will not visit Sanditon and, therefore, comes across as overreacting.

Mr Parker's actions reflect Nine's assertion that 'perception of home security may be as important as home security itself.'[94] Mr Parker would like nothing more than to convince others (and his own self) that the resort of Sanditon is prosperous and its future anything but uncertain. The sentiment can be found in other novels of Austen as well, attesting to the importance of home for both Austen and her characters (see section 4.3). In *Pride and Prejudice,* Mr Collins functions as the threat of this perception of home security to Mrs Bennet who, provided with the chance, is eager to marry one of her daughters to him so that she and the other daughters will still be able to call it home in the event of her husband's death. Charlotte Lucas pretends to be in love with Mr Collins because he offers home security to her. It is enough for Lucy Steele that Edward Ferrars is the eldest son and may inherit his mother's fortune to pretend to be in love with him. Mrs Ferrars believes that she can bribe Edward into marrying Miss Morton by dangling the perception of home security before him and accordingly promises to 'settle the Norfolk estate on him' (*S&S*, p. 316) if he listens to her. Lady Susan, despite her claims of never marrying without love, gets married to a man she does not love so she can be secure.

Sir Walter and Elizabeth want the latter to be married to Mr Elliot so she can live in Kellynch after Sir Walter's death. Echoing a similar sentiment, Mr Elliot wants to prevent the marriage of Mrs Clay and Sir Walter as he is worried that they might have a son who would cut off the entail from him. The youngest Elliot daughter, Mary, is convinced that her husband's cousin, Charles, is not the right man for her sister-in-law, Henrietta, but her husband thinks otherwise because Charles is the eldest son and will inherit an estate. After Anne is engaged to Wentworth, Mary is envious of her sister and only the thought of her own husband inheriting the estate of his parents (while Wentworth has no such home security) consoles her. It is the perception of home security of the Morlands that leads Isabella and John to pursue James and Catherine respectively. John Thorpe's lie about Catherine being an heiress causes General Tilney to order Henry to pursue her. Sir Thomas' perception of home security of Mr Rushworth and Henry Crawford make him believe that they will be suitable partners for Maria and Fanny respectively. It is important to point out that nearly all of these characters are mercenary and/or obsessed with wealth and the social status that goes with it. The selected characters also display a desire for the perception of home security, if not actual home security, but in different ways based on how they define home. The next section will have a deeper discussion on how the

94 Nine, 'The Wrong of Displacement', p. 254.

selected characters want to believe in the permanence of home just like these other characters at whose hands they suffer from tyranny and/or indifference.

4.2.5 Summary of Discussion

Painful events in the lived experience of home involving tyrannical and/or indifferent family members, displacement and homelessness cause the characters to experience anxiety rooted in the fear of losing their home and/or their family. Emma Watson (*The Watsons)* and Fanny Price (*Mansfield Park)* experience displacement, homelessness, familial tyranny and familial indifference. Emma Watson is exposed to the tyranny of her aunt, Mrs Turner, who subjects her to emotional and physical neglect by first adopting and bringing her up with the expectation of being chosen her heiress but later sending her back to her father's house without any money. She is displaced and loses her home first by her adoption and later by her return to her father, Mr. Watson's house. At Mr. Watson's house, her entire family, except her eldest sister, Elizabeth Watson, is indifferent to her. Fanny is similarly first displaced and loses here home by her adoption into the Bertram's house, Mansfield Park and later by her banishment to her father, Mr. Price's home in Portsmouth. She experiences emotional and physical neglect and emotional abuse at the hands of her tyrannical family members which include her eldest aunt, Mrs Norris and her uncle, Sir Thomas Bertram. Except Edmund Bertram, the Bertram family is, more or less, indifferent towards her. The Price family, with the exception of her eldest brother, William and younger sister, Susan, is similarly indifferent to her. As the lived experience of home of both Emma and Fanny is characterised by rejection from their families and the lack of a place to identify as home, both characters experience the anxiety of losing their home and family.

Anne Elliot (*Persuasion*) and Henry Tilney (*Northanger Abbey*) are exposed to the tyrannical behaviour of their fathers, Sir Walter Elliot and General Tilney respectively. Anne is additionally subjected to the tyranny of her well-meaning but somewhat vain and prejudiced godmother, Lady Russell. All three tyrannical figures subject the characters to emotional neglect by giving more importance to rank and money than their children's feelings. Due to the lack of a loving family, both Anne and Henry experience anxiety about losing their family. Edward Ferrars (*Sense and Sensibility*) similarly suffers from the anxiety of losing his family due to the emotional and physical neglect and emotional abuse meted out to him by his tyrannical mother, Mrs Ferrars, and the emotional neglect and abuse he is subjected to by his

fiancée, Lucy Steele. His brother and sister are indifferent to him due to which he grows up with the anxiety of having no home and no family until the avaricious Lucy Steele pretends to love and accept him and he believes he has found a home and family with her. Growing out of his infatuation with her to fall in love with his sister's sister-in-law, Elinor Dashwood, he experiences the anxiety of losing his family – the family that he has found with Lucy and the one that he hopes to start with Elinor. Mr Parker (Sanditon) is a businessman who has invested money in a sea-side resort called Sanditon and shifted to Trafalgar House in Sanditon, leaving his ancestral house behind. His well-meaning family members appear indifferent to the fate of the resort and function as a secondary cause serving to assist the primary cause of his anxiety which is the loss of his home through the failure of Sanditon.

4.3 Use of Defense Mechanisms to Combat Anxiety

As discussed in Chapter III (section 3.2.1), this research employs the definition of defense mechanisms provided by the APA in its revised fourth and fifth editions of the *DSM*. According to the *DSM,* defense mechanisms are 'automatic psychological processes that protect the individual against anxiety and from the awareness of internal or external dangers or stressors'.[95] The mechanisms of isolation and undoing will be used to analyse the characters' responses to the anxiety-inducing factors in their lived experiences of home in order to clarify how they define home and perceive the notion of gender roles. Isolation and undoing have been selected for the study considering that they are often associated with anxiety. The selection also takes into account the anxiety-inducing factors in the lived experience of home which trigger the use of defense mechanisms. Isolation and undoing emerge as the primary mechanisms employed by the selected characters to cope with the causes of anxiety experienced in the lived experience of home. The other mechanisms listed in the *DSM* for coping with anxiety are employed by the characters for coping with experiences that are not relevant to or are outside the scope of this study.

'Austen was a keen observer of human nature as suggested by her own admission after a visit to a museum that 'her preference for men and women made her more attentive to the company than the sights on display'.[96] 'Any discerning reader can relish Jane Austen's

95 *DSM* IV TR, p. 807.
96 Jane Stabler, 'Cities', in *Jane Austen in Context*, pp. 204-214 (p. 208).

psychological discernment'.[97] Austen presents the inner consciousness of her heroines 'as interactive with […] [their] physical being, cultural influences, and external forces'.[98] A few years after her death, Robert Whately praised her 'approach to human nature' by equating it to 'the method of the naturalist who relates minute detail to a range of suppositions about function and form'.[99] Clearly, her measured approach of the use of multiple narrative techniques to provide detailed insights into the character's psyche was both noticeable and successful even in the nineteenth century itself. Analysing what she considers Austen's 'unorthodox narratology', Lynch comments that 'Austen more than once sets up her novels as though they were the sequels to earlier (untold) stories'.[100] Clery terms it a 'radical aspect of Austen's art' that she provides us with the external conversation or statements of her heroes and 'only rarely the privileges of their minds'.[101] 'Austen is the founder of the modern romance narrative' by virtue of developing 'the extraordinary narrative power of keeping the hero's point of view in reserve'.[102] It is interesting how Austen, despite concealing the actual thoughts of her male protagonists, enables us to glance into their psyche through the use of free indirect speech. The precise balance between her use of dialogue, free indirect speech and omniscient narration enables readers to understand her characters from inside. Her unique narrative techniques not only enhanced her intricate portrayal of the psyche of her characters, but also earned her the title of 'the first modern novelist'.[103]

Upfal draws our attention towards Mrs Bennet's use of dissociation which is responsible for 'her loud, self-centred and inappropriate speech and maladaptive behaviour'.[104] Ferguson identifies the use of displacement by Sir Thomas in his 'tacit approval of heinous cruelties'.[105] Hirsch explains that Jane Bennet's sweetness and patient nature can be interpreted as 'a reaction formation against critical feelings and even anger directed against her own self and others'.[106] As Mrs Bennet, Sir Thomas and Jane Bennet are not among the characters selected for this study, their use of the mechanisms of dissociation, displacement and reaction formation is not relevant to the study. Fitzpatrick identifies Anne Elliot's use of the mechanism of repression to hide her feelings of anger and disappointment with Wentworth leading to an

97 John Mullan, 'Psychology', in *Jane Austen in Context*, pp. 377-386 (p. 377).
98 Ibid.
99 Knox-Shaw, 'Philosophy', p. 346.
100 Deirdre Shauna Lynch, 'Sequels', in *Jane Austen in Context*, pp. 160-168 (p. 167).
101 E. J. Clery, 'Austen and Masculinity', in *A Companion to Jane Austen*, pp. 332-342 (p. 334).
102 Ibid, p. 339.
103 Nicola Trott, 'Critical Responses, 1830-1970', in *Jane Austen in Context*, pp. 92-100 (p. 98).
104 Annette Upfal, 'Jane Austen and the Nervous Temperament', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of New South Wales, 2014), p. 91 <http://unsworks.unsw.edu.au/fapi/datastream/unsworks:12781/SOURCE02> [accessed 25 December 2020].
105 Ferguson, '*Mansfield Park:* Slavery, Colonialism, and Gender', p. 131.
106 Gordon Hirsch, 'Shame, Pride and Prejudice: Jane Austen's Psychological Sophistication', *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal*, 25.1 (Winter 1992), 63-78 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24780586> [accessed 19 June 2020] (p. 71).

'idealization of the lost object' i.e. Wentworth.[107] Although Anne's loss of Wentworth is the primary cause of her anxiety, it is she and Lady Russell who are responsible for the separation and not Wentworth and her anger towards Wentworth (if present) would be unjustified. Moreover, if Anne truly employed the mechanism of repression, she would not only idealise Wentworth, but would blame herself and Lady Russell for their separation. However, not only does she assert that she was right and had 'nothing to reproach [herself] with', she emphasises that she was 'right in being guided by [Lady Russell]' (*Persuasion,* p. 461). This suggests that Fitzpatrick's observation of Anne's use of repression might not hold. The examples provided support the notion that the other five mechanisms listed by the *DSM* to cope with anxiety are not suited to the analysis of the characters selected for this study.

4.3.1 Isolation

The *DSM* IV TR defines isolation as 'splitting or separating an idea from the affect that accompanies it'.[108] '"Affect"' refers to an 'idea or feeling' which is altered by the use of defense mechanisms.[109] Through the use of the mechanism of isolation, a person can lessen the impact of an unpleasant idea or emotion (affect) by detaching it from the thought or memory due to which it might be triggered. Although the overwhelming emotion associated with an unpleasant memory or thought (involving the self, other person or affect) is present in the psyche, any train of thought that should make the person experience it is interrupted by 'interpolating an interval'.[110] The '"interval"' creates a distance between the unpleasant thought and feeling so that it cannot affect one's self-esteem or sense of happiness. Characters like Henry Tilney, Emma Watson, Anne Elliot, Edward Ferrars and Fanny Price employ the mechanism of isolation in order to protect themselves from the tyranny and indifference of their family members. Mr. Parker, Fanny and Emma use the mechanism to cope with the threat of losing their homes.

Emma Watson realises that her aunt, Mrs. Turner's behaviour in sending her back to her family without bequeathing anything to her is cruel but does not want to accept it. As discussed in section 4.2, symptoms of anxiety are observable in Emma's behaviour whenever

107 Margaret Ann Fitzpatrick Hanly, 'Object Loss, Renewed Mourning, and Psychic Change in Austen's *Persuasion*', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 88.4 (2008), 1001-1017 <https://doi.org/10.1516/6760-17R4-7017-3724> (p.1009).
108 *DSM* IV TR, p. 810.
109 Vaillant, 'Defense Mechanisms'.
110 Freud, *The Standard Edition*, Vol. 20, p. 122.

memories of her banishment and consequent loss of family and home crop up in discussions with other people. Emma makes use of isolation to cope with the anxiety triggered by losing her home and family. Employing the mechanism of isolation, she separates bitter feelings like pain for her loss of home and family and anger at her aunt from the memory of her aunt's cruel behaviour. By doing so, she can recall her displacement without acknowledging the pain of losing her home and family or experiencing anger at her aunt's behaviour. She does not reproach her aunt for abandoning her and attempts to avoid getting into conversations where the topic might be discussed.

When her neighbor, Mr. Edwards asks her about returning to her father's family and abandoning her aunt, she 'warmly' replies that she 'was not so ungrateful […] as to wish to be anywhere but with her [aunt]' (*LM,* p. 225). Her warm tone suggests the use of isolation which allows her to recall the painful event of losing her home and family without the natural emotion (despair or agitation) that should accompany it. She says her continuing to reside with her aunt 'did not suit them' referring to both her aunt and uncle (Captain O' Brien) and then immediately mends her statement to 'it did not suit Captain O' Brien that [she] should be of the party' (p. 225*).* In order to redirect the pain that the subject might cause, there is 'an interruption of the connection in thought' when a person uses isolation.[111] This interruption manifests as pauses or spaces in a train of thought that is unpleasant to the person thinking it. The pauses provide the interval necessary to interrupt the unpleasant train of thought and allow the user to prevent 'his thoughts about that [unpleasant] impression or activity to come into associative contact with other thoughts.'[112] This is apparent in the pause that occurs in Emma's outward speech when she mentally creates an '"interval"' between her displacement and its affect and shifts the blame towards Captain O' Brien to prevent the feelings of anger towards her aunt from making associative contact with her other thoughts.

Anne Elliot employs isolates accusatory feelings towards herself and Lady Russell for her separation from Wentworth. As discussed in section 4.2.1, Anne does not receive genuine love from any of her family members except Lady Russell. She finds love with Captain Wentworth along with the possibility of a family in his siblings and friends. By breaking the engagement on Lady Russell's persuasion, she, therefore, sacrifices not only her love but also the dream of a loving family. Considering herself or Lady Russell wrong will pin the blame of Wentworth's unhappiness on them. This will, in turn, make her feel guilty for accusing Lady

111 Freud, *The Standard Edition,* Vol. 20, p. 121.
112 Ibid, p. 122.

Russell who has 'a mother's love and mother's rights' (*Persuasion,* p. 104). The reader, and possibly Anne, view Lady Russell 'as a responsible woman reacting adversely to what she saw as dangerous new ideas'.[113] It is likely that Lady Russell perceived their engagement in the light of 'a classic case of the girl who feels bored and unwanted at home rushing into the first love affair that comes along.'[114] If Anne accepts that she was wrong in listening to Lady Russell, it will increase her pain of losing Wentworth by leading to the acknowledgment of being a source for his pain and disappointment.

Anne, therefore, does not blame either Lady Russell or her own self but maintains that if 'any young person, in similar circumstances, [were] to apply to her for counsel, they would never receive any of such certain immediate wretchedness, such uncertain future good' (*Persuasion*, p. 107). 'To the user defenses are invisible; to the observer defenses usually appear odd'.[115] This can be observed in Anne's focus on not putting any other couple through the misery which she and Wentworth endured while maintaining that she and Lady Russell were not wrong. As she can make the statement without experiencing any emotion of accusation towards Lady Russell or guilt for her own actions, the use of isolation is suggested. When Anne learns from her sister, Mary, that Wentworth considers her 'so altered that he should not have known her again' (*Persuasion,* p. 158), the words hurt her deeply. Employing the mechanism of isolation, she isolates their painful effect and feels that she has received proof that he has moved on and forgotten her unjust behaviour towards him.

The primary cause of Mr. Parker's anxiety is the loss of the home he has built for himself in Sanditon by the failure of the resort. He is, therefore, anxious about the threat that seaside resorts like Brighton, Worthing, East Bourne and Brinshore pose to Sanditon. In order to lessen his anxiety, he employs the mechanism of isolation and isolates the feelings of apprehension or dread from the observations which suggest that Sanditon might not be successful. He has 'abandoned [his] snug ancestral estate on the downs for the sublimities of Trafalgar House and the necessity of parasols'.[116] While addressing the house as 'an honest old place' (*LM*, p. 321) and 'an old friend' (p. 324), he lays stress on the advantages of Trafalgar compared to the former. His behaviour might seem normal to him but appears odd to an observer. His lengthy defence of Trafalgar House's being better appears to be exaggerated as he 'still looks back' (ibid) after they have passed the old house. This suggests that in order to

113 Waldron, *Jane Austen and the Fictions of her Time*, p. 138.
114 Tomalin, *Jane Austen: A Life*, p. 217.
115 *DSM* IV TR, p. 810.
116 Bander, '*'Sanditon, Northanger Abbey* and *Camilla*', p. 195.

cope with the anxiety triggered by the regret of leaving his ancestral home, he separates the event of leaving and its affect (feelings of pain and regret). While his love for Trafalgar House seems to be genuine, his unnecessary focus on the disadvantages of his ancestral home compared to the former suggests regret over leaving it and the use of isolation to overcome this regret.

His experiencing hopeful thoughts whenever he sees something in Sanditon which suggests that the resort is not doing well, also suggests a use of the mechanism of isolation. When he observes 'fewer carriages, [and] fewer walkers' (*LM*, p. 328) than he had expected, instead of being disappointed, he is hopeful that he will encounter more people on the Terrace. When the list of subscribers in library is 'not only without distinction but less numerous than he had hoped', he reasons that it is 'but July […] and August and September [are] the months (p. 339). When his 'coadjutor', Lady Denham, expresses her 'harassing apprehensions of the lodgings being in some instances underlet' (p. 343), he does not appear to experience anxiety and calmly informs her about the two large families engaged by his sister, Diana, to take up lodgings in Sanditon (see section 4.2.2). When a lone family from the West Indies (mistaken by Diana to be two large families) arrives at Sanditon, there is a lot of speculation among the Parkers as to which family it might be of the two. Instead of experiencing the apprehension of Diana's having been wrong as to the size of the families, 'Mr. Parker [is] confident of another new family' (*LM*, p. 384). Due to his unrealistic optimism, Hill accuses Mr. Parker for failing to understand that 'there is insufficient demand for his product and that many will suffer from the disastrous consequences'.[117] However, Mr. Parker's observations about things being less prosperous at Sanditon than he would like them to be, suggest that he is aware of an 'insufficient demand' but does not want to accept it as it induces in him the anxiety of losing his home.

The primary cause of Edward's anxiety is the loss of his family. Failing to receive love from his own family, he finds a safe haven with Lucy and her family. For, perhaps, the first time in his life, Edward feels loved and accepted and begins to think of Longstaple as his home (*S&S*, p. 440). Eventually, he realises that he is infatuated with Lucy but as he believes that Lucy loves him, he feels pressurised to remain faithful to her. His reluctance to break off the engagement might stem from the fact that he is grateful to Lucy for loving and accepting him unlike his own family. Moreover, since his relationship with his own family has always been

117 Hill, 'Jane Austen: A Voyage of Discovery', p. 89.

strained, he understands the pain of being overlooked and treated coldly by loved ones and does not want to put Lucy through the same. It is quite difficult to believe that while Elinor understands Lucy's true nature after a single meeting, Edward sees no glimpse of it during their relationship of four years. He thinks of her as a 'well-disposed, good-hearted girl' who is 'thoroughly attached to himself' (p. 440). There is a strong possibility that his anxiety to remain faithful to Lucy makes him employ the mechanism of isolation and unemotionally consider 'her ignorance and a want of liberality in some of her opinions' as an unfortunate result of 'her want of education' (ibid).

In the initial days of Edward and Elinor's acquaintance, Edward appears to make use of the defence mechanisms of isolation to make himself believe that he is not in love with Elinor. His use of isolation seems to stem from the guilt of being unfaithful towards Lucy and hurting her. Anxious to find himself in a situation where he might break Lucy's heart, he isolates the feelings of love he feels towards Elinor and convinces himself that there 'is only friendship' (*S&S,* p. 440) between them. Once he starts comparing Lucy and Elinor, he realises that he cannot lie to himself anymore and continue his friendship with Elinor. Genuinely enjoying her company, he is reluctant to leave and employs the mechanism of isolation to remove the feeling of guilt from the memories of time spent with Elinor. He tries to convince himself that he is 'doing no injury to anybody but [himself]' (ibid). Gradually, however, the anxiety of exposing Lucy to undeserved pain overcomes him and he distances himself from Elinor by employing the mechanism of undoing (discussed in the next section).

The cause of Fanny Price's anxiety is the loss of her home and family. Hagen describes Fanny as 'a young girl who consistently skews the world around her in order to envision a more accepting and more loving community'.[118] According to Hagen, Fanny is treated with neglect or scorn by most of the people she knows and self-deception is the only means through which she can 'resist despair and, to some extent, attain happiness'.[119] The Bertrams adopt Fanny but considering her lower than them both in status and intelligence, unintentionally mistreat her. While they are often inflicting pain on her unconsciously, it is not possible for a child of her age to be unaffected by their behaviour. Fanny appears to use the mechanism of isolation by separating the pain of being mistreated by the Bertrams from the experience of the mistreatment. This can be observed in the narrator's statement that she is 'often mortified by

118 Kelly Hagen, '"The Imagination Supplied What the Eye Could Not Reach": The Unconscious Self-Deception of *Mansfield Park's* Fanny Price', *Persuasions On-Line,* 32.1 (Winter 2011) <www.jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol32no1/hagen.html> [accessed 5 December 2020].
119 Ibid.

their treatment of her' but not 'injured by it' (*MP*, p. 173). It is possible that their mistreatment triggers her anxiety of the loss of her home and family which she copes with by isolating the pain that she should feel when they mistreat her.

The use of isolation by the characters is primarily to remove the effect of feelings of pain, guilt, apprehension or regret caused by unpleasant thoughts or memories. Edward, Anne, Fanny and Emma employ the mechanism to overcome feelings of guilt arising from accusing people towards whom they are believe they are indebted and the fear of losing families through the acceptance of the cruelty of the same people. Mr. Parker's motivation for using the mechanism is the regret of leaving his ancestral home and the fear of losing his new home through the failure of Sanditon.

4.3.2 Undoing

According to the DSM *IV TR,* undoing is a mechanism with the help of which 'individuals avoid conscious awareness of disturbing impulses by thinking or acting in a way intended to revert ("make un-happen") those impulses, even if only at a symbolic level'.[120] Undoing is used by Emma Watson, Henry Tilney, Anne Elliot, Fanny Price and Edward Ferrars to cope with their anxiety. The mechanism helps them to not only deny their original impulses but also convince others that such impulses do not exist which works in the favour of all the characters and allows them to be happy.

While the mechanism of isolation enables Emma Watson to prevent the pain of losing her home and family from affecting her, it might not be possible for her to completely ignore the 'change in her home society, and style of life' (*LM*, p. 289) at Stanton. Focused on absolving her aunt in the earlier parts of the novel, she later acknowledges that her aunt 'has erred' (p. 272) by abandoning her. This can easily lead to her labelling her aunt as a tyrant or fully experiencing the pain of being rendered homeless which does not, however, happen. As her aunt has shown her exceptional kindness by not only adopting but also giving her 'every indulgence' (ibid), Emma might experience feelings of guilt by accusing her. Undoing assists 'individuals to mitigate sudden upsurges in conscience or guilt'.[121] By making use of undoing, Emma, also channels the anger she feels towards her aunt into consideration for her happiness in her second marriage. When Robert accuses their aunt, Emma agrees that she has erred but

120 Costa, 'Undoing'.
121 Vaillant, 'Defense Mechanisms'.

then attempts to convince him that if her aunt has made an imprudent choice by marrying and abandoning her, 'she will suffer more from it herself than [Emma] can possibly do' (p. 272) thereby converting her guilty feelings of bitterness into compassion towards her aunt.

It is highly possible that the indifference of the Watson family towards her makes her nostalgic for her aunt and uncle's love while reinforcing the fact that she has lost her home and family. Her insistence on remembering only the happy memories involving her aunt and not allowing anyone to 'speak disrespectfully' (*LM*, p. 272) about them might also be a result of the use of undoing. She understands that her aunt's behaviour was wrong but the guilt of accusing her and destroying the memory of the family they had created together, prompts her to replace the knowledge of her cruelty with her 'tenderness' and 'amiable temper' (p. 289). Her silencing Robert in his disrespectful speech for Mrs. Turner by asserting that 'she was very good' to her (p. 271) is the opposite of her acknowledgement of her aunt's mistake. As stated before, defense mechanisms are invisible to the user but appear odd to the observer. The observer, in this case, is Robert who, significantly, observes 'That's odd sort of talking' (p. 272) after Emma's contradictory speech. Emma also appears to use the mechanism of undoing to replace her disappointment with her uncle (for leaving everything to his wife) with a feeling of respect for his attachment towards her aunt. Her acknowledgement of her disappointment would again lead to feelings of guilt for being ungrateful as well as pain for the destruction of the memory of their family.

Like Emma, Henry Tilney also appears to recognise the tyrannical nature of his father, General Tilney, but refuses to acknowledge it. It is possible that the constant need he feels to defend his father's stern actions and unjustified dominance stems from the anxiety of opposing his father and losing his family. In order to reduce his anxiety, he tries to convince himself and others that his father is not a tyrant but dominates his children as his understanding of the world is superior to them. The mechanism he utilises to seek this reassurance is undoing which is applied to the unpleasant thoughts and memories of his father's tyrannical domination and replaced by thoughts and actions which validate and prolong his father's dominance. To replace memories of emotional neglect, he focuses on the belief that his father gives orders to his children as he is in a better position to understand what it is best for them. While it might be argued that it sometimes appears as if Henry genuinely believes his father is not wrong, his melancholy and hesitation in his father's presence suggest otherwise.

Henry's use of the mechanism of undoing first appears when he speaks to Catherine about his father for the first time. Rather than appearing to justify his father's actions, he sounds like an apologist. Catherine is apprehensive that Henry's sister, Eleanor, is displeased with her and has deliberately avoided meeting her. Henry explains to Catherine that: 'It was nothing more than that my father—they were just preparing to walk out, and he being hurried for time, and not caring to have it put off—made a point of her being denied' (*NA*, p. 63). Henry wants to clear Eleanor of the blame that, in reality, lies with his father. He understands that the General should not have forced Eleanor to accompany him and it is, perhaps, for this reason that he begins the apology by attributing the fault to his father – 'it was nothing more than that my father […]' (ibid). The partly concealing and partly revealing excuse he makes for his father's wrong actions support the belief that he is aware of his father's behaviour being wrong but does not want to accept it. An acceptance of his father's unjust behaviour, however, would lead to the acknowledgment of his father's tyranny towards his children. He, therefore, employs the mechanism of undoing and attempts to clear not only Eleanor but also his father although he is aware of his father's being wrong. Henry's defence of his father appears to stem from the guilt of being an ungrateful son and the fear of acknowledging the fact that he is part of a broken family. The use of undoing, therefore, helps Henry to escape the pain that would come from accepting that he does not have a family.

One of the biggest lies we witness Henry convincing himself and Catherine of is his father's appreciation of his mother. Catherine, though harbouring unrealistic notions about nearly everything, is still able to identify 'the general's cruelty' (*NA*, p. 130). She takes these notions to an extreme by imagining that he murdered his wife or locked her up (p. 127-128). However, the gist of her fears appears to be the tyranny of the General and how it might have affected his wife, a person more dependent on him than his children since the latter could seek an exit from the house by engaging in a profession or marrying. It is surprising that someone with Henry's powers of perception should not have realised the same thing. This suggests that Henry, unable to accept the idea of his father's tyranny without acknowledging that he is part of a broken family, uses the mechanism of undoing to replace these thoughts with ones that justify his father's behaviour. He convinces Catherine that though his father's 'temper injured [his mother], his judgment never did' and 'his value of her was sincere; and, if not permanently, he was truly afflicted by her death' (p. 133). He again makes use of contradictory statements that appear odd to the observer like his father's being affected but not permanently or hurting his mother by his anger if not his judgment.

He even contends that his father loved his mother ‘as well as it was possible for him to’ (*NA,* p. 132). As Catherine has seen the way in which the General loves his children (by controlling their lives completely), this does not appear to be a valid reason to support his argument. It appears that Henry also realises this and backs it up by claiming that everyone does not possess ‘the same tenderness of disposition’ (p. 132). His words seem to imply that his father’s tyrannical treatment of his mother (and, by extension, himself) should be overlooked as it arose due to his cold and controlling nature and not any fault of his own. His excuse is weak and unreasonable as it is not only possible but highly desirable for humans to correct their faulty dispositions. The General does not appear to have failed to change himself so much as he seems disinclined to acknowledge his faults. Ironically, by making excuses for his father’s refusal to change, Henry is unconsciously encouraging his tyrannical behaviour towards himself and his siblings. Henry and his father seem to be caught up in an endless cycle where the General behaves tyrannically towards his family members, Henry denies his father’s atrocities which encourages their continuance and Henry’s denial. The mechanism of undoing employed by Henry, therefore, only serves to lessen his pain for a short time and he will have to be prepared to face it when he is finally ready to acknowledge it.

Henry is finally forced to not only accept but also confront his father’s tyranny when it is directed towards Catherine. The General was mistaken that Catherine is rich and an heiress and turns her out of his house when he learns that she is neither. Whether it is Henry’s love for Catherine and the possibility of having a happy family with her, his awareness of her being blameless or the limit of his tolerance for his father’s behaviour, he acknowledges that his father is wrong and opposes him. When he accepts his father’s faults in front of Catherine, his state is ‘almost as pitiable as in their first avowal to himself’ (*NA,* p. 166). We are not shown the pitiable state he is in when he accepts his father’s tyranny but the statement, nevertheless, suggests that his acceptance of his father’s tyranny was extremely difficult for him to bear. While his acceptance gives him the courage to confess his feelings to Catherine, he does not marry her until his father approves of the match. This might be motivated by his financial dependence on his father who owns the family living at Woodston of which Henry is slated to become the clergyman. Without his father’s will, he will neither inherit Woodstom nor be able to occupy it as a clergyman. The similar example we have in Edward, however, of rebelling against his mother at the cost of disinheritance merely for the sake of upholding his promise to Lucy (even though he loves Elinor) suggests that while Henry might have disrupted the cycle of being dominated by his father that he had been following unconsciously since his childhood,

he has not completely broken away from it. It further suggests that he might continue to resort to using the mechanism of undoing in the future also to cope with his anxiety.

Along with the mechanism of isolation to avoid the pain caused by the mistreatment of the Bertrams, Fanny Price makes use of undoing to cope with her anxiety of losing her home and family. As readers, it is surprising for us to encounter the indifferent Price family when Fanny fully expects to be 'loved by so many, and more loved by all than she had ever been before' (*MP,* p. 426). The striking contrast suggests that she makes use of the mechanism of undoing in order to cope with the unpleasant realisation of her having no family as both families she could have called her own are indifferent towards her. Through the mechanism of undoing, she replaces the unpleasant acknowledgement of the indifference of her biological family with the opposite thoughts i.e. their love towards her. She is conscious that her mother 'had certainly shown no remarkable fondness for her formerly' but asserts that 'she should now find a warm and affectionate friend' (p. 428) in her. She is confident that now that 'she [knows] better how to be useful and how to forbear, and when her mother [can] be no longer occupied by the incessant demands of a house full of little children, […] they should soon be what mother and daughter ought to be to each other' (ibid). It simultaneously makes her feel that not only does she have a loving family at Portsmouth waiting to welcome her but her father's house is a place that she can truly call home. This might be seen as an instance of what Deresiewicz terms as the 'memory's power, not to repeat the past, but to transform it, and in particular, to redeem experiences of suffering and loss'.[122]

When her earlier recollection of her mother's indifference proves to be true and her false confidence of gaining a family and home in Portsmouth is shattered, she again employs the mechanism of undoing and reasons that after a separation of so many years, she has no right 'to be of importance to her family' (*MP*, p. 442). Her acquittal of the Price family even though it is 'in almost every respect the very reverse of what she could have wished' (p. 450) suggests the use of undoing to overlook their behaviour towards her so that she does not experience the pain of having lost her home and family. She, moreover, uses undoing to negate all her earlier unpleasant thoughts about Mansfield Park and its inhabitants and begins 'to transfer in its favour much of her attachment to her former home' (p. 22) in order to cope with the anxiety of having neither a home nor any family. Though she had considered her return to Portsmouth as 'a prospect to be dwelt on with a fondness that could be but half acknowledged' (p. 427), the

122 Deresiewicz, *Jane Austen and the Romantic Poets*, p. 39.

realisation of her having neither a home nor a family in Portsmouth makes her turn her thoughts with fond remembrance towards her 'dear, dear friends' at Mansfield (p. 442).

She appears to replace the thoughts of being unloved and unwanted at Portsmouth by the conviction of being required at Mansfield Park which is apparent in her assertion that 'every body had their due importance' (*MP*, p. 453) at Mansfield. She even considers 'the little irritations sometimes introduced by Aunt Norris' as 'short' and 'trifling' and 'a drop of water to the ocean, compared with the ceaseless tumult of her present abode' (ibid). Just as she is happy at Mansfield to think that she has a family at Portsmouth, she is similarly optimistic at Portsmouth that she has a home and family at Mansfield. At Mansfield, she is convinced that Portsmouth is the place where she will be 'more loved […] than ever before' (p. 426), but once there, 'she could think of nothing but Mansfield, its beloved inmates, its happy ways' (p. 453). Through the use of undoing, 'individuals try to *symbolically* revert not only the consequences of an event but the event proper, as if it had never existed'.[123] This can be traced in Fanny's wildly fluctuating emotions towards the two places after being disappointed by the behaviour of the inmates of both. At Mansfield, she believes that everything was perfect at Portsmouth while at Portsmouth, she transfers such feelings in Mansfield's favour.

Fanny also employs the mechanism to remove the anxiety of losing her cousin, Edmund, whom she loved 'better than any body in the world' (*MP*, p. 25). When she receives a letter from Edmund informing her of his indecision of proposing Mary Crawford even though she is 'the only woman in the world whom he could ever think of as a wife' (p. 489), she 'is vexed into displeasure and anger against Edmund' (p. 492) as she loves him. She accuses him of being 'blinded' (ibid) by love to Mary Crawford's faults. He has, moreover, expressed his hope of her marrying Mary's brother, Henry Crawford, which irritates her further and makes her accuse him of not knowing her. As discussed in section 4.2.4, she is in love with Edmund and sees the possibility of having a home and family with him. As the primary subject of the letter is the marriage of both Edmund and Fanny to two different people, it is likely that her irritation with Edmund is triggered by her anxiety of losing him. She might also feel guilty of being resentful towards Edmund who is 'entitled to such gratitude from her as no feelings could be strong enough to pay' (p. 43). Instead of dwelling on the topic of marriage in the letter which triggers her anxiety, she tries to "undo" the pain and considers the letter a proof of 'his warm regard, his kind expressions, [and] his confidential treatment' (p. 492) of her. Her doing so

123 *DSM* IV TR, p. 811.

suggests that she wants to persuade herself that there is still some chance of her and Edward coming together at the end. Her behaviour is in tune with the process of undoing which involves the nullification 'of an unacceptable or guilt provoking thought, idea, or feeling by confession or atonement'.[124]

Anne Elliot also employs the mechanism of undoing to remove the unpleasant feelings of guilt for hurting Wentworth by breaking their engagement. While Anne has convinced herself that she was right in breaking off the engagement, she still appears to feel guilty for breaking his heart. There is a strong possibility that in order to escape her guilt of being a cause for Wentworth's pain, she employs the mechanism of undoing to replace these thoughts with those of Wentworth's indifference. Convincing herself that he 'must be indifferent' (*Persuasion,* p. 154) makes her believe that he no longer remembers the pain she put him through, thereby relieving her of her guilt. Knowing him as she does, it is improbable that she cannot understand that he is hurt and not indifferent. This suggests that her insistence on interpreting every circumstance as pointing towards his indifference arises due to the use of undoing. When Anne learns about the engagement of Louisa Musgrove (a woman that Wentworth was expected to marry) and Captain Benwick (a close friend of Wentworth), she is happy that Wentworth is 'unshackled and free' (p. 331) but feels guilty as Wentworth might be unhappy. She again employs the mechanism of undoing and replaces the thoughts of Wentworth's being single with the concern that 'such a friendship as [Wentworth and Benwick's] should be severed unfairly' (p 330).

Anne cannot seem to shake off her feelings of guilt even after her and Wentworth's reunion as it proves that Wentworth had never forgotten her or the pain that she inflicted on him. She attempts to "undo" these feelings by justifying her and Lady Russell's behaviour to him. She claims that she was 'perfectly right in being guided' (*Persuasion,* p. 461) by Lady Russell even though the latter erred in her advice. Like the excuses used by the other characters using undoing to justify their or someone else's behaviour, the statement is contradictory and appears odd to the observer. Anne reiterates that she 'never should, in any circumstance of tolerable similarity, give such advice' (p. 461) as she received from Lady Russell but still cannot accept that Lady Russell was wrong in separating them. She accepts that she 'should have suffered in [her] conscience' by going against Lady Russell who, to her, 'was in the place

124 *DSM* IV TR, p. 811.

of a parent' (ibid). This suggests a use of undoing to avoid feeling guilty for following Lady Russell's advice and breaking the engagement along with Wentworth's heart.

As mentioned in sections, 4.2.4 and 4.3.1, Mr. Parker appears to be apprehensive of rival resorts like Eastbourne, Brighton, Worthing and Brinshore. He employs the mechanism of undoing to cope with the anxiety triggered by thoughts of the rival resorts becoming more popular than Sanditon and making him lose his home by the latter's failure. To replace his anxious thoughts about the advantages of other resorts, he focuses on their disadvantages. As mentioned previously in section 4.2.4, he launches into a detailed criticism of the resorts to Mr. Heywood. This helps him to feel that Sanditon is better than all its competition and he does not need to worry about the other resorts posing a threat to Sanditon in the future. The conflict between his awareness of there being tough competition and his deliberate refusal to acknowledge it is evident when we compare his reaction to the same statement made by Mr. Heywood and Lady Denham, albeit in a different context.

Mr. Heywood dismissively likens Sanditon to all other seaside resorts which are equally bad for the country as they are 'sure to raise the price of Provisions and make the poor good for nothing' (*LM*, p. 300). Mr. Parker eagerly assures him that his idea is applicable to 'large, overgrown Places, like Brighton, or Worthing, or East Bourne' while Sanditon is meant to 'excite the industry of the Poor and diffuse comfort and improvement among them of every sort' (ibid). When Lady Denham is apprehensive that the arrival of wealthy people in Sanditon will encourage people to raise the price of the necessary commodities, he pacifies her by claiming that the 'butchers and bakers and traders in general cannot get rich without bringing prosperity to [them]' (p. 344). In both situations, a possibility is being suggested that people might not be interested in visiting Sanditon because the prices are too high. One can argue that Mr. Parker is trying to allay the concerns of both Mr. Heywood and Lady Denham because it suits his business interests in Sanditon. He wants the former to visit Sanditon or, at least, encourage other people to do so and the latter, to support his schemes for Sanditon by continuing to invest money in the resort.

It is imperative to take into consideration that though his intention appears to be to convince Mr. Heywood to visit Sanditon with his family, we learn later on that he wants 'to get as many of the Family as his own house would contain' (*LM*, p. 308). As inviting the Heywoods to stay at his own home will drain more of his own resources than be profitable to him, his passionate defence of Sanditon to Mr. Heywood does not appear to be for any financial

purpose. Similarly, while his convincing Lady Denham can be interpreted as a business tactic, it does not correspond with his honest character. Considering his stake in the future of the resort, there is a strong possibility that he is convincing himself, more than Lady Denham or Mr. Heywood, that Sanditon will be successful. While he desperately needs assurance, he is met with doubt or criticism which prompts him to employ the mechanism of undoing and convince himself that he has not made a mistake by speculating in Sanditon.

This is also suggested in his anticipation of his younger brother, Sidney's arrival in Sanditon although the latter does not support his 'improvements' (ibid, p. 325) at Sanditon. Although Mr. Parker employs the mechanism of isolation to remove any apprehension that Sidney's criticism might give rise to (see section 4.3.1), it is possible that Sidney's visit to Sanditon might reinforce his anxiety about Sanditon. As the brothers are close (*LM*, p. 307), it is possible that Mr. Parker will experience guilt from wishing that Sydney should not come to Sanditon so that he does not have to listen to his apprehensions. To remove this feeling, he employs the mechanism of undoing and informs his wife delightfully that 'many a respectable family, many a careful mother, many a pretty daughter, might [Sidney's arrival] secure to [Sanditon] to the prejudice of Eastbourne and Hastings' (p. 326). He, therefore, makes use of undoing to counter negative thoughts about the failure of Sanditon which will result in the loss of his home.

As discussed in section 4.3.1, Edward Ferrars makes use of the mechanism of isolation to convince himself that he is still faithful to and in love with Lucy. Once he gathers enough courage to admit that he is in love with Elinor, he starts employing the mechanism of undoing to remove thoughts of Elinor from his mind. He believes that Lucy loves him and feels guilty that he will break her heart if he breaks off their engagement (*S&S*, p. 440). In an attempt to avoid hurting Lucy, he tries to "undo" his love for Elinor and his guilt of betraying Lucy by hiding his affection from Elinor and refraining from spending too much time with her. Every time he wants to spend time with Elinor or open his heart to her, he employs the mechanism of undoing and does the exact opposite of what he desires by either leaving the room, talking to somebody else or becoming reserved (pp. 47, 116 and 121). Though initially open with Elinor, he gradually becomes more reserved towards her than he is with her family members (ibid, pp. 25, 114 and 116) which convinces her to feel that she was mistaken in believing that he liked her. It might be argued that Edward does not break his engagement because he does not want to take the responsibility of hurting Lucy on his shoulders. However, when provided with the perfect opportunity to leave Lucy through the strict opposition of his family, he still persists in

his engagement. His behaviour then seems to stem from the use of undoing to avoid hurting Lucy through his unfaithfulness.

When Edward comes to visit the Dashwoods at Barton Cottage, Marianne notices him wearing a ring with a lock of hair in the centre which the Dashwoods think is Elinor's hair but turns out to be Lucy's. He has started wearing the ring after the Dashwoods have settled at Barton Cottage when, by his own admission, he has fallen out of love with Lucy (*S&S*, pp. 434-435). This suggests a use of the mechanism of undoing to remove thoughts about his love for Elinor by focussing on his responsibility towards Lucy of which the ring serves as a constant reminder. As soon as his 'enjoyment among his friends [is] at the height', he decides to leave even though his time is 'wholly disengaged' and he has no idea which 'place he should go [to] when he [leaves] them' (p. 122) His promptness in leaving points towards the use of undoing to remind himself of his duty towards Lucy as opposed to his love for Elinor and her family. It hints towards his awareness that a continued stay in Elinor's presence will only serve to highlight Lucy's defects in her comparison and make him unhappy.

The mechanism of undoing is used by all the characters. Emma and Henry use the mechanism to escape feeling guilty for being ungrateful towards Mrs Turner and General Tilney respectively by accusing them of cruelty. Anne makes use of the mechanism to replace feelings of guilt and pain for breaking Wentworth's heart and losing her family. Mr. Parker employs the mechanism to avoid the pain of becoming homeless and Edward uses it to hide his feelings for Elinor as confessing his love will bring him pain. Edward will feel both guilt and pain as he is already engaged to Lucy and will hurt her by confessing that he loves someone else.

4.4 Conclusion

The chapter is concerned with the examination of the primary causes of anxiety in the lived experience of home and the analysis of the defense mechanisms used to cope with this anxiety. An analysis of the anxiety-inducing factors in the lived experience of home is presented. The similarities and differences in the characters' causes of anxiety are highlighted. The shared experiences of different characters are compared to develop an understanding of the effect that the same experience has on different characters. The symptoms of anxiety

displayed by the characters are identified. Further, the use of defense mechanisms by the characters to cope with their anxiety is analysed. Characters sharing the same causes of anxiety are compared to understand the manner how similar experiences work to bring out different or similar coping methods in characters. Characters with different experiences but similar ways of coping are also compared to understand them better.

While there are four causes of anxiety in Austen's portrayal of the characters' lived experience of home, most of the characters experience more than one of these. Emma and Fanny experience all four, Anne Elliot experiences three, Edward Ferrars and Mr Parker experience two and Henry Tilney experiences only one. There is a strong similarity between Emma and Fanny's experiences of all four causes as both are displaced from their homes, adopted into families where they are treated tyrannically, sent to their original families who are indifferent towards them and where they are rendered homeless again. Emma and Fanny experience feelings of guilt if they acknowledge they were treated tyrannically by their adopted families. While Emma employs the mechanism of undoing to remove her guilt, Fanny employs both isolation and undoing to do the same.

Fanny and Emma also employ the mechanism of undoing to replace bitter memories of losing their home and family through familial tyranny and indifference with happier memories of their adopted and original families respectively. Focussing on happy moments also allows both characters to feel they are loved and wanted which, in turn, allows them to escape the pain of having no home and no family. For Emma and Fanny, then, all four causes of anxiety experienced are equally important and using the mechanisms of isolation and undoing helps them to cope with this anxiety. Anne Elliot experiences three of the four causes of anxiety discussed though she does not appear to be equally affected by all. Both she and Edward Ferrars are primarily concerned with the loss of love and family as opposed to the loss of a physical home. While Anne shares Fanny and Emma's sense of guilt of accusing a family member (Lady Russell) and feeling the pain of losing the family they have, she does not share their fear of losing her home, possibly because she does not have any home to lose. The same is true of Edward who voluntarily displaces himself from his mother's house to that of Lucy Steele's whose family becomes his family of choice. Like Emma, Fanny and Anne, he feels guilty of criticising or betraying Lucy who has provided the love to him that his own family did not.

Edward has already lost the home he envisioned with Lucy when he realises that he is in love with Elinor, but he is determined not to lose the family he has formed with Lucy. The

fear of being ungrateful and losing his family by accepting his father's behaviour as tyrannical is also felt by Henry Tilney who, like the other four characters, employs the mechanism of undoing to remove the memories of the tyranny of his father. Henry, Edward, Anne, Emma and Fanny, therefore, share feelings of guilt for justly accusing a tyrannical or indifferent family member and feelings of pain for having no family while Emma and Fanny additionally experience the pain of losing their homes. The primary cause of Mr. Parker's anxiety is a fear of displacement and losing his home. Mr. Parker employs both isolation and undoing to overcome his anxiety. Isolation helps Mr. Parker to remove the apprehension that Sanditon is less successful than he would like it to be while undoing helps him to remove the fear that its rival-resorts will be more successful and put it out of business.

The following table provides a summary of the primary factors in the lived experience of home causing anxiety to the characters and the defense mechanisms employed by the characters to cope with them.

Character	**Primary Cause(s) of Anxiety**	**Defense Mechanism(s) Used**
Edward Ferrars	Tyrannical and indifferent family	Isolation and undoing
Henry Tilney	Tyrannical family	Undoing
Emma Watson	Displacement from and loss of home, tyrannical and indifferent family	Isolation and undoing
Fanny Price	Displacement from and loss of home, tyrannical and indifferent family	Isolation and undoing
Anne Elliot	Tyrannical family	Isolation and undoing
Mr. Parker	Displacement from and loss of home	Isolation and undoing

Table 1 Primary Causes of Anxiety and Defense Mechanisms Employed to Cope with Them

Chapter V Defining Home Through Psychological Associations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will be focused on answering two of the research questions. Firstly, it will be concerned with examining how the characters define home through psychological associations based on their lived experiences. Secondly, it will investigate the relationship between anxiety and home. The previous chapter examined how the characters employed defense mechanisms to cope with experiences of familial tyranny and indifference along with displacement from and loss of one's home. This chapter will attempt to develop an understanding of how these negative experiences helped to shape the characters' understanding of home. The role that positive incidents and/or relationships play in influencing the manner in which the characters define home will also be discussed. The chapter will first explain how home is defined through psychological associations using the construct of Psychological Home provided by Sigmon, Whitcomb and Snyder. It will then analyse how the construction of Psychological Home takes place for each character. An in-depth exploration of the possible reasons for each character's construction of Psychological Home will be presented. The chapter will then compare the definitions of home for the male and female characters to understand which will help to analyse gender similarities later in Chapter VI. The chapter will finally include a discussion on the role that the construction and establishment of Psychological Home plays in relation to the characters' anxiety and their use of defense mechanisms.

5.2 The Establishment of Psychological Home

'The word "home" is widely used in most vernaculars, yet it takes on many meanings and interpretations dependent upon one's culture and ethnicity'.[1] The common theme connecting the different meanings of home is 'an emotional experience in conjunction with energy expressed towards one's physical surroundings'.[2] Based on this understanding, Psychological Home 'describes the dynamic interaction between a psychological need and a physical

1 Kendall Patricia Crum and Joseph R. Ferrari, 'Toward an Understanding of Psychological Home and Clutter with Emerging Adults: Relationships over Relics', *North American Journal of Psychology*, 21 (2019), 45-56 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/330541487_Toward_an_Understanding_of_Psychological_Home_and_Clutter_with_Emerging_Adult_Relationships_over_Relics [accessed 8 March 2020] (p. 45).
2 Crum, *The Effects of Psychological Home and Place Attachment on Life Satisfaction in Women of Colour*, (College of Science and Health Theses and Dissertations, 2018) <https://via.library.depaul.edu/csh_etd/251> [accessed 6 March 2020] (p. 8).

structure.'[3] The authors suggest that the construct comes into existence due to 'an individual's need to develop an identity independent from the social community, as well as to establish a safe refuge from the group or to lay claim to a portion of the geographic location'.[4] The authors propose three broad functions of the construct: 1) Acting as a refuge by providing security and privacy 2) Creating strong attachments to people, places and objects within the physical construct; and 3) Promoting greater psychological health. Based on these functions, the meanings associated with psychological home are derived from the emotional connection to the things people own, the places where they live and the people that they find themselves surrounded with. In order to understand how the selected characters construct psychological homes, the section will analyse their relationship with their family members belonging to both their chosen families and families by birth.

Analysing the construct of Psychological Home, Cicognani writes that 'the social dimension [which] includes the interactions that occur inside the building, with family members and others (e.g., friends, acquaintances) […] is considered the most important condition for the construction of the bonding relationship with the home'.[5] In order, therefore, to understand how the characters associate psychologically with home to define it, it is necessary to examine their social relationships occurring within the space that they identify as home. This section analyses the role that both positive and negative relationships shared with family members, friends and/or acquaintances in the lived space of home, play in the characters' construction of Psychological Home. Due to familial tyranny and indifference, the characters often share sour or strained relationships with most of the members of their biological families (refer to Chapter IV). These relationships result in a longing for love, acceptance and understanding which is sometimes fulfilled by certain family member, and at other times, by people outside the biological family. The latter function as the chosen family of the characters and are often the ones that the characters marry or consider themselves to be in love with. Since the previous chapter was primarily concerned with the tyrannical and/or indifferent relationships that the characters share with their family members, the relationships which afford emotional fulfilment to the characters and become an inseparable part of their lives will be the primary focus of this chapter.

3 Sigmon and others, 'Psychological Home', p. 26.
4 Ibid, p. 23.
5 Cicognani, 'Psychological Home and Well Being', p. 86.

As discussed in Chapter IV (section 4.2.1), Anne is different from the rest of her family members who possess 'too much of the Elliot pride' (*Persuasion,* p. 105). She takes after her deceased mother which, while setting her apart from the family in the eyes of others, results in her being treated as a pariah by the members themselves (pp. 38, 47, 61, 150 and 174). As discussed in the previous chapter, Anne's anxiety arises both due to her family's tyrannical and indifferent behaviour as well as her displacement from and loss of home. In order, therefore, to understand what home means to Anne and why, it is essential to understand not only her relationship with her family (biological and chosen) but also her experiences with displacement and loss of home. Anne first leaves her home, Kellynch Hall, after the death of her mother and later, after breaking off her engagement with Wentworth. Both times, however, the house is still hers to return to and will continue to be hers until the death of her father when it will pass over to his closest male relative, Mr. Elliot, to whom it is entailed. Due to the debts racked up by the careless expenditures of her father, Sir Walter Elliot, and her eldest sister, Elizabeth, the family is forced to rent out the house to Admiral Croft and his wife and leave for Bath. This time, Anne is painfully aware that they can never call the place as their home again.

Unlike Sir Walter and Elizabeth who 'must ever look with an evil eye on any one intending to inhabit that house' (*Persuasion,* p. 53), while Anne is 'sorry and ashamed for the necessity of the removal, she [can] not but in conscience feel that they were gone who deserved not to stay, and that Kellynch Hall had passed into better hands than its owners.' (p. 260). She appears silently resigned to both the loss of her home and the family's displacement to Bath. Comparing the Crofts and the Elliots as contenders for occupying Kellynch, Anne cannot bring herself to think of the rooms as 'unworthily occupied' or grieve that a family as ancient as hers should 'be so driven away' from their house with 'strangers filling their place' (p. 261). She holds a very high opinion of the Crofts and is convinced that they will provide the poor people with 'the best attention and relief' and the parish with a very 'good example' (ibid). It appears, therefore, that though she laments the loss of her home, she does not deplore having to hand it over to someone who is as worthy as she deems the Crofts to be.

While she acknowledges that the Crofts are worthier occupants for Kellynch than the Elliots, her confidence wavers 'when she thought of her mother, and remembered where she had been used to sit and preside' (*Persuasion,* p. 261). Psychological Home comes into existence due to an individual's need 'to lay claim to a portion of the geographic location'.[6]

6 Sigmon and others, 'Psychological Home', p. 31.

The regret Anne feels at the Crofts' inhabiting the place when she remembers her mother, appears to point towards Kellynch Hall being such a location that Anne wants to lay claim to. While Anne is undoubtedly attached to Kellynch Hall, it is the memories of her mother connected to the place that are more important for her than any particular characteristic of the house itself. Her acknowledgment of the Crofts' better claim to Kellynch, except on her mother's account, implies that she is ready to accept someone deserving in that house in her family's stead but not in her mother's. This notion is also supported by the feelings she experiences when Lady Russell points out to her that Sir Walter's heir, Mr. Elliot, is interested in marrying her. Anne's 'imagination and her heart [are] bewitched', not because she likes Mr. Elliot but at 'the idea of becoming what her mother had been' (p. 318) at Kellynch. The charm of 'having the precious name of "Lady Elliot" first revived in herself' is equal to the happiness she would feel in 'being restored to Kellynch, calling it her home again, her home for ever' (ibid).

Kellynch, for Anne, then, appears to hold value as it is connected to the memories of her mother and it is a place that she would like to claim due to the same reason. Her love for the place itself might, then, be considered as a symbol of her love for her mother. In other words, she is attached to the place because it reminds her of happier times spent with her mother. As mentioned previously, her mother was the only member in the Elliot family who was truly affectionate towards her. Anne's fondness for Kellynch based on her mother's memories, then, appears to symbolise a subconscious need to feel loved. Her sadness at having to rent out the house that her mother resided in might arise from her regret at being forced to leave the only place where she has known real affection and, consequently, happiness. This is supported by her 'very determined, though very silent disinclination for Bath' (*Persuasion*, pp. 276-277). Anne has stayed 'three years at school there after her mother's death' (p. 46) and was sent there yet again 'after the rupture' (p. 57) of her engagement with Captain Wentworth. Her fixed dislike for Bath, then, appears to have arisen due to the memories it evokes of the loss of the two people that she loved the most in the world.

Bath, more than Kellynch, might act as a reminder of the death of her mother and her relationship with Wentworth. She was sent there after both the tragic events and while being helped to some extent by her friend at school, Mrs Smith, the first time, she had to recover from her grief on her own the next time. The implication would be that Anne cannot think of a place as home unless she feels loved there. Bath appears to be set as a foil to Kellynch Hall and flames Anne's feelings of grief and loss making the experience of re-entering it nearly

unbearable for her when it is chosen as the Elliot's new home by Sir Walter and Elizabeth after renting Kellynch Hall to the Crofts. Her negative feelings for Bath are clearly seen in her manner of viewing Bath when she finally arrives there. Her first view of Bath is a 'dim view of the extensive buildings, smoking in rain' which she observes 'without any wish of seeing them better' (*Persuasion,* p. 277). If the "extensive buildings" are considered to be symbolically representative of the future, her "dim view" of these appears to reflect her perception of any possible happiness in the future as dim. The smoking rain she imagines the buildings (or her own future) to be caught up in might represent her jealousy and grief as she expects to hear about Louisa and Wentworth's engagement any day (p. 164).

Anne enters Bath 'with a sinking heart, anticipating an imprisonment of many months' (*Persuasion,* p. 279) which seems to further point towards her despairing belief of having lost Wentworth forever. Urda reads Anne's despondence at this moment as being 'explicitly think[ing] in terms of incarceration'.[7] While it is true that Anne fears being imprisoned in Bath, the reason might be as much a loss of agency (as suggested by Urda) as a loss of the company of affectionate people. Anne's fear of imprisonment might be motivated by the knowledge that no one 'would be glad to see her when she arrived' at the house that the Elliots had taken (p. 277). Her instant nostalgia and 'fond regret' for 'the bustles of Uppercross and the seclusion of Kellynch' (ibid) before entering Camden Place support the notion of her being unhappy due to the indifference of her family. It is possible that the crowd at Uppercross offered her an opportunity to be happy as she could observe others while being overlooked herself while Kellynch provided her with spaces where she could be alone to dwell on her grief. In the only two scenes that we see her at Kellynch, she reflects on the troubles in her life at leisure (pp. 38-40, 260-262) and leaves the place sad and dissatisfied. This brings to mind Powell's comment that the domestic confinement of women has been criticised in *Persuasion.*[8] Sodeman has similarly argued that in *Persuasion* 'women's isolation in the home [is viewed] as emotionally damaging confinement'.

Sodeman and Powell's observations are supported by the fact that in moving to Uppercross from Kellynch, Anne's 'spirits improved by change of place and subject' (*Persuasion,* p. 134). The domestic confinement of Kellynch depresses her spirits by providing her with the opportunity to think about the problems in her life without offering any consolation in the form of a distraction or interaction with friendly people. According to Sodeman, Anne

7 Urda, 'Buried in Plain Sight', p. 141.
8 Powell, 'The Sublime Uniting Romanticism and Feminism in Jane Austen'.

‘denounces women's isolation in the home as a form of emotional incarceration, one all the more suffocating for its nostalgic pull upon sentimental attachments’.[9] At Uppercross, she becomes a part of the hustle and bustle of the Musgroves’ home and is happier. She appears to forget her sorrows as she is occupied in helping and observing the various people in the Musgroves’ home and family circle. At Uppercross, then, her spirits receive the much required ‘solitude and silence which only numbers could give’ (p. 204). Anne believes that having ‘continual occupation and change soon weaken impressions’ while those who live ‘quiet’ and ‘confined’ lives at home become a prey to their feelings (p. 222). While she clearly experiences this damaging confinement at Kellynch, it is possible that she expects to suffer from it at Camden-place in Bath as well.

Anne’s low expectations of pleasure from Bath are unfounded as she is received by ‘a degree of unexpected cordiality’ by her father and sister which ‘did her good’ (*Persuasion*, p. 279). She is also introduced to her father’s heir, Mr. Elliot who, in his attentiveness and concern for her she ‘could only compare […] to Lady Russell’ (p. 291). Amidst the unexpected politeness and attention of her family members and Mr Eliot’s genuine concern, ‘Anne could not have supposed it possible that her first evening in Camden-place could have passed so well’ (p. 292). The considerate behaviour of Mr Eliot and her father and sister is enough to make Anne overlook her former dislike of Bath for the time being. Her enjoyment, then, appears to be a reaffirmation of the idea that she needs to feel loved in order to be happy and call a place her home. This idea is supported by her constantly ‘thinking of Lyme, and Louisa Musgrove, and all her acquaintance there’ and the fact that ‘the home and the friendship of the Harvilles and Captain Benwick’ appear more interesting to her than ‘her own father’s house in Camden-place, or her own sister’s intimacy with Mrs. Clay’ (p. 258).

Compared to the Elliots home in Bath, the Harvilles’ home in Lyme is as different as possible. Before Anne’s arrival, both the houses have three occupants with two belonging to the same family (Sir Walter and Elizabeth in Bath, Captain Harville and his wife in Lyme) and a friend living with them (Mrs Clay and Captain Benwick respectively). Where Anne enters the Elliots’ home in Camden-place ‘anxiously saying to herself, “Oh! When shall I leave you again?”’ (*Persuasion,* p. 143), she feels that she has ‘left great happiness behind her’ when she quits the Harvilles’ home (p. 114). This appears to be because the relationship between Captain Benwick and the Harvilles is based on friendship and an understanding of each other’s sorrow

9 Sodeman, ‘Domestic Mobility’, p. 792.

(pp. 119, 122) while Elizabeth and Sir Walter's intimacy with Mrs Clay is based on the latter's powers of flattery (p. 236). The former, then, is a relationship of love while the other might be said to serve as a gratification of the vanity of Sir Walter and his daughter**.**

The purpose of the construct of PH is to 'better understand how individuals make a physical structure or space their home or more home-like, why this is important to them, and what benefits are accrued from such efforts'.[10] Anne's sadness at bidding adieu to the Harvilles' home even though she hardly spends a significant amount of time there suggests that she wants to lay claim to this place also like Kellynch. Anne is struggling 'against a great tendency to lowness' as she feels that Captain Benwick and the Harvilles 'would have been all [her] friends' if she had not been persuaded to break off their engagement (*Persuasion,* p. 220). Anne's wistful comment about being included in Wentworth's comments are somewhat reminiscent of Elizabeth's wistful appreciation of Pemberley (*P&P*, p. 272). As opposed to Anne who appreciates the people, Elizabeth appreciates the grandeur of Pemberley itself with 'something like regret' (p. 273) until she recollects that her family would not have been welcome to visit the place had she married Darcy. Both heroines, then, are similar in their love and need for family but differ in the importance each assigns to the physical aspects of home.

Psychological Home may also come into existence due to an individual's need 'to establish a safe refuge'.[11] In Anne's case, the safe refuge appears to be Wentworth himself who provides her with affection and a loving family in his naval friends. It is the loss of this family and home which Anne mourns, both when she meets Captains Harville and Benwick and when she leaves their home. They serve as unfortunate reminders to Anne of the life she would have led with Captain Wentworth and the home both would have created together. Sir Walter takes a 'very good house' in Camden-place, replete with all luxuries 'such as become a man of consequence' (*Persuasion,* p. 143), yet he and Elizabeth are hesitant to invite Mary and her family to dinner because they cannot bear to have 'the difference of style, the reduction of servants […] witnessed by those who had been always so inferior' to them (p. 211). The Harvilles on the other hand invite Captain Wentworth, Anne and the Musgroves to stay at their home in Lyme even though their home consists of 'rooms so small that none but those who invite from the heart could think capable of accommodating so many' (p. 113). Captain Harville's home presents a perfect 'picture of repose and domestic happiness' (ibid) to Anne. Anne's preference for the smaller house without proper furniture or utilities (p. 113-114) based

10 Sigmon and others, 'Psychological Home', p. 26.
11 Ibid, p. 31.

solely on the warm relationships shared by the inhabitants further supports the notion of home being a place characterised by love for Anne. It also brings to mind the notion that Psychological Home comes into existence due to 'an individual's need to develop an identity independent from the social community'.[12] Anne's identity is based on a need to be loved as opposed to her family who need to be known and praised. Whether Anne's identity has developed in spite of her family or because of it is debatable as Austen does not provide us with much information in that regard.

Reiterating the idea of home being a place shared with people who value her, Anne is shown to be considerably happier with the Musgroves and Wentworth's friends from the navy than with her own family. While she goes to Bath in a dejected spirit to see her family, her visit to the Musgroves on their stay in Bath is characterised by 'with an eagerness of good will which many associations contributed to form' (*Persuasion,* p. 211). The Musgroves' company, in contrast, provides her with 'a warmth, a sincerity which [she] delighted in the more, from the sad want of such blessings at home' (p. 212). This is best demonstrated in a scene where she is happily engaged with the Musgroves and Captains Harville and Wentworth when her father and Elizabeth make an unexpected entrance. Their presence is described as throwing a 'general chill' and a feeling of 'instant oppression' over the party with 'the comfort, the freedom, the gaiety of the room […] [being] over' until they leave (p. 216). It, then, appears quite natural that Anne, who possesses 'an elegance of mind and sweetness of character' (p. 38) that the other members of her family do not, cannot call a place home which is characterised by the 'heartless elegance' (p. 216) of Sir Walter and Elizabeth.

Sodeman states that Jane Austen seems to find all the houses that Anne resides in throughout the novel 'to be in some way deficient, [and] she declines to situate Anne's renewed happiness with Captain Wentworth in a home at all'.[13] It might, however, be as true that Austen does not place Anne in a particular house by the end of the novel in order to emphasise that Anne requires affection to be happy due to which the place itself has no value unless it is being shared with someone (like Wentworth) who loves her. This also raises the question of whether Anne requires familial or romantic affection or both in order to consider a place as her home. Based on her attitude towards marrying Mr. Elliot, the memories of motherly affection are clearly not enough for her to make Kellynch her home (*Persuasion,* p. 318). While she, similarly, has sincere affection for the Musgroves, she rejects Charles' proposal because the

12 Sigmon and others, 'Psychological Home', p. 31.
13 Sodeman, 'Domestic Mobility', p. 792.

'perfect ease' she experiences with the family is again not enough to marry a man that she does not love (p. 232). The Harvilles' house is the place that she appears to like the most, yet she does not wish to marry Captain Benwick and settle there (pp. 139-140). It appears, therefore, that romantic affection is essential for Anne in order to marry and have a home of her own, wherever it may be.

Vorachek proposes that the Crofts' and Anne and Wentworth's marriage suggests that 'the definition of home is shifting from a physical location to an emotional condition'.[14] She observes that after leaving her ancestral home at the opening of the novel, Anne is never at home until 'she gains the same security and sense of identity in Wentworth's love'.[15] She even goes so far as to say that 'Anne has made a home out of Wentworth's love'.[16] Having suffered only 'partialities and injustices [at] her father's house' (*Persuasion,* p. 57) after the death of her mother, her relationship with Wentworth, based solely on his love for her instead of his rank or wealth, is expected as Anne is starved for love. When Anne meets Wentworth at the age of nineteen, we are informed that she has 'hardly anybody to love' (p. 55). In contrast to her unloving father and sister, Wentworth sees the 'highest perfection' in her and the period of their engagement, however brief, is one of 'exquisite felicity' to both (ibid). Anne is convinced that 'there could have been no two hearts so open, no tastes so similar, no feelings so in unison, no countenances so beloved' (p. 162). Anne associates emotions of security, warmth, attachment, consistency, resilience, identity and familiarity with Wentworth, all of which are included as affective components in the Psychological Home structure. It would not be wrong to say, then, that Anne does indeed find home through her love of (and eventual marriage to) Wentworth, irrespective of the place where they might reside.

Anne comes across as 'a most attentive listener' (*Persuasion,* p. 54) throughout the novel (pp. 69, 71, 86, 94, 128, 143, 177, 202, 212). She is in the habit of listening to others and not being listened to. The notable thing here, however, is that while everyone finds a willing listener in Anne, she has no confidante. The case is different for Wentworth as, even in a crowd, it is 'most difficult [for each] to cease to speak to one another' (p. 162). With their separation, she must, therefore, sacrifice one of the only confidantes and listeners that she has and, at the same time, lose the ability to ever be able to talk about him to anyone as her only confidante (other than Wentworth) is Lady Russell who is openly against the alliance. Her 'loss of bloom

14 Vorachek, 'Crossing Boundaries', p. 38.
15 Ibid, pp. 36-37
16 Ibid, p. 39.

and spirits' after breaking off her engagement seems quite natural as she must not only let go of someone who loves her as much as she loves him but also suffer lasting effects in her relationship with her godmother. She is, perhaps, not exaggerating then when she, on receiving Wentworth's letter for her, declares that 'on the contents of that letter depended all which this world could do for her!' (p. 445). Like Edward, she centres her world around Wentworth as she receives the respect, affection and understanding from Wentworth that she is denied by her family.

Other than the friendship of the Harvilles and Captain Benwick, Anne appears highly impressed by the relationship between Admiral Croft and his wife. From Anne's comparison of her and Wentworth's relationship to Admiral Croft and his wife's (*Persuasion,* p. 162), it appears that their relationship reminds Anne of her own relationship with Wentworth. It also seems to imply the belief that Anne and Wentworth would have shared a similar relationship after their marriage. Admiral Croft, moreover, functions as 'the kind, loving, accepting father Anne has always lacked'.[17] It is, perhaps, 'no accident that he replaces her real father as the caretaker of Kellynch, her lost home'.[18] She herself upholds him as the better proprietor for Kellynch than her father (p. 261). The maximum opportunities she has to interact with the Crofts occur in Bath where 'she never fail[s] to think of them, and never fail[s] to see them' (p. 332). The couple presents 'a most attractive picture of happiness to her' and 'she always watche[s] them as long as she [can]' (p. 333). She is delighted to see them walking 'in happy independence', watching the Admiral's reaction whenever he encounters an old friend, and observing the couple's conversation when meeting with a group of the navy, especially the fact that Mrs. Croft looks 'as intelligent and keen as any of the officers around her' (ibid). It is possible that Anne is always happy to see the couple and on the lookout for them because, for her, they represent exactly what she looks for in a home -- a partner in love with her and warm friendships provided through his circle -- as opposed to her familial relationships based on rank, money, vanity or false pretences (see Chapter IV, section 4.2.1).

Like Anne, there are certain fundamental misunderstandings between Edward and the other members of his family which arise largely in part due to their conflicting personalities (see Chapter IV, sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2) At the age of eighteen, Edward is sent to Longstaple to be tutored by Mr Pratt where he becomes infatuated with his niece, Lucy Steele. While Edward, himself, attributes his infatuation with Lucy to 'the consequence of ignorance of the

17 Deresiewicz, *Jane Austen and the Romantic Poets*, p. 27
18 Ibid.

world— and want of employment' (*S&S,* p. 482), it is possible that the indifference of his family has left him starved for affection and understanding. As he receives both from Lucy (even though her love is not genuine), he believes himself to be in love with her and begins to consider Longstaple as his home. His inability to identify Lucy's true motives suggests that he is so desperate to be loved that he does not want to entertain any notion of Lucy's feelings being false. It becomes natural for him 'to be very often at Longstaple', as he always feels 'at home' there and is 'always sure of a welcome' by Lucy and her family (p. 483). Edward's need to be often at Longstaple suggests an underlying desire to lay claim to the location though he, like Anne, wishes to call that place home due to the relationships he has formed with the people there. His hasty engagement also suggests that he wants to secure Lucy's affection as losing it would mean a return to a life of loneliness with his mother and brother. Edward's labelling of Longstaple as his home signals towards a desire and/or need for affectionate relationships in order to consider a place as his home.

The idea of home being a place for Edward where he receives love and is understood, is supported by his self-confessed reason for considering Longstaple as his home. He states that his mother did not make his 'home in every respect comfortable' and he 'had no friend, no companion in [his] brother, and disliked new acquaintance' (*S&S,* p. 483). Sigmon et al., state that 'effort and resources must be directed toward the transformation from a house into a home.'[19] As Edward's family does not make an effort to understand or love him for who he is, they fail to offer him a home. His admission clarifies that he is not driven away from his home due to physical discomfort, but emotional alienation caused by the indifference of his mother and brother. It may, simultaneously, be read as a confession of his being driven towards Lucy because she provides him with the love, understanding and companionship lacking in his relationship with his family. The idea is further purported in his attachment to Barton Cottage (Elinor's home) after he has fallen in love with Elinor and begun to consider the Dashwoods as his family.

Sigmon et al suggest that the construct of Psychological Home comes into existence due to 'an individual's need to develop an identity independent from the social community, as well as to establish a safe refuge from the group or to lay claim to a portion of the geographic location'.[20] Edward appears to be doing all three at Barton Cottage. His choice of the rural, idyllic Barton Cottage as the ideal home might arise from a wish of developing an identity

19 Sigmon and others, 'Psychological Home', p. 26.
20 Ibid, p. 31.

which is independent of his family who preferred the town. Barton, like Longstaple, acts as a refuge as Edward finds peace with the inhabitants there. While Edward's relations with his own family are, at best, somewhat strained, his relationship with the Dashwood family appears to be one of intimacy and love. Mrs Dashwood's 'captivating manners' ensure that no man can be in love with her daughters 'without extending the passion to her' and Edward is no exception (*S&S,* p. 176). Edward receives 'the kindest welcome from her' upon coming to Barton Cottage in a melancholic mood but his 'shyness, coldness, reserve [can] not stand against such a reception' as he receives from Mrs Dashwood and he gradually becomes 'more like himself' (ibid).

Marianne, at this time, is impatient for her lover, Willoughby, to return and avoids any guest who comes to their home during this period. Edward, however, is 'the only person in the world who could at that moment be forgiven for not being Willoughby; the only one who could have gained a smile from her' (p. 172). There is a deep friendship between them with no space for pretensions. She forms a poor opinion of his mother based on her impolite and insensitive behaviour to Elinor (refer to Chapter IV) and feels close enough to share with Edward that she finds **'**their mutual relatives more disagreeable than ever' and is 'particularly disgusted with his mother' (p. 349). Edward's emotional attachment to the family is apparent in his admission that he feels 'no pleasure at Norland' (John and Fanny's home), 'detest[s] being in town' (with his mother and brother), values the Dashwoods' 'kindness beyond any thing, and his greatest happiness [is] in being with them' (p. 189).

After Edward is disinherited by his mother (see Chapter IV, section 4.2.1), he is offered the living of Delaford by Colonel Brandon. He, however, takes no interest in the parsonage which will be his home with Lucy whom he has 'long ceased to love' (*S&S,* p. 410). It is also possible that his avoidance of the parsonage arises deliberately from the combined apprehension and unhappiness of Elinor's being engaged to Colonel Brandon and becoming his neighbour in Delaford after her marriage. When Elinor informs him of the closeness between Colonel Brandon's house and the parsonage, he looks 'serious', 'earnest' and 'uncheerful' and secretly wishes that 'the distance between the parsonage and the mansion-house [were] much greater' (p. 329). In both cases, however, the meaning implied appears to be that Edward, like Anne, needs to share a place with a loved one in order to consider it his home. Edward's avoidance of the parsonage until he is engaged to Lucy might be unconscious as he, himself, is 'astonished' on realising after his engagement to Elinor that he has taken 'so little interest […] in the matter' that he has 'never yet been to the place' (p. 417). Whether

conscious or unconscious, his plan ‘to go immediately to Delaford’ after his engagement with Elinor so that he might gain ‘some personal knowledge of his future home’ and decide ‘what improvements were needed to it’ is further supportive of the idea of home being a site of love and intimacy between people for Edward.

Henry is also similar to Anne in that he appears to be attached to Northanger Abbey due to the memories of his deceased mother. This seems to be implied in his partiality for his mother’s room at Northanger which he describes as ‘the most comfortable apartment in the house’ (*NA,* p. 269). Unlike Anne, however, who is content to inhabit any place with Captain Wentworth for love, Henry’s love for his mother’s room appears to be as much due to his love for his mother as a fondness for the room itself. His own house in Woodston seems to be modelled after his mother’s room which is ‘commodious’, ‘large and cheerful looking’ with ‘well disposed’ dressing closets (ibid). The furnished rooms in his house are similarly described as ‘commodious’, having a ‘well-proportioned size’ and ‘handsomely fitted up’ (p. 288). While his adoption of the structure of his mother’s room signals towards a genuine admiration of the style, it may also be interpreted as an attempt to introduce elements into his home that he knew were dear to his mother and remind him of her.

In his improvements at Woodston, Henry displays the use of the behavioural components of the Psychological Home construct which comprise the physical actions of the individual in relation to their home. These actions include the maintenance or personalization of the territory covered by the construct along with the constructions carried out in the area. His house at Woodston can be viewed as a living tribute to the memory of his mother. This is different from the estates of Pemberley, Donwell Abbey and Sanditon which reflect the personality of their owners.[21] Graham observes that beta males like Henry who do not own or control their estates share a different relationship with their homes than alpha males (like Mr Darcy and Mr Knightley) in that that they are ‘not necessarily […] better or more pleasing [men] at home’.[22] The observation appears to be true based on Catherine’s disappointment in Henry’s unusually quiet and subdued behaviour when she meets him at his home in Bath for the first time (*NA,* p. 86). His being ‘less pleasing’, however, appears to be due to his oppressive father’s presence, in the absence of which he displays ‘positive cheerfulness’ (p. 112) and woos

21 Zohn, ‘A Fine House’; Stafford, ‘Gentlemanly Masculinities’, p. 51; Ashfaq, ‘Self-deception vs. Self-realization’, p. 88; Duckworth, ‘*Pride and Prejudice*: The Reconstruction of Society’.
22 Graham, ‘Henry Tilney’.

Catherine, both while she is staying at Northanger Abbey and when she comes to visit him at Woodston.

Owing to the tyranny of their father, the Tilney siblings are quite close to each other, especially Eleanor and Henry. All three children are mistreated by their father which gives them a common cause to bond, even if subconsciously. Henry is also close to his elder brother, Frederick which is suggested by his defense of the latter's behaviour to Isabella Thorpe. Isabella is engaged to Catherine's brother, James, but flirts with Frederick when he courts her as he is richer than James. Frederick leads her on until she breaks her engagement with James and then leaves her abruptly. Catherine accuses Frederick of flirting with Isabella only 'for mischief's sake' and declares that she does not 'like him at all' (*NA*, p. 293). While Henry believes that Frederick has 'his vanities', he is convinced that if Isabella had not been a gold-digger, 'she would have met with very different treatment' at Frederick's hands (ibid). Although Henry's defence can be read as familial pride, it must be taken into consideration that he is talking to Catherine with whom he and Eleanor have no pretences (pp. 221, 275, 298). It must also be considered that the person who has been hurt the most in this case is Catherine's brother, James, who was truly in love with Isabella. Since both Frederick and Isabella had their own motives, it was only their pride or vanity which could be hurt. It appears, therefore, that Henry not only loves but also respects his brother and is ready to vouch for his character even in the face of a scandal like this.

Analysing Henry's relationship with Eleanor, Graham comments that Henry 'understands that Eleanor, lacking a sister or mother, needs someone in the family to take an interest in the things that interest women'.[23] Henry is concerned for Eleanor after the death of his mother as she has 'no female companion' (*NA*, p. 229). He believes her to be 'uncomfortably circumstanced' and is 'always sorry to leave [her]' at Northanger (ibid). In order to make Eleanor's life more comfortable, he takes an interest in the cloth used to make ladies' gowns (p. 88) and acquaints himself with the daily practices of women like journal writing (p. 86). His efforts, in turn, induce gratitude in Eleanor and increase the love she feels for him, thus, strengthening their bond. Kickel observes that 'despite his immense wealth, the General cannot purchase the intangible essence that makes a house a home'.[24] His failure, according to Kickel, lies in his failure to understand that 'his own time-discipline management

23 Graham, 'Henry Tilney'.
24 Katherine Kickel, 'General Tilney's Timely Approach to the Improvement of the Estate in Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 63.2 (2008), 145–169 <https://doi.org/10.1525/ncl.2008.63.2.145> (pp. 168-169).

style is openly hostile to the type of spontaneous, unscripted emotional exchange that is necessary for a healthy, civil home'.[25] The General displays his approach to timeliness through his irritation at the tardiness of his eldest son, Frederick, who is a little late in welcoming Catherine (*NA*, p. 104) and Catherine's being late for dinner (p. 111). Kickel cites 'the Morlands' heartfelt reception of Catherine after her long absence' as one of the prime examples of the spontaneity present in relationships where real affection exists between people.[26]

While Henry's close relationship with his siblings and his attempt to recreate his mother's memory suggests that he values such spontaneity in relationships (as opposed to his father's militaristic routines), it is pertinent to mention that he also seems to consider money important. Although he is 'open and bold' in proclaiming his love for Catherine to General Tilney (*NA*, p. 257), he does not marry her until his father allows him to (p. 260). It is possible that Henry awaits his father's approval because his home in Woodston is 'a family living' and 'the property in the place' is owned by his father (p. 248). Whether we consider his profession of being a clergyman, or his inheritance, he needs the house in Woodston bequeathed to him to be secure of both and this can be attained only through his father's approval of his marriage to Catherine. By modifying the house at Woodston as well as awaiting the permission of his father to marry, Henry demonstrates a need to 'lay claim to a portion of the geographic location' of Woodston, thereby identifying Woodston as his Psychological Home.[27] His proposal of marriage to Catherine, therefore, against his father's wishes indicates that he values relationships based on affection in order to build a home while waiting for his father's approval to marry suggests that he believes that financial stability is equally important for building a good home.

His idea of home is, therefore, similar to Anne as both place importance in affection between the inhabitants of a place to call it home, but differs in his consideration of finances. It can also be argued that though there appear to be differences in his and Anne's approach of preserving or reliving their respective mothers' memories, the differences are largely due to the freedom and agency that is given to him and denied to her by the society due to their sexes. Henry earns money through his profession and is able to decorate his house at Woodston according to his wishes. Anne, on the contrary, is forced to leave her house (which she would not inherit even later on as it was entailed) due to the debts accumulated by her father and

25 'General Tilney's Timely Approach', p. 169.
26 Ibid.
27 Sigmon and others, 'Psychological Home', p. 31.

Elizabeth's carelessness. Anne will not be able to own a house unless she gets married to somebody who owns one. As she marries Wentworth who does not own a permanent home due to being in the navy, she may be allowed only limited freedom to recreate a house like Henry does.

Born in Portsmouth and having spent the first ten years of her life there, Fanny initially considers Portsmouth as her home but, after shifting to Mansfield Park, she gradually learns to 'transfer in its favour much of her attachment to her former home' (*MP,* p. 22). Austen appears to foreshadow the significance of the Mansfield family home by using it as the title of the novel.[28] In order to understand Fanny's change of mind towards both Portsmouth and Mansfield, one must consider not only the circumstances of her displacement and her subsequent place in the Price and Bertram families (see Chapter IV, section 4.2), but also her attachment to different places or objects that might have shaped her understanding of home. As the previous chapter focussed on the mistreatment of Fanny by both families, I will focus more on exploring relationships that have a positive impact on Fanny. From both families, her brother, William Price, and her cousin, Edmund Bertram, are 'the two most beloved [people] of her heart' (p. 314). She loves Edward 'better than any body in the world except William; her heart [is] divided between the two' (p. 25). While she is initially unhappy at Mansfield, the house appears 'less strange' to her and the people also seem 'less formidable' (p. 19) after Edmund befriends her and eases her sorrow of being separated from her family by furnishing her with the resources required to correspond with William. It is important to note here that it is Edward's kindness and not 'the grandeur of the house' (p. 16) which is responsible for making Fanny 'more comfortable' (p. 19) at Mansfield Park.

Fanny's understanding of home, then, seems to be like that of Anne and Edward, where she requires affection from the inmates in order to call a place her home. This is supported by the fact that though she is happier at Mansfield after gaining Edward as a friend, she still 'loved to call [Portsmouth] her home' (*MP,* p. 499) for there she believes herself to be 'loved by so many, and more loved by all than she had ever been before' (p. 426). Francus observes that 'Fanny has been marginalized and abused at Mansfield for years, and she wants to be central, significant, loved'.[29] Her hopes are shattered as, upon going to Portsmouth, her father 'scarcely ever noticed her' and her mother has 'neither leisure nor affection to bestow' on her (p. 451). Her siblings, except William and Susan, are also indifferent towards her which appears to be

28 Stabler, *Burke to Byron*, p. 193.
29 Francus, 'The Monstrous Mothers'.

primarily due to the difference in their ages. Fanny is disappointed not only by her family in their reception of her but the 'smallness of the rooms above and below […] and the narrowness of the passage and staircase' also does 'nothing to raise her spirits' (p. 448). Her dismayed observation of the proportions of the rooms suggests a desire for larger-sized rooms at her home like Henry Tilney.

Like Henry, it is possible that she prefers larger rooms as they remind her of Mansfield Park and is disappointed with the rooms as they stand in contrast to those at Mansfield Park. The assumption appears to be supported by the change in her view of the room that she shared with Susan from 'confined and scantily-furnished' (*MP*, p. 448) to the only place in the house where she feels at 'peace' (p. 461) once she develops a harmonious relationship with Susan there. Forming a relationship with Susan is the 'first solid consolation which Fanny receive[s] for the evils of home' (p. 457). Once her heart begins to 'feel again the blessing of affection' through Susan's gratitude and good will towards her, she begins to notice, and then and deliberately create, similarities in the room to her east room at Mansfield. Fanny has to 'do without nearly everything she wants, being forced, in each case, to find substitute objects of affection or desire'.[30] While initially, only the lack of a fire in the room is similar to her east room in Mansfield, she her nostalgia is so great that she starts renting the books that Edward first introduced her to that she may, in turn, give Susan 'a share in her own first pleasures' (ibid).

Through her guidance of Susan (reminiscent of Edward's mentorship of her), her possession of books, especially those that were present in her room at Mansfield, she attempts to recreate her room at the house. In this manner too, Fanny appears similar to Henry Tilney who improves his house in Woodston based on the memories of his mother's likes. Along with Anne, then, both Fanny and Henry share a nostalgia for happier times. While Anne does not have the agency to recreate the place that she is sentimentally attached to, Fanny and Henry employ the means within their possession to do so. Fanny, in her decoration of the east room and the room she shares with Susan, employs the behavioural components of the Psychological Home construct which include the maintenance or personalization of the territory covered by the construct along with the constructions carried out in the area.[31] The east room that she so desperately tries to replicate is her 'nest of comforts' (*MP*, p. 179) and 'adds charm' to 'every former affliction' (p. 178) that she has been through by reminding her of happier times like

30 Deresiewicz, *Jane Austen and the Romantic Poets*, p. 34.
31 Cicognani, 'Psychological Home and Well Being', p. 86.

Lady Bertram speaking for her, her governess praising her or Edward helping and supporting her. Every object that she has collected acts as 'a friend, or bore her thoughts to a friend' (p. 178).

The affective components of Psychological Home comprise the feelings attached to the psychological home like attachment, devotion and familiarity. They also include feelings of identification with the objects or places inside the physical territory encompassed by the construct. Fanny delights in the material possessions in her room like 'her plants, her books […] her writing desk, and her works of charity and ingenuity'. However, these objects are dear only because every one of them has an 'interesting remembrance connected with it' (*MP*, p. 178). The room is 'most dear to her' and she would not change anything about it, despite its having been a school room which 'had been originally plain' and had later 'suffered all the ill-usage of children' (ibid). Her attachment to the room, then, does not appear to arise from its perceived material beauty but the emotional experiences attached with the objects in the room. It would not be wrong to say that it is the memory of being loved and cared for that makes the east room so important to Fanny. Fanny's modifications to Susan's room and her maintenance of the east room, then, suggest a desire to be valued and cared for.

It is also important to note that of all the rooms at Mansfield, Fanny attempts to imitate only the east room, even though she misses the entire house. Her singular focus on the east room and the peace it brings to her mind suggests that she needs to feel loved in order to call a place her home. This is also reflected in her use of the word for Portsmouth when she believes that she has a family there who loves her and later applying it to Mansfield when she realises that she is loved there. If Fanny, moreover, identified home as a place of material comforts, she would have accepted Henry Crawford's proposal. She has seen him flirting shamelessly with her cousins, is convinced that he cannot love her and is, instead, interested in marrying Edmund who is going to be a clergyman and will not be rich. Her unwavering love for Edmund and her rejection of Crawford's proposal also supports the notion that she desires to be with someone who loves her and whom she loves.

Fanny's decoration of the east room and re-decoration of Susan's room exhibits the use of the behavioural components of Psychological Home which include the maintenance or personalization of the territory covered by the construct along with the constructions carried out in the area. Although Fanny contrives to create a replica of her east room at Portsmouth, it is a weak imitation that fails to satisfy her. She is convinced that 'Portsmouth was Portsmouth;

Mansfield was home' (*MP,* p. 499). While it can be argued that Fanny has William and Susan at Portsmouth to love her, Portsmouth, with William gone and only Susan left, has now become the Mansfield of earlier times where she had only Edward as a friend. Faced with her unimportance in the Price family, she can 'think of noth-ing but Mansfield' and 'its beloved inmates' (p. 454).

At Mansfield, she was one of Edward's 'dearest objects' (p. 306), to her other cousins, if only occasionally, 'an acceptable companion' (p. 19) and to her aunt, 'an avowedly useful companion' (p. 40). Her consequence, at Mansfield, moreover, had recently 'increased on the departure of her cousins' and she was sought after on a regular basis 'even without her being wanted for any one's convenience' (p. 239). The visit to Portsmouth makes Fanny realise that the affectionate relationships which she came to seek at her "home" in Portsmouth had already been realised in 'her best friends' (p. 501) at her real home in Mansfield Park. Her understanding of home, then, appears to be similar to that of Edward and Anne where all three characters desire mutual affection between the dwellers of a place in order to consider it their home. By doing so they employ the affective components of Psychological Home and associate security, warmth, attachment, consistency, resilience, identity and familiarity with the notion of home.

Emma initially enjoys a life of indulgence when she is adopted by her aunt, Mrs Turner, but is sunk into poverty at her father's house after her uncle's demise and aunt's second marriage. Having been brought up with wealthier relatives belonging to a higher class than her father, Emma is, naturally, accustomed to a better lifestyle than her siblings lead. While she enjoys time spent with her eldest sister, Elizabeth, her other siblings and sister-in-law can only provide 'an unequal society' and turn the home into 'a place rife with family discord' with their continual disagreements (*LM*, p. 288). Due to their selfish nature, Emma is 'eager to be as little among them as possible' (p. 287). She is, instead, 'delighted with the alternative of sitting above, with her father' (p. 288). As her father does not distinguish her (or any of her siblings) by any particular display of affection, Emma's withdrawal to his room appears to arise from her displeasure of being in the company of her younger sisters and brother. Since we are told that her father 'frequently could not endure talking at all', her warm entreaties 'to be his constant companion each evening' support the notion that what she seeks in his room is the solitude that her siblings, and perhaps the smallness of the house (compared to that of Mrs Turner), have robbed her of.

Spending the evenings alone with her father is 'most acceptable, and delightful' to Emma as 'her father, if ill, require[s] little more than gentleness and silence; and, being a man of sense and education, was if able to converse, a welcome companion' (*LM*, p. 288). It is possible that the author stresses Mr. Watson's inability to converse frequently to emphasise that in choosing to spend time with him, Emma wishes to avoid having to spend time with the rest of her family. It is important to point out that Emma did not feel the need to retreat to her father's room until Robert, Margaret and her sister-in-law came home. She is, therefore, attempting to escape the 'hard-hearted prosperity' of her brother, the 'low-minded conceit' of her sister-in-law and the 'wrong-headed folly' and 'untoward disposition' of her younger sister (p. 287) by preferring to spend time there. She is 'at peace' whenever she withdraws from her family into her father's chamber. While she suffers 'in memory and in prospect' from the contemplation of 'the dreadful mortifications of an unequal society […] she cease[s] to be tortured by their effects' during the time that she spends away from them in her father's room (p. 288). Considering her upbringing in a wealthy household, the siblings appear to be unequal in Emma's eyes due to class differences. Their education and manners are different, with Emma having had an advantage due to her aunt's wealth and indulgence and being, as Elizabeth points out, 'rather refined' (p. 211) in comparison to her siblings.

McMaster observes that Mr. Watson is a 'sensible but selfish father'.[32] In his role as a father, Mr. Watson, then, is somewhat similar to Mr. Bennet (*Pride and Prejudice)* as both are indifferent towards their children and value time spent alone. Mr. Bennet who has been accused of being a poor father by scholars might actually prove to be the better of the two since he does display concern for his daughters, especially Jane and Elizabeth.[33] This is apparent first in his visit to Mr. Bingley's house which is made so that a relationship might spring between the families leading to Mr. Bingley's falling in love with and marrying one of his daughters. Mr Bennet's support of Elizabeth's rejection of Mr Collins' proposal and his anxiousness after Elizabeth's acceptance of Mr Darcy's proposal are also suggestive of affection and concern. While Elizabeth or even Jane Bennet's eagerness to stay with their father would be somewhat understandable, Emma's is not since her father is as indifferent towards her as he is towards his other children (see Chapter IV, section 4.2.2).

32 Juliet McMaster, 'God Gave Us Our Relations', p. 71.
33 Barbara K Seeber, 'A Bennet Utopia: Adapting the Father in *Pride and Prejudice*', *Persuasions On-Line*, 27.2 (2007) <https://jasna.oorg/persuasions/on-line/vol27no2/seeber.htm> [accessed 11 June 2021]; *Flirting with Pride and Prejudice: Fresh Perspectives on the Original Chick-Lit Masterpiece*, ed. by Jennifer Cruise and Glenn Yeffeth (Dallas, Texas: BenBella Books Inc., 2005), p. 9.

Emma's father does, however, possess 'sense and education' and makes 'a welcome companion' for Emma as opposed to 'unequal society' provided by her siblings (*LM*, p. 288). Here, it is important to remember that Emma has been brought up in a class higher than that of her father and has possibly had a better education than her siblings. This makes her siblings unfit to converse with her, whether in terms of manner or topics. All her siblings are concerned about is money and marriage while she might understandably prefer avoid both topics as they are bound to remind her of her aunt's second marriage and the consequent loss of her own inheritance as well as disruption of her lifestyle. Both Fanny and Emma are deracinated but not provided with a replacement home in which they fit socially and economically. Fanny's excitement at going to Portsmouth is because she is aware of the class difference between her and the Bertrams and believes she will be among equals at Portsmouth. While the Price family belongs to the same class that Fanny does, they are strikingly different from her in their manners, understanding of the world etiquette as they did not have access to the superior education that she had due to living with the Bertrams. The same is true of Emma who finds herself in 'an unequal society' (*LM*, p. 288) at the Watson house. Both heroines have to create a home for themselves through struggle, Fanny in the heart of the Bertrams by becoming 'the daughter that [they] wanted' (*MP*, p. 546), and Emma by gaining peace in solitude and her father's companionship.

While Emma seems to embrace her fate at the beginning of the novel, her withdrawal to her father's room suggests that she needs time to accept the Watson family members, other than her father and Elizabeth. In order, therefore, to understand Emma's rejection of one half of her family, it is essential to examine her acceptance of the other half. Though her upbringing necessarily renders her more sophisticated than Elizabeth, both share the knowledge of their younger sisters being both selfish and foolish which might be the reason for a bond fostering between the two. While Elizabeth emerges somewhat as a hypocrite, Emma chooses to ignore this in favour of her proving to be a considerate and kind person. Though talkative like the other siblings, Elizabeth provides Emma with compassion for her changed circumstances and advice to handle the changes. This might be the most striking difference between Elizabeth and the other siblings who can only think of themselves and, knowingly or unknowingly, belittle and hurt Emma with their comments (see Chapter IV, section 4.2.2). Elizabeth, in contrast, emerges as the eldest sibling not only in terms of age but also emotional maturity and becomes a person with whom Emma, despite her upbringing in more refined society, finds peaceful companionship.

By entreating to spend each evening with her father, Emma employs the dynamic process of the Psychological Home construct in which one 'manipulates, structures and maintains an environment to make it reflect one's sense of self.'[34] Through her planned removal from the family party to her father's room, Emma appears to communicate that she desires to converse with educated people like her father who can provide her with the society that she was used to while living with her aunt, or spend time with those who would love and understand her like Elizabeth or simply enjoy solitude if either need was unmet. She would rather be alone than spend time with people who do not understand her (like her younger sisters and brother) and whom she herself views as inferior due to their manners and mindset arising from class differences. Although Fanny and Emma share certain similarities in terms of their situation, the indifference of the Watson family drives Emma more towards solitude than it does towards Elizabeth or Mr. Price. For both women, however, 'the benefits of this time and energy output include positive emotional consequences that contribute to overall psychological well-being.'[35]

Mr. Parker's enthusiasm about Sanditon (see Chapter IV, section 4.2.4) does not leave any doubt that he considers Trafalgar House at Sanditon as his home. Before examining the reasons for Mr. Parker to see Trafalgar House, and, by extension, Sanditon, as his home, one must consider the possibility that he might be more or, at least, equally attached to his ancestral house. It is, moreover, arguable that he considers Sanditon his home merely because he is employing the mechanism of isolation to stop himself from experiencing regret over leaving his ancestral home and investing so much money in Sanditon (see Chapter IV, section 4.3.1). It is, therefore, necessary to examine his opinion of his former home and compare it to his opinion of Sanditon to understand whether or not he genuinely considers Sanditon his true home and his reasons for the same. The Parkers 'have abandoned their snug ancestral estate on the downs for the sublimities of Trafalgar House and the necessity of parasols'.[36] Like Anne, Mr. Parker regards his ancestral house with the fondness reserved for 'an old friend' (p. 29) because he has spent happy moments there. Unlike Anne, he never shows any inclination to return to his previous house.

Mr. Parker dislikes the house for being a 'little contracted Nook' that had been 'built in a hole' (*LM,* p. 29). Psychological home can also be defined as 'a sense of belonging in which self-identity is tied to a particular place'[37]. The terms that Mr. Parker employs to criticise his

34 Sigmon and others, 'Psychological Home', p. 39.
35 Ibid.
36 Bander, *'Sanditon, Northanger Abbey* and *Camilla*', p. 195.
37 Sigmon and others, 'Psychological Home', p. 33.

old house not only highlight the contrast between Trafalgar house and the former, but also reveal an important part of his own identity, placing Trafalgar House as his Psychological Home. While the two places are located quite close to each other, the locations themselves could not be more different. One is sheltered and fenced in giving a sense of security and privacy, and the other, as pointed out by McMaster, 'offers no shelter against wind or storm in winter, nor sun in summer'.[38] It appears, therefore, that not only the setting of the houses but also their purpose is intended to be different from each other. Trafalgar House, then, like the rest of Sanditon, is not meant to provide privacy but 'is a place to see from, and to be seen in'.[39] Built at the top of the hill, as opposed to being 'built in a hole' (p. 24) like his ancestral house, Trafalgar House appears to be representative of Mr. Parker's position at the top of the hierarchy as the protector and overseer of the people of Sanditon, a role he appears only too glad to play. In shifting from his ancestral house to Sanditon, he has deliberately moved from sheltered obscurity into the unobstructed view of all the residents of Sanditon.

The difference outlined in the purpose of the location of his former and current home suggests a desire to be looked up to by the residents for whom he acts as a 'benefactor'.[40] No matter how pure Mr Parker's intentions might be in promoting Sanditon (or himself as its creator), his schemes for the resort directly affect not only his own potential income but also the life of the people living in Sanditon and he has been criticised by scholars for taking this responsibility too lightly.[41] Ellis observes that every male protagonist of Austen 'is identified by and through his estate' which acts as 'a synecdoche for a gentleman's virtue'.[42] While the livings of Delaford and Woodston are only 'briefly touched upon', it is not possible to apply the observation to Edward and Henry respectively.[43] It can, however, be analysed with comparative ease in Mr. Parker's case who is always ready to talk about Sanditon. In the reasons he provides for choosing Trafalgar House as his home instead of his ancestral house, he displays a commercialised approach towards home, thereby revealing his identity as a businessman.

Both his ancestral and current home have their share of natural beauty, but it appears that he is specifically interested in natural beauty that can be harvested or consumed by him

38 Juliet McMaster, 'The Watchers of Sanditon', *Persuasions*, 19 (1997), 149-159 <http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/printed/number19/mcmaster.pdf> [accessed 10 February 2020] (p. 150).
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid, p. 125.
41 Ibid; Craig, *Jane Austen and the State of the Nation*; Clara Tuite, *Romantic Austen: Sexual Politics and the Literary Canon*, Cambridge Studies in Romanticism, 49 (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 151-191 (p. 160).
42 Markman Ellis, 'Trade', in *Jane Austen in Context*, ed. Janet Todd (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), pp. 415–24 (p. 417).
43 Deresiewicz, *Jane Austen and the Romantic Poets*, p. 23.

and/or others. He is satisfied in moving to Trafalgar as his ancestral home (as opposed to the former) lies extremely close to the sea but 'without the smallest advantage from it' (*LM*, p. 29) and at Trafalgar he receives the fruits and vegetables from his old house without having to witness 'the yearly nuisance of its decaying vegetation' (p. 25). His discontent at not receiving any "advantage" from the sea and being annoyed at having to witness "decaying" (or unproductive) vegetation is suggestive of a desire for exploiting natural resources. With Mr. Parker, then, Austen 'situates the commodious nature of the home within a larger, increasingly commodified economy that sees people as well as objects in the often dehumanizing terms of fashion and market'.[44] One of the most important points drawing our attention towards Mr. Parker's interest in consumerism is the name of his house. He regrets naming it Trafalgar and is thinking of changing the name to Waterloo Crescent because 'Waterloo is more the thing now' (p. 24) and 'the name joined to the form of the Building[…] will give [him] the command of Lodgers' (p. 25). Banister points out that Mr. Parker's 'Waterloo speculations are a clear indication of his interest in consumers' desires'.[45] In naming his house based on something that is currently in fashion, he reveals the greatest desire of his heart – to see more people at Sanditon – and by, extension, to become a successful businessman.

While no specific objects at Sanditon or Trafalgar House appear to occupy his interest, he appears unduly excited after seeing shoes of the latest fashion in a shop at Sanditon. He considers the shoes as proof of the fact that he has been useful to people of Sanditon. Mr Parker's thrill at seeing shoes of the latest fashion in Sanditon seems to be connected to his having a 'penchant for feeling useful to others'.[46] He wants to believe that he has made a difference to the people of Sanditon by converting what was formerly a fishing village into a resort where items of the latest fashion are available to the residents. His equating fashion with growth or progress suggests a rejection of the pastoral and an inclination towards the urban. His joy at his own role in the process of urbanising Sanditon points towards both an interest in consumerism and a desire to be of use to people. While clearly a businessman, he 'demonstrates anxious concern for those people whose livelihoods rely on the success of the Sanditon project'.[47]

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44 Elizabeth Veisz, 'Writing the Eighteenth-Century Household: Leapor, Austen, and the Old Feudal Spirits', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, 30.1 (2011), 71–90 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23349368> [accessed 20 March 2020] (p. 88).
45 Julia Banister, 'Masculinity and Militarism in Jane Austen's *The Brothers*', *Persuasions On-Line*, 38.2 (Spring 2018) <http://jasna.org/publications/persuasions-online/volume-38-no-2/banister/> [accessed 5 March 2020].
46 Akiko Takei, '*Sanditon* and the Uncertain Prospects of a Resort Business', *Persuasions On-Line*, 18.2 (Spring 2018), <http://jasna.org/publications/persuasions-online/volume-38-no-2/takei/> [accessed 15 February 2020].
47 Copeland, 'Jane Austen and "My Aunt"', p. 125.

After returning from Willingden, he experiences a deep longing 'to be on the Sands, the Cliffs, at his own House, and everywhere out of his House at once' (*LM*, p. 29). Mr. Parker, then, appears to consider not only Trafalgar House but the entire resort of Sanditon as his home. Sanditon is 'a second Wife and four Children to him—hardly less Dear—and certainly more engrossing' (p. 15). As he is 'an amiable, family-man, fond of Wife [and] Children' (ibid), the comparison implies how fond he is of Sanditon and the people who live there. He is concerned 'about the welfare of the village grocer and Lady Denham's gardener and [is] planning a subscription for the "impoverished Mullinses"'.[48] Whether it is the library, the butcher or the vegetable seller at Sanditon, Mr. Parker is 'anxiously wishing to support' (p. 17) them all. Both Mr. Parker and Lady Denham 'combine to commodify natural resources and commercialize the fishing village of Sanditon'.[49] Though a businessman, Mr. Parker demonstrates motherly instincts in caring for the residents of Sanditon. His concern for not only the scheme but the people who will be affected by it is highlighted by the presence of Lady Denham acting as a foil. While Lady Denham 'talked and talked only of her own concerns' (*LM*, p. 46), Mr. Parker is concerned about his own future and the future of everybody in Sanditon from the butcher to Lady Denham herself (pp. 17, 30, 34, 45 and 52).

Craig contends that he is unfit to fulfil his responsibility towards the people of Sanditon. She accuses him of being 'unrealistic and financially incompetent' and failing to understand that 'there is insufficient demand for his product and that many will suffer from the disastrous consequences'.[50] Craig's accusation cannot be dismissed but, at the same time, it cannot be denied that whatever Mr. Parker does for the residents of Sanditon is done with the best intentions and to the best of his abilities. As Knox-Shaw points out, 'if anybody in the neighbourhood is committed to the cause of stewardship and community it is surely Mr. Parker'.[51] Living at Trafalgar might be responsible for the fact that even as a businessman, his schemes for Sanditon involve the improvement of the whole community. It is as much for his own pride and satisfaction as the people of Sanditon that he tries to attract new customers to Sanditon as energetically as he can.

A few scholars also believe that Mr Parker can achieve a balance between being a businessman and a person who thinks about the welfare of the residents of Sanditon.[52] Of these,

48 Copeland, 'Jane Austen and "My Aunt"', p. 125.
49 Craig, *Jane Austen and the State of the Nation*, p. 200.
50 Ibid.
51 Peter Knox-Shaw, *Jane Austen and the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), p. 245.
52 Copeland, '*Sanditon* and "My Aunt"'; Knox-Shaw, *Jane Austen and the Enlightenment*, p. 245; E. J. Clery, 'Conversations on Political Economy in *Sanditon*', *Persuasions OnLine*, 38.2 (Spring 2018) <https://jasna.org/publications-2/persuasions-online/volume-38-no-2/clery/> [accessed 23 November 2020]; Banister, 'Masculinity and Militarism'.

Copeland appears to be the most sympathetic towards him. Copeland contends that Mr. Parker does not treat speculation as a business but as 'a generous act of the imagination, directed to the good of the individual and the state'.[53] This, according to Copeland, explains his excitement at identifying shoes of the latest fashion in one of the shops at Sanditon and exclaiming that he has done something worthwhile. Copeland reasons that Mr. Parker 'speaks not only for his own interests and the local interest […] but in the interest of the Empire itself'.[54] Clery rightly points out that Mr. Parker might not have the judgment required to make profitable decisions for the people of Sanditon, but that should not 'detract [us] from the idealistic side of his endeavor: to improve, to diffuse wealth, to raise the condition of his neighborhood'.[55]

Sanditon is a subject that Mr. Parker can discuss perpetually with others because it is 'his Mine, his Lottery, his Speculation and his Hobby Horse' (*LM*, p. 15). 'A "Hobby Horse" [is] an exercise machine' which suggests that 'Sanditon is for Mr. Parker both an obsession and a form of physical work-out'.[56] Considering the effort that Mr. Parker puts into appointing a doctor for the residents of Sanditon, the physical labour involved (including the spraining of his ankle, if only by accident) is carried out as much for his own sake as that of the people of Sanditon. He has a 'penchant for feeling useful to others' and employs this energy to improve the conditions in Sanditon.[57] It brings to mind Copeland's contention that 'Jane Austen's original title for Sanditon, "The Brothers," […] suggests that the institution of the family will become the mediation of the destructive, commodifying effects of the expanding economy'.[58] As the author clearly mentions that Sanditon is like a second family to Mr. Parker, it is possible that Copeland's proposed institution of family which will help to balance the negative effects of commercialism, is not limited to the Parkers but encompasses the entire population of the resort of Sanditon.

Austen is not a descriptive but dramatic writer.[59] Domosh believes that 'the homes we were raised in, the ones we abandoned [and] the ones we live in' are among the spaces most 'meaningful and dear' to us.[60] The same can be said of Austen who 'drew on her own

53 Copeland, 'Jane Austen and "My Aunt"', p. 124.
54 Ibid, p. 125.
55 Clery, 'Conversations on Political Economy'.
56 John Wiltshire, 'Sickness and Silliness in *Sanditon*', *Persuasions*, 19 (1997), 93-102 <https://jasna.org/publications-2/persuasions/no19/wiltshire/> [accessed 11 December 2019] (p. 97).
57 Takei, 'Sanditon and the Uncertain Prospects of a Resort Business'.
58 Copeland, 'Jane Austen and "My Aunt"', p. 126.
59 George H. Lewes, 'Lewes: The Great Appraisal', in *Jane Austen: The Critical Heritage Volume 1 1811-1870*, ed. by Brian Southam, The Critical Heritage Series (London and New York: Taylor and Francis e-Library, 2005), pp. 163-178 (p. 171).
60 Mona Domosh, 'Geography and Gender: Home Again?', *Progress in Human Geography*, 22.2 (1998), 276-282, <https://doi.org/10.1191/030913298676121192> (p. 276).

experiences when writing place'.[61] Wiltshire suggests that Austen created fictional houses by 'drawing upon various memories of various [real] houses and their pleasure grounds, not painting a portrait of one, just as […] she drew upon various aspects of various people to create the figures in her novels'.[62] Nicolson supports the idea of Austen drawing her houses from the ones she saw in her real life but believes that she never completely 'translated a house which she has known into its fictional counterpart'.[63] He reasons that this is because she 'would have felt it an invasion of the owner's privacy to borrow his property for her purposes'.[64] While Nicolson's analysis is that the houses Austen knew are different from the ones she created in her novels, his observations are limited to the physical appearance of the houses. He does not provide commentary on Austen's lived experiences at any of these houses that might have played a role in influencing her fictional depictions.

Khalique states that Austen presents home as a place where the inhabitants care for and love each other.[65] Page contends that 'Austen's narrative focuses on the emotional qualities, character development, and values' represented by places.[66] Toner asserts that for Austen, 'participating in relationships based on mutual love and respect' is one of the marked characteristics of 'a good home'.[67] Nicolson asserts that while Austen was in the habit of seeing places belonging to wealthy people, she 'did not allow herself to be carried away by the grandeur of these mansions'. [68] Austen's female characters also reject wealthy men in possession of impressive mansions simply because they are not in love with the men themselves. Nicolson feels that this rejection demonstrates Austen's rejection of houses (however majestic) where there is no affection between the occupants. Nicolson contends that the need for an affectionate partner or supportive household in Austen's novels can be traced to Austen's attachment to her own siblings and parents and her own need to feel loved in order to be happy.[69]

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61 Gillian Ballinger, 'Austen Writing Bristol: The City and Signification in *Northanger Abbey* and *Emma*', *Persuasions On-Line*, 36.1 (Winter-2015) <http://www.jasna.org/publications/persuasions-online/vol36no1/ballinger/> [accessed 23 March 2020].
62 John Wiltshire, 'Exploring Mansfield Park: In the Footsteps of Fanny Price', *Persuasions*, 28 (2006), 81-100 (p. 93) <http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/printed/number28/wiltshire.pdf> [accessed 23 March 2020].
63 Nigel Nicolson, 'Jane Austen's Houses in Fact and Fiction', *Persuasions*, Vol. 14 (1992), 89-93 https://jasna.org/persuasions/printed/number14/nicolson.pdf > [accessed 13 March 2019] (p. 92).
64 Ibid.
65 S. M. Abdul Khalique, 'Jane Austen's Idea of a Home', *Persuasions On-Line*, 26.1 (2005), <http://jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol26no1/khaleque.htm?> [accessed 11 March 2019].
66 Judith W. Page, 'Estates', in *The Cambridge Companion to Pride and Prejudice*, ed. by Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 97-108 (p. 100).
67 Christopher Toner, 'With What Intense Desire She Wants Her Home'.
68 Nicolson, 'Jane Austen's Houses in Fact and Fiction', p. 91.
69 Ibid, p. 93.

Toner echoes both Nicolson and Khalique's view about home being a place for Austen which abounds in affection between the inmates.[70] He, moreover, goes a step further and tries to develop the idea of an 'ideal home' according to Austen. Toner avers that the 'ideal home' for Austen is one in which there is emotional and financial stability. Both are, incidentally, characteristics that Austen did not enjoy in her own home (as a dependent female). The stability is not limited to financial stability but extends to emotional stability too. Emotional comfort is gained by mutual love and respect for the inhabitants of the 'home'. The ideal home for Austen, then, according to Toner, abounds with 'dignity, freedom and culture'. By "dignity" he means that the inhabitants of the 'ideal home' should be respectable and respect each other too. "Freedom" refers to the right of the inhabitants to exert their own judgement. "Culture" provides the inhabitants with the opportunity to exercise their judgment. Through these three characteristics, the 'ideal home' becomes a place not only of mutual love and respect but also of security and comfort which is both physical as well as emotional.

All the selected characters define a place as home based on the relationship they share with its inhabitants or the memories they associate with it. While Mr. Parker might initially appear as an anomaly to the idea, the location and name of Trafalgar House, by projecting him as a businessman, establishes his relationship with the people of Sanditon as their protector and benefactor. Mr. Parker chooses Trafalgar at Sanditon as his home (over his ancestral house) because it reminds him of his dual position as a businessman and provider for the people. It further reinforces his masculine identity (see Chapter VI, 6.2.1). Mr. Parker, then, is similar to the other characters in defining home based on his relationship with the inhabitants. He differs, however, in the nature of the relationship that he seeks. The other characters are concerned in building relationships steeped in love and understanding whereas the power dynamic in his relationship with the residents of Sanditon is essentially different by virtue of his position as the architect of the resort.

Ballinger comments that 'traditionally, critics have not seen Austen as a critic of place' due to the lack of description of places in her work.[71] While this is true for novels like *Sense and Sensibility* and *Lady Susan*, it might be influenced by Austen's belonging to 'a purblind world, wherein nobody ever saw anybody, except in a dim vagueness which obscured all peculiarities'.[72] The 'absence of all sense of outward world – either scenery or personal

70 Toner, '"With What Intense Desire She Wants Her Home"'.
71 Ballinger, 'Austen Writing Bristol'.
72 Lewes, 'Lewes: The Great Appraisal', p. 172.

appearance – is more remarkable in her than in any writer we remember'.[73] She is 'content to make us know' instead of 'making the reader see' everything about people or places.[74] Commenting on the vague and scanty descriptions offered by Austen for the houses she created in her fiction, Pevsner states that Austen paid considerable attention to description and her neglect of the description of her fictional houses might, therefore, be read as a deliberate ploy. He argues that Austen was deliberately vague in her descriptions of houses as it was not the building but the people who lived inside it and their emotions that mattered to Austen.[75] The selected characters also appear to imbibe the same view towards places which is evident in their definitions of home. A good home, then, appears to be 'an enduring place in a relationship, or in a network of relationships, founded on love and respect'.[76]

5.3 Psychological Home as a Haven

According to Sigmon, et al., Psychological Home develops from 'our interactions with our early environments and early interactions with family of origin, peers, and extended family'.[77] One of the main functions of Psychological Home, according to the authors, is to promote psychological well-being. Cicognani points out that one of the ways through which the construct of Psychological Home can improve psychological health is by functioning as 'a haven from the stresses of the external world'.[78] This feature of the construct works to 'reduce anxiety and help[s] us cope with change'.[79] Certain unhealthy relationships and traumatic incidents in the characters' lived experiences of home cause them to suffer from anxiety (see Chapter IV, section 4.2). This section will examine how the refuge offered to the characters by their Psychological Home will promote their psychological well-being. The expression of Psychological home occurs through the investment of the individual's time and energy to convert their home into a place of comfort which, simultaneously, reflects who they are.

73 Lewes, 'Lewes: The Great Appraisal', p. 172.
74 Ibid.
75 Nikolaus Pevsner, 'The Architectural Setting of Jane Austen's Novels', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 31 (1968), 404-422 <https://doi.org/10.2307/750649>.
76 Christopher Toner, 'Jane Austen on Practical Wisdom, Constancy, and Unreserve', *Philosophy and Literature*, 41.1A (July 2017), 178-194 <https://doi.org/10.1353/phl.2017.0029> (p. 180).
77 Sigmon and others, 'Psychological Home', p. 33.
78 Cicognani, Psychological Home and Well Being, p. 84.
79 Ibid, p. 86.

According to Sigmon et al, Psychological Home 'offers a psychological refuge that provides security, safety, protection and assurance.'[80] Given the different sources of anxiety in the selected characters' lived experiences of home, all of them require spaces where they can retreat to in order to escape or avoid family members and/or unpleasant memories which trigger their anxiety or people whose company can provide a similar retreat. These spaces and/or people are not only important for offering privacy to the characters but also essential for maintaining and promoting their psychological well-being. In the process of manifesting psychological home, individuals 'experience the positive benefits of this connection to the physical environment.'[81] Examples of such environments for the selected characters include Mr. Watson's room for Emma, the east room and Susan's room for Fanny, Sanditon for Mr. Parker and Longstaple and later, Barton Cottage for Edward. Other examples from Austen's oeuvre can be found in Mr. Bennet and Elizabeth's retreat to the library and shrubbery respectively (*Pride and Prejudice),* Emma Woodhouse, Jane Fairfax (*Emma*) and Marianne Dashwood's (*Sense and Sensibility*) recourse to walking whenever faced with unpleasant memories or situations.

Sigmon et al propose that an individual expends time and energy on their Psychological Home (manifestation) in exchange for which the Psychological Home provides them with security and privacy (functional components). Displacement, and, by extension, homelessness, affects a person's 'sense of belonging, in particular, and mental health, in general' by disrupting the psychological processes of 'familiarity, attachment, and identity' that form the construct of Psychological Home.[82] The psychological impact is so severe that a person experiences a loss of parts of one's self when 'connections to familiar surroundings are severed, when meaningful places and treasured objects become lost or inaccessible.'[83] Like home security, it appears that even talking at length about one's life before being displaced may result in 'a psychosocial transition […] back to a state of health and belonging.'[84] After Edmund questions Fanny about her family and she tells him about her life at Portsmouth, she displays a visible sense of ease at Mansfield Park (*MP,* pp. 18-19). At Portsmouth, opening up to Susan about her life at Mansfield plays a similar role (pp.457-461). Emma, similarly, is most comfortable with

80 Sigmon and others, 'Psychological Home', p. 34.
81 Ibid, p. 33.
82 Fullilove, 'Psychiatric Implications of Displacement', p. 1518.
83 Vandemark, 'Promoting the Sense of Self', p. 244.
84 Astier M. Almedom, 'Factors that Mitigate War-Induced Anxiety and Mental Distress', *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 36 (2004) 445–461, cited in Vandemark, 'Promoting the Sense of Self', p. 246.

Elizabeth who is open to her about the entire family's past and her own observations about Emma's life (*LM,* p. 210-211).

Sodeman argues that the most secure of Austen's heroine's, in terms of having a home is Emma who learns that 'having a stable residence does not ensure domestic felicity'.[85] Emma is happy 'only when she can live together with those she loves, her father and Mr. Knightley, in the home she makes for them at Hartfield.'[86] Sodeman's idea supports the notion of "home" being a place where the emotional needs of a person are fulfilled. Psychological home, conceptualised as any place shared with specific people, can also be found in other novels of Austen through the female protagonists' rejection of men richer than they are because they do not love them. Elizabeth's rejection of Mr. Collins and Mr. Darcy, Anne's rejection of Charles Musgrove and Mr. Elliot and Fanny's rejection of Henry Crawford are prominent examples. Charlotte's deliberate pursuit of Mr. Collins and Lady Susan's marriage to Sir James Martin are examples that do not fit in with this line of reasoning, however. Both choose to opt for well-settled males in order to be financially secure. While Charlotte's approach is practical and her motives honestly confessed, Lady Susan's earlier emphasis on love and eventual marriage for money at the end appear out of character. It is possible, however, that through these characters, Austen wanted to provide a clearer picture of the bleak life and limited options of women in her era (see 4.2, 5.2 and 6.2.1), something that she was unable to do through the protagonists of her major novels as she was writing pseudo-social comedies.

The process of 'externalizing basic values, beliefs, and goals onto the external environment is most obvious when we attempt to change our habits or direct the habits of others who share our niches'.[87] Analysing *Emma,* Gibbs comments that Mr. Woodhouse's 'timidity and dislike of change' isolates him and the people closest to him 'with the result that Emma's horizons are pathetically limited, both physically and socially'.[88] Paris also supports the notion of Mr. Woodhouse's lifestyle resulting in the stifling of Emma's desires and freedom.[89] Morgan reads *Emma* as a novel where masculinity (in the form of Mr. Woodhouse) tries to convince femininity (represented by Emma) that the only way for her to always be treated as a person of consequence is by retaining the title of Miss Woodhouse and residing with him at Hartfield for the rest of her life. Emma is 'shaped by a father who is committed to being an invalid' in order

85 Sodeman, 'Domestic Mobility', p. 789.
86 Ibid.
87 Nine, 'The Wrong of Displacement', p. 249.
88 Christine Gibbs, 'Absent Fathers: An Examination of Father-Daughter Relationships in Jane Austen's Novels', *Persuasions,* 8 (1986), 45-50 <https://jasna.org/publications-2/persuasions/no8/gibbs/> [accessed 1 October 2020] (p. 48).
89 Bernard J. Paris, *Character and Conflict in Jane Austen's Novels* (Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press), pp. 11, 67-68, 86-88, 94-95.

to maintain ‘the degree of power and control made possible through refusing ever to move outward from the small boundaries of the world you personally rule.' [90] While it appears that Emma is controlled by her father’s wishes and her feeling of duty towards him, she still subverts traditional notions of gender in her interactions with other characters (see Chapter VI, 6.2.3). Mr Woodhouse’s primary concern (as opposed to the selected characters) is his own comfort, even if it comes at the cost of other people’s happiness. This is clear in his refusal to entertain the notion of Emma’s marriage until he realises that Mr Knightley’s addition to the Hartfield home will provide additional security, thereby being an added source of comfort instead of disrupting his routine or taking away his power (*Emma,* p. 490).

Psychological Home enables people to ‘seek refuge from life’s complexity, and surround themselves with things that reinforce who they are -- the good qualities.’[91] In order to escape ‘the dreadful mortifications of an unequal society’, Emma ‘warmly entreated to be […] [her father’s] constant companion each evening’ (*LM,* p. 288). In his room, she is able to effect ‘the dissipation of unpleasant ideas’ (p. 289) either by conversing with her father or reading a book if he needs rest. The place helps her to be both ‘cheerful’ (ibid) and ‘at peace’ (p. 288). It is her refuge, her Psychological Home – a place where painful memories are not only acknowledged but accepted and she, therefore, ‘cease[s] to be tortured by their effects’ (ibid). A similar haven can be identified in the east room at Mansfield Park for Fanny where she can go ‘after any thing unpleasant’ and receive ‘immediate consolation’ (*MP,* p. 178). It is a place where her painful and pleasurable experiences coalesce together ‘so harmonized by distance, that every former affliction had its charm’ (ibid). Like Mr. Watson’s room, the East room is Fanny’s personal ‘nest of comforts’ (p. 179), a place where she retreats to in order to soothe herself. It is a place that she attempts to replicate during her stay at Portsmouth in order to find ‘peace’ (p. 461).

Edward’s dissatisfaction with his mother not being able to make his ‘home in every respect comfortable’ and having ‘no friend, no companion in [his] brother’ draws him away from his family (*S&S,* p. 483). He feels unloved and lonely with his family and, therefore, experiences ‘no pleasure at Norland’ with his sister and brother-in-law and ‘detest[s] being in town’ with his mother and brother (p. 189). According to Davidoff and Hall, ‘the definition of the family was never rigid’ and its boundaries could shift to accommodate friends while ‘kin

90 Morgan, ‘Adoring the Girl Next Door’.
91 Sigmon and others, ‘Psychological Home’, p. 34.

could go unrecognized' by a person.[92] Additionally, the term 'friend' ceased to refer to 'someone sharing or assisting in a material, social or political interest, and came to mean someone with mutual moral, intellectual and emotional interests'.[93] Edward consequently, ends up 'very often at Longstaple', as he feels 'at home' there and is 'always sure of a welcome' by Lucy and her family (p. 483). As long as he is infatuated with Lucy, he retreats to Longstaple whenever he is in 'wretched spirits' (p. 162) and feels happy there. When Edward falls in love with Elinor, it is, therefore, time spent at Barton Cottage with her family which affords him peace of mind. As he is still engaged to Lucy, he forces himself to leave when 'his enjoyment among his friends [is] at the height' (ibid) so that he may not get too used to the happiness which his honour will not allow him to secure for himself. He comes to the Dashwoods 'scarcely sensible of pleasure in seeing them' (p. 100) but goes away with his spirits 'greatly improved' (p. 117). While Edward suffers in his conscience from being engaged to one woman and loving another, he is still able to admire the Dashwoods' house as a place that 'unites beauty with utility' (p. 112) and accepting that his 'greatest happiness was in being with them' (p. 117). The place, similar to Fanny's East room or Mr. Watson's room, blends painful and pleasant experiences to provide a safe retreat for Edward to enjoy himself despite being acutely aware of the problems in his life.

While 'the invention and promotion of Sanditon is inseparable from the invention and promotion of sickness' whose cure can be found by the sea, Mr. Parker genuinely enjoys (and misses) the sea breeze and open air of Sanditon.[94] When he sprains his ankle at Willingden, his thoughts turn immediately to his refuge, convinced that 'a little of [his] own bracing sea air' (*LM*, p. 298) at Sanditon would make him well within no time. On his return to Sanditon, he can barely wait to arrive at his 'health-breathing hill' (p. 328). The relief he experiences on being back in Sanditon can be detected at the rise of his spirits 'with the sight of the sea' and how 'he could almost feel his ankle getting strong already' (p. 329). Sanditon's calming effect on his nerves can also be detected in the exhilarated desire he experiences 'to be on the Sands, the Cliffs, at his own House, and everywhere out of his House at once' (ibid) when he finally reaches Sanditon. There are various things in Sanditon that can trigger his anxiety of losing his home like the staggering number of residents compared to his expectations, Lady Denham's fears of the resort being successful, the library and other small business establishments not

92 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 321.
93 Gary Kelly, *Revolutionary Feminism*, p. 12.
94 Tony Tanner, *Jane Austen* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1986), p. 262, cited in Takei, '*Sanditon* and the Uncertain Prospects of a Resort Business'.

faring well. He, however, finds recourse from each unpleasant experience at a different place in Sanditon, seeking a different purpose each time to find peace. The entire resort of Sanditon, then, acts as a haven for Mr. Parker.

Both Anne and Henry travel to different places throughout *Persuasion* and *Northanger Abbey* respectively and there is no fixed place that they retreat to when faced with turmoil. Austen, however, 'extends familial ties to include the affective bonds of friends' for Anne so that she may move beyond the influence of the 'psychologically damaging insularity' of the Elliot family.[95] For Henry, his siblings and Catherine offer the haven that he needs to find peace from the tyranny of his father. Anne's friends exist outside the family of birth and would include Lady Russell and Captain Wentworth as the foremost in terms of loving and being loved by Anne. The Musgroves, Crofts and Harvilles also form an important part of this extended or chosen family that Anne retreats to when she is in need of a haven. Just as Anne does not identify a specific place but person as her home, her haven is also characterised by people that she shares close relationships with. Deresiewicz identifies in Austen's novels 'the idea of home as a psychic necessity, together with the correlative idea of the loss of home as an irreparable psychic wound'.[96] According to him, 'home is vital to the emotional health of each of the late heroines'.[97] This analysis can be extended to the male characters as well who, similarly, find refuge in their psychological homes from their problems.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter explores how the characters define home based on their psychological associations with people, objects and spaces in specific places. The people that the characters associate with belong to both the families of birth and the chosen families. The characters suffer from anxiety due to certain relationships and/or incidents in their lived experiences of home which affect the manner in which they define home. The negative experiences coalesce with the positive ones to contribute towards the characters' understanding of home. Usually when identifying a particular place as home, the characters select specific spaces within it to retreat to in order to gain peace of mind. The places provide them with privacy and security. This promotes their

95 Sodeman, 'Domestic Mobility', p. 798.
96 Deresiewicz, *Jane Austen and the Romantic Poets*, p. 34.
97 Ibid.

psychological well-being and lessens their anxiety. The attainment of home is expected to act as the cure to the characters' anxiety.

All the selected characters define home by their psychological association with the people who inhabit it. Fanny, Edward and Anne need to be loved by the people that they share a place with. Anne and Edward do not situate home as a specific place but any place with a specific person whom they love and who loves them. Both of them are different from their other family members and, therefore, unloved which appears to shape their understanding of home as a place where one can love and be loved in return while maintaining their individuality. Fanny and Emma have experienced harsh treatment at the hands of not one but two families, both of whom they considered their own. The women, therefore, also define home as a place where they are loved and needed. Both women struggle to find their place in homes that are either too high or too low for them to fit in. Fanny manages to make her place in Mansfield which she then regards as home and Emma barely adjusts by forming a good relationship with her father and eldest sister.

Henry finds home at Woodston with Catherine with his father's blessing while Mr. Parker makes the entire resort of Sanditon his home, due to his need to be both a benefactor and a businessman. All the characters create a haven for themselves in their psychological homes. Anne and Henry find their haven with the people they love while the other characters locate it in specific places. Mr. Parker considers the resort of Sanditon as a recourse. Emma uses her father's room to find peace. Fanny goes to the East room whenever she is troubled. Edward seeks Longstaple and, later, Barton Cottage as a refuge from his problems. The places instead of making the characters forget their problems, help them to plan solutions to them, while also providing peace.

Chapter VI Doing and Undoing Gender

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with providing an answer to three of the research questions. It will first analyse how the characters implement gender roles based on their manner of coping with anxiety and defining home, then investigate the similarities and/or differences in their interpretation of home, anxiety and gender roles to examine the creation of gender equality and finally trace the evolution of gender equality in the selected novels. Chapters Four and Five discussed anxiety in the characters' lived experience of home and its influence on determining how the characters defined home. In this chapter, the characters' adherence to traditional notions of gender will be investigated first, followed by a study of their subversion of the same. The influence of the characters' lived experience and understanding of home on their perception and performance of gender roles will be examined. Finally, the characters' use of defense mechanisms to cope with anxiety, their interpretation of home and their practise of gender roles will be compared to analyse similarities between the genders and how this results in the creation of gender equality.

6.2 Interpretation and Implementation of Gender Roles

Austen deals with socio-economic issues in her novels like marriage, the possession or inheritance of property, the incomes of households and how people fulfil social obligations through the economic means they possess. All these themes form an intrinsic part of the depiction of gender roles in the domestic space. As discussed in Chapter I (section 1.1), the laws of inheritance in Austen's time favoured first-born sons which led to younger sons and daughters having to look for means of sustenance other than their father's property. Austen narrates the stories of the restricted opportunities of several younger sons in her novels like Henry Tilney (*Northanger Abbey,* 1817), Colonel Brandon (*Sense and Sensibility,* 1810), Edmund Bertram (*Mansfield Park,* 1814) and Captain Wentworth (*Persuasion,* 1817). However, while younger sons, deprived of the family property, could, at least, join a profession, the females did not have even this choice. This was especially true for females (like Jane Austen herself) who belonged to the gentry. The gentry was a vaguely wide class comprised of people

of strikingly different fortunes.[1] It included landed estate owners on one hand (like Mr. Darcy in *Pride and Prejudice*, Colonel Brandon in *Sense and Sensibility*, Emma and Mr. Knightley in *Emma*, etc.) and relatively poor but genteel families on the other (like that of Mrs and Miss Bates in *Emma*). It also included people who were neither too rich nor too poor (the Bennet family in *Pride and Prejudice* who weren't wealthy but would never have to work, the Mrs. and Miss Dashwoods of *Sense and Sensibility* who were living in reduced circumstances, the Elliots in *Persuasion* who were retrenching due to debts incurred, etc.). It was not considered respectable for a woman from the gentry to join a profession and all of Austen's female protagonists belonged to this category.[2]

This section will apply Deutsch's concepts of 'Doing Gender' and 'Undoing Gender' to examine how the characters follow conventional notions of gender and when they subvert them. The application of the theory is expected to provide insight into the temperament and personalities of the characters being analysed. It will also justify certain actions performed by the characters which were discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 but not satisfactorily concluded. The first part sub-section will analyse the characters' adherence to traditional notions of gender, examining their motives for the same. The next sub-section will focus on the characters' subversion of gender roles and explore their reasons for doing so.

6.2.1 Doing Gender

According to Deutsch, the phrase "doing gender" should be reserved to refer to social interactions that reproduce gender difference. It is important to note that traditional masculinity and femininity ideologies dictate that males and females should be opposite to each other.[3] As discussed in Chapter I (section 1.1), the sexes have often been construed in contrasting terms to each other in history with positive connotations being associated with the male sex.[4] The sexes were considered opposites based on 'a foundation of anatomical and physiological distinctions'.[5] Throughout most of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, 'ladies were primarily associated with home and children, while gentlemen controlled the majority of public

1 Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian En*gland, (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1998).
2 Bailey, 'The Marriage Law of Jane Austen's World'.
3 Connell, *Masculinities*; Ronald F. Levant and Katherine Richmond, 'A Review of Research on Masculinity Ideologies Using the Male Role Norms Inventory', *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 15.2 (2007) 130-46 <https://doi.org/10.3149/jms.1502.130>.
4 Lindsey, *Gender Roles: A Sociological Perspective*, p. 3; Kimmel and others, 'Gender and Home Spaces', *Gender and Society*, 22.7 (2017), 7-21.
5 Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 7.

institutions'.[6] Not only were 'intellect, emotions and character […] all interpreted in a sexually polarized way', but this was also 'reinforced by the different patterns of education for boys and girls'.[7] Men and women who adhere to traits associated with each gender are 'doing gender'. Doing gender, then, is not only based on but also perpetrates gender differences.

The term 'masculinity' was added to the English language 'in the middle of the eighteenth century' and 'its primary meaning was gender privilege, as in matters of· inheritance'.[8] However, the primary terms used instead of masculinity before the twentieth century were 'the traditional ones of manhood and manliness' which referred to the moral, cultural and physical characteristics of men, particularly courage and activeness.[9] Studying political events from the French Revolution to the rise of Nazism in Germany, Scott observes that 'emergent rulers have legitimized domination, strength, central authority, and ruling power as masculine' while terms like 'enemies, outsiders, subversives, [and] weakness' have been associated with femininity.[10] Among Austen's male protagonists, Mr Darcy, Mr Bingley, Colonel Brandon, Mr Knightley and Mr Parker emerge as strong and dominant men by virtue of possessing central authority and ruling power over their estates and, by extension, over the people residing there. Fanny and Anne are feminine protagonists who are characterised as weak. Of the selected characters, Henry and Edward have neither central authority nor ruling power in their homes, Mr. Parker possesses both over Sanditon and its people, including his own wife and children. Mr. Parker's act of moving his family from his ancestral house to Sanditon, even though his wife clearly prefers the former (*LM*, pp. 24-26), suggests that he is dominant. He steers the topic of the conversation away from the comparison of the two places after she makes several remarks in favour of the ancestral house.

As discussed in Chapter IV, his avoidance of the topic likely arises due to the mechanism of isolation but his dominant position over his wife by virtue of being the provider cannot be overlooked. Allowing his wife to voice her opinions in front of a stranger that he clearly wishes to impress in favour of Trafalgar House would suggest a tolerant nature, but contradicting each of her views and finally cutting her off abruptly portrays him as dominating, if only to a certain degree. It may be argued that Mr Parker's contradiction of his wife's opinion arises due to his awareness of her not being as conscious of the commercial benefits Sanditon

6 Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 12.
7 Tosh, *A Man's Place,* p. 7.
8 Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (London, NY: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), p. 72. Ebook Central ebook
9 Ibid, pp. 72-73.
10 Scott, 'Gender', p. 1072.

would provide the family with (in the future) as he, himself, is. However, he dominates Lady Denham in a similar conversation where their views are different (*LM*, p. 344), even though both are 'practitioners of commerce' to an equal degree 'in their rather desperate preoccupation with the letting of lodgings or the provision of asses' milk'.[11]

Men, as opposed to women, derive their sense of self from 'the successful exercise of authority over women and children'.[12] Mr. Parker's domination of his wife and Lady Denham suggests that he adheres to this notion. He also appears to dominate his children. When Mrs Parker is nostalgic as their old house was 'shady' and 'a nice place for the Children to run about in', he counters her by saying that she can buy 'a large Bonnet' or 'a parasol' for their daughter and he would rather his boys 'run about in the Sunshine than not' (p. 25). This suggests that he is convinced he knows the best for his family which leads him to dominate both his wife and his children without taking their wishes into consideration. His suggestion of his daughter using a bonnet as a cover against the sunshine while not allowing the boys any similar form of protection further indicates that he holds traditional notions of gender of females being weak and males being strong.

The policy of using feminine terms in a derogatory manner was also seen in middle-class reformers who criticised the working class as 'subordinated, weak, [and] sexually exploited'.[13] In response to these comments, the labour and socialist leaders emphasised 'the masculine position of' the working class' and labelled themselves as 'producers, strong, [and] protectors of their women and children'.[14] By stating that his daughter can use a bonnet as a shield against the sunlight, Mr Parker simultaneously establishes himself as a dominant male adhering to traditional notions of gender and the protector of women and children. Henry Tilney similarly emerges as the protector of his sister, Eleanor. By spending most of his time with her, he ensures that she is not left alone to cater to the whims of their father whom they both fear (see Chapter IV, 4.2.1). He, moreover, 'understands that Eleanor, lacking a sister or mother, needs someone in the family to take an interest in the things that interest women' and voluntarily occupies that position.[15] His importance to Eleanor is so great that her 'spirits [are] always affected by Henry's absence' (*NA*, p. 218). By attempting to protect his sister from

11 David Selwyn, 'Making a Living', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen*, pp. 144–158 (p. 157).
12 Leonore Davidoff, Megan Doolittle and others, 'Blood, Contract and Intimacy, 1830–1960', in *The Family Story* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), p. 136, cited in French and Rothery, *Man's Estate,* p. 186.
13 Scott, 'Gender', p. 1073.
14 Ibid.
15 Graham, 'Henry Tilney'.

emotional and mental pain, he demonstrates the belief that women are weak and need the protection of the stronger sex.

The weakness associated with the female sex is evident in both Fanny and Anne who are projected as physically and emotionally weak characters who bend before paternal authority. Fanny has 'frequently [been] described as Austen's most passive heroine' by critics.[16] Fanny's weakness is suggested by her possessing a 'frame and temper' that is 'delicate' (p. 453). Fanny's 'extreme physical delicacy […] is the most conventionally feminine thing about her' and is, at the same time, a 'quality exclusively recommended to daughters of good families' to cultivate.[17] Both Fanny and Anne undertake a long walk with a group of other people and are notably the only females who feel a compelling need to rest in the middle of the walk and would be unable to proceed without doing so (*MP*, p. 110; *Persuasion*, pp. 189, 195). Singling out Fanny and Anne as the only females in a group who are worn out by physical exercise appears to be done in order to emphasise their femininity. Anne's emotional 'weakness and timidity' (*Persuasion*, p. 159) made her break off her engagement with Captain Wentworth on facing opposition from her family. It is also likely that Anne's 'affective ties' to her father and Lady Russell, 'elaborated within and encouraged by the ideology of domesticity, gave […] [her] an incentive to comply' with their desires.[18] Anne and Fanny are also "doing gender" by their shyness which was considered a feminine trait.[19] It comes across as deliberate, then, on Austen's part that 'the physically robust Catherine Morland is said in the opening paragraph of Northanger Abbey to be ill suited to be the heroine of a novel'.[20]

As opposed to females who were considered weak and expected to be submissive, 'masculine identity would be tied inherently to the autonomous exercise of authority'. [21] Mr Parker's search for a doctor in Willingden without consulting anyone (*LM*, p. 40) and encouraging 'old Stringer and his son' to sell groceries in Sanditon (p. 24) despite the position already being occupied by Lady Denham's own gardener are prominent examples of an autonomous use of his authority. As Lady Denham is his coadjutor and has an equal interest in the success of the resort, it is surprising that he does not confer with her before taking either of these actions. She believes that a doctor will only encourage the 'servants and the poor to fancy themselves ill' (p. 40) and is satisfied that he failed in his endeavour. Her reaction suggests that

16 Richardson, 'Reading Practices', p. 402.
17 Claudia L. Johnson, *Jane Austen: Women, Politics and the Novel*, p. 95.
18 Kaplan, *Jane Austen Among Women*, p. 51.
19 Sven Kachel, Maleanie C. Steffens and Claudia Niedlich, 'Traditional Masculinity and Femininity: Validation of a New Scale Assessing Gender Roles', *Frontier Psychology*, 7.956 (2016), 1-19 <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2016.00956>.
20 John Mullan, 'Psychology', in *Jane Austen in Context*, pp. 377-386 (p. 380).
21 French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, p. 3.

she would have opposed the plan if he had discussed it with her. It is highly likely that she would also have discouraged him in his other action of supporting Stringer to sell groceries as it would cut into her own profits.

French and Rothery argue that 'gentry manliness was constructed, rather than inherited'.[22] It could be acquired only through gaining 'practical experience in 'the world''.[23] A 'man', according to French and Rothery, was one who could exert 'authority responsibly, deal with different social ranks, discern (and anticipate) an individual's 'ruling passion', and […] identify and learn from virtuous companions.[24] Among Austen's male protagonists, Mr Knightley, Mr Bingley, Colonel Brandon, Captain Wentworth, Mr Darcy and Henry Tilney possess all these attributes. Henry's efforts at Woodston for the people of his parish show that he is responsible (*NA*, pp. 160, 179, 227). He navigates society easily and is able to discern both Isabella and his brother, Frederick's motives (pp. 18-20, 92, 107-109, 156, 201). He is able to identify the virtuous Catherine and chooses her to be his wife even though she is not an heiress and his father is opposed to the match. McMaster contends that while Austen favours men from the landed gentry (represented by characters like Darcy and Knightley), she confers the responsibility on them of maintaining their estates and the people living on those estates.[25] McMaster further observes that in Austen's later novels like *Mansfield Park* and *Persuasion,* the landed gentry is replaced by the navy as Austen's preferred class. As discussed in Chapter II (section 2.3.3), the relationship between the domesticity and professionalism of Austen's naval officers is problematized as 'the domestic plot is preoccupied with the professional navy and the gendered transvaluation that occurs when the sea becomes a professional English home'.[26]

Masculinity was also associated with 'assertion and autonomy'.[27] Mr Parker's independence in matters concerning Sanditon, without taking Lady Denham into confidence despite her investment in the resort, is in tune with the independent use of authority expected of males. Compared to Mr Parker, Henry and Edward possess very little agency and occupy positions subordinate to their parents but both exercise their authority autonomously in romantic relationships to which their parents are opposed (see Chapter IV. 4.2.1). General Tilney's impolite ejection of Catherine from Northanger Abbey prompts Henry 'to assume,

22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 McMaster, 'Class', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen*, ed. by Edward Copeland & Juliette McMaster, Cambridge Companions to Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 115-130.
26 Cohen, 'Persuading the Navy Home', p. 47.
27 Kaplan, *Jane Austen Among Women*, p. 51.

when he needs to, the alpha status of romantic heroism'.[28] By following his father's order of forgetting Catherine, he would lose the home that he had envisioned forming with her in the future. In order to protect it, he rebels, for the first time against his father, thereby asserting a position of dominance as expected of him as a male.

While men are expected to possess "agency", women have been associated with "communion" which 'encompasses expressivity, warmth, and concern with the welfare of others'.[29] Anne is characterised by 'warm affections and domestic habits' (*Persuasion,* p. 107) while Fanny demonstrates warmth for even those family members who reject her and cause her pain (see Chapter IV, section 4.2; Chapter V, 5.2). In submitting to their families, even though it makes their own lives sorrowful, these women are clearly "doing gender". As 'propriety was the watchword of genteel women in Georgian England', their behaviour is in accordance with what is expected of females.[30] Both women may be grouped with the majority of the females of Austen's era who 'were consciously resigned to the most enduring features of an elite woman's lot: the symbolic authority of fathers and husbands, the self-sacrifices of motherhood and the burdensome responsibility for domestic servants, housekeeping and family consumption'.[31] Vickery studies women from the gentry whose families did not possess much property (like the selected female characters) and describes them as being 'civil', 'genteel', 'polite', 'well-bred', 'polished', 'amiable and accomplished' in accordance with the way they were expected to conduct themselves as females.[32] As all of the selected female characters possess these traits, they are "doing gender".

French and Rothery suggest that the 'basis of elite masculinity remained located in personal self-control, and its public projection onto others as a system of honour and domination'.[33] While Mr Parker chose domination to express his masculinity, Edward and Henry opted for honour. This could easily have been due to the authority Mr Parker enjoyed in Sanditon while Edward and Henry were dependent financially on their parents. Edward's honour is evident in maintaining his engagement, first with Lucy and, later, with Elinor, even though he does not love the former and is apprehensive that his relationship with the latter will 'carry him off as rapidly as before' (*S&S,* p. 423) in the eyes of his family leaving him and Elinor without any financial means to marry. Henry's honour is similarly traceable in getting

28 Graham, 'Henry Tilney'.
29 Haines and others, 'The Times', p. 354.
30 Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 193.
31 Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 193.
32 Ibid, p. 192.
33 French and Rothery, *Man's Estate,* p. 135.

engaged to Catherine even after his father throws her out of Northanger Abbey because she is not an heiress as he had been led to believe.

Although 'marriage and the production of children were regarded as normal, and highly desirable, elements', marriage was expected to have different implications for the sexes.[34] From a male-centric perspective, marriage was seen 'not just as a facet of adulthood, but also as a means by which to realise the essential attributes of masculine identity'.[35] Marriage was expected to provide men with 'long-term emotional security and support' along with 'the creation of an independent, financially secure household and nuclear family'.[36] It was taken for granted that 'the family functioned partly to provide these advantages for the husband, ahead of its other members' interests'.[37] Domestic life for men, then, was often 'a means to the ultimate end, of dynastic reproduction, than an end in itself, or the governing metaphor by which to validate beliefs and ideals within the group'.[38] We are told that all of Edward's 'wishes centred in domestic comfort and the quiet of private life' (*S&S*, p. 17). While the statement might be interpreted as Edward's not seeking to follow conventional masculine ideals, he might still be "doing gender" because he realises that his only chance to achieve "adult autonomy" (considered requisite for a man's status to be established in the society) is through marriage and reproduction.

Cross-cultural studies in the recent years have stressed that 'full masculine status is the gift of one's peers'.[39] It is built 'on the foundation of boy-life outside the family, and is accomplished by economic or military achievements in the public sphere, often marked by a rite of collective, men-only initiation'.[40] Edward has 'no more talents than inclination for a public life' (*S&S*, p. 104) due to which it would be difficult for him to achieve 'full masculine status' through economic or military achievements. However, matrimony and reproduction also function as a means to reach this status and appear more suited to his temperament. He might, then, be "doing gender" even by desiring domestic comfort over worldly achievements. Mr Parker's seemingly domestic interest in the welfare of the people of Sanditon (see Chapter V, 5.2) may similarly be interpreted as being a means to achieve his goal of making Sanditon prosperous and gaining "full masculine status" through the economic achievements of the resort. This is supported in his statement to Lady Denham that the 'butchers and bakers and

34 Ibid, p. 191.
35 Ibid, p. 197.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
39 Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 3.
40 Ibid.

traders in general cannot get rich without bringing prosperity' (*LM*, p. 39) to both him and Lady Denham. It further suggests that his anxiety about the failure of Sanditon is not related only to losing his home but also his masculine status. The same principle appears to have been the motivating factor for Mr Bennet to marry. He marries Mrs Bennet for her beauty and because marriage would provide him with an heir for 'cutting off the entail' (*P&P*, p. 340) on Longbourn House.

With the legal system favouring men as heirs through a procedure known as strict settlement, women were forced to depend on male relatives. 'The power which settlement wields over the future of dependants, especially women, is highlighted in the novels'.[41] Austen provides several examples in her novels of the problems inherent in the laws of inheritance and how they were connected to the issues of home and marriage for both genders. In *Pride and Prejudice*, Longbourn house is entailed on the nearest male relative (Mr. Collins) as the Bennets do not have a son. In order to secure the house for her daughters even after Mr. Bennet's death, Mrs. Bennet is keen to get one of her daughters married to Mr. Collins. The irony is that it does not matter to her which daughter is sacrificed for this purpose as long as the purpose is achieved and the house can be theirs. It is for the sake of possessing a comfortable house that the neighbour's daughter (and Elizabeth Bennet's best friend), Charlotte Lucas, behaves with civility and care towards Mr Collins who marries her instead of choosing one of the Bennet sisters. In *Persuasion*, Kellynch Hall is entailed on Mr. Elliot as Sir Walter Elliot has no son. The eldest daughter, Elizabeth, wants to marry Mr. Elliot to continue occupying the position of the mistress of the house after the death of her father. Mr. Elliot wants to marry the second daughter of Sir Walter because he loves her but he also plans to put in a condition during the marriage that Sir Walter cannot marry again so that the estate is safe from a future heir who could snatch his inheritance. Thus, not only females but males also aspired (and even conspired like Charlotte Lucas, George Wickham, John Willoughby, Lucy Steele, Mr. Elliot, etc.) to possess houses which they could call their own by using marriage as a vehicle.

It is easy to trace a critique of the laws of inheritance during her time in Austen's novels. Austen's representation of female characters belonging to the same social class yet experiencing such different lives appears to be a deliberate ploy to include different ways in which she saw the women of her time suffering due to the laws of inheritance. In *Sense and*

41 Jones, 'Landownership', p. 271.

Sensibility, for instance, the fragility of the economic stability of females is effectively exposed when Mr. John Dashwood inherits the estate where his stepmother and half-sisters have lived all their lives and turns them out because his wife does not like them. The novel, to a certain extent, 'captures the powerless situation of most women in Regency society, and every house the Dashwood sisters move to, or stay in, seems to be full only of waiting rooms'.[42] Similarly, in *Persuasion,* the Elliots are forced to leave their home due to the low income of their father which cannot sustain their estate any longer. Having no brother and not being able to work as they are the daughters of a gentleman, the Elliots are forced to retrench, lease Kellynch Hall and shift to Bath.

Along with the laws of inheritance, Austen also critiques marriage as the only means left to respectable women who wish to have a house of their own. Ingrassia believes that Austen was aware that marriage 'originates in some form of commodification and results in some form of confinement'.[43] Examining marriage from this perspective, Joisten reads *Pride and Prejudice* in a way that 'contradicts purely romantic readings of the text'.[44] While this may be true of Charlotte's marriage to Mr Collins or Wickham's pursuit of Miss King which are both motivated by mercenary views, Elizabeth's refusal to marry either Mr Collins or Mr Darcy (the first time) suggests otherwise. It is more probable that Austen's emphasis on marriage reflects a 'general awareness of women's options in nineteenth-century England'.[45] Akman holds that Austen's preoccupation with the theme of marriage as a form of commerce 'stands out as a vigilant author's descriptive interest in social realities […] especially social and financial implications of marriage for women'.[46]

Women could either marry or stay with their parents forever -- if their parents were willing to provide a home for them. Jane Austen, who chose to remain unmarried, was consequently dependent on the males of her family (first on her father and after his death, on her brothers) for financial support.[47] Toner asserts that the ideal home in Austen's novels is one which provides financial security and stability since both were qualities that Austen did not experience in her own home as a dependent female.[48] Vickery observes that, 'as the unmarried daughter of a widowed mother, dependent on familial favor, Austen had much more

42 Stabler, *Burke to Byron,* p. 195.
43 Ingrassia, '*Emma*, Slavery, and Cultures of Captivity', p. 97.
44 Marie-Josefine Joisten, 'The Serious Business of Mrs. Bennet and the Consequences of a Mother's Fear', in *Pride and Prejudice 2.0,* ed. by Hanna Birk and Marion Gymnich (Bonn University Press, 2015), pp. 33-50 (p. 33).
45 Ibid, p. 35.
46 Akman, 'An Investigation of Socio-Economic Incentives', p. 1101.
47 Craig, *Jane Austen and the State of the Nation*.
48 Toner, '"With What Intense Desire She Wants Her Home"'.

in common with poor Miss Bates than with blessed Miss Woodhouse'.[49] The difference between these two characters (who are both gentlewomen by birth) in terms of their place in the gentry is the income each woman receives from her respective property and the fortune she owns individually. For Joisten, Austen was aware that women, as the sub-title of Deborah Logan's book on Victorian novelists suggests, could only 'Marry, Stitch, Die or Do Worse'.[50] It is important to point out here that such marriages are exposed for what they are by developing the protagonist's story in striking contrast to this idea (see 6.3).

In Austen's era, the cultural tastes of males were also expected to be different from those of females. Male recreation consisted of 'hunting […], coursing (pursuing hares with grey-hounds), tracing (following a pre-set scent) and shooting'.[51] Charles Musgrove, Captain Wentworth, Edmund Bertram, Henry Crawford and William Price can be seen engaging in shooting which 'was a constant feature of masculine culture in the rural north in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries'.[52] Henry Tilney's possession of 'a large Newfoundland puppy and two or three terriers' (*NA*, p. 219), all of which were animals used for hunting, suggests that he engages in the sport at Woodston. The sport, according to Vickery, 'had long been a proverbial expression of masculine competition and camaraderie'.[53] Women, on the other hand, were encouraged to 'confine themselves to indoor activity'.[54] These included learning and/or practising music, drawing, doing needlework and reading.[55] Anne and Fanny are fond of reading (*Persuasion*, p. 212; *MP*, p. 25). Anne also excels at and derives pleasure from playing the piano (*Persuasion*, p. 127). Miss Darcy and Elinor Dashwood are fond of painting. Jane Fairfax is skilled at both playing the piano and singing. Elizabeth Bennet, Eleanor Tilney, Catherine Morland and Charlotte Heywood like to read.

If domestic life was a means to an end for males, 'a woman's primary calling was matrimony and motherhood'.[56] Several studies have demonstrated that it is most often women who are expected to play the role of the primary caretaker.[57] This would include occupying the position of a wife (subservient to her husband), a mother (who would put her children before

49 Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter,* p. 147.
50 Joisten, 'The Serious Business of Mrs. Bennet', p. 35.
51 Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 184.
52 Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, 184.
53 Ibid, p. 186.
54 Byrne, 'Manners', p. 302.
55 Penny Gay, 'Pastimes', in *Jane Austen in Context*, pp. 337-345 (pp. 337-338).
56 Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 195.
57 Laura J Kray and others, 'The Effects of Implicit Gender Role Theories on Gender System Justification: Fixed Beliefs Strengthen Masculinity to Preserve the Status Quo', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 112.1 (2017), 98–115 <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000124>; Sari M Van Anders, 'Beyond Masculinity: Testosterone, Gender/Sex, and Human Social Behavior in a Comparative Context', *Frontiers in Neuroendocrinology*, 35.1 (2013), 198–210 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.yfrne.2013.07.001>; Ronald Levant and others, 'The Femininity Ideology Scale'; Schippers, 'Recovering the Feminine Other'.

herself) or a homemaker (who would take care of the home and family). Tosh observes that 'there was a tendency […] for fatherhood to be reduced to a providing role, since the relational nurturing aspects of parenting were deemed to be "feminine"'.[58] Nursing and taking care of children is considered a 'traditionally female domain'.[59] Deresiewicz points out that in Austen's later novels, 'the heroine has a significant care-giving relationship with a group of children within her own family'.[60] In Anne's case, such a relationship is seen in her bond with her nephews 'who loved her nearly as well, and respected her a great deal more than their mother' (*Persuasion,* p. 129). Fanny occupies a similar role for her siblings in her childhood as 'play-fellow, instructress, and nurse' (*MP,* p. 16) and later for her younger sister, Susan, as a mentor (pp. 458-461). While we do not see Emma meeting her brother's children, she shows motherly concern towards Miss Blake's son by asking him to dance with her since he is upset at not having a partner (*LM*, p. 233).

Where men derive a sense of self by their domination of women and children, women express their gender identities 'within the role of wife, mother, sister, aunt, embedded within a web of non-sexual empathy for others'.[61] Anne and Fanny conform to this notion in the emphasis they place on their being "useful" to others (*Persuasion*, pp. 212, 253; *MP*, pp. 16, 41, 195). The trait of 'instinctive tenderness or sympathy for others' was considered to be an attribute that was 'inherent to all good Christians but present in women to an exceptional degree'.[62] Rhone observes that 'embracing womanhood requires Anne to make choices for others' sakes' and the observation can easily be extended to Fanny.[63] After ending her engagement with Wentworth due to familial persuasion, Anne's 'chief consolation' is 'the belief of being prudent and self-denying principally for his advantage' (*Persuasion*, p. 99). Deriving solace from such thoughts suggests that she places greater emphasis on the role she plays in another person's life than the role she can potentially play in her own. She, then, appears to define herself in terms of her usefulness to other people. This is also evident when she is dissatisfied with her impending visit to Bath and consoles herself for leaving Uppercross by remembering 'her usefulness' to her nephew there which 'would always give some sweetness' to the memory of her time spent there (p. 212). Anne is "doing gender" as she, in accordance with the dictates of Regency society for unmarried women in their late twenties,

58 Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 7.
59 Haines and others, 'The Times', p. 354.
60 Deresiewicz, *Jane Austen and the Romantic Poets*, pp. 26-27.
61 Leonore Davidoff and others, 'Blood, Contract and Intimacy', p. 67, cited in French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, p. 186.
62 Taylor, 'Feminists Versus Gallants', p. 132.
63 Rhone, '"I Wanted to Be Doing Something": Freudian Sublimation and Regency Gender Roles in *Persuasion*', *Persuasions On-Line*, 38.1 (Winter 2017) <http://jasna.org/publications/persuasions-online/vol38no1/rhone/> [accessed 1st March, 2020].

makes 'caring for her family' her priority.[64] While her father and elder sister do not allow her to interfere in their affairs, she is not only 'ready' but 'most willing' to be useful to other people in her life like her younger sister, Mary, Lady Russell, the Musgroves and Captain Benwick (*Persuasion*, p. 247).

Beginning in the seventeenth century with 'Astell and the Dorsetshire clergyman' and continuing into the eighteenth and nineteenth century through Gisborne's writing was the view that 'self-effacement, if not natural, is at least proper for women'.[65] Being useful to others, usually at the cost of her own peace, is what drives Fanny's definition of herself, home and family (see Chapter V, 5.2). In her initial days at Mansfield Park, she is lonely because she is not important to the Bertrams like she was to her own siblings. Her idea of importance is inextricably linked to the idea of being useful as her importance to her siblings was not due to any traits that she possessed but the roles of 'play-fellow, instructress and nurse' (*MP*, p. 16) that she performed for them. She appears to have a warped notion of affection which is based on other people loving her because she is useful to them. This is evident in her belief that in order to 'what mother and daughter ought to be to each other', she had to know 'how to be useful and how to for-bear' (p. 428). For the same reason, she tries her best to be 'useful as her aunt's companion' (p. 41) who is in the place of a mother to her at Mansfield Park.

Even though Fanny is against taking part in the play that the Bertrams want to act in, she frets about her refusal, believing that she would be 'without employment or utility amongst them' (*MP*, p. 194). Once she realises that she is still 'useful to all', she is 'as much at peace as any' of the Bertrams (p. 195). After she is sent to Portsmouth, she is 'very anxious to be useful' (p. 452) in order to win her family's approval and affection. Perhaps the most striking incident of her displaying this tendency is seen in the 'keener solitude' she feels for Tom Bertram for 'how little useful, how little self-denying his life had (apparently) been' (p. 495) instead of being concerned about his deteriorating health. Clearly, like Anne, Fanny also believes that to be useful to others should be the purpose of one's life. It would not be wrong to say that where men were encouraged to think of and put themselves before others, women were expected to put everyone else before their own selves. In order to 'make sense of their existence', they fed upon 'notions of family destiny, love and duty, regularity and economy, gentility and propriety, fortitude, resignation and fate'.[66] As both Anne and Fanny wanted to

64 Ibid.
65 Mary L. Poovey, *The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 4.
66 Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter,* p. 11.

be useful to others in order to gain the affection of other people, this behaviour appears to be a result of their anxiety of not being worthy of being loved (see Chapter IV, section 4.2). Further, both characters define home as a place where they receive love from the inmates (see Chapter V, 5.2), so their attempt to carve a space for themselves in other people's hearts by "doing gender" may simultaneously be interpreted as an attempt to create a home for themselves.

6.2.2 Undoing Gender

Deutsch proposes that the phrase "undoing gender" should be employed 'to refer to social interactions that reduce gender difference'.[67] She believes that by "undoing gender", it is possible to create gender equality.[68] Subversion of traits specific to their gender or following traits specified for the other gender produces similarities between the genders and is referred to as "undoing gender". By virtue of reducing gender differences, "undoing gender" will also bring gender similarities into focus. Analysing how the selected characters "undo gender" will, therefore, simultaneously help to apply Hyde's gender similarities hypothesis to the characters which suggests that males and females 'are more alike than they are different'.[69] "Undoing gender" and gender similarities are further expected to create gender equality in the selected texts.

Traits like 'intelligent and ambitious' are considered masculine and 'childlike and shy as feminine'.[70] Southam believes that Austen followed Samuel Richardson's footsteps in creating heroines whose minds were more admirable than their physical features.[71] As females were considered inferior in intelligence to males, the creation of rational females was an undoing of patriarchal constructions of femininity. Austen's male protagonists are similarly seen "undoing gender" by subverting traditional gender norms. Edward does not adhere to traditional notions of masculinity as he is shy (*S&S,* pp. 17, 109) and not ambitious (pp. 17, 178). Mr. Parker is ambitious and has grand plans for Sanditon but he is not intelligent. He fails to understand that 'there is insufficient demand for his product and that many will suffer from the disastrous consequences'.[72] He, moreover, appears childlike in his need to defend Sanditon against any kind of criticism, whether valid or not. Melikoğlu believes that Fanny subverts the

67 Deutsch, 'Undoing Gender', p. 108.
68 Ibid.
69 Hyde, 'The Gender Similarities Hypothesis', p. 581.
70 Kachel, Steffens and Niedlich, 'Traditional Masculinity and Femininity'.
71 Southam, 'Sir Charles Grandison and Jane Austen's Men', p 77.
72 Craig, *Jane Austen and the State of the Nation*, p. 200.

patriarchal order by the 'adoption of a male role in a private rehearsal of 'Lovers' Vows' in her East room in the attic'.[73] It is important to remember, however, that Fanny only agrees to perform the role out of a sense of duty towards Miss Crawford and would never have acted out of her own free will. The role, moreover, is eventually performed by Edmund himself who also seeks Fanny's help to rehearse at nearly the same time.

Traditional masculinity entails knowing how to 'handle authority responsibly'.[74] No matter how genuine Mr Parker's intentions might be in developing Sanditon, his schemes directly affect the life of the people living there and he has been criticised by scholars for not being the right person to undertake this responsibility.[75] While Mr Parker is "undoing gender" by not handling his authorities responsibly, Anne and Fanny are "undoing gender" by handling authority responsibly when it is given to them. Anne takes the lead in deciding how to pay back the debt that her father has accumulated (*Persuasion,* pp. 76-78) and even fulfils her father's responsibility of taking leave from all the neighbours in their parish (p. 116).[76] She also takes and handles authority responsibly when Louisa has an accident. It is interesting to note that there are three males at the scene but none of them know what to do. Captain Wentworth is in 'despair' and begs for someone to help him (p. 225) and Captain Benwick and Charles Musgrove appear to be similarly afflicted. Anne gives directions to all three men and they do everything that she prompts them to (p. 226).

It can be argued that Anne is "doing gender" as she is acting as a caretaker and trying to nurse Louisa. It must, however, be taken into consideration, that while Louisa's sister, Henrietta, faints and Anne's own sister, Mary, is in hysterics, Anne displays quick and logical thinking. It is Henrietta and Mary's behaviour which would be considered feminine in this situation as females are expected to be more emotional than men.[77] Anne is, moreover, "undoing gender" not only by acting as the only rational person in the group but also by asserting authority over the males. She further establishes herself in the masculine role of the "protector" of Louisa as the latter would never have received medical attention as quickly as she did if it had not been for Anne's clear-headedness and quick thinking. Instead of 'deferring to men in conversation' as was expected of women, Anne believes that she has 'the right of

73 Esra Melikoğlu, '*Mansfield Park* and "The Lay of the Last Minstrel": Fanny's Re-Enactment of the Gothic Anti-Heroine Lady Branxholm's Gender Reversal', *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies*, 10.3 (Winter 2014), 72-90 <http://w.ncgsjournal.com/issue103/melikoglu.html> [accessed 13 October 2021] (p. 72).
74 French and Rothery, *Men's Estate,* p. 3.
75 Craig, *Jane Austen and the State of the Nation*; Clara Tuite, *Romantic Austen,* p. 160.
76 Jennifer E. Tenonga, 'Charity Begins at Home: Empowerment through Giving and Making', *JASNA Essay Contest* (2018), <http://jasna.org/publications/essay-contest-winning-entries/2018-essay-contest/tinonga/> [accessed 1 March 2020].
77 Else-Quest and others, 'Gender Differences', p. 42.

seniority of mind' (*Persuasion*, p. 105) and suggests to Captain Benwick that he read more prose moralists in place of poetry. Richardson points out how 'the usual courtship pattern', employed by Austen where an older male character helps 'to 'regulate' the mind of a less educated young woman', is deliberately reversed, with Anne's long-term habits of extensive reading giv[ing] her intellectual and moral authority over a [younger] man'.[78]

Fanny, similarly, occupies a position of authority (which she fulfils responsibly) in the case of her sister, Susan. Instead of assuming a passive feminine role at Portsmouth, 'Fanny actively seeks access to books, selects them herself and utilises them not only for much needed private amusement but for the 'improvement' of her bright but under-educated sister, Susan'.[79] Although Fanny is "doing gender" by looking after Susan, she is simultaneously "undoing gender" by consciously stepping into the role of Susan's intellectual guide (a role that a male played in her life) instead of assuming the feminine position of spiritual guide. It not only shows her development as a character but also establishes that she and Edmund are equals who can occupy the same role with success. She also asserts her authority by spending her money freely in order to restore to Susan her knife over which a 'domestic altercation' (*MP*, p. 459) had been occurring for years. Although the knife was left to Susan by one of her sisters on her death bed, her youngest sister, supported by their mother, kept trying to claim it as her own. Fanny settled the issue by gifting a new knife to their youngest sister who happily let Susan have her own knife back. By ensuring that Susan received the knife that was bequeathed to her, Fanny simultaneously honoured the last wishes of one sister and protected the rights of the other. As both traits are associated with masculinity (as discussed in the previous section), Fanny is "undoing gender" through her action. She also protects Susan by turning their shared room into a private haven for both where they 'had peace' and 'avoided a great deal of the disturbance of the house' (p. 461).

Emma Watson asks Mrs Blake's ten-year old son, Charles, to dance with her after seeing his disappointment when Miss Osborne does not keep her promise of dancing with him. Her action earns her 'a broad stare' (*LM*, p. 118) from Miss Osborne and her friend, Miss Carr as it is traditionally males who were expected to make an offer to the lady and not vice-versa. Emma is 'very refined' (*LM*, p. 109) and used 'to many elegancies of life' due to which she is 'fully sensible of all that must be open to the ridicule of richer people' (p. 130). It is, therefore, difficult to imagine that she was not aware of the manner in which her peers would react to her

78 Richardson, 'Reading Practices', p. 403.
79 Ibid, p. 402.

conduct. While she is ‘rather distressed’ by the attention everyone gives to her, she cannot ‘repent what she [has] done’ (p. 119) as it made Charles and his mother happy. We are also told that on seeing Charles’ disappointment, ‘Emma did not think, or reflect; - she felt and acted’ (p. 215). As women were considered emotional and men rational (see Chapter 1, 1.1), Emma is “doing gender”. Therefore, while she is “undoing gender” by asking Charles to dance with her, she is simultaneously “doing gender” by being emotional and acting on an impulse of non-sexual empathy for Charles and Mrs Blake.

Edward initially displays none of the ‘solid inner qualities’ like ‘courage, resolution and tenacity’ which were considered to be ‘implicit in ‘manliness’’.[80] He surrenders to the ‘inevitable necessity of temporizing with his mother’ (*S&S,* p. 123) and seems content being neither completely submissive, nor fully dominant. This is best demonstrated by his remaining ‘idle’ (p. 120) because he and his family members have different professions in view. His lack of resolution can be seen by neither being able to convince his family members to let him pursue a profession that they do not approve of, nor submitting to their will by choosing a profession that they like. His family’s interference in his profession and relationships and his own inability to assert himself make Edward despise himself. He believes that he is a ‘helpless being’ (p. 124) who is forced to compromise with his mother as he is unemployed and dependent on her for financial security. By subverting the expectation that ‘women’s behavior must significantly differ from that of men, who express their own wishes, [and] make their own choice’, Edward is “undoing gender”.[81]

He exerts his authority only when his notions of honour tied to his engagement with Lucy are threatened. By refusing to submit to the will of his mother even after being threatened to get disinherited, he displays courage, tenacity as well as resolution. It would not be wrong to say that he possesses all three qualities but only displays them (and his manliness) when his psychological home is threatened. He is, further, convinced that his family is responsible for the way he has turned out to be which is proven by his statement that he will raise his sons ‘to be as unlike [himself] as is possible’ (p. 125). The reference to sons (instead of children) who will be different from him suggests an awareness of his not being masculine in a conventional manner. The mention of raising up those sons confirms his belief that the family is responsible for the way in which a child grows up to implement gender roles and his family members have not performed their role well. It is important to point out that raising children is considered to

80 Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p. 73.
81 Poovey, *The Proper Lady*, p. 4.

be a feminine role (see 6.2.1) and he would be "undoing gender" even while he taught his sons to "do gender".

Henry, like Edward, does not submit when the General asks him to forget Catherine but also does not marry without his consent. Both men are neither truly alpha males, nor beta males, but a cross between the two, capable of flipping from one to the other depending on their notions of honour or necessity. Both men also "undo gender" by refusing to give up the women they love for the sake of 'maintaining the respectable reputation of the family name across the generations by ensuring conformity with existing societal and gender norms, even amidst broader social changes' as expected of masculine men.[82] Edward initially refuses to break his engagement with Lucy because of his understanding of what is due to her for supporting him when no one did. He later gets engaged to Elinor (when Lucy elopes) even though he is aware that his mother will not support him in this choice also. He could easily have chosen his mother's forgiveness and marriage to Miss Morton to secure his future, but he remained steadfast in his love for Elinor.

Notably, both Edward and Henry are absent when their respective families oust Lucy and Catherine out of their houses. Owing to their absence, they fail to fulfil one of the crucial requirements of manhood – that of protecting women and/or children. It is possible that they realise this and take a stand against their respective parents in order to assert their masculinity. Another possibility is that General Tilney and Mrs Ferrars' tyranny directed towards people that they, themselves, consider innocent (and in Henry's case, love), fully opens their eyes to the abusive nature of their parents. This realisation gives credibility to their revolt against their families and imparts strength to them to do what is right and not what their parents ask or expect them to do. It can be argued that by this line of reasoning, Henry should have revolted against General Tilney sooner as he mistreated Eleanor for years. It must, however, be remembered that Henry and Eleanor grew up together and the siblings, while afraid of their father, love him and make excuses for his behaviour. Henry employs the mechanism of undoing to believe that his father loved his mother and is doing as much for his children as it is possible for him to (see Chapter IV, section 4.3.2). However, he cannot make any excuses after seeing General Tilney's disrespectful treatment of Catherine on finding out that she is not an heiress and finally confronts him.

82 French and Rothery, *Man's Estate,* p. 134.

Mr. Parker, like Fanny, Emma and Anne, possesses a 'penchant for feeling useful to others', identified as a feminine trait in the previous section.[83] While clearly a businessman, he 'demonstrates anxious concern for those people whose livelihoods rely on the success of the Sanditon project'.[84] While he may not possess the intelligence or ability to make Sanditon successful, he tries his best for both his own benefit and that of the residents. As Knox-Shaw points out, 'if anybody in the neighbourhood is committed to the cause of stewardship and community it is surely Mr. Parker'.[85] A few scholars also believe that Mr Parker can achieve a balance between being a businessman and a person who thinks about the welfare of the residents of Sanditon.[86] Of these, Copeland appears to be the most sympathetic towards him. Copeland contends that Mr. Parker does not treat speculation as a business but as 'a generous act of the imagination, directed to the good of the individual and the state'.[87] Clery rightly points out that Mr. Parker might not have the judgment required to make profitable decisions for the people of Sanditon, but that should not 'detract [us] from the idealistic side of his endeavor'.[88] His primary aim, regardless of his level of intelligence, is 'to improve, to diffuse wealth, to raise the condition of his neighborhood'.[89] Women's sympathy was expected to include 'not just love of family and other intimates but the ''social sympathies'' on which civilized progress depended'.[90] Mr. Parker is then "undoing gender" by being 'embedded within a web of non-sexual empathy' for the residents of Sanditon and deriving a sense of identity from the different roles he plays with respect to them.

Based on reliable sources from Austen's family, it has been revealed that she 'intended to entitle her novel, *The Brothers*'.[91] This would have made it 'the first of her works to feature men in the title'.[92] It seems to justify Banister's opinion that *Sanditon,* more than any other Austen novel, is 'a study of men and masculinity'.[93] Mr Parker is not only one of the brothers that the novel was to be named after but also dominates a major portion of the fragment of the novel that we possess. It becomes essential, therefore, to examine Mr Parker's masculinity. As discussed in the previous section, he is masculine as he dominates women and children and is ambitious. His ambition to achieve economic success through Sanditon will grant him both a

83 Takei, '*Sanditon* and the Uncertain Prospects of a Resort Business'.
84 Copeland, 'Jane Austen and "My Aunt"', p. 125.
85 Peter Knox-Shaw, *Jane Austen and the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), p. 245.
86 Copeland, '*Sanditon* and "My Aunt"'; Knox-Shaw, *Jane Austen and the Enlightenment,* p. 245; Clery, 'Conversations on Political Economy', Julia Banister, ''Masculinity and Militarism'.
87 Copeland, 'Jane Austen and "My Aunt"', p. 124.
88 Clery, 'Conversations on Political Economy'.
89 Ibid.
90 Taylor, 'Feminists Versus Gallants', p. 132.
91 Brodey, 'Resorting and Consorting', p. 130.
92 Todd, '"Lady Susan", "The Watsons" and "Sanditon"', p. 92.
93 Banister, 'Masculinity and Militarism'.

permanent home as well as 'full masculine status' among his peers while failure will result in the loss of both. It is, then, important to observe that that he is dominating only in matters related to Sanditon, which he is convinced he knows the best for.

Men were expected to display 'energy rather than repose […] [and] action instead of passivity'.[94] To prove his masculinity, Mr Parker attempts to establish himself as 'the stereotype of the man of action' by travelling to Willingden to look for a surgeon.[95] He has an accident along the way on a road that expresses 'with a most intelligent and portentous countenance' that 'no wheels but cart wheels could safely proceed' (*LM*, p. 269) over it. Men of action were used to adventures on the road which entailed being wary at all times.[96] Mr Parker's ignorance and carelessness exposes his façade and shows him as a somewhat foolish myopic who confuses being a man of action with going on 'a wild goose-chase' (p. 277). Mr Parker also displays an interest in 'the masculine world of militarism' by acknowledging that he should have named his house Waterloo instead of Trafalgar.[97] His interest, however, does not stem as much from an opinion about the battles themselves as it does from the awareness of Waterloo being 'more the thing now' and likely to attract more customers. Such misguided, if well-meaning, notions and schemes direct his efforts to make Sanditon successful, an endeavour that he is failing at. Mr Parker's exaggerated efforts to improve Sanditon are inspired by an equal anxiety of losing his home and failing to prove his masculinity. His efforts to improve Sanditon seem to caricature his masculinity. He tries too hard to be a man (based on society's definition of masculinity) and fails comically at every step.

Austen's female characters appear to have been influenced by her reading of Thomas Gisborne's *An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex* which was a popular book during her life and one that she read and was 'pleased' with.[98] Gisborne asserts that women become indispensable through their designated roles of caretaker, spiritual guide and mother where they contribute 'daily and hourly to the comfort of husbands, of parents, of brothers and sisters and of other relations, connections, and friends, in the intercourse of domestic life'.[99] These roles align with traditional notions related to femininity in Austen's era and are performed by Anne and Fanny as discussed in the previous section. A similar view of women's responsibilities in

94 Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p. 69.
95 French and Rothery, *Men's Estate*, p. 175.
96 Ibid, p. 178.
97 Banister, 'Masculinity and Militarism'.
98 Austen, *Letters of Jane Austen*, ed. by Edward Hugessen, Knatchbull-Hugessen and Lord Brabourne, Cambridge Library Collection, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), p. 311; Jane Stabler, 'Literary Influences', in *Jane Austen in Context*, ed. by Janet Todd, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jane Austen (Cambridge, New York: CUP, 2005), pp. 41-50 (p. 43).
99 Thomas Gisborne, *An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex* (London: University of Michigan, 1797), p. 12.

the Victorian era appeared in the form of an anonymously written ephemeral card titled 'Women's Rights'. The card ascribed to women the divine rights given by God to comfort (their families) in illness and sorrow and guide their families on a path that is religious and will lead them to heaven.[100] Though Gisborne's views are similar, he allows certain concessions that make him different from the moralists and conservatives of his time and, at the same time, place him closer to Austen.

Gisborne recognises and praises woman's capacity for 'vivacity' and 'quickness of percep-tion' which makes him different from the conservatives and moralists of Austen's time.[101] While Austen's Elizabeth Bennet is lauded for her vivacity (*P&P,* p. 98), Fanny, Anne and Emma Watson display a quickness of perception in their social interactions. All three are able to 'discern (and anticipate) an individual's "ruling passion"', a requisite for displaying 'proper masculinity'.[102] Fanny judges both Mary Crawford and her brother correctly as opposed to Sir Thomas, Edmund, Tom or William. Anne is able to see through Mrs Clay and understand that Mr Elliot's purpose in rekindling relations with her father is not as simple as it seems even though her father fails to notice either. She also guesses that the grieving Captain Benwick 'will rally again, and be happy with another' (*Persuasion,* p. 206), an event which takes the latter's male best friends, Captain Harville and Captain Wentworth, by complete surprise when it happens.

Emma correctly judges Tom Musgrave as a flirt (*LM,* 89) and understands that Mary Edwards will never marry her brother, Sam (p. 90). Charlotte Heywood correctly understands that Lady Denham is 'thoroughly mean', a fact that Mr Parker is 'too kind hearted to see clearly' (*LM,* p. 333). Mudrick observes that 'Mr Parker's judgment is quite untrustworthy, perhaps useless.'[103]Edward fails to discern Lucy's artificiality (which Elinor and Marianne see through in their very first meeting with her). Henry also fails to see that his father might not have held his mother captive or murdered her, but he still mistreated her. It is important to note that all three male characters "undo gender" by failing to discern the true nature of people due to their use of defense mechanisms (see Chapter IV, 4.3). Gisborne further compliments the 'sprightliness and animation' found in women (one of the marked characteristics of Elizabeth Bennet in *Pride and Prejudice,* Emma Watson in *The Watsons,* Catherine Morland in *Northanger Abbey* and Emma Woodhouse in *Emma*) as opposed to propagating the view of

100 Kathryn Hughes, 'Gender Roles in the Nineteenth Century', *British Library* (2014) <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/gender-roles-in-the-19th-century> [accessed 9 March 2022].
101 Gisborne, *An Enquiry,* p. 22.
102 French and Rothery, *Men's Estate,* p. 3.
103 Mudrick, *Jane Austen: Irony as Defense,* p. 249.

feminine propriety based on graceful submissiveness.[104] Gisborne also warns mothers against the prioritisation of wealth over happiness in marriage, a concept that is prevalent in Austen's works like *Lady Susan, Pride and Prejudice, Persuasion, Mansfield Park, Northanger Abbey, Sense and Sensibility* and *The Watsons*.[105] Compared to her contemporaries like Maria Edgeworth and Fanny Burney whose 'heroines are models of feminine rectitude', Austen grants her female protagonists greater liberty to both explore and express themselves.[106] Another striking difference between Austen and Burney is that Austen's heroines 'are never completely reformed by [the] instruction' provided by their mentors and/or suitors and the 'instructors are usually in need of some improvement themselves'.[107] Neither Austen's male, nor her female protagonists, then, ascribe completely to masculine or feminine novelistic conventions of the era.

Female novelists in Austen's era were expected 'to idealize 'feminine' traits in female characters such as humility, contentment with a domestic role, and absence of sexuality'.[108] While Anne and Fanny are humble and content in engaging in domesticity, they do display a certain amount of pride in their abilities as well as sexual desires. Combest suggests that while struggling to fit into the Bertram family, Fanny finally realises that she requires 'a way of fitting into the family that does not diminish her'.[109] Since 'power was for men, influence for women' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this refusal to let her identity be decided by the members of the Bertram or Price family is her way of subverting gender norms.[110] It can also be read as a refusal to be humble to the extent of being servile. While aiming to be helpful and useful to all, she recognises 'that she fits into Mansfield Park, not as a servant, but as a daughter'.[111] The idea is debatable as she has already changed herself by adopting Sir Thomas' values and Edward's teachings from an early age and she becomes accepted as a daughter at Mansfield only because both of them accept her since they see in her the woman they deem ideal. By rejecting Henry Crawford, she refuses to submit before her uncle's authority. It is true that Fanny understands Henry better than Edmund and Sir Thomas (and is eventually proven correct in her estimate of him), but her primary reason for rejecting Henry is that her affections are 'engaged elsewhere' (*MP*, p. 270). As a female who is expected to put her family

104 Gisborne, *An Enquiry*, p. 400.
105 Ibid, p. 238.
106 Mullan, 'Psychology' p. 377.
107 Janet Todd, *The Cambridge Introduction to Jane Austen*, Cambridge Introductions to Literature (Cambridge, NY: CUP, 2006), p. 21.
108 Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, p. 98.
109 Combest, 'Definition and Redefinition'.
110 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 170
111 Combest, 'Definition and Redefinition'.

before everything else, she puts her own desires first. She, like Elizabeth Bennet, Anne Elliot and Catherine Morland, will not marry unless it is for love.

Anne allows herself to be persuaded by her family to break off her engagement with Captain Wentworth but she refuses to submit to their wishes and marry Charles Musgrove when he proposes her. She similarly rejects Mr Elliot though she would be reinstated to her home, Kellynch Hall, by marrying him. Her marriage to Mr Elliot will benefit her family and make her godmother happy but she opts to rekindle her relationship with Captain Wentworth, a man whom neither her father nor her godmother likes. She also chooses, on multiple occasions, to visit her widowed friend, Mrs Smith, instead of accompanying her family to meet their rich and pretentious cousins, Lady Dalrymple and Miss Carteret. By putting their desires over those of their families, both Fanny and Anne are "undoing gender". The accumulation and display of "accomplishments" by women was 'a legitimate vehicle for the indirect indulgence of vanity'.[112] Anne's vanity with respect to her musical ability is suggested through her admission that she 'played a great deal better than either of the Miss Musgroves' (*Persuasion*, p. 63). As Butler rightly points out, Austen represented heroines that would fit the conservative standards of her audience but had 'enough respect for her own intelligence to give her heroines character and rationality'.[113]

Ford observes that though *Emma* is 'a romance of education, it is one without an easily defined teacher and student'.[114] She asserts that Emma Woodhouse 'is neither educated *nor* mastered by a man, but her love for one opens the door to her personal moral education, and in that process she masters herself'.[115] In her refusal to submit to a man, Emma is "undoing gender" and refusing to assume a traditional feminine role. It is important to clarify, however, that this does not mean she is only "undoing gender". She is as traditionally feminine as Anne and Fanny and takes care of the needs of her father to the extent that she is unwilling to marry as while he lives. As discussed further on in the chapter, it is the combination of "doing" and "undoing gender" that sets Austen's protagonists apart from the rest of her characters.

Emma Watson also subverts traditional norms of gender by refusing to derive a sense of self from the role of sister or daughter or considering looking after her family to be her

112 Poovey, *The Proper Lady*, p. 29.
113 Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, p. 98.
114 Susan A. Ford, 'Romance, Pedagogy and Power: Jane Austen Re-writes *Madame de Genlis*', *Persuasions*, 21 (1999), 172-187 <http://new.jasna.org/persuasions/printed/number21/ford.pdf> [accessed 5 June 2019] (p. 174).
115 Navya Dasari, 'No Teacher but Herself', *JASNA Essay Contest*, 37 (2016), <http://jasna.org/publications/essay-contest-winning-entries/2016/education-feminism-and-romance-in-emma/> [accessed 8 September 2019].

primary duty. Although she retains warmth for the Turners (*LM*, pp. 207, 251) and is close to Elizabeth (p. 94) and her father (p. 265), she soon gives up on the other members of the family. She is 'equally irritated and grieved' with her brother and regards her sister-in-law's show-off as 'nonsense' (p. 252). Within a single day of her brother and sister's visit, she is convinced that 'a family party might be the worst of all parties' (p. 260). She initially tries to 'put an end' to any 'altercation' between the members even though she is 'in no spirits' (p. 252) to make the task easy. However, she is soon 'eager to be as little among them as possible' (p. 263) and refuses to "do gender" by continuing to be warm and caring towards her family members (like Anne and Fanny). Unmarried daughters 'were more available than the busy wife and mother', made 'attentive listener[s]' and were a huge support 'in illness or old age'.[116] Emma defies gender norms by retiring to her father's room not to take care of him but to avoid the company of the rest of her family members. Further, she does not offer to spend time with Mr Watson in order to facilitate Elizabeth who 'had rather talk […] than sit with only her father' (p. 265). Though she likes Elizabeth and appears to respect her father for his education and knowledge, she (like Anne and Fanny) places her own comfort and peace of mind above both of them. 'The ideology of domesticity exacted the sacrifice of perpetual "unselfishness"' and Fanny, Emma and Anne are "undoing" gender by not subscribing to this aspect.[117]

The conservative translation of *Pride and Prejudice* by the *Bibliothèque Britannique* (1813), a Swiss periodical, demonstrates 'how liberal Austen's gender politics were'.[118] Since translations of any text were expected to be made 'relevant to local traditions of novel writing and readers' habits'', this generally meant 'accommodating a local variety of sentimentalism and suppressing Austen's humour'.[119] For the Pictet brothers (the editors of the *Bibliothèque Britannique*), it was the presence of 'moral instruction and utility alone' that formed the basis for the inclusion of a text in their journal. They viewed fiction as a 'didactic genre aimed at an exclusively female audience'.[120] The 'liveliness of [Elizabeth's] mind', therefore, had to undergo 'drastic trimming' to fit their 'definition of suitable reading for dutiful daughters'.[121] The *Bibliothèque Britannique*'s editing of Elizabeth's character reveals the extent to which she 'oversteps the limits of proper womanhood through, among other things, her freedom of expression'.[122] Elizabeth and Darcy's 'verbal exchanges' underwent 'systematic revision' and

116 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 332.
117 Kaplan, *Jane Austen Among Women*, p. 52.
118 Valérie Cossy and Diego Saglia, 'Translations', in *Jane Austen in Context*, pp. 169-181 (p. 171).
119 Ibid, p. 170.
120 Ibid, p. 171.
121 Ibid.
122 Ibid.

Elizabeth's wit was 'replaced by feminine modesty'.[123] Significantly, 'the equality of mind which Elizabeth takes for granted' in *Pride and Prejudice* 'is denied and gender distinction introduced' between her and Darcy in the translation. The story is cut off right before Mr Darcy's first proposal which was insultingly rejected by Elizabeth. This suggests that "proper women" were not expected to refuse such a good match, much less insult a rich suitor by freely expressing their opinions. By refusing well-settled men like Darcy, Mr Collins, Henry Crawford or Lord Osborne, Austen's heroines challenge the portrait of the 'ideal woman' of their time who 'possessed physical beauty and numerous accomplishments and whose principal object in life was effectively to entice a man into marriage'.[124]

Women were further considered 'untainted […] by sexual desire and the beastliness of public life'.[125] Anne, Fanny and Emma "undo gender" by displaying sexual interest in Wentworth, Edmund and Mr Howard respectively. Anne is hyperaware when touched by Captain Wentworth when he lifts her nephew off her back (*Persuasion*, p. 179) and helps her into his sister's carriage (p. 195). She is 'overcome by [their] brief physical encounter[s]' and both scenes are 'rife with sexual tension as Anne hurries to arrange her feelings'.[126] Fanny experiences 'disappointment' when Henry Crawford's 'quicker hand' (*MP*, p. 292) seizes her shawl from the servant before Edmund (who had been in the process of doing the same thing) can do so. Her reaction suggests that she was eager for the physical closeness and touch that she would have experienced had Edmund draped the shawl around her shoulders. She similarly cherishes the chain he gets for her and wants to keep it close to her as it is 'full of [him]' (p. 314). Fanny's awareness of her sexuality is brought into much sharper focus on comparing it to the translation of *Mansfield Park* published in the *Bibliothèque Britannique*. 'Entirely constructed by the male gaze, the character of Fanny […] is not even aware that her feelings for Edmund are not of a sisterly kind'.[127] As Edmund advices Fanny, she needs to be 'upright and disinterested, […] grateful and tender-hearted' in order to 'be the perfect model of a woman' (p. 347)

In the late eighteenth-century, it was the general view that 'women were not sexually active in themselves, their sexual feelings would only be evoked through love in marriage'.[128]

123 Ibid.
124 Mellor, 'Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* and the women writers of her day', in *The Cambridge Companion to Mary Wollstonecraft*, Cambridge Companions to Literature, ed. by Claudia L. Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 141-159 (p. 148).
125 Martin Francis, 'The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity', *The Historical Journal*, 45.3 (2002), 637–52 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3133500> [accessed 30 June 2021] (p. 639).
126 Rhone, '"I Wanted to Be Doing Something"'.
127 Cossy and Saglia, 'Translations', pp. 172-173.
128 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 170.

After Lord Osborne visits the Watsons, Emma wishes that Mr Howard possessed the same confidence and would also have come to visit them along with the former. It suggests a desire to be in the physical presence of Mr Howard which is tinged with sexual connotations. The gaze, whether male or female, can be discerned time and again in Austen's novels. Sometime after 1750, 'the complementary notions of female sexual passivity and an all-powerful male libido' came to be accepted as scientific truths by educated people.[129] Austen refuses to create characters fitting either notion. As discussed in Chapter II, section 2.3.4, 'no one gender has the exclusive control of the gaze'.[130] Austen's female characters can be seen 'looking at men, and her readers can infer the palpable sexual chemistry that subsequently develops between heroine and hero'.[131] Females like Anne, Fanny, Emma, Marianne or Elizabeth who objectify men are "undoing gender" by refusing to repress the sexual feelings they have. Males are also "undoing gender" by not considering female characters as embodiments of chastity. Malone observes that while the sexuality of Austen's male characters is palpable, it is unique because it 'in no way requires female passivity; rather, it develops out of and in response to the wants and needs of women'.[132] Austen's first novel was published anonymously but it did mention that it had been written 'By a Lady'.[133] Based on Poovey's account, 'by the last decades of the eighteenth century, even to refer to the body was considered "unladylike"' which might have prompted Austen to not reveal the sexual desires of her heroines overtly.[134]

There was an 'increasingly dichotomized notion of mind and temperament' in terms of the presence of either in the sexes.[135] Men were expected to cultivate 'rationality as against emotionality […] and taciturnity rather than talkativeness'.[136] Colonel Brandon, Mr Knightley, Sir Walter, Sir Thomas, Mr Price and Mr Palmer are a few characters who fit into this tradition. Mr. Parker is 'open-hearted' and ready to tell others 'whatever he understood of himself' (*LM*, p. 158). He is 'irrepressibly optimistic and loquacious' and "undoing gender" by being so.[137] Edward is often withdrawn and unemotional (refer to Chapter IV, section 4.3) due to his shyness and mixed feelings of guilt and entrapment arising from his engagement with Lucy. He can, however, be quite expressive, emotional and talkative when in the right frame of mind

129 Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p. 68.
130 Marina Cano López, 'Looking Back in Desire; Or How Jane Austen Rewrites Chick Lit in Alexandra Potter's Me and Mr. Darcy', *Persuasions On-Line*, 31.1 (2010) <http://jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol31no1/cano-lopez.html?> [accessed 15 March 2020].
131 Meaghan Malone, '"You have Bewitched Me, Body and Soul": Masculinity and the Female Gaze in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*', *Memorial University Journals*, 1 (2010), 62-91 < https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ac6c/a2405738271e127ccdba3b835e6d70a2ee67.pdf> [accessed 3 March 2020] (p. 70).
132 Ibid.
133 Jones, 'Burney and Gender', p. 128.
134 Poovey, *The Proper Lady*, p. 14.
135 Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p. 69.
136 Ibid.
137 Wiltshire, 'Sickness and Silliness', p. 96.

as suggested in his initial meetings with Elinor at Norland Park when he was not aware that he had fallen in love with her (*S&S*, p. 19) and his later visit to Barton Cottage (p. 104). Keeping this in mind, the narrator informs us early on that 'his manners required intimacy to make them pleasing' (p. 17). Edward, then, is 'undoing gender' not only by his shyness but also by being expressive and emotional once that shyness is overcome. Mr Darcy is withdrawn and unemotional at first but Elizabeth's criticism of his manners encourages him to change. Henry is also expressive, especially towards his sister, Eleanor.

On the contrary, Emma, Fanny and Anne are all emotional but reserved and/or shy due to mistreatment by and disconnect with their family members (see Chapter IV, section 4.2). Deresiewicz claims that the death of her mother left Anne with 'an excessive reliance on Lady Russell's advice' but also 'established her voicelessness and powerlessness within her family, her melancholic disposition, her distrust of her own judgment, and her tendency to put her own needs and desires last'.[138] With the death of the only person who loved her, Kellynch, also ceased to be Anne's home. This was followed by a desire to seek love (first through friendship with Mrs Smith at school and later in her engagement with Captain Wentworth) and also by appeasing her father and siblings to gain their approval and affection. Anne is, therefore, "doing gender" in order to regain home through the affection of other people. In Emma and Fanny's cases, their displacement from their second and first homes respectively taught them to inculcate such traits in themselves. While Emma seeks freedom and peace of mind through her actions, Fanny shares Anne's desire of gaining the affection and approval of her family members. In both cases, the women, like Anne, are trying to recreate some semblance of home for themselves.

Austen further distinguishes her protagonists from their social peers 'in their unconventional leisure interests'.[139] While 'Henry Tilney is knowledgeable about muslins', Elizabeth Bennet hardly 'takes up her needlework with eagerness (P&P, 3:11); neither she nor Anne Elliot likes card games'.[140] While it was common for both sexes to ride 'for pleasure and exercise', both riding and walking as modes of transportation, were 'beginning to segregate the sexes'.[141] Elizabeth Bennet, Marianne Dashwood and Jane Fairfax, however, are fond of 'walking substantial distances alone' even though this practise was 'on the whole frowned on as eccentric, unfeminine'.[142] Austen, then, not only allows her female characters freedom of

138 Deresiewicz, *Jane Austen and the Romantic Poets,* p. 26.
139 Penny Gay, 'Pastimes', p. 344.
140 Ibid.
141 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 403.
142 Gay, 'Pastimes', p. 344.

thought, but also physical freedom from the traditional norms of gender. Characterising Anne and Fanny as women who need to rest or take a man's arm for support during a long walk might conversely be an indicator of their being feminine and "doing gender". While reading was recommended for both sexes, novels were often considered to be written for women to enjoy.[143] Characters like Darcy, Edmund, Edward and Henry Tilney "undo gender" by their enjoyment in reading novels as much as their female counterparts. Not only do Austen's male protagonists read novels, she 'unmasks male condemnations of the novel as mere posturing' (*NA*, p. 108).[144] The conventions of the era further 'dictated that country gentlemen of leisure concerned themselves with hunting, shooting and conversations on politics'.[145] Anne Elliott's 'interest in current affairs' thus distinguishes her 'as a woman prepared to push at the barrier of what was deemed acceptable behaviour'.[146] It is pertinent to mention that Anne's interest in the political climate arose primarily due to Wentworth's being in the navy and not directly in contact with her which forces her to consult 'navy lists and newspapers for her authority' (*Persuasion*, p. 51). It is, then, the desire of gaining psychological home that makes Anne "undo" gender and update herself with the latest political developments.

Throughout the nineteenth century, 'the term "settlement" had both personal and dynastic implications' for men.[147] Personal implications could be seen in terms of 'cementing [their] own status as an adult in the gentry society' and dynastic benefits were those obtained from 'a financially advantageous marriage'.[148] This belief was considered to be 'linked to elite men's assumptions that marital 'settlement' would also bring them emotional 'comfort', that is, the benefit of a supportive, capable, and, to some degree, subservient spouse'.[149] This thought is reflected in Emma Watson's comment on her sister Penelope's having 'too masculine and bold a temper' for being 'bent on marriage – to pursue a man merely for the sake of situation' (*LM*, p. 113). Penelope is "undoing gender" by her interest in marriage solely for improving her financial and social position. It is important to note that with the exception of Charlotte Lucas, women who "undo gender" in this manner in Austen's novels (like Lucy Steele, Mary Crawford, Elizabeth Elliot, Isabella Thorpe or Mrs Clay) are portrayed as artful, conniving and selfish. However, men who "do gender" by adhering to this notion (like Wickham, Mr Elton, John Thorpe, Willoughby, Mr Elliot and Sir Edwards) are also censured.

143 Ibid, 343.
144 Richardson, 'Reading Practices', p. 400.
145 Byrne, 'Manners', p. 302.
146 Ibid.
147 French and Rothery, *Men's Estate*, p. 191.
148 Ibid.
149 Ibid, p. 193.

Austen, then, purports the notion of marrying for emotional comfort as an integral part of the thought process of honourable men as well as women.

For women, the term 'settlement' was associated with 'emotional contentment' instead of 'financial security'.[150] Charlotte Lucas' idea of marriage being 'a social necessity for young women' contradicts this idea.[151] While Elizabeth is "undoing gender" with the belief of marrying to bring out 'the best in ourselves' instead of merely serving one's husband, Charlotte is "undoing gender" by pursuing a man for the sake of financial security.[152] Charlotte has chosen her lot 'with her eyes open' (*P&P,* p. 240) and is content. Comparatively, Elizabeth is 'the happiest creature in the world' (p. 424). Where Charlotte 'wisely did not hear' (p. 177) the foolish ramblings of her husband, Elizabeth not only learns from her husband but also finds a willing ear in him, enjoying an equal partnership (p. 344). While Austen never criticises Charlotte like other women in her novels, the contrast in the relationship between Darcy-Elizabeth and Mr Collins-Charlotte is an effective condemnation of the idea of marrying for money. Austen, then, develops the female characters in her novels in a way that 'they educate themselves in order to achieve self-knowledge instead of simply achieving an advantageous marriage'.[153] It is self-knowledge that is 'the ultimate goal, contrasted with the perception existing in Austen's time that marriage was a woman's aim'.[154]

Morgan highlights Emma Woodhouse's subversion of passive and submissive femininity by positing that she is 'a woman never loath to be first, a heroine who will never put up with being ignored and will never understand domesticity as keeping life cozy for a man'.[155] Emma Watson asserts that she 'would rather be a teacher […] than marry a man [she] did not like' (*LM,* p. 108) even though being a teacher is the worst thing she can think of. Lady Susan's daughter, Frederica, 'would rather work for [her] bread' (*LS,* p. 70) than marry a man she does not like. Even Lady Susan herself boasts that she is 'rather romantic' and 'riches only, will not satisfy' her (p. 74). Fanny, Elizabeth, Anne and Catherine's refusal of suitors that they do not love also enforces the same sentiment. While the females appear to be "doing gender" by considering marriage from a purely emotional viewpoint, they are, in reality, "undoing gender"

150 French and Rothery, *Men's Estate,* p. 192
151 Melina Moe, 'Charlotte and Elizabeth: Multiple Modernities in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*', *ELH,* 83.4 (2016), 1075-1103 <https://doi.org/10.1353/elh.2016.0040> (p. 1075).
152 Ibid, p. 1077.
153 Elizabeth McElligot, 'Jane Austen: Shaping the Standard of Women's Education', *The Midwest Journal of Undergraduate Research* (2014), 79-97 < http://research.monm.edu/mjur/files/2019/02/MJUR-i04-2014-6-McElligott.pdf> [accessed 19 February 2022] (p. 79).
154 Brittany. A. Meng, 'The Enduring Austen Heroine: Self-Awareness and Moral Maturity in Jane Austen's *Emma* and in Modern Austen Fan-Fiction' (Master's thesis, Liberty University, 2010), p. 96, in database of Scholars Crossing Online https://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/masters/157/ [accessed 22 June 2019].
155 Morgan, 'Adoring the Girl Next Door'.

as they expect a marriage based on love to benefit the one they marry as much as their own self. They do not endorse the traditionally feminine view of marriage as a goal in order to serve their husbands and children. Male characters like Henry, Edward, Darcy, Bingley, Mr Knightley and Captain Wentworth also "undo gender" by marrying for love instead of dynastic or personal gains. As Edward, Henry, Emma, Fanny and Anne associate the process of giving and receiving love with achieving home (see Chapter V, 5.2), they are "undoing gender" in order to attain home.

Once married, the overall control of the household was in the hands of men but 'they were not expected to involve themselves in the details of domestic management'.[156] Mr. Parker, however, directs his wife in handling domestic affairs like buying vegetables (*LM*, p. 26). It is arguable that he is not "undoing gender" as he merely delegates domestic duties to his wife. Considering that the actions need to be carried out by her suggests that they are feminine tasks. It is interesting to note that he has a stronger understanding of the affairs of women than his wife does as it does not occur to her to carry out these tasks on her own without being prompted by Mr Parker. It was considered that there was a threat 'to [the] true manliness' of 'the home-loving man'.[157] Not only was he 'losing out on all-male conviviality' which would benefit him socially, politically and economically, but it was likely that he 'might become effeminized, at the expense of both his manly vigour and his familial authority'.[158] It is to Austen's credit that she presents Mr Parker as both effeminate and manly even though he is clearly a home and family loving man who, more often than not, spends time in the company of women as opposed to men.

Henry Tilney, similarly, displays feminine tendencies in the relationship he shares with his younger sister, Eleanor. Although he plays the masculine role of her protector (see 6.2.1), his efforts to minimise her suffering due to the death of their mother, place him in the feminine position of supporter and caregiver. He tries to improve her life by accumulating 'lady-pleasing traits—notably the expertise in muslins' and an 'informed pleasure in novels and in picturesque views'.[159] As 'the relational nurturing aspects of parenting were deemed to be 'feminine'', Henry is "undoing gender" by taking care of his younger sister.[160] Interestingly, the presence of masculine self-esteem in a patriarch was expected to increase 'the incidence of household

156 Francis, 'The Domestication of the Male?', p. 639.
157 Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities,* p. 70.
158 Francis, 'The Domestication of the Male?', p. 639.
159 Graham, 'Henry Tilney'.
160 Tosh, *A Man's Place,* p. 7.

tyranny' instead of reducing it.[161] This is supported by Austen's portrayal of masculine patriarchs men like General Tilney, Sir Thomas Bertram and Sir Walter Elliott as tyrants. While Henry, due to his father's tyranny, has to employ defense mechanisms to hold on to the notion of having a family, his relationship with his siblings, especially Eleanor, is more natural (see Chapter IV, 4.2.1 for tyranny; see Chapter V, 5.2 for Henry's sibling relationships). While ensuring that Eleanor does not feel the absence of their mother, Henry discovers a way to cope with her death better. He not only replaces his mother as a companion to share in Eleanor's feminine concerns (like buying clothes or reading novels) but also models his own house after his mother's taste (see Chapter V, 5.2). By "undoing gender" to fill the space his mother's death left, Henry is essentially trying to rebuild his family and home.

6.2.3 Gender Similarities

The last two sections examined how characters from Austen's novels performed traditional gender roles or inculcated behavioural traits specified for their sex. All the selected characters were found to follow as well as subvert different traditional norms of gender. This section will apply Hyde's Gender Similarities Hypothesis to the characters' experiences of home, understanding of home and their subversion or adherence to traditional notions of gender. According to Hyde's hypothesis, 'males and females are similar on most, but not all, psychological variables'.[162] It is important to note that she does not negate the idea of differences between the sexes. She merely posits that while the sexes may be different, they 'are more alike than they are different'.[163] Therefore, in order to apply the theory, I identify the similarities between the sexes and analyse the reasons for the same.

Although Austen 'insisted that she was unqualified to depict the professional and intellectual world of men', her father boarded and taught small boys at home whilst she was growing up and she was actively involved in the lives of her six brothers and, later, older nephews.[164] Austen initiates the process of creating similarities between the sexes by giving the selected characters a similar experience of home, whether in the relationships with their families or incidents involving displacement and/or homelessness. As discussed in the previous section, characters like Henry and Edward would not have developed feminine traits or

161 Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities,* p. 67.
162 Hyde, 'The Gender Similarities Hypothesis', p. 581.
163 Ibid.
164 Clery, 'Austen and Masculinity', in *A Companion to Jane Austen,* pp. 332-342 (p. 333).

behaviours if it were not for the tyrannical and, (in Edward's case), indifferent relationship they shared with their families which resulted in their defining home as a place where the inmates were affectionate towards and understood each other. Interestingly, both Henry and Edmund have brothers who are more "masculine" than they are. Although Captain Frederick Tilney appears to be submissive before his father (*NA*, p. 158), his masculine status is cemented by his profession and supported by Eleanor's statement that, of her brothers, only Henry is affectionate towards her (p. 184). Robert Ferrars is dominating and unemotional (*S&S,* pp. 284-286, 338-340) where Edward is shy, submissive and emotional. Both Henry and Edward choose to become clergymen, a profession that entails developing non-sexual empathy for the people of their parish (a feminine trait). The brothers, then, are more different from each other than they are similar even though they grew up together. The relationship that both share with their respective family members (which is a primary cause of their anxiety), then, is extremely important in shaping both the manner in which they define home as well as interpret gender roles.

A similar contrast can be observed between Mr Knightley and his brother, John. Morgan observes that the Knightley brothers, 'George and John are presented as notably alike, but with a fundamental difference'. John 'represents a domestic tyranny' inherent in the fact that he 'has chosen control, with the larger world as a threat and home as a safety zone'. The safety that he associates with home is in 'the presence of a dependent woman'. John is married to Emma's elder sister who is completely unlike her in that she can easily be subjugated to the will of others. He, therefore, represents a traditional form of masculinity that requires the presence of submissive femininity to feel secure. Morgan identifies both Emma and George Knightley as rational and open-minded individuals who, due to their intelligence 'are capable of that beautifully liberated social and geographic solution to the problem of their romance: that as Emma's husband, Mr. Knightley will leave his home, and move into hers'.[165] Morgan points out that the difference between John and George is that the latter is comfortable to sacrifice his comforts for those of others. This is reflected most strongly in his decision to shift to Emma's house after their marriage.

Analysing the fluidity in the representation of gender norms by men in Austen's novels, Malone comments that Austen was 'writing in the tradition of the novel of sensibility and its "Man of Feeling,"' due to which she shaped her heroes to 'accommodate two rival models of

165 Morgan, 'The Girl Next Door'.

late eighteenth century masculinity, fusing Edmund Burke's traditional, chivalrous, masculine ideal and Mary Wollstonecraft's more modern, authoritative, and virile male individual'.[166] Malone observes that 'Austen's heroes thereby embody an innovative model of masculinity, and are fashioned by the author as both subjects and objects of desire'.[167] As it is generally women who are objects of desire, Austen subverts traditional norms of gender in her writing of both men and women. She acknowledges similarities between the genders by asserting that women, like men, have sexual desires and can objectify men. Malone suggests that by fusing the models of Burke and Wollstonecraft, Austen creates 'men who are able to express emotion while never descending into foppery, melancholy, or sycophancy'.[168]

Gentile argues that Austen's heroines transgress 'against notions of feminine propriety' in order to challenge class distinctions.[169] Anne, Emma and Fanny would not "undo gender" if their family members gave importance to their happiness. They "undo gender" by putting their own desires first, refusing to obey their parents, demanding equality and love in marriages, objectifying men and being withdrawn (instead of expressive). By "undoing gender" to attain love and, in Emma's case, peace of mind, the characters try to attain home which they define as a place where they are treated with love (see Chapter V, 5.2). The definition, in turn is the result of their being mistreated by and lacking love in the relationships with their family members. The female characters, then, "undo gender", like Edward and Henry, in order to establish a home for themselves. Anne, Fanny and Edward are treated unequally by their families as compared to their sibling(s) which makes them both shy (feminine) and withdrawn (masculine). It also draws them to look for equality and affection through romantic relationships. Henry and Emma are similarly attracted towards romantic relationships to achieve the love that their tyrannical parents deprive them of.

Henry and Mr Parker form nurturing parental relationships with Eleanor and the inhabitants of Sanditon respectively in order to create meaningful families. While Henry's object is Eleanor's comfort and love, Mr Parker's objective is to enrich the people of Sanditon (and himself by extension) and gain their respect (possibly to establish his masculine competence). Of the selected characters, Mr Parker shares the least strained relationship with his family. As a male, he expects his wife and his coadjutor, Lady Denham, to listen to whatever he says without contesting his opinion. He may easily have similar expectations as the eldest

166 Malone, '"You have Bewitched Me, Body and Soul"', p. 63.
167 Ibid.
168 Ibid, p. 67.
169 Kathy Gentile, 'Jane Austen's Dirty Girls and the Breakdown of Boundaries', in *Jane Austen in Paradise: Intimations of Immortality* (California: Jane Austen Society of North America, 2017).

Parker sibling. However, neither his wife, nor his siblings or Lady Denham treat his opinions with seriousness. His wife regrets his decision of leaving their ancestral house (*LM*, p. 166), Lady Denham does not support his ideas of getting a doctor and richer people to Sanditon (pp. 178-179), Sidney makes fun of his investment in Sanditon (p. 168) and his other siblings oppose his belief of the healing nature of the sea air of Sanditon (pp. 172, 192,198). In a way, Mr Parker is loved by his wife and siblings but not respected, especially in the way "a man" should be. It is, therefore, of particular significance that his acts of "undoing gender" are motivated by a desire to inspire respect for him in the residents of Sanditon, a factor that that is also an important feature of his definition of home (see Chapter V, section 5.2). Clearly, the selected characters are similar to each other as they all "undo gender" in order to achieve things that they are denied by their families and to create a home for themselves.

Austen's creation of characters who fluidly navigate the boundaries of gendered roles and/or social propriety appears to be a recognition of the similarities between the genders. Anne, Fanny, Edmund and Henry's submission is also a way of getting the love of their family members while their refusal to submit is a last resort to gain the love that their family does not give them. It is important to point out that Anne and Fanny are "doing gender" by being submissive and "undoing gender" by rebelling while Henry and Edward are "doing gender" by standing against their parents and "undoing gender" through their submissiveness. Austen, then, intertwines the "doing" and "undoing" of gender to make the boundaries of gender roles (dividing both sexes) more fluid. This results in the creation of characters who are more similar to, than different from, each other.

Anne, Emma, Fanny, Henry and Edward's appearing to be withdrawn, particularly in the presence of certain family members, appears to be a reaction to being deprived of love and importance in their families. In order to maintain the semblance of having a family and some sort of home through their reserve and/or submission, they make use of the defense mechanisms of isolation and undoing which enable them to lie to themselves about having a home and a family. Research suggests that people with anxiety underestimate themselves and exhibit 'withdrawal behaviours'.[170] As they have not received the love and attention from their families that they desired, it is plausible for them to believe that they will be treated by other people in a similar manner. This makes them withdraw in order to protect themselves from being hurt

170 Meagan M. Graydon, Sally A. Linkenauger, Bethany A. Teachman & Dennis R. Proffitt, 'Scared stiff: The Influence of Anxiety on the Perception of Action Capabilities', *Cognition and Emotion*, 26.7 (2012), 1301-15 <https://doi.org/10.1080/02699931.2012.667391> (p. 1303).

when their expectations are disappointed again. It is true that they open up to a select few people, but such relationships are formed over time and when they receive constant attention and kindness from the people in question. Mr Parker's manners, on the other hand, are characterised by an 'ease and frankness' (*LM*, p. 191), especially when he talks about Sanditon. It is possible that by exaggerating the benefits of the sea, the success that the resort has attained and his own hand in it, he wants to impress people and gain their respect. Gender similarities can be traced in the female characters and Mr Parker "undoing gender" and Henry and Edward "doing gender" to overcome the anxiety of not feeling worthy enough to get love and respect.

Gender similarities are also seen when all the selected characters assume both the masculine role of protector and feminine role of caretaker in order to receive love, respect and, in Mr Parker's case, financial benefits. Due to the treatment meted out to them by their families, home for the selected characters is a place where they receive love, attention, commercial gains and respect (see Chapter V, section 5.2). The characters' "doing" and "undoing" of gender, then, can be linked directly to their definitions of home. It would not be wrong to say that the psychological home, which they consider to be their haven (see Chapter V, section 5.3), influences their performance of gender along with the sources of anxiety in their lived experiences of home. The desire for creating a psychological refuge based on love and respect eventually triumphs the need to follow societal notions of propriety for the genders. By their fluid interpretation and implementation of gender roles, the characters emerge as both similar and equal to each other.

6.3 Gender Equality

Historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have recently focused on 'the inadequacies of the "separate spheres" model of gender roles'.[171] They are of the opinion that 'the boundary between the female/private and male/public realms was unstable and regularly transgressed'.[172] A study of Georgian usages of language reveals how 'the public/private dichotomy had multiple applications' which did not always refer to a 'male/female distinction'.[173] Austen's novels, which reflect her times, show how blurry the line between the

171 Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres: A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English women's history', *Historical Journal*, 36 (1993), cited in Francis, 'The Domestication of the Male?'.
172 Ibid.
173 Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter,* p. 195.

private and public realm was. Austen not only portrays the continuous overlapping of the spheres but also mirrors this by creating characters who navigate both masculine and feminine realms through their traits and/or actions. Austen's work is characterised by fluidity – whether it is the fluidity of the boundaries between the "separate spheres" or the fluidity of the characters in interpreting gender roles. Sutherland avers that women were 'denied access to serious institutions of learning', so they found 'a space for informed social comment and polemical engagement, as well as for entertainment' in the novel. [174] Austen's engagement with social, economic and political issues which affected the lives of men and women and her creation of characters who make a difference to gender politics supports Sutherland's observation.

As discussed in the previous section, gender equality is created through gender similarities between the characters' manner of coping with anxiety, their interpretation of home and implementation of gender roles. Haydar sees Austen as 'occupying a progressive middle ground' but neither staunchly supports nor rejects Austen as a feminist.[175] Though marrying men of greater rank and fortune than themselves, the marriages of Austen's female protagonists are based on mutual love and respect instead of being motivated by greed or ambition. Due to this contradiction, the 'conservative [or] conservative-critical representations of [Austen's] feminist politics' is a topic of much debate among scholars with equally forceful arguments provided for both sides.[176] Reiff argues that though this idea is in tune with the progressing contemporary feminists, it falls more in line with the conservative feminism of Austen's own contemporary, Mary Wollstonecraft.[177] While it is debatable whether Wollstonecraft's gender politics is conservative or progressive, it differs from Austen in primarily one respect. Wollstonecraft advocates for the cultivation of masculinity in women through qualities like 'rationality, independence, and productive bodily vigor', but vehemently condemns the presence of feminine traits like 'sentimentality, dependence, and weakness' in men.[178] Austen, as demonstrated in the previous section, encourages the cultivation of both masculine and feminine traits in her heroes and heroines in order to create equal relationships.

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174 Sutherland, 'Jane Austen and the Invention of the Serious Modern Novel', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1740-1830*, ed. by T. Keymer and J. Dee, Cambridge Companions to Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 244-262 (p. 250).

175 Ambar Naz Haydar, 'It's a Woman's World: Feminist Themes from *Pride and Prejudice* to *The Lizzie Bennet Diaries*' (Master's Thesis, University of Tennessee, 2014), p. 9, in Database of University of Tennessee Knoxville <https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_gradthes/3153/> [accessed 15 July 2019].

176 Ibid, p. 245.

177 Marija Reiff, 'The "Fanny Price Wars": Jane Austen's Enlightenment Feminist and Mary Wollstonecraft', *Women's Studies*, 45.3 (2016) 275-290 <https://doi.org/10.1080/00497878.2016.1149031> (p. 276).

178 Claudia L. Johnson, et al., *Equivocal Beings: Politics, Gender, and Sentimentality in the 1790s--Wollstonecraft, Radcliffe, Burney, Austen* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 24. Ebook Central ebook.

Analysing traditional femininity in Austen's era, Gregory comments that 'wit is the most dangerous talent that [a woman] can possess' and must, 'be guarded with great discretion and goodnature, otherwise it will create many enemies'.[179] According to Gregory, displaying wit (or intellect) is dangerous for women as it will drive away suitors who will feel threatened by an intelligent woman. It is, then, even more to Austen's credit that not only does she let Elizabeth "undo gender" by displaying her liveliness and wit, but also creates a male protagonist who falls in love with her for these qualities. Darcy has been categorised as an alpha male but is "undoing gender" by being attracted to Elizabeth's unfeminine qualities instead of feeling threatened by them. He falls in love with not only Elizabeth's "undoing gender" through her 'wit and vivacity' (*P&P*, p. 98) or 'love of solitary walks' (p. 204) but also "doing gender" by looking after Jane when she is ill (pp. 36-41) and putting her family before her own needs when Lydia elopes (p. 309).

Conversely, it is both Darcy's "doing gender" by handling authority responsibly (*P&P*, p. 277) and protecting his sister (p. 276) and "undoing gender" by submitting before her opinion of him and 'letting [her] see that [her] reproofs had been attended to' (p. 410) that makes Elizabeth fall in love with him. In their equal relationship, both have to learn to temper their pride (Darcy's pride arising from his status and Elizabeth's pride which was hurt when Darcy refused to ask her to dance) and prejudice (Darcy's prejudice against Elizabeth's low connections and Elizabeth's against him for not being courteous towards her, hurting Wickham and separating Jane and Bingley). By doing so, Austen proposes the notion that in order to lay the foundation of a relationship where the partners are equal, it is important for both to "do" as well as "undo gender". This reinterpretation of gender roles creates a 'new woman' who can 'enter into a marriage of equals, and who can maintain an effective but loving household'.[180] It also facilitates the emergence of a "new man", one who can satisfactorily fulfil women's needs of equality and love.

Tuite believes that Austen fostered Tory feminism as she was interested in female independence within the limits of certain paternal structures.[181] However, Edmund chooses Fanny not only for her feminine qualities (like her submissiveness and morality) but also her masculine qualities (her refusal to marry Henry Crawford and correctly discerning his and

179 John Gregory, 'A Father's Legacy to his Daughters', *Pride and Prejudice*, ed. by Robert Irvine (Ontario: Broadview Press Ltd., 2002), p. 406, cited in Elizabeth McElligot, 'Jane Austen: Shaping the Standard of Women's Education', *The Midwest Journal of Undergraduate Research* (2014), 79-97 <http://research.monm.edu/mjur/files/2019/02/MJUR-i04-2014-6-McElligott.pdf> [accessed 19 February 2022] (p. 80).
180 Malone, '"You Have Bewitched Me, Body and Soul"', p. 69.
181 Tuite, *Romantic Austen*, p. 78.

Mary's ruling passions). Wentworth, while cherishing Anne's feminine virtues and behaviour, confesses that he truly realises her importance when she displays superior reasoning abilities to the males and takes charge at the scene of Louisa's accident (*Persuasion,* pp. 236-239). Emma Watson's femininely considerate yet boldly masculine act of asking Charles to dance with her rouses the interest of both Mr Howard and Lord Osborne in her. Catherine falls in love with Henry's eloquence (feminine quality) and intelligence (masculine trait). The masculine protection and feminine support he offers Eleanor and her own self are also responsible for her desire to marry him. Given the difference in their ages, the novel seems 'tamely and placidly conservative' by the union of Emma and Mr Knightley.[182] An equal marriage can be established between them only through the transformation of the mentor-protegee relationship that they share. Mr. Knightley 'should give up trying to direct Emma, *and* Emma should continue to consult her conscience, which he helped to form'.[183] While we are not aware of the extent to which this transformation occurs in their marital relationship, Mr Knightley 'cedes a considerable portion of the power which custom has allowed him to expect' by shifting to Hartfield which balances their relationship fairly well.[184]

Elinor is initially attracted towards Edward for his feminine behaviour (being shy and caring) and later grows to love and respect him even more after he refuses to break his engagement with Lucy and is disowned (masculine behaviour). Unfortunately, we do not have enough information about how the relationship between Mr and Mrs Parker unfolded and cannot compare it to the others. Mr Parker does, however, appear as a more likable character due to exhibiting feminine behaviours like expressivity and concern for the people of Sanditon and occupying the masculine roles of protector and provider. Mr Knightley loves Emma equally for her feminine caring nature and masculine habit of challenging him. Austen subverts traditional notions of gender by endowing women with masculine qualities and 'draws the men in the novel closer to the domestic sphere and feminises their masculinity' thereby creating an 'ideal heterosexual relationship'.[185] Gender equality is, therefore, created through gender similarities which lead the characters to interpret and implement gender roles in a fluid manner.

Of the selected novels, the first one to be written was *Sense and Sensibility* (see Chapter III, section 3.4 for dates of the novels being written). As discussed above, gender equality was created in the novel by the protagonist's "doing" and "undoing" of gender leading to gender

182 Johnson, *Women, Politics and the Novel*, p. 143.
183 Michele Larrow, '"Could He Even Have Seen into Her Heart": Mr Knightley's Development of Sympathy', *Persuasions Online*, 37.1 (Winter, 2016) <https://jasna.org/publications-2/persuasions-online/vol37no1/larrow/> [accessed 26 January 2023].
184 Johnson, *Women, Politics and the Novel*, p. 143.
185 Phayakvichien, 'Jane Austen's *Persuasion'*, p. 38.

similarities. Edward and Elinor not only have a similar way of thinking but also possess similar dispositions (*S&S*, p. 17). Neither of them ascribes completely to traditional notions of gender, either in the traits found in their personality or their implementation of gender roles. Their "doing" and "undoing" of gender, when together, complements each other. When Edward, for instance, is "undoing gender" by being shy, Elinor reciprocates by "undoing gender" as well through her assertiveness (pp. 274-275, 327-329, 407) and vice-versa (pp. 101-102). John and Fanny Dashwood form another such couple with similarities in disposition (pp. 5-6). Both Fanny and John are selfish and barely care for anyone other than each other and their child (p. 9).

John, despite his selfishness, wishes to help the Dashwood females financially as it was his father's last request to him before dying (p. 5). Fanny does not 'at all approve of what her husband intended to do for his sisters' (p. 9). Instead of being honest with him, however, she manipulates him into believing 'that it would be absolutely unnecessary, if not highly indecorous' (p. 15) to assist his step-mother and sisters financially. It is important to point out that if she were dominant, she would have ordered him to give up the idea instead of presenting elaborate cases against his decision to convince him. If he, on the other hand, were dominant, she might not have ventured to put forth her opinion. It appears, therefore, that neither of the two, like Edward and Elinor, is fully dominant or submissive. Though both couples are in love, the equality between Elinor and Edward is based on similarities like kindness and compassion while that of John and Fanny is based on similarities like selfishness and greed. As opposed to Elinor and Edward's honesty with each other (pp. 415-417), Fanny and John's relationship is characterised by manipulation and dishonesty (pp. 10-15, 333-335). By portraying both couples in a single novel, Austen appears to highlight the role that gender similarities play in contributing towards the creation of equal relationships. At the same time, she emphasises how differently the relationships (even if founded on love and equality) will develop based on the personalities of the people involved. Her portrayal of John and Fanny's relationship marks another instance of her criticism of obsession with money and class.

Sense and Sensibility was followed by *Northanger Abbey* (in terms of being written) where the protagonists also show gender similarities. The heroine, Catherine, while not very intelligent in recognising people, learns to do so under Henry's guidance (*NA*, pp. 204, 154-155). Both share a passion for reading novels (p. 108) and taking long walks (pp. 65 and 78). Richardson says that 'by his affirmation of novel reading' Henry 'establishes his character as a man who appreciates women', thereby signalling his suitability as a future husband to

Catherine.[186] While Catherine initially appears submissive towards Henry and depends on his opinion due to his better perception of human nature, she surpasses him by recognising the true extent of the tyranny of his father. Catherine's understanding of Lady Tilney's imprisonment in her marriage is a truth that Henry has failed to see (see Chapter 4, 4.3.2) but acknowledges once he sees his father's behaviour towards Catherine after knowing that she is not an heiress. Being more equal in their power of perception now, Henry and Catherine are seen conversing on an equal footing towards the end of the novel (pp. 253-257). Austen, then, creates equality between them based on similarities brought about by the "doing" and "undoing of gender". Both Henry and Catherine are initially "doing gender" by recognising and not being able to recognise the true nature of people respectively. Under Henry's influence, Catherine begins to "undo gender" by judging people correctly. Henry, with respect to his father, is "undoing gender" by not understanding his true nature and being submissive, but starts "doing gender" once his father treats Catherine unjustly. Their love of novels (feminine) and long walks (masculine) also shows their fluid approach to gender roles. The similarities in their "doing" and "undoing" of gender lead to equality between them.

Northanger Abbey was followed by *The Watsons* which is an incomplete work. As we do not have enough information about how the romantic relationship between Emma and Mr Howard may have developed, we can examine Emma's relationship with other male characters in the novel. As discussed in Chapter IV (section 4.2.2), Emma does not share close relationships with her father or brother due to their indifferent treatment of her. Though Emma volunteers to spend every evening with her father, she does not do so from an intention of looking after him so much as wishing to avoid her siblings (see 6.2.2). She also attempts to retreat to another room at a party when she overhears Lord Osborne and Tom Musgrave's conversation about wanting to be acquainted with her. She has understood from Elizabeth's description of Tom that he is a flirt and is 'very little disposed to favour' him (*LM,* p. 221). He enters into the conversation expecting that 'she will only want to be listened to' (p. 220) but her 'calm curtsy' is 'very unlike the encouraging warmth he had been used to receive from her sisters' (p. 222). She is also 'silently firm' (p. 230) in her refusal when he offers to drive her back to her house. She is bluntly honest with him in her opinion of not finding Miss Osborne 'handsome' and not appreciating Lord Osborne's 'careless air' (p. 231).

186 Richardson, 'Reading Practices', p. 400.

Though the Watson family is far below the Osbornes and Tom Musgrave in social status and material wealth, Emma is assertive and refuses to allow either of them to treat her as an object to be flirted with. On the one hand, she gives 'no encouragement' (*LM,* p. 232) to Tom, and, on the other, is 'not inclined to give herself much trouble for […] [Lord Osborne's] entertainment' (p. 239). The influence of her aloofness on Tom is depicted as a 'novel sensation of doubting his own influence, and of wishing for more attention than she bestowed' (p. 222). Her manner, though 'neither sententious nor sarcastic' with the socially 'awkward' Lord Osborne, forces him to address her with 'considerate propriety' (p. 240). Her actions make him aware, for 'the first time', of 'what was due to a woman, in Emma's situation' (p. 241). He is rewarded by 'a gracious answer, and a more liberal view of her face than she had yet bestowed' once he addresses her 'in the tone of a gentleman' (ibid). Emma, through her actions, demands to be treated like an equal, regardless of her social rank. The change in Lord Osborne's behaviour towards her (and vice-versa) suggests that she is capable of achieving that equality. Their interaction is reminiscent of Darcy and Elizabeth's interactions before and after Darcy's first proposal in *Pride and Prejudice* (discussed at the beginning of this section).

Mansfield Park is the novel written after *The Watsons.* Although Fanny and Emma face similar circumstances in their lived experience of home, Emma is more similar in character to Emma Woodhouse or Elizabeth Bennet than she is to Fanny. All three characters are witty and confident where Fanny is shy and timid. As discussed in this section, however, Fanny's "doing gender" through her submissiveness and shyness, helps to create an equal relationship between her and Edmund. Their relationship is similar to the one shared by Henry and Catherine. When Fanny is "doing gender" by being shy, timid or submissive, Edmund acts as her protector (see Chapter 4, 4.2, Chapter 5, 5.2). Fanny's "undoing gender" by recognising the flawed moral values of Henry Crawford and refusing to listen to her uncle and accept him, makes Edmund love and respect her more when she is proven right. *Mansfield Park* was followed by *Emma* and then *Persuasion,* both of which develop equality between the protagonists based on their "doing" and "undoing" of gender (as discussed previously in this section).

The final novel that Austen wrote was *Sanditon.* Mr. Parker appears to be dominating and follows traditional notions of gender (see 6.2.1) in his interaction with female characters. While polite to everyone, he tries to impose his beliefs in his own business and the benefits (commercial or otherwise) of Sanditon on his wife, Charlotte and Lady Denham. Although we see him "undoing gender" as often as "doing gender", he does not offer equality to the female characters. It is important to point out that Lady Denham and his sister, Diana, are dominating,

his wife is more or less submissive while Charlotte, as a guest, is merely serving as an observer instead of participating actively. As the females are so different from each other, he should have been able to form an equal relationship with at least one of them if he had been so inclined. Not being able to do so supports the notion forwarded earlier (see 6.2.1) of his holding conservative views about gender. His "undoing gender", then, might arise from the influence of his anxiety and/or psychological associations with home. All the selected novels, except *Sanditon*, irrespective of the years they were written in, portray equal relationships between the protagonists created due to gender similarities and "doing" and "undoing gender" by both.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the implementation of gender roles by the selected characters. Their motives for implementing gender in different ways is analysed. Francine Deutsch's concepts of "doing gender" and "undoing gender" are applied to the texts to understand whether the characters conform to or subvert traditional norms of gender. Janet Shibley Hyde's Gender Similarities Hypothesis is applied to the selected characters' interpretation of gender roles. It helps to understand how the sexes have more similarities than differences. Finally, equality between the sexes is analysed along with the reasons for the same.

The selected characters are seen to implement gender roles fluidly. They can be seen "doing gender" as often as "undoing gender". The characters "do" and "undo" gender in similar ways to cope with their anxiety and define home. They also have similar reasons for following or subverting traditional notions of gender. The similarities reduce differences between the characters' implementation and interpretation of gender. It is through interpreting gender roles fluidly and being less rigid about societal notions of gender that the characters create equal relationships.

Chapter VII Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research

7.1 Introduction

This chapter lists the findings of the thesis and provides suggestions for further research. The answers to the research questions provided in Chapters IV, V and VI are brought together in this chapter to highlight the relationship between the elements of anxiety, home and gender roles. The scope of the research, its limitations and the effect of both on the thesis is presented. The contribution of the thesis to Austen studies is discussed by relating the analysis to the scholarly studies discussed in the research. Finally, suggestions for further research are provided.

7.2 Conclusions of the Analysis

This section will summarise the findings of the research from Chapters IV, V and VI. The research is concerned with understanding the creation and evolution of gender equality in Austen's novels through a domestic lens. It attempts to develop an understanding of the manner in which anxiety in the lived experience of home and psychological associations with home influence gender roles creating gender similarities which lead to equality between the sexes. This is done by following a theoretical model which divides the study into four aspects that are linked to each other but also take place in succession of each other. The first of these aspects is the experiencing of anxiety in the lived experience of home by the selected characters and the manner in which they cope with their anxiety. This is followed by defining home through psychological associations based on the anxiety-inducing lived experiences of home. Both these aspects influence the third one, which is the interpretation and implementation of gender roles by the selected characters. All of these factors lead to gender similarities between the sexes which create gender equality in the novels.

7.2.1 Employing Defense Mechanisms to Cope with Anxiety

Chapter IV is concerned with answering the first research question of the study which is the method employed to cope with anxiety caused by factors in the lived experience of home. The selected characters suffer from anxiety due to a fear of losing their home and/or their family.

There are four main factors in the lived experience of home of the selected characters which cause anxiety. These are tyrannical and/or indifferent behaviour of family members and being displaced from their homes and experiencing homelessness. The characters employ the defense mechanisms of isolation and undoing to protect themselves against the feelings of pain and fear arising from their anxiety of losing their homes and/or their families. Henry, Emma, Anne, Edward and Fanny Price use the mechanism to protect themselves from the tyranny and indifference of their family members. Mr. Parker, Fanny, Anne and Emma also use the mechanism to cope with the threat of losing their homes. The characters also use the defense mechanism of undoing to reverse impulses that may lead to anxiety. Emma, Anne and Henry use the mechanism to escape feelings of guilt which threatens their perception of their family members and, by extension, the very notion of their having a family. Mr. Parker employs the mechanism to avoid the realisation of becoming homeless after leaving his ancestral home while Edward uses it to deny his feelings for Elinor. Using defense mechanisms enables the characters to avoid anxiety and maintain the notion of being loved, being part of a family and having a home.

Austen has created similar lived experiences of home for both sexes involving familial tyranny, indifference, displacement and homelessness. As discussed in Chapter II, section 2.2.1, this is a combination of her own experience of home, the socio-economic conditions in Britain during her life and the themes of displacement, exile and homelessness found in the Romantic literature of her time. Not only are the causes of anxiety in the lived experience of home similar but the defense mechanisms employed by the men and women to cope with their anxiety are also similar.

7.2.2 Using Psychological Associations to Define Home

The characters form psychological associations with home on the basis of people, objects and places. Based on the negative experiences of familial tyranny and/or indifference, Anne, Emma, Fanny, Henry and Edward define home as a place or space which they share with the people who love them and whom they love. Emma alternately defines home as a place where she can have peace, if she does not receive love. A specific place is not as important for Anne, Emma and Edward as sharing it with their loved ones. The psychological association with people is the most important factor in their definition of home. Fanny, Mr Parker and Henry are attached to particular places but also place importance to the feelings that the people living

in those places have towards them. Centred on a fixed place viewed as home, Henry and Fanny are looking for affection which their family has deprived them of. This includes both romantic and familial affection for both characters. Mr Parker shares affectionate relationships with his siblings, wife and children but wants to be respected by the inhabitants of Sanditon (his home) as his family does not respect his endeavours.

The male and female characters have a similar manner of defining home based on things they have either received from or been deprived of by their family members. While the anxiety-inducing factors in the selected characters' lived experiences of home influence the way in which these characters define and redefine home, the psychological home serves as a haven and helps to alleviate their anxiety. Anne and Edward find refuge with their chosen families who also form an intrinsic part of their idea of home. Henry experiences it both with his biological siblings and Catherine (chosen family). Emma, Fanny and Mr Parker create havens for themselves in Mr Watson's room, the east room and the resort of Sanditon respectively.

7.2.3 Doing and Undoing Gender to Create Gender Similarities and Equality

Based on the characters' experience of anxiety and their psychological associations with home, they are seen "doing" and "undoing" gender in order to lessen their anxiety and/or not give up their home. The anxiety experienced by the female characters of losing their family and home motivates them to "do gender" in order to gain the affection of their families and have a home. The anxiety of the male characters makes them "undo gender" in order to maintain the notion of possessing stable families and homes. The female characters "undo gender" while the male characters "do gender" when their Psychological Homes are threatened (often by their own family members). The characters' implementation of gender roles is similar in that they neither ascribe completely to traditional notions of gender, nor subvert them completely. Gender roles are interpreted as fluid by both sexes which leads to gender similarities instead of differences. By focussing on gender similarities, Austen creates equality between the sexes in her novels. The protagonists of her novels enter into equal romantic relationships when both men and women approach gender roles fluidly by "doing" and "undoing gender". Anxiety-inducing factors in the lived experience of home and psychological associations with home play an important role in the creation of gender similarities (by affecting the implementation of gender roles) and, therefore, gender equality. Except *Sanditon*, all the selected novels feature

protagonists who share an equal relationship with each other due to their gender similarities and “doing” as well as “undoing” of gender.

7.3 Contributions and Limitations of the Thesis

The thesis contributes towards Austen studies primarily through the selection of characters. The analysis and comparison of characters from both major and minor works of Austen provides a fresh perspective for the discussion of home and gender. The examination of the meaning of home and the gender roles for both male and female characters, especially in relation to each other, is also significant. The thesis examines both positive and negative roles played by the family members of the selected characters. The effect of both kinds of relationships on the characters’ mind, their definition of home and their understanding of gender roles also adds to the field. The research is significant as it evaluates gender through a domestic lens employing a framework which outlines connections between the characters’ lived experiences of home, their psychological associations with home and their interpretation of gender roles.

The selected characters are not only “doing” and “undoing gender” but also performing gender (based on Judith Butler’s theory of gender performance and performativity). However, due to the word limit of the thesis, the analysis of gender was limited to the implementation of gender roles (in terms of “doing” and/or “undoing gender”), the analysis of gender similarities and creation and evolution of gender equality. The discussion of relationships affecting the characters’ interpretation of home and gender is limited to families of origin and choice. While most of the important friends of the characters are included in their families of choice (and the research), some who were not close enough to be considered family may have been left out. As the research is concerned with evaluating gender equality over the course of Austen’s mature works, the characters selected all belong to different novels. The male and female protagonists of a single novel do not, therefore, receive equal space in the analysis even if they exhibit similar behaviour and circumstances to each other.

7.4 Suggestions for Future Research

This section provides suggestions for further research based on the findings of the thesis, the theoretical framework applied for the analysis and the significance of the study. As mentioned in the previous section, the primary contribution of the study is in terms of the selection of characters, the employment of a domestic lens to examine gender and the theoretical framework which links the lived experience of home, the defining of home, the implementation of gender roles and the creation of gender equality (through similarities between the sexes) to each other. By using the methods employed in this research to analyse other characters in Austen's oeuvre, future studies can add to our knowledge of the characters. The application of the theoretical framework to male and female characters from the same novel can also contribute to our understanding of the novel itself.

Examining the role of displacement and homelessness in defining home and "doing" or "undoing gender" will provide a different perspective for analysing characters like Marianne and Elinor Dashwood, Colonel Brandon and Lady Susan. Lady Susan, Colonel Brandon, Mary Crawford and Emma Woodhouse can also be better understood by analysing the influence that the indifference or tyranny of family members has on their performance of gender roles. Investigating the relationship between the implementation of gender roles and the manner of defining home for characters like Elizabeth and Jane Bennet will offer a fresh way of analysing them. Alternately, relationships between siblings can also be analysed keeping in mind the effect of parental tyranny and/or indifference towards one sibling and love towards another. Such sibling groups include Anne, Mary and Elizabeth Elliot; Fanny, Edward and Robert Ferrars; Colonel Brandon and his brother; Fanny and the Bertram children (brought up together as sisters and brothers even though they are first cousins) and Fanny and the Price children.

Sibling relationships can be further evaluated based on groups which include siblings who were displaced or experienced homelessness versus those who did not. These include Emma and Elizabeth Watson; Fanny, William and the other Price children; Fanny and the four Bertrams; and Colonel Brandon and his brother. Characters may be further examined for showing symptoms of anxiety and exploring the relationship between home and anxiety and/or anxiety and understanding of gender for these characters. Biographical approaches evaluating Austen's understanding of home based on psychological associations with the inhabitants, specific locations and objects in a given place may also be undertaken and compared to that of both her male and female characters. This will help to examine the effect that her own

perception has on her characters' perceptions, irrespective of their gender. The different attachment styles of Austen's characters arising from tyrannical or indifferent behaviour of family members or experiences of displacement and homelessness can be analysed. Future studies can also evaluate the implementation of gender roles by different couples in a single novel and its role in creating gender (in)equality between them which will further enhance our understanding of Austen's stance on feminism.

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