

THE ROMANTIC BODY: THERAPY AND METAPHOR

by

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis, I analyse the controversial therapeutics of Wilhelm Reich (1897 -- 1957). Reich's work is acknowledged, at least in some intellectual circles, as a major attempt to synthesis the work of those two giants of "modern" thought, Freud and Marx. His work is also recognized as seminal to the development of the contemporary holistic health movement. On the other hand, the critical assessment of his thought remains incomplete partly because Reich's own aims were so inclusive and partly because the implications of his work run so counter to the prevailing western intellectual tradition. Many commentators see Reich's work as contradictory, some of it brilliant but much of it simply crazy or misguided. Most critiques of Reich isolate his psychoanalytic work from his marxist sociology, his sociology from his later "crazy" biological work and the religious symbolism of universal energy.

I take Reich's image of the human body as the unifying element in his work. I argue that the apparent lack of unity in Reich's work is due to certain ambiguities in his phenomenological language and that his attempt to create a body-mind synthesis destabilizes western therapeutic and scientific categories. I am influenced by the recent interest in the concept of embodiment in symbolic anthropology. I use a theoretical model of ideological construction influenced by this embodiment theory to interpret Reich's ideas about bodily energetics and his understanding of neurotic and healthy character structure. In the theoretical model that I use, ideology is a dialectical development of embodied consciousness. I typify "Modern" ideology as a dialectic between Romantic and Enlightenment discourse, Reich's work being an expression of the Romantic.

My thesis is that an understanding of Reich's work is fundamental to the understanding of therapeutics on the contemporary cultural scene. His work is also central to a new image of the human body (and its potential for experience) emerging in alternative therapeutics and in other aspects of cultural life, i.e., sports and spiritual practices. Beyond this, I argue that Reich's model of social and psychological processes as an energetic system has important implications for sociological and anthropological interpretive practice in general.

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INTRODUCTION: THE THERAPY & POLITICS OF ENERGY

1) Overview

The work of Wilhelm Reich (1897-1957), maverick psychoanalyst, quintessential revolutionary and discoverer of the universal "orgone" life energy, has been nothing if not controversial. His theory of the centrality of the sexual orgasm in both health and neuroses and his advocacy of a sexual revolution to parallel a socio-political reorganization of contemporary life was a major influence on the cultural upheavals in the infamous '60s. His work is also a seminal, if often unacknowledged, influence on the holistic health movement. Joel Kovel (1988), the radical American psychoanalyst, has noted that Reich has arguably influenced more contemporary therapeutic movements than anyone else outside of Freud. The anthropologist J. A. English-Lueck (1990) gives Reich a place as one of the fathers of the holistic health movement.¹ Reich's work has in the broadest sense been a call for the return to the body and for a reconnection of our "modern" alienated consciousness to the intuitional, sexual and aesthetic sensibility of bodily being.

This return to the body involves for Reich an acknowledgment of the centrality of the physical act of love as the quintessential expression of our very ability to love. It is in direct response to what Reich saw as the moralistic restriction of sexuality within the patriarchal family which developed parallel to capitalist society. He saw these two institutions: the authoritarian family and the organization of capitalist production as operating together in the oppression of common people everywhere. He proclaimed that contemporary society was and is characterized by the spreading mass neurosis that he called the "emotional plague." The manifestations of this plague are everywhere but nowhere more obvious than in the rise of totalitarian societies and the world wars.

For Reich, there could be no fundamental distinction between medicine and politics; they are both manifestations of the economy of sexual energies in the human body, albeit at

¹ The Holistic Health Movement itself has recently been considered as a millenarian social movement by English-Lueck (1990.)

different levels. Moving from the individual level of moral consciousness through the level of the social context of neurosis, Reich also engaged in biological investigation and subsequently claimed to have discovered the universal life energy, atmospheric orgone. This orgone energy (derived from both "orgasm" and "organism") was for Reich the scientific concretization of what was previously misapprehended as God or spirit. As symbolic embodiment of the image of the whole, Reich came to believe that all things, conscious and unconscious are inextricably connected in a vast orgone ocean whose ebb and flow is the same thing as orgasmic sensation and the streaming of emotion in the body.

According to Reich, the orgasmic reflex, as the concrete realization of human love involves an exchange of universal bio-electrical energies and it is this exchange that organizes the whole of the cosmos. Galaxies form and cells divide all according to a primal sexual embrace at once physical, electrical and spiritual. Given such a vision for humanity, at once psychological, revolutionary and religious, it was, for Reich, nothing short of catastrophic that this knowledge was continually denied and suppressed as the result of the plague-like spread of neuroses which engendered hatred for the very idea of truth or freedom.

Reich's notion of the dependency of health upon the flow and blockage of a universal energy in the body is conceptually similar to the etiological ideas in empirical medicine in general.² Such energies include that of "chi," various magnetic and vital currents, the animal magnetism of Mesmer and so on. The basic assumptions of empirical medicine are, for the most part, embedded in a "spiritual" or "sacred" ideology and thus involve the interconnectedness of a macrocosmic and a microcosmic domain (See English-Lueck p. 18).

This thesis explores the Reichian symbology of the body as a major source for the emergent "Romantic" conception of the body in holistic medicine and the way in which Reich's theory melds with and informs the contemporary western interest in related areas such as sport, the physical and mental disciplines of yoga, Buddhist mediation techniques and actor's training. The symbology and practice of holistic health itself stands at the end of a

² See Glossary of Terms, Appendix F.

long tradition of "empirical," as opposed to "rational" medicine (English-Lueck passim). Reich's work has been extended by various Reichians (i.e. Dr. Elsworth Baker) neo-Reichians (i.e. Alexander Lowen, Pierracos) and others influenced by him (i.e. Fritz Perls and Ida Rolf) so that Reichian ideas now pervade the holistic health movement.

Reich's work also has strong resonance with the emergent paradigm of a hermeneutic conjunction of science and aesthetics as found for instance in the work of the well-known scientist, sociologist and philosopher Michel Polanyi (1975), the philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead (1929) and the ecological paradigm of Gregory Bateson, (1972) among others. Reich's work also participates in that general interest, as Drew Leder (1990) has it, "in finding ways to 'return to the body,' whether through exercise, hatha yoga, body therapies, craft-work, or intimacy with nature . . ." (p. 3). Holistic therapy often involves a return to therapeutic metaphors involving vitalistic and/or spiritual energies, the participation of the patient in healing and an emphasis upon the bodily experience of illness and health. I believe that this cultural trend in late twentieth century North America signals a major change in the relationship between lived experience and rational knowledge that has characterized "Modern" ideology. It is a move away from the domination of lived experience by rational intellect; or even more concretely, it is a move away from the domination of experience by a mechanistic technology. Lest there be any doubt, my own feeling is that it is high time such a change took place. What remains in doubt, I suppose, is whether or not this change will ultimately involve a *regression* to earlier authoritarian social forms or whether the renewed emphasis upon bodily lived experience will lead to increased social freedom and creativity.

In the most general sense, then, I will show how Reich's myth attempts to resolve the endemic contradictions of western capitalism centering around the fragmentary nature of "modern" urban industrialized life and a psychological self devoid of transcendent possibilities, political or spiritual. In the process, he creates what might be called political medicine as well as a biological theology. Reich's solution to the problem of the "modern" split self is a return to the sacred in the form of the human body. This Romantic move

reverses the earlier and opening move of Romantic thought -- the conception of the Romantic *imagination* as the faculty that joins anomic "Modern" ideology to the tradition of the sacred. The primary object of this interpretation is Reich's image of the human body.

2) Introduction to the Interpretive Model: Embodiment & Ideology

I interpret Reich's work as an ideological structure. For the purpose of interpretation, I use a model of the production of meaning as a process of symbolic *embodiment* in ideological structures. All models, scientific or otherwise, map elements of the thing to be modelled onto the model. As in most models, the present one sacrifices complexity for what I take to be the essence of the process of meaning formation. In this sense, the notion of a model is more or less synonymous with the notion of an "ideal type." The model I use is fundamentally the same as that of the symbolic anthropologist Roy Wagner (1990). I briefly introduce the general structure of the model below. It is elaborated in much more detail in Chapter II. The main elements of the model are also defined in the Glossary of Terms in Appendix F.

In Wagner's model, meaning is always metaphorical. Meaning arises from the interaction between two different types of metaphors. One type of metaphor is characterized as the creative bodily perceptual image, the other as the conventionalized representation of this perceptual image. The dialectical relationship between these two types of metaphors unfolds as an ideal typology of ideological forms at higher and higher levels of complexity. This means that the model of meaning formation itself is, at each higher level of complexity, utilized to map the metaphoric structure of particular ideological forms. The model is essentially iconic in form inasmuch as it utilizes a diagrammatic format that represents the unfolding of metaphor as a developmental sequence that alternates between an internal (psychological) and an external (social) form.

There are four levels of modelling involved. Initially, the model of meaning formation is presented as an "ideal type." In the second place, a general concept of "Non-Modern" ideology is generated from the initial "ideal type." In the third place and still using the same

structural process, a concept of contemporary industrial "Modern" ideology is generated. In this concept "Modern" ideology is comprised of two basic ideological orientations. These are the Romantic and Enlightenment streams of thought. Finally, still using the same structural rules for the production of meaning, I project the structure of a "Post-Modern" ideology.

The human body is the central image of the model. This is to say that the human body and the facts of "embodiment" are central to the formation of meaning. From this point of view, the human body and metaphor are in a sense interchangeable. Metaphor embodies meaning just as the human body embodies metaphor. Metaphor is thus always more than a purely linguistic phenomenon divorced from embodied experience. The human body is also thus always more than a biological phenomenon divorced from socially produced metaphoric meaning. The concept of metaphor is presented as the general form of representation and, as such, it always involves an internal perceptual aspect as well as a more purely external linguistic or symbolic aspect. To speak of the "body as metaphor," then, involves on the one hand, the objectification of the body as social symbol within the context of social life,³ and, on the other, the invention of social metaphor on the model of the body's perceptual image of the world in consciousness.⁴ Ideology is thus a symbolic and social working out of the

³ The objectification of the body in the social context is, of course, a complex business. In general what I mean here is that the body – as female or male body, as homo-sexual body or child body, as "unruly body" or mechanical body is caught up and objectified in the matrix of social meanings which operate in society at the level of ordinary language as well as at the level of symbolic behaviour. At the more existential and psychological level, the objectification of the body occurs in Sartre's (see Kruk's 1990) sense of "being seen" by the other. To be seen by the other is to be objectified in their eyes. Roland Barthes (1981) makes an extensive analysis of the way in which photography objectifies the self in the very experience of posing for the camera. Jacques Lacan's (1978) notion of the "specular self" is also linked to the notion of the objectification of the self as a specifically *visual* phenomenon. Marshall McLuhan (1962) the Canadian communications theorist typifies the "modern" as having a visual bias. I do not make a specific argument for objectification as a visual phenomenon although it has certainly been argued that the structures of rational thought are predicated upon the elaboration of the visual sensory field and the categorization made possible by print technology. Objectification here simply refers to the "conventionalization" of the experience of the body and thought about the body in the context of the overall symbolic social system. See Appendix H: Two Bodies: Nature & Social.

⁴ This second sense of the body as metaphor refers not to the body as metaphorical structure for other people but rather to the structure of bodily experience itself as metaphorical. This is to say that the perceptual capacity of the body, conceived of as the relatively free flow of images in consciousness, is continually involved in the process of creating new metaphors. This means that conventional social metaphors are brought into relationship with new experiences and that both experience and metaphor are changed thereby (see Merleau-Ponty 1964, Wagner 1986). This phenomenological position is very close to that of the American pragmatic philosopher William James 1958. The very flow of perception is itself metaphorical and this flow is influenced in fundamental ways by the body and

dialectics of embodied consciousness. In Table 1 below, I give a brief description of the procession of ideological types which stem from the dialectical model of meaning production.

Table 1 Embodiment & the Ideal typology of Ideological forms

Embodiment of Meaning: Experience and Convention	"Non-Modern" Ideology: Macrocosm and Microcosm	"Modern" Ideology: Romantic and Enlightenment	"Post-Modern" Ideology:
<p>Meaning is formed in the dialectical relationship between perceptual experience and cultural convention. The dialectical relationship unfolds as the alternating control of perceptual experience by convention and the control of convention by experience. Subsequently, meaning is conventionalized in the context of culture. Cultural conventions themselves unfold as more and more complex ideological forms. Thus the ideal types of "Non-Modern," "Modern" and "Post-Modern" ideology presented here are implicit in the original dialect of meaning formation.</p>	<p>The ideal type of "Non-Modern" ideology conventionalizes the process of the embodiment of meaning as a recurring figure/ground reversal between the hierarchical domains of the microcosm of cultural life and the macrocosm of sacred experience. The ideal type of "Non-Modern" ideology thus <i>affirms</i> and <i>imitates</i> the essential dialectical and hierarchical structure and process of the embodiment of meaning itself. Reich's image of the "primitive" is analyzed as a Romantic version of non-modern ideology.</p>	<p>The ideal type of "Modern" ideology conventionalizes the embodiment of meaning as a <i>denial</i> of the dialectical reversal between the domains of experience and convention. This denial creates a split between two fundamental streams of thought, the Romantic and the Enlightenment streams. In "Modern" ideology, the Enlightenment stream <i>dominates</i> the Romantic stream & it is this domination and the refusal of reversal that is the engine of social fragmentation and the ongoing relativization of knowledge. The ideal type of Romantic ideology is structurally identical to "Non-Modern" ideology and thus affirms the dialectical and hierarchical nature of being. Due to the dualistic split in "modern" thought, Romanticism often has the tendency to privilege the experiential over the conventional rather than the dialectical reversal of experience and convention.</p>	<p>The ideal type of "Post-Modern" ideology is a species of "Non-Modern" ideology. It conventionalizes the embodiment of meaning as an <i>affirmation</i> and an imitation of the embodiment process in a way that is structurally identical to that of "Non-Modern" ideology. The fundamental difference between the two is the fact that "Post-Modern" ideology is more complex because its conventions must embody the dialectic reversal of experience and perception as macrocosm and microcosm and also the historically developed relationship between the Enlightenment stream and the Romantic stream of thought. This conception of "Post-Modern" ideology thus would aim at re-situating Enlightenment knowledge in the context of macrocosmic experience. Reich attempts to do this by emphasizing the role of subjective experience, the centrality of the human body in the construction of meaning and the immersion of being in the macrocosmic ocean of energy.</p>

how it is situated in the natural world, i.e., upright posture, eyes in the front, two legs, left and right and so on (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

The historical development of ideological forms is conceived as a dialectical alternation between the dominance of metaphors of *continuity* between self and world and the dominance of metaphors of *discontinuity*. Metaphors of continuity involve hierarchy and a *participatory* ethos -- individuals and society collectively participate in the creation of the world. Metaphors of discontinuity involve a *split* between objective and subjective features of experience and the conventionalization of the factual world as a single plane of *causal* relations. "Non-modern" ideology, in this context, is an ideal type which points to all of those historically developed ideological forms which are participatory and hierarchical. "Modern" ideology is thus a reversal of the relationship between "participatory" metaphors and metaphors of causal uni-planar relationship. In "modern" ideology, the dialectical relationship between *participation* and *causality* is blocked and causality is enthroned as supreme. In this way "modern" Enlightenment thought has created a value-less world and moral value is conceived of as a subjective projection. Romantic thought, however, maintains a version of "non-modern" hierarchical structure, dialectical and transcendental. In terms of basic dialectical structure, then, "modern" romanticism and "non-modern" ideology are fundamentally identical. The metaphors of "modern" romanticism involve various symbolic transformations of "non-modern" value relationships but the fundamental ideological structure remains the same.⁵

I present Reich's work as a manifestation of Romantic "modern" discourse and thus it is in a contradictory relationship with "modern" Enlightenment discourse. In the system of Ideal types, Romantic ideological forms are understood to have at their center the concept of hierarchy.⁶ The various aspects of Reich's romanticism, then, have as a unifying theme the image of a universal cosmic energy that links individuals to the larger cosmos. On the other

⁵ See Glossary of Terms in Appendix F.

⁶ In essence, hierarchy is always necessarily "moral" hierarchy. There can be no symbolic placing above and below without the concept of better or worse in particular contexts. In fact there is at the core of hierarchical structures a paradoxical contradiction whereby in one context one entity is higher than another while in another the power or value relation is reversed. Dumont (1986) points to the medieval hierarchy wherein the King is higher than the Pope in the secular affairs, whereas the reverse is true in the larger all encompassing sphere of religious life.

hand, the essence of Enlightenment ideology is characterized as a denial of moral hierarchy and by the discursive practice of science with its characteristic emphasis upon empirical categories, causality and rational exegesis. I will elaborate more upon these points in the theoretical section in Chapter II. Right now it seems important to emphasize that because there is an essential contradiction within "Modern" ideology itself, Reich's work can be thoroughly "Modern" (Romantic) and by the particular working out of the dialectical contradiction between the Romantic and Enlightenment streams of thought, it can also be prophetic of at least one stream of thought in the emerging "Post-Modern" era.⁷

"Post-Modern" ideology is also modelled as an ideal type. Most social analysts reflecting on "Modern" and "Post-Modern" ideology and society see a general trend to fragmentation and the proliferation of more and more differing discourses. This is not the position taken here. Rather, from the point of view which sees history as a dialectical unfolding of ideological forms at whose core is the reversal of the experiential and conventional domains, it is the denial of the dialectical process that leads to more and more social fragmentation. From this orientation, such fragmentation and the continued proliferation of imperialistic power is actually the ongoing extension of the "Modern" paradigm of rational control. From this point of view, then, the general theoretical image of the "Post-Modern" found in the social sciences is not really "Post-Modern" but rather a continuation of the "Modern."

The image of the "Post-Modern" that I use has at its core a *reversal* of the relationship between Romantic and Enlightenment thought. In this conception of the "Post-Modern," the emphasis of Romanticism upon the creative imagination, bodily sensuality, nature as the face of the spiritual and so on would come to dominate the Enlightenment concerns of objectivity, rational and technological control of the body and nature and so on. The reversal of the two major streams of thought in the "Modern" implies the possibility of a "Post-Modern" stage in

⁷ See Appendix F for definitions of hierarchy, the dual nature of "modern" ideology and associated terms.

which that reversal can itself be reversed.⁸ This reversal at the core of the "Post-Modern" would mean that the trend towards fragmentation would itself be reversed and the trend would then be towards the unification of social life, character structure and so on.

The main impulse for this unification would come from the universal attributes of embodied being rather than from any abstract theory or methodology. Reich's work in particular and the holistic health movement in general has a similar vision of the necessary "Post-Modern" move.⁹ The theoretical model of the "Post-Modern" that I use here thus differs radically from other theories. It aims to place Reich's work and holistic medicine in general in the context of a theory of history as a series of unfolding embodied reversals.

Considered from this perspective, Reich's work presents an internally consistent cosmological model of health from the level of molecular biology to the level of intergalactic space. It should be remembered, however, that as a Romantic cosmology of health, its system of meanings has an unstable relationship to the symbolic codes of the dominant discourse of Enlightenment rationalism.

3) Thesis Aims: Reich & the Romantic Image of Reversal

The central aim of this thesis is to interpret Reich's therapeutic and cosmological system as an expression of Romantic ideology based upon a return to the natural body. I interpret Reich's Romantic symbolism (and Romantic thought in general) as a particular historical manifestation of the phenomenology of embodied perception.¹⁰ As such, I interpret

⁸ It is important to note, however, that when Romantic discourse dominates Enlightenment discourse, the relationship between facts and values is dialectical whereas when Enlightenment discourse dominates, the relationship is non-dialectical and analytical.

⁹ By "necessary" I mean, the move necessary to ensure the "salvation" of human-kind from self-destruction. Necessity thus engages with both the "facts" of ecological well-being and the implicit "value" of human life in context.

¹⁰ There is a certain amount of room for confusion concerning the relationship between the concept of "embodiment" and the phenomenological project in general. I take it that "embodiment" is central to phenomenological philosophy (i.e., the philosophy of Husserl, Merleau-Ponty and Sartre, among others) in the sense that the perception of meaning in consciousness is not pure but always contextualized by and influenced by the fact that consciousness is embodied in flesh and blood. Phenomenology, emphasizing the process of perception itself is, then, always concerned with embodiment. On the other hand, the phenomenon of embodiment -- which is to say the subjective experience of one's own body in the world -- may take on greater or lesser importance in the context of different phenomenological work. I take embodiment as a central feature of the production of meaning.

Reich's symbolic language as a system of metaphors which aim at the synthesis of Enlightenment "factuality" and the "subjective" language of embodied experience.¹¹ There are a number of aspects to Reich's work as an expression of Romantic ideology:

1) Reich's work seeks to place "Modern" scientific therapeutics -- a central aspect of which is psychoanalysis itself -- in the context of a cosmological symbology derived from what Reich understood to be traditional or "primitive" culture. Reich understood "primitive" culture to be a more or less unsullied expression of "natural" and thus healthy behaviour and character structure. Reich's healthy character structure first elaborated in the context of his clinical psychoanalytic work is later self-consciously modeled upon "primitive" man as found in Malinowski's work with the Trobrianders. I locate Reich's concern with ideas of the "primitive" and a return to the natural within the "Modern" Romantic stream of western thought. Because "Modern" ideology itself, as an ideal type, is modelled as a relationship between Romantic and Enlightenment conceptions, Reich's Romantic conception of the "primitive" can be contrasted with the Enlightenment conception. So also his conception of the natural living biological body as the conduit of transcendent energies can be contrasted to the Enlightenment objective or scientific body as mechanism and corpse. Reich looked backward to the "primitive" for his ideal of health. For Reich, the development of the "Modern" involves a loss and this loss is due to a characteristic and chronic blockage of energy. The loss of the "primitive" is the loss of the natural. This blockage and loss leads to illness and immorality. On the other hand, Enlightenment "Modern" ideology tends to regard the "primitive" as lacking knowledge, technological development and democratic freedom. "Nature" & the "primitive" (as bodily desire) must be controlled. "Primitive" society and untamed nature are both best looked upon from afar.¹² This is, of course, a radical

¹¹ Embodiment (understood as the subjective experience of one's own body in the world) appears, in one sense, as the exact opposite of one's body as it appears to others, (the objectification of one's body). In the fuller sense, however, embodiment and embodied experience in general *includes* the way one's body is objectified by others simply because these objectifications themselves enter into the perceptual field. Meaning, as an embodied phenomenon, is thus produced in consciousness as the dialectical relationship between subjective and objective perceptions.

¹² The term "nature" has, of course, a great number of meanings. There are two primary meanings which I am concerned with in the present thesis. These two meanings pertain to the relationship between "nature" and

simplification of a very complex issue. The point is that Romantic and Enlightenment thought view the "primitive" in quite different ways. In the Romantic view there is a loss in the movement towards the "Modern." In the latter, there is progress.

The main aspects of Reich's conception of the "primitive" that fit into the mold of Romantic thought are:¹³

a) A Romantic or magical view of language that joins words and things. I interpret Reich's imagery of *universal orgone energy, flow*, and "direct-contact" with reality as Romantic or "magical" conceptions of the coextensive relationship between language and the world (or language and the body).

b) An emphasis upon the sensual experience of the flow of energies and emotions in the body. I interpret this as a Romantic vision of the "natural man," the "primitive" as the instinctual being. Reich emphasizes the sensual as the model for all creativity and all natural functions.

c) Reich's concept of "primitive" character structure and morality emphasizes the aspect of free sexual expression and the lack of social constraint on the child's "natural" body in the egalitarian (i.e. non-patriarchal) family.

"culture." One of the meanings pertains to the hierarchical relationship between "nature" and "culture," while the other pertains to the "dualistic" non-hierarchical analytic distinction between the two. On the one hand, "Nature" embodies culture or society. It is larger; it is "out there," it is the "mother" of animals and people. It is, in Bertrand Russell's terminology, of a higher logical type than culture. Culture or society cannot exist without embodying "Nature." On the other hand, "Nature" can exist very well without culture or society. (See Wilden 1972 for a discussion of logical types). "Nature," in the "nature-culture" dualism appears as an analytic category distinct from "Culture." In this case "Nature" is a social and historical construction. That is to say that it is a cultural creation. In fact, logically speaking, there is an inversion between the two conceptions of "Nature." In the first case, "Nature" embodies or encompasses "Culture," while in the second the "Culture" (as a symbolic system) embodies and encompasses "Nature." The two different meanings of "Nature," then, involves a change in the level of analysis. In the first case, (and from the point of view of embodiment), "Nature" is what we are all a part of. It is the experiential domain itself. In the second case, "Nature" appears at the level of cultural symbolism as but one sign among many. There is an instability in the relationship between the two meanings in the same sense that there is an inherent instability between experience and the concepts we use to name that experience. Names involve a contraction of experience while experience involves an expansion of names.

¹³ It should be noted that the characterization of Reich's work as Romantic is for the most part, mine. Reich himself often spoke in terms of various dichotomies -- such as that between mechanistic philosophy and vitalistic philosophy -- which can easily be construed as typical of Enlightenment and Romantic thought; but Reich himself did not do this. I model Reich's work in terms of the ideal types of Romantic and Enlightenment thought in order to clearly show what I believe to be the essence of his thought and the essential reasons for the instability of meanings which have led to the misunderstanding of his work.

d) Reich argues that the lack of neurosis in "primitive" culture stems from the free expression of sexual activity. Ultimately the experience of what he calls the "orgasm reflex" comes to serve as a "functional" sacrament for Reich, acting as the primary relationship between individual bodies and cosmological totality.

e) Reich conceives of "primitive" society as "matriarchal" and as such lacking in either economic or sexual repression. He models his utopian vision of a "work democracy" upon this conception of "primitive" communism.

f) The image of the relationship between self and society is that of the Romantic *energetic* participation of the creative hero. For "energetic" one might read "hairy," "passionate," "emotional," "full of vitality," "action oriented." The hero's task is to re-establish the flexibility and flow of social interaction when it is blocked by evil forces. The model of the hero is that of Christ and Giordano Bruno among others. Reich's image of Christ and Bruno is the image of the "natural man" in tune with "primitive" cosmology and the pulse of sensual life. The ascendancy of wildness and passionate emotion over intellect, action over passivity, fecundity over sterility and so on are distinct facets of the Romantic image of the "primitive."

g) Reich's model of the "primitive" character structure is that of the "genital character" sexually potent, emotionally and intellectually mobile and powerful.

h) Reich's conception of dialectical and cosmological unity has as its focus a conception of a materially existent universal energy (ether, vital life energy) which he argues was previously misconceived as an aspect of otherworldly forces or gods.

2) In the second place, I interpret Reich's version of the "great transition" from "primitive" to "Modern" as an expression of the major Romantic theme of the development of the "modern" as a *fall* from traditional society and a *reversal* of traditional values. For Reich, the *fall* is from healthy sexual expression to neurotic sexual repression while the reversal involves a denial of the vitality of the "primitive" body and character and the embracing of the value of sexual denial and patriarchal authority, both of which lead to the "dead" bodies

and neurotic mentation of contemporary society. The psychological development of the "Modern" neurotic character structure in contemporary society follows the pattern of the historical development of "Modern" society from "primitive" society.

3) In the third place, I interpret Reich's therapeutic practice as a Romantic transformation of *ritual reversal* in magical or "Non-Modern" ideology. As such, I view Reich's image of the function of sexuality (inclusive of the therapeutic symbology in its service) as a sacramental mediation between the image of the microcosmic individual and the macrocosmic whole. I interpret Reich's therapeutics, while he would perhaps not have admitted it in so many words, as a therapeutics of salvation wherein healing perforce involves not only individual health but the health of the social and natural worlds as well.¹⁴

By interpreting Reich's work in terms of his Romantic image of the human body, I demonstrate the cohesive unity of the four areas of his work and the manner in which this unity is predicated upon his vision of the human body. This vision of the body is essentially a vision of the *sacred* body as both the foundation of experience and as primary foundation for meaning. This vision of the body is "sacred" in the sense that the relationship between the body and its world is dialectical and hierarchical. This means that the image of the world given to consciousness by the body is at once moral and factual.

I use the abstract model of ideal types to unravel the components of Reich's thought and bring them into an orderly and unified arrangement. Reich's own model of character structure and its relationship to ideological structures (i.e. the "primitive" and contemporary

¹⁴ Reich did not, as I have already stated, locate himself as a Romantic in intellectual history. He located himself as a scientist engaged in the pursuit of hard facts and truth. His conception of truth and hard facts, however, was consistently enlarged to include the "facts" and "truth" of what I take to be the embodied point of view. The field of facts which Reich perceived has much more in common with what we now call the ecological point of view than that of strictly positivist science. Again, however, Reich himself was in no way interested in locating himself in this or that intellectual position. He was interested in the whole field of the truths available to an enlarged scientific methodology. Thus it is that to place him as a Romantic thinker is in a sense to do his work a certain disservice. I think there is, however, a good reason for doing so. On the one hand it allows me to better demonstrate the nature of the conflict between his ideas and the ideas of more traditional science and on the other, if Reich was fundamentally correct concerning the need for an enlarged science, and I think he was, then an analysis of his work as a manifestation of romanticism allows a general re-evaluation of the role of romanticism in the development of science and thought in general. The ideal type of romanticism modelled in this thesis sees romanticism and thus also Reich's work as the essential creative force in the "modern" world..

fascism) is very strongly inflected by Reich's own version of a phenomenology of experience. His phenomenology, however, is often confusing for several reasons. In the first place it is confusing because of the implicit problems with phenomenological interpretation and the instability of categories which I describe in section 4 of this chapter. In the second place, Reich was not cognizant, as far as I can tell, with the body of phenomenological thought developing in Europe at the same time as he was doing his own work and of course he could not be aware of the subsequent work which has been done. His phenomenology, then, was pioneering and somewhat idiosyncratic. To compound this problem, he was not interested in doing phenomenological interpretation per se but was interested in using a phenomenological or embodiment approach to the explication of contemporary health and political problems. Reich himself did not characterize his work as specifically phenomenological or having to do with embodiment. Not surprisingly his usage of the term "biology" to describe at one and the same time the experiential aspects of embodied being and the scientific body of cells, blood and bone has caused a great deal of confusion. To further compound the problem he found himself at odds with most if not all of establishment political and therapeutic institutions of his time and thus especially in his later years he tended to use what were originally quite delicate distinctions as theoretical bludgeons to beat his enemies with.

My aim, then, is to clarify Reich's categories and relationships in the light of an anthropological model of the symbolic process and the transformations which are involved in the production of ideological forms. By doing so I hope to show that Reich was neither wrong nor crazy concerning the relationships between health and politics, neurosis and history. When Reich's dialectics of energy is clarified in the light of this interpretive model, a somewhat disturbing paradox emerges. Over the course of the thesis, the subject and its object refuse to stay distinct. At the outset, the object (Reich's work) and the interpretive tool appear distinct. At the conclusion of the thesis, Reich's thought concerning the relationship between character and ideology as a physical and biological system of energies appears to be structurally identical to the model of meaning production I have utilized to interpret it. This is

certainly problematic from the point of view of Enlightenment epistemology. Subject & object must remain separate. On the other hand, from the point of view of embodied epistemology, subject and object are in a reciprocal dialectical relationship and meaning is only developed out of this relationship. This means that the interpretive tool and Reich's work are in a metaphoric relationship such that meaning = energy, or the process of meaning production = the process by which health and illness occurs.

One of the results of the interpretation, then, is the highlighting of the relationship between Reich's model of embodiment that he sees in terms of the *dialectics of energy* and the model of embodiment as a *dialectics of meaning* that I use in the thesis. What emerges from the similarity of the two dialectics is the fact that from the embodied or holistic position, there is no real way to distinguish in any hard and fast way between an energetic model of reality and a metaphoric model; hard science cannot really be distinguished from soft science; facts cannot be distinguished from values; science cannot be distinguished from art. Embodied human life engages in the *creation* of reality as well as the *discovery* of reality. As Dumont (1986) has noted we are always really dealing with "fact-values." To point to the co-extensive nature of energy and symbol is, of course, to point towards the instability of the western categorical system which aims precisely to keep them separate.

The importance of understanding the unifying image of the body which stands behind the different aspects of Reich's work is twofold. On the one hand, to grasp this image is to grasp the essence of the emerging paradigm of the body in contemporary social movements, (e.g., in holistic medicine,) and on the other, to grasp this image and the structure of metaphors it subsumes is to grasp a powerful tool for the understanding of cultural forms in general. This is to say that Reich's image of the body is influential in contemporary culture and thus is a legitimate object of anthropological interest. But because this same image emerges at the end of this thesis as structurally identical to the interpretive model which I use to interpret it, although from the angle of an economy of energy rather than an economy of

meaning, Reich's model of the body, bodily character, energy blocks and flows etcetera is potentially very useful as an interpretive paradigm for anthropology itself.

4) Ideology: Epistemology & the Relativity of Truth

I will comment briefly upon my position concerning the truth claims of the two fundamentally different types of discourse which I have characterized as Romantic and Enlightenment discourse.¹⁵ The issue comes up in a very concrete way in Reich's work with regard to his "discovery" of orgone energy. The question concerns whether Reich really discovered an objective measurable scientifically verifiable "orgone energy" or whether this "discovery" pertained essentially to subjective experiential reality pertinent to therapeutics. In the first place, I should state that this question, posed in this way, can only be posed from the Enlightenment orientation. The question is analytical and aims at making a clear demarcation between subjective and objective factors of experience. To date, establishment science has *not* corroborated Reich's claims to the existence of an objectively measurable universal energy. On the other hand, in my reading to date, albeit from fundamentally sympathetic sources, neither have they been definitively refuted. I should note that in actual fact there is a great deal of research which falls between the cracks, as it were, which lie between strictly scientific and more holistically oriented work. Reich's embodied categories destabilize conventional scientific ones and thus, in one sense, it is simply impossible to check his findings in a truly scientific way. Strictly speaking, this is simply to say that Reich's methodology is unscientific. On the other hand, scientific paradigms are always changing and in some future science, Reich's work might fit very well.

The question, for my present purposes, however, is really neither here nor there. The importance of Reich's work does not stem from the "objectivity" of his findings. Rather it stems from the interesting way in which he has put together certain aspects of objective science with other aspects of subjective experience. My own position is that the two different

¹⁵ Romantic discourse is seen as dialectical, mythological, hierarchical and essentially religious. Enlightenment discourse is seen as analytical, historical, uni-planar and essentially scientific.

types of discourse which I have presented as ideal types produce two different types of truth. The distinction between the two types of discourse pertains to how each discourse views the nature of representation and its relationship to the world.

In the one case, there is the separation of subject and object, facts and values and so on to create a network of essentially causal relations. In the other, there are the particular combination of facts and values, subjectivity and objectivity which go to create a network of essentially dialectical and hierarchical relations. The experiential realm is divided up and objectified in different ways. In the first case, categories are set up in order to demonstrate cause and effect relations on a single analytical plane. In scientific and positivist discourse, there is the assumption of some sort of absolute correspondence between words and things in the sense that words "represent" things and the relationship between things. In the second case, words "participate" in the world of things and this participation of words and things creates the image of the world. In this type of discourse, which Foucault (1970) equates with the doctrine of signatures and magical correspondences, the criterion for the formation of categories is "resemblance" rather than difference.¹⁶ As Wagner (1986) notes, more or less formally articulated dialectical ideology is composed of categories that at particular times and places may be transcended in ritual ways. Scientific categories are *not* set up to be transcended; they are set up to be built upon.

Reich's truth claims are, from the Enlightenment viewpoint are simply "subjective" or experiential. From the point of view of an embodied epistemology, however, his claims are predicated upon a dialectical interpretation and as such they "participate" in the reality of the world. This is one way of saying that they are creative rather than objective. They are always partly objective and partly subjective, partly textual and partly perceptual. He is always dealing with fact-values, with people in the world. From the embodiment point of view, the main difference between Enlightenment discourse and Romantic discourse is that the former is decontextualized and disembodied, the latter is contextualized and embodied. As Thomas

¹⁶ See Appendix F "representation" in Glossary of Terms.

Kuhn (1970) has shown, scientific discourse is, in fact, always taken up within a mythical social system and this mythology conditions the direction of research and the uses of knowledge. Positivist science and the analytical posture in general is itself always embodied in an ideology structure. It simply takes pains to hide this fact. One recommendation of Reich's work, and of scientific work informed by the embodied paradigm, is that it aims at a cohesive synthesis of science (the system of facts) and the social and mythological framework that it is embedded in.

My own view is as follows. The mode of positivist science and the analytical, non-dialectical rationalist stance produces a truth which is revealed by the set of relations *within* the network of its discourse. The mode of embodied phenomenological science and the dialectical orientation produces a truth which is revealed by the *participatory* engagement of a given set of analytical categories *with* the experiential world *in* consciousness. From my position, the primary process of the formation of knowledge is dialectical and participatory. It is embodied. From this position, the truths of scientific analysis are of a different order than the truths of embodied experience. From the position of an embodied human being, the truth that is given by the upward direction (modelled as a dialectical transcendence) is of a different order than the truth given by the horizontal direction (modelled as a causal relationship). This different order is signaled by the fact that the embodiment paradigm can *potentially* include all and every scientific analytic fact whereas scientific facts can never include the order of participatory experiential transcendence.¹⁷ At each stage of the way, one comes up against the problem of value: e.g., is "inclusion" an intrinsic positive value and "exclusion" an intrinsic negative or vice versa? From the enlightenment position, different discourses produce different truths; from the embodiment position, different discourses produce different truths and they are also (morally) higher or lower.

¹⁷ It is important to note that I say that the embodiment paradigm is "potentially" all inclusive. It is not necessarily so. The difference between the two types of knowledge concerns higher and lower "logical types." See Wilden (1972).

I argue that Reich's therapeutics subvert the dominant Enlightenment paradigm of "Modern" ideology. Reich's thought is subversive in relation to Enlightenment ideology specifically because he privileges bodily experience over rationalist cognitive models and his cosmological model of health is strongly inflected by phenomenological rather than objective scientific categories. I argue that this experiential and phenomenological symbology of the living body *destabilizes* much of the conventional terminology of the scientific and academic disciplines his work engages with. Thus, it is this destabilization of conventional terminology that often leads Reich himself, and his critics, astray and not Reich's "madness" caused by early trauma, nor his chicanery, his scientific ineptness, his relapse into religiosity, his utopian marxism, his compulsive reductionism of everything to sex, his identification with Christ or Bruno, or any other of the charges that have been made against the man. All of these issues are aspects of Reich as an exemplar of his own therapeutic but they must be seen as side-issues in the light of this general instability of categories set up between Reich's Romantic and descriptive categories and the positivist understanding of scientific categories. Reich's privileging of an embodied orientation towards knowledge and the world places his work in a contradictory relationship to the non-embodied epistemology of ordinary science. This orientation means that his ideas are themselves embodied in language in a different way than the ideas of ordinary science.¹⁸

¹⁸ Perhaps I should give a small caveat concerning some of the meanings implicit in the term "embodiment" here. Embodiment in the context of phenomenological thought pertains precisely to the experience of one's own body and is thus to be contrasted to the objectification of the body by others. Embodied experience, then, may involve the more or less primary experience of socially unsullied perception and it may also involve the perception of essentially social categories including the category of one's own body. For all practical purposes, however, images are constituted in consciousness as the dialectical interaction between the primary capacity for the perception of meaning and the social categories which are received. In a like manner, in the context of symbolic analysis, ideas are "embodied" in metaphors. This metaphorical embodiment is also of two types: 1) conventional metaphors such as "house" or "car" and 2), iconic images which frame and organize already extant conventional metaphors. (Conventional metaphors such as "house" above are considered to be in essence metaphorical simply because when one goes to look them up in the dictionary one is referred to an endless succession of other things and words which the original is thought to be: "a house is a . . ." Beyond this, an ideological structure (considered as an ideal type) also embodies knowledge in a certain sort of way. Religious ideology embodies knowledge and specifies implicitly or explicitly a certain practice in quite a different way than scientific ideology embodies knowledge and implies a practice.

5) The Structure of the Thesis

Chapter I introduces Reich's work and places it within the context of "Modern" Romantic and Enlightenment thought. The Romantic, with its symbolic ties to sacred ideology, its backward yearning for an unrealized potential plays a subversive role in its relationship to the dominant Enlightenment stream whose ethos is that of rational secular man.¹⁹ Reich's therapeutic participates in the "empirical" medical tradition²⁰. As such it is aimed at the re-invention of character or identity against the grain of the dominant moral paradigm of Enlightenment ideology. At the conclusion of the chapter, I give a brief note on the critical assessment of Reich's work to date.

In Chapter II, I present a more comprehensive explanation of the interpretive model. The model fuses a conception of phenomenological embodiment and the unfolding of meaning as ideology from this initial conception. The model maps the invention of society and individual in terms of the dialectic between bodily experience and conventional cultural symbolism. "Bodily experience" and "conventional symbolism" occupy the two extremes of a spectrum of metaphoric representation. Following phenomenological thought in general, embodied "perceptual" experience establishes a unified relationship between bodily self and the world, while cultural convention involves a sort of organizational *retreat* from the world. Four aspects of the dialectical process are paramount: a) the cultural process whereby

¹⁹ See De Zengotita (1989) for a discussion of this general position in anthropology.

²⁰ The anthropologist English-Lueck (1990), gives an extensive history of medicine in terms of two traditions: that of "empirical" medicine and that of "rationalist" medicine. Holistic health today generally falls within the "empirical" tradition while the dominant mode of scientific medicine is that of the rationalist tradition. The debate between the empiricists and the rationalists in the formation of the Hippocratic medical tradition revolved around the healer's role and a particular concept of the physical and human nature. As English-Lueck puts it: "The question ran, is a physician primarily a craftsman whose goal is healing, or a philosopher/scientist who seeks knowledge (p. 74)?" For the empirical tradition, the healer is a craftsman and he "studies the empirical results of remedies and does not concern himself with the workings of the cosmos (ibid)." For this tradition "Causes are inseparable from each other and the patient. There are no diseases, only diseased persons. Moreover, the highest force in the universe is spirit, not available to the workings of the rational human mind (ibid)." For the rationalist tradition, on the other hand, etiology is of primary importance and it is "not based on correspondence or kinship of the variables, but linear cause and effect. Rationalist medicine is primarily a materialistic system and spiritual factors are not vital (ibid)." The general distinction, then, is in line with the distinction between what we have called "non-modern" ideology and Enlightenment ideology and most particularly between the hierarchical and dialectical elements of the former and the analytic and non-hierarchical elements of the latter. The symbolism of the empirical tradition is magical and Romantic while the symbolism of the rationalist tradition is scientific and analytic. The empirical tradition is primarily concerned with *inductive* methods of ascertaining truth while the rationalist tradition is concerned with *deductive* method.

conventional reality is created and changed, b) the conventional process whereby the ideological structures of society are inculcated in the consciousness of individuals, c) the way in which Romantic ideology handles the relationship between cultural creativity and convention and d) the way in which Enlightenment ideology handles this same relation. In this way a simple typology of ideological development is dialectically linked to a model of embodied consciousness.

In Chapter III, I interpret Reich's work as an ideological system using the interpretive model presented in Chapter II. In Chapter III, section 1, I examine Reich's Romantic language of universal energy. In section 2, I unravel Reich's image of "primitive" character structure as the hierarchical interrelationship between the image of normative reality and the expanded bodily image of sexual "flow." In Reich's image of the "primitive," there is an easy reciprocal flow of energies between people and between culture and nature. Reich treats "primitive" convention and experience as the historical manifestation of his ideal type of embodied sexual economy. As such, he does not emphasize the ideological hierarchy of sacred macrocosm and profane microcosm. Rather, he sees the sacred as a misrecognition of the biological flow of sexual energy. The separation of sacred and profane thus already presages the fall from ideality into the "Modern." In section 3, Reich's vision of the energetic reversal and blockage in the transit to "Modern" ideology is discussed.

In section 4, I examine Reich's image of "Modern" neurotic character structure which he sees as the expression of authoritarian patriarchy. I analyze Reich's image of "Modern" ideology as being comprised of three levels of convention/ experience. There is the internal domain of the unconscious body armouring and cognitive defense; there is the ordinary domain of waking consciousness ruled by conventional attitudes and practices and there is the domain of distorted symbology and yearning which he sees as the result of the break with natural body functioning and which I interpret as a Romantic expression of yearning for the lost expansive dimension of "primitive" ideology and experience. In section 5, Reich's therapeutic is mapped onto the dialectical diagram showing the connections between "Non-

Modern" and "Modern" ideology. In the final sections, Reich's therapeutic symbolism is discussed.

In Chapter IV, the Romantic themes of Reich's work are placed in larger context. In section 2, Reich's image of the Romantic body is discussed, in section 3, the implications for therapeutics are briefly examined. In section 4, the relations between self and moral community are discussed and in section 5 and 6, several different dimensions of the Reichian concept of evil are examined. In the seventh section, the processual unfolding of three levels of ideology ("Non-Modern", "Modern" and "Post-Modern") from the dialectical model of embodiment are brought into relationship under the head of "motivation."

In the eighth and final section, I discuss the instability of terminological categories and the structural similarity between Reich's dialectics of energy and the dialectical model of meaning production which I use. The structural congruence of Reich's dialectical model of embodiment as an energetic system and the anthropological model of symbolization has, I think, very far reaching implications for culture as well as for scholarship. In very bald terms it means that when one begins from bodily experience itself (in a wider sense than traditional empirical science, of course) there can be no stable foundational distinction between symbolism and the real world. They mutually construct each other. Putting it in a slightly different way, there can be no hard and fast distinction between symbolism and energy. Taking human experience as primary, energy is continually being transformed into symbol and back into energy. Or put yet another way, reality is not any more a social construction than it is a natural construction. Society and nature are involved in a mutual constructive process. From the embodied orientation, the premise of an original split between nature and culture or between body and mind, facts or values, experience and symbol, or between subject and object is misguided. The primary social facts are always fact-values, experience-symbols, body-minds, nature-cultures. It is a given, then, that such "participatory" composites destabilize analytical western categories which aim precisely at blocking the flow of meaning-energy across their definitional boundaries. This also means that the embodiment paradigm in

general and Reich's work in particular must destabilize the boundaries of academic and professional disciplines in general. One must still ask, of course, about the exact nature of the moral hierarchy which emerges from phenomenological thought. If morals are not superimposed upon a neutral world, what is their nature? Reich's work is one response to this question. The general answer is that the rudiments of a "natural" morality arise out of a particular phenomenological practice. One may say the same thing about the knowledge which arises out of Enlightenment thought and scientific methodology.

CHAPTER I

1) The Reichian Corpus²¹

In the next section, I briefly elaborate Reich's major symbology. I follow the general historical development of his work: psychological, sociological, biological and theological. The circumstances of Reich's life at the time of the various developments are briefly mentioned but the emphasis is upon the interrelationships of the various parts of the work as ideological expression. In the first two sections -- the psychological and the sociological -- Reich's image of sickness and health in the individual and in society are laid out. This will be followed by a discussion of Reich's version of the great transition from "primitive" to "Modern" society. In the third -- biological and scientific -- section, Reich's symbolism of universal energy and its relationship to individual, social and planetary health is unfolded. In the fourth and final section (theological), Reich's assimilation of the imagery of healthy character structure to religious symbology is briefly explored.

The Psychological Work

Born in 1897 in a part of Galicia that belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Reich was brought up in the countryside in comfortable circumstances. However, when he was about 16, his mother, compromised in an affair with his tutor, committed suicide. His father shortly thereafter apparently deliberately contracted pneumonia and died. Insurance money was not forthcoming and Reich briefly ran the family farm himself before it was lost with the advent of the first world war. Reich's younger brother died a few years later of TB. Reich entered the army and when he was released after the war entered medical studies in Vienna.

The tragic aspects of Reich's early life have sometimes been used to explain the development of his paranoia in the later years or even to substantiate the persistent rumours, throughout his life, that he was schizophrenic (see Sharaf, 1983). Others see these events as leading to his turn to religion at the end and to the general "madness" of his social and

²¹ See Appendix A, Table 7 *The Stages of Reich's Work* for an even more synoptic view.

biological ideas. From the point of view of this analysis, these psychological facts do not have any direct explanatory value with regard to Reich's general system. Those close to him, even at the end, report that, although he had obvious paranoid delusions at times and a somewhat grandiose conception of his role in history, his mental functioning as it pertained to his work was not in the least impaired. The position taken here is that there is a very strong integrated consistency in Reich's work from beginning to end. There is no point at which Reich went mad or lost his acuity. He crossed many disciplinary boundaries, however, and made up for a certain lack of sophistication in both manner and thought by a great deal of vitality and some would say simple bull-headedness.

It is worth mentioning, however, that it seems likely that the early events of Reich's life at least partly set up the interaction between what might be called the two primary motivations of his dialectical system: love and rage. The theme of love, particularly sexual love always hovers behind the image of an endless blue cosmic ocean of universal orgone energy. The theme of rage is not far away from all Reich's imagery of the conventional armour or blocks of convention in the body, in society and in the cosmos which restrict and divert the flow of orgone energy. More and more Reich was to rage against all those conventional and institutional hindrances to the development of knowledge, creativity in general and his own work in particular.

When Reich joined the psychoanalytic circle in Vienna as one of its youngest members, his training in biology and medicine gave him the reputation as one of the most scientific and hard headed members of the circle around Freud. In subsequent years, he came to see himself as being the primary champion of the materialist theory of sexual libido which, however, Freud himself gradually abandoned. Years later Reich observed that he saw this movement away from strictly materialist science as a failure of nerve (Reich, 1967). Reich took up the "actual" neuroses (those caused by present behaviour) rather than the psycho-neuroses (those caused by early trauma), which were emphasized by Freud himself. This accent on the empirical, the concrete and the bodily remained throughout Reich's life.

Initially, being practically oriented, Reich was primarily interested in the development of therapeutic technique in psychoanalysis. Dissatisfied with free association and the psychoanalytic talk which, although often bringing insight, very often did nothing to alleviate the original problem, Reich developed his theory and method of character analysis. Very briefly stated, character analysis holds that material sexual energy is repressed by chronic tensions in the body which develop in the early years of childhood particularly due to prohibitions concerning sexual play and experimentation. These repressions and tensions manifest as character traits which are primarily defensive. Reich's technique of character analysis was characteristically confrontative and aggressive, a therapy style later developed and expanded by Fritz Perls and others in the gestalt therapy movement (English-Lueck, 1990).

In the context of social life, chronic tensions or "muscular armouring" become habitually fixed or encoded in the body, causing emotional blockages and energy stasis. In Reich's characteristic terminology: the character armour blocks the flow of energy and when energy cannot flow, it stagnates. This muscular or character armouring which blocks the flow of energies in the body does not for Reich constitute a problem with character or the ego; it is the character structure of the mature adult. There is a direct correlation between the flow of emotions, pleasurable sensation, the blockages of energy and feeling in the body and the whole range of behavioural manifestations of character. In therapy, then, the "resistance" must be worked through first because resistance is exactly the manifestation of distorted character structure.²² The move to the bodily unconscious means that the unconscious can be "read" in the body, in posture and behaviour.

Reich's characteristic symbolism of the bodily organism appears below.

²² This question of the resistance and transference was one of the major areas where Reich's work diverged from that of Freud. In the argument between Freud and Reich, Freud insisted that dream imagery should be worked through first and only then the transference addressed. Reich emphasized the existential "now" of the patient's life, while Freud emphasized the past. (See Sharaf, 1983 for a discussion of these differences.)

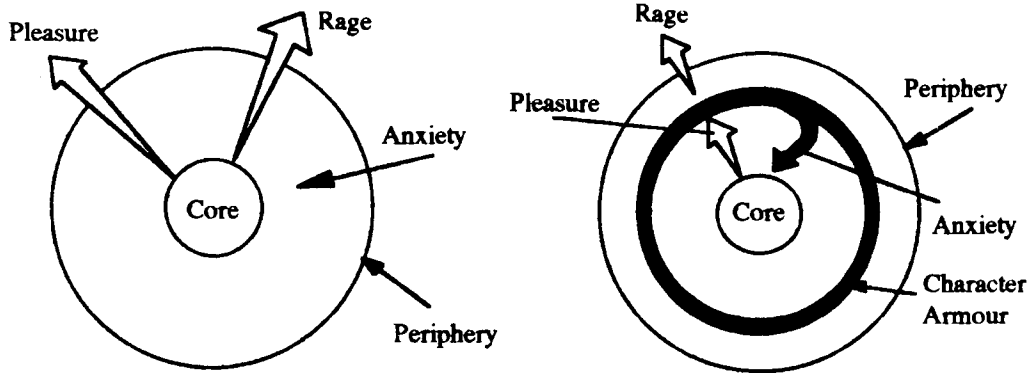


Figure 1 Reich's Unarmoured Orgonotic System & Armoured Orgonotic System

Reich is concerned with two aspects of the interaction between the psycho-biological organism and society which is external to it. In the first place there is the outward expression of the organism. In the second place, the character armour is developed in the context of social interaction and incorporated into the body. The armour causes a deflection of outward expression which acts back upon the core as anxiety. Reich does not conceive of the interaction between society and person explicitly in terms of communication but rather as an energy exchange. Society imposes a limit upon the energy available to individual persons and this limit is incorporated in the body.

Reich thus moved away from the Freudian concept of unconscious thought to a concept of unconscious body structures which were the cause of neuroses. In this move he abandoned the treatment of symptoms and initiated the treatment of the whole character.²³ The healthy (in Reich's terms the "genital") character structure was signaled by the ability to regularly achieve what he termed the orgasm reflex. By this he meant not merely the orgasmic convulsion but a complete and satisfying sexual embrace which released all of the built up emotional energy in the body. The energy which was not released due to characterological armouring created a sexual stasis and it was this energy which then was utilized by neurotic structures. Reich fairly soon moved away, however, from the simple use of character analysis as a psychological technique in order to concentrate directly on the body.

²³ Reich was one of the first to make this move to the treatment of the whole character, self or ego, and away from the treatment of symptoms. As such his work was a forerunner of American "ego" therapy, i.e. that of Karen Horney.

Reich's split with Freud no doubt had a number of causes, some of them theoretical, some of them personal. In essence, however, they differed over the role of the social in the etiology of neurosis. For Reich, Freud's idea of the "death instinct" was simply wrong. People do not become and *stay* neurotic because of any innate instinctual yearning for death or destruction. The tendency towards death and negativity is *socially* caused. Rigid authoritarian social conventions block the healthy instinct for life and love.

Reich made advances in the analysis of character which still belong to the conservative corpus of psychoanalysis. His differences with Freud, however, over theory and his insistence on the political dimension of psychoanalysis, meant that he could not long remain in the psychoanalytical movement. Following upon his discovery that unconscious thought was actually predicated upon a very concrete bodily blocking of internal libidinal energy, Reich sets out to understand how this blockage came about.

In summation, then, Reich's early work represents the human organism as a series of levels, arranged in concentric circles. In the healthy system, material sexual energy is generated in a central core of the body and can move freely to the periphery of the body. Feelings or emotions are directly equated with the movement of this material energy. Emotions should naturally be "expressed;" that is to say they should move outward from the core to the periphery of the body. In the unhealthy organism, chronic blockages of sexual energy in the body are registered as character attributes (muscular armour) which block the outward flow of emotional expression. Those emotions which do reach the periphery are significantly weakened. In the first case, feelings of anxiety are directly related to the external world outside the body while in the second case, feelings of anxiety are self-caused by the blockage of expression. Reich's central metaphor is that of "flow" and "stasis." Flowing energy is healthy -- energy which is allowed to stagnate is unhealthy. It is this stagnant energy which is utilized by neurotic structures.²⁴

²⁴ In Reich's view, energy originates in the core of the organism. This energy may be used in a healthy expression or in a distorted unhealthy neurotic expression.

It should be noted that Reich does not depict any explicit mind-body split in his general model of the human organism.²⁵ Rather the core and the periphery each involve aspects of mind and body. In Reich's general model it is bodily unconscious structures which block feeling and it is the blocking of feeling and the stagnation of energy which then "causes" neurotic cognitive distortion and/or neurotic or pathological behaviour. Given this, it is not surprising that, even among his admirers, one of the central criticisms leveled at Reich's work's is that it is biologically deterministic.

Reich's notion of a bodily energy economy is recognizably continuous with the history of "energetic" medicine including such disparate manifestations as Ayurvedic medicine in India²⁶ and the work of that other Romantic investigator of universal energies, Anton Mesmer (See English-Lueck, 1990, Mann, 1989).²⁷ Reich's focus upon bodily character structure, the present "actual neuroses" and inadequacy in the act of sexual love rather than psychological problems links his work quite directly to European existential themes. It also links it to much pre-Freudian healing practice which tended to view neurosis as a disruption of

²⁵ Reich does, in his other major diagram, given a little later in this chapter, deal with the mind-body split and its unification at the level of the primary expression of energy. In Reich's estimation, there is an original unity and the split occurs because of social interference and it is this interference which brings the body and the mind into conflict with each other. Reich thus explicitly sees the body-mind split as a neurotic social construction.

²⁶ English-Lueck (1990) tells us that the basic techniques of holistic health are "syntheses of twentieth-century innovations based on three medical traditions that have survived millennia: Asian, Ayurvedic, and Hippocratic/Unani." According to her, the Asian medical system focuses on energy flow and the importance of food, feelings, and social environment in establishing harmony. Similarly, in her analysis, the Indian Ayurvedic tradition contributed the idea of *chakras*, nodes of control that regulate energy through endocrinological changes. In her schema, Ayurvedic healing emphasizes diet, yogic physical disciplines, and the maintenance of balance with the elements of the environment (p. 16, 17). The holistic health movement has borrowed many notions from all of these systems. Wilhelm Reich, as far as I know, was not overtly influenced by any of them in particular. On the other hand, he was influenced, for instance, by the Bergsonian notion of the flow of a universal energy & this concept is certainly in the historical mainstream of empirical medicine in general. What is of primary interest here is not so much the placing of Reich's work in historical context, but rather the placing of Reich's ideas and their historical context in the context of a theory of embodiment. Thus there is a double process, to contextualize Reich's work in social history and to contextualize Reich's work (as social history) in embodiment theory.

²⁷ I place Reich's concepts within this tradition. See Mann (1989), Mary Coddington (1990), Thomas Hanna (1970) and Richard Grossinger (1987) for different accounts of Reich's relationship to energetic medicine. Reich himself did not align himself with any of these medical systems. He was for most of his life extremely wary of what he thought of as "mystical" distortions of what he considered to be the scientific and biological nature of his discoveries. He did, however, recognize the validity of various vitalistic conceptions including those of Paracelsus.

actual normal sexual life rather than a disruption of the inner symbolic life of the psyche (See Veith 1965).²⁸

While Reich's image of energetic flow is in some ways analogous to the flow of water in a stream, this analogy is not really adequate because flow, for Reich, is not uni-directional but involves a pulsation. Tension involves a bodily contraction with the build up of libidinous charge while relaxation involves an expansion of the body. The natural rhythm of the healthy organism thus involves a regular contraction and expansion. Reich later discovers the ubiquity of this process in his biological work.

A central tenet of character analysis and the later orgone therapy is that character can be read in bodily postures, characteristic expressions, styles of talk and so on and that the practical techniques of therapy should involve the more or less direct confrontation of characterological resistance as they occur in the transference relationship between client and therapist. It should be noted that with this innovation, therapy becomes much more of an active and essentially "theatrical" engagement than previously was the case. Reich was apparently a very good mimic and he used this talent to mimic postures and behaviours of his clients in an effort to bring characteristic behavioural habit patterns to consciousness. Sharaf (1983) reports that on more than one occasion Reich was physically attacked by a client. Reich's characteristically approved of such responses viewing them as a positive movement of vital energy. This move towards an active theatrics of therapy is a move towards the ritualization of the therapeutic loosening of the armour.

The Marxist Sociology

The second part of the European work involves the development of the Marxist sociology. Dissatisfied with the individualistic approach to therapy, Reich extended the

²⁸ Reich himself does not make explicit connections either to European existential or phenomenological thought which was being developed concurrently with his own work. Rather, Reich's work, while not being explicitly connected to the philosophical tradition, is itself phenomenological in the sense that he used his own body as his primary scientific instrument (following the great Romantic, Goethe's lead) and attempted a detailed description of emotional experience from the subject's perspective in concert with the objective analysis of the social milieu within which this experience was manifest.

Marxist theory of ideology by linking the Marxist critique of capitalist injustice to his psychoanalytic understanding of the diseased character structure and pin-pointed the development of the paternal or "authoritarian" (father dominated) family as the nexus of repression. He thus linked particular socialization practices, especially prohibitions on sexual behaviour, to the development of bodily postures which blocked bodily feeling in the makeup of the neurotic character which were then manifest in the broader sphere of public morality.

During this period Reich constructs what is in retrospect a pseudo-history of the transition from "primitive" communism and unrestricted sexual functioning to "Modern" repressed consciousness and capitalist society. He takes as model for his Romantic notion of "primitive" man, the "matriarchal" society of the Trobriand Islanders as described by the anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (Reich, 1972). Reich thus overtly links his concept of the healthy "genital" character structure with the character structure of "primitive" people in general and the neurotic character structure to the development of the "modern." In his work Reich juxtaposes a "natural" bodily character against the image of "unnatural" "Modern" character structure. As might be expected Reich's imagery of the body very often explicitly concerns the "animal" body. The human body is the animal body. This theme of continuity between animal and human bodies is also, of course, very predominant in the "organic" metaphors²⁹ of "Non-Modern" ideology.³⁰ In the simplest sense, what is at issue here, is the very concept of "manners." Reich proposes a "natural" animal manner as opposed to an artificial armoured or mechanical one, the first linked to health, the second to illness.

²⁹ See Shweder, Richard A, and Edmund J. Bourne on the cross cultural variability of the person.

³⁰ Reich himself envisioned a "primitive" society and character structure which was a natural expression of the human biological organism. As such, this natural society did not interfere in the natural expression of human sexuality. Reich himself thus envisioned a "primitive" ideological structure which was universal in the sense that it did not repress human sexuality. It is my own interpretive move to place Reich's symbolism within the context of what I call the ideal type of "non-modern" ideology. This move simply makes the distinction between the "modern" denial and suppression of moral hierarchy and that type of ideology which is "non-modern" in the sense that it is hierarchical and dialectical. To place Reich in the Romantic stream of "modern" thought is also to place Reich in the stream of "non-modern" ideology in the sense that "modern" romanticism is also dialectical and aspires to the re-establishment of moral hierarchy, has a concept of self transcendence and so on. See Appendix F for a fuller description of the interrelations between ideological forms as they are used in this thesis.

Reich sees the context of "Modern" social life as a particular social development which institutionalizes a set of bodily controls which are formative of the dominant (neurotic) character structure. This is the symbolic bridge which links the person to society. He blames this institutionalization of neurosis for the spread of authoritarian regimes, the world wars and what he comes to call the worldwide spread of an "emotional plague." The terrifying image of "plague" is of course strongly linked to the general notion of the "unclean" practices of medieval life and to the "Modern" image of the "unclean" as invisible bacteria which spread infection from one person to the next. Its symbolism is strongly linked to air and to breathing -- that is to that element which everyone must share in order to live.

After his "discovery" of "atmospheric orgone" and its opposite "DOR" (deadly orgone energy) Reich explicitly links the plague imagery to the movement of energy external to the body. Reich's image of the plague, however much it resonates with ideas of dirt and invisibility, is actually quite concrete, even prosaic. He proposes a plague type of character who spreads the emotional plague through his or her own neurotic behaviour patterns. This plague type is essentially a trouble maker who identifies his or her own neurotic unbalance with "proper" moral behaviour. In the final section of the thesis I will briefly look at Reich's example of the historical character responsible for the death of Giordano Bruno as the representative of evil.

As a member of the communist party, Reich was involved with the establishment of "Sex-Pol" clinics for the sexual education of youth in Germany. In this endeavour he was very certainly prophetic of the relaxed morality of the 60s generation. He calls for a sexual revolution to accompany the social and economic revolution. He writes the first analysis of the fascist character structure: *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*, a book which Myron Sharaf (1983) notes was a major unacknowledged influence upon Erik Fromm's book on the same subject.

In this second phase of his work Reich places his initial symbolism of flow and blockage in individual bodies into the context of the historical development of the "Modern."

His vision of the modern world is a vision of plague, of the contradiction between mind and body, of neurosis and the social manifestation of neurosis as fascism. Against the modern authoritarian regime and character structure, Reich proposes what he calls a "work democracy," and the ideal of self-regulation epitomized in the "genital character structure."

The Biological Work

Reich had to leave Germany when the Nazis came to power. With this move, the third phase of work begins. He worked first in Denmark and then later in America, first in New York and then later in Maine where he founded his institute of Orgonomy. During these unsettled years Reich was ousted from both the psychoanalytic movement as well as from the communist party. In the first instance, this was due at least in part for his being too political, in the second, for putting too much emphasis upon sex. Reich, himself, attributed both exclusions as essentially due to the plague of character neuroses in both organizations.³¹

Reich, however, was not at all one to stop what he was doing just because his work was not appreciated or understood. Rather, misunderstanding seems to have been a goad to increase his efforts. Just as in therapy, he felt he was onto something when characterological resistance was mobilized. During these years he developed his therapeutic technique called "vegetotherapy," aimed at the physical loosening up the muscular armour. Later, after his discovery of orgone energy, Reich changed the name of his therapy simply to "orgone" therapy. Reich in general employed both character analysis and bodily oriented therapeutics in his practice.

With his discovery of the physicality of unconscious processes and the social causes of the diseased character structure, the stage was set for his scientific investigation of sexual

³¹ While these and other rejections, in conjunction with the tragic losses of his early life, may indeed have ultimately played a part in Reich's feelings of persecution which come to a head in his later life, as various writers have proposed, there is no doubt that he and his work were, in fact, quite unjustly continually slandered, rejected and branded as pure quackery (Sharaf, 1983). The various harassments, newspaper campaigns, professional ostracization, gossip and slanderous accusations certainly combined to foster in Reich an image of himself as a lonely embattled Romantic hero who would with his few coworkers ultimately prevail against the bigots of conventional society.

energy outside of the body. The model used to interpret these phenomena was, however, the same model of sexual energy developed earlier. In effect, Reich tried to corroborate scientifically his intuition that bodily functioning and the functioning of all other processes in nature were functionally similar and that all were based on micro-electric currents different in some way from electro-magnetic currents.

Reich conceived of the natural sexual economy of the body in terms of what he called the "orgasm formula." He theorized that at the animal level of functioning, mechanical tension in the body automatically leads to a flow of pleasurable sexual energy which in turn given the proper circumstance leads to an automatic discharge of that energy and a mechanical relaxation. Anything which gets in the way of this automatic process of tension and relaxation, charge and discharge disrupts the natural economy and if this disruption becomes chronic, neurosis and/or biological disease will be the result. The short form of the formula is: Tension --> Charge --> Discharge --> Relaxation.³²

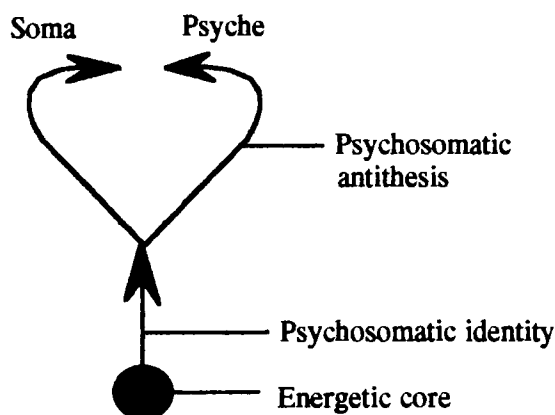


Figure 2 The Reichian Image of Unity & Diversity

Reich had by this time developed his dialectical mode of thought (orgonomic functionalism) and carried it on over into his scientific studies. The symbol at the core of this mode of thought and the one which is most often equated with Reich's work is a simple line drawing depicting psychosomatic identity and antithesis.

Psychosomatic identity predicated upon a unitary energetic core splits to give an image of the antithesis of psyche and soma. The mind and body are at one level united and on another, they are antithetical. Reich uses this diagram over and over again in order to illustrate the unity and the antithesis between various

32 Laura Dillon, in her article "Pulsation and Feeling" in *In the Wake of Reich* p. 249, notes that Charles Kelly, the Reichian author and therapist, has amended this formula to read: Charge --> Tension --> Discharge --> Relaxation. Read this way, it is the energy charge which builds up in the body which causes the bodily tension which must then be discharged rather than the other way around.

dualistic pairs including those of pleasure and anxiety, the sympathetic and the parasympathetic nervous system, god and the devil.

Reich's experimentation with the fluctuations of the electrical charge on the skin due to pleasurable sexual stimulation and unpleasurable anxiety led him to explicitly equate the pleasurable "streaming" sensations in the body to the flow of emotions which were, in his terms, "functionally identical" with the flow of a material bio-electricity. Here we have the Romantic theme of "direct contact" between the objective world and personal experience. With the establishment experimentally of the correlation between the expansive flow of sexual energy and a positive micro-electrical charge on the skin and the correlation between the anxious contraction of the organism and the production of a negative charge, Reich felt that he had made the link between mechanism and vitality as a natural biological pulsation.³³ He soon became dissatisfied, however, with the equation of the kind of energy he was studying with static electricity.

Reich proceeded to engage in a series of biological experiments started in Scandinavia and continued in the US. which resulted in his culturing what he called "bions," an intermediate life form, and then isolating and focusing the blue coloured "orgone" energy -- the ocean of life energy itself. Dialectical continuity is again the central theme. There is not a disjunction between the non-living and the living: there is a developmental sequence: the living is simply a "functional organization" of the non-living. One must make the "mechanomystical leap" to make the functional link between that which is non-living and that which lives. ³⁴ I do not intend to go into the details of Reich's biological and scientific work. What

³³ Reich's concept of the orgasm and its centrality to health has over and over again been misunderstood and this misunderstanding has led to much slander concerning his supposed advocacy of "free sex" and better orgasms. He was, in fact, although continually trying to find the biological foundations of sensations and emotions as well as attitudes, concerned with the symbology and experience of eros and the relationship between emotions and biology.

³⁴ Various aspects of this work seems bizarre in the context of conventional science, but of course any sort of new science doesn't "work" in terms of an emerging new scientific paradigm (See Kuhn, 1970). The problem in such cases concerns the symbolic linkages which must be established between the old and the new paradigm. In the case of Reich's work, the evidence is certainly not in: research proceeds slowly and almost completely unfunded. Reich's concept of orgone energy goes neither proved nor unproved. As Mann (1989) notes, the phenomena which Reich observed may have been due to a composite of factors rather than to a unitary energy. Certainly orgone is very similar to negatively charged ions which have recently been linked to psychological states.

is of primary interest for us is that Reich extends his mode of dialectical thought into the realm of conventional science. Thus the imagery of expansion and contraction and Reich's model of dialectical unity underlies a great number of dualisms which he finds at the level of chemical interactions, biological processes and so on.³⁵

Reich moved on to experiments in weather control, the studying of the formation of planetary systems, the problem of pollution and the counteraction of atomic radiation with orgone energy. In the process Reich and his coworkers apparently precipitated a massive diffusion of "negative" energy at the laboratory which caused a number of people to abandon the work. The laboratory was contaminated with extremely high levels of radiation, apparently much higher than would be expected if the researchers were dealing only with radioactive radium instead of the combination of radium and orgone.³⁶ This event nearly killed several people and caused massive paranoia among those involved. It was necessary to physically close down the laboratory for a period of time. From this experiment came Reich's "discovery" of DOR (Deadly orgone radiation) which ultimately was connected in his mind with the problem of evil as a global (and extraterrestrial) problem. It was the mid point of the 20th century and, if you will remember, it was a time in which flying saucers were regularly

³⁵ The essential difference between Reich's "discoveries" and traditional biology as far as I can tell is that Reich revives what used to be called "spontaneous" creation and posits this theory against the traditional view that the germs of life do not spontaneously generate but come from outer space. Pasteur supposedly finally proved that spontaneous generation of life does not exist. Reich disputes this. As I have said, I am not competent to judge. Today's conventional wisdom is that the original germs of life originated upon the planet, perhaps coming from comets hitting the earth, but that certain developments on the planet, i.e., the development of an atmosphere now prohibit the generation of these germs. Consequently, all life which currently continues to be generated upon the planet comes from these earlier developments. Conventional science has certainly judged Reich as utterly wrong in the matter and quite mad to boot. My own feeling in reading and re-reading Reich's biological work is that Reich aims at a philosophical redefinition of the very foundations of scientific endeavour. He aims to re-integrate a model of embodied experience into science. One of the themes of the present interpretation is an examination of the destabilization of our conventional categories by Reich's use of an experiential bodily model. As a matter of interest, it should be noted that a number of other microbiologists have made similar observations through similar types of microscopes as the one Reich used. The one most recently to come to attention is the Canadian maverick cancer researcher Gaston Naessens who has isolated a number of developmental stages in the generation of a cell which he calls "somatids." Both his and Reich's approach to the cure of cancer focus on the reinforcement of the body's energy system (the immune system) rather than on a direct attack upon the invading cancer cells. The symbolism is essentially homeopathic. The body is out of balance. There is a lack of energy, a lack of flow. It is this lack of energy which causes cells to disintegrate. Increase the energy flow and the cells will stop disintegrating. Cancer does not come from without; it comes from within. It is the reverse process of spontaneous generation; it is spontaneous death. Naessens' work has been chronicled recently by Christopher Bird (1991).

³⁶ This report is from Myron Sharaf who was present at the time of the experiments.

reported in the new world. Reich's "cloud busters" -- long metal tubes resembling anti-aircraft guns connected to a water source -- and which he used to create rain, were now turned against the outer space invaders.³⁷

The Theology of Universal Energy

In the fourth and final stage of Reich's work, Reich departs from his lifelong anti-religious and anti-mystical position and apparently recognizes the need for and the psychological structure of religious symbology.³⁸ He sees religious symbology as the misrecognition of a biological actuality, a misrecognition of one's own energy as "other." He wrote *The Murder of Christ*³⁹ and several other books involved with the interpretation of his ideas in terms of New Testament theology. Christ takes the symbolic role of the "genital character." God is the personification of orgone energy. The symbolism of the devil, sin, the snake in the Garden of Eden and so on is interpreted in the light of the Reichian concepts of muscular armouring and neuroses.

With this move, Reich attempts to create a synthesis between "primitive" character structure and sexual mores, new testament theology and his own political therapeutic. Sex is, of course, the unifying theme. As Rycroft 1969, Rieff 1987, and Robinson 1990 have noted: sex is Reich's sacrament. Traditionally, sacrament, as a ritual act links together the sacred and the profane spheres. Reich certainly did consider sex as the major mediation between the macrocosmic world of orgone energy and the microcosm of human social life. For Reich, the sexual sacrament links together the sphere as psyche and soma, it melds antithetical forces together, it links the large with the small in the healthy flow of nature. In one sense, then, Reich's work is essentially mystical. In another sense, however, it is essentially phenomenological and ecological. And yet again, it is also very much technological: Reich

³⁷ See Reich's son Peter's Book (1973) for an interesting description of the mission of the cosmic engineers in these final years.

³⁸ This is the opinion of John Conger (1988) who makes an analysis of the relationship between Jung's and Reich's work, the former emphasizing the conjunction between psychological and religious symbolism, the latter the conjunction between biology and psychology.

³⁹ *The Murder of Christ* is published along with *Cosmic Superimposition*, a book dealing with astrophysics.

announced the new cosmic technological age with his orgone accumulators, his cloud guns which shot orgone energy into the sky and the orgone motor he was apparently working on when he died.

Reich had a number of orgone accumulators built and was renting them out as an aid to the cure of cancer and other diseases. Reich's theory was that the direct application of orgone energy to problem areas of the body stimulated the appropriate organotic currents in the body and led to healing. It was then that the FDA (the American Food and Drug Administration) brought a case against transporting the accumulator's across state borders. In essence, they charged that the accumulators were fake because, according to their tests, orgone energy didn't exist. The tests which they carried out were, however, according to Reich himself as well as others, quite inadequate (see Sharaf, 1983). The head of the investigation, true to Reich's definition of the plague character, evidently pursued the case against Reich for quite irrational and neurotic reasons.⁴⁰ Reich, for his part, chose to fight the very right of the governmental agency to judge the validity of his work because they were not scientists and even if they were, they would "have to know more than he did" in order to properly judge the truth of his discoveries. Not a very wise approach to say the least.

During the years before his death and his "harassment"⁴¹ by the FDA, Reich more and more saw himself as the embattled visionary hero or prophet who, having discovered the very foundations of both scientific and spiritual truth is rejected and martyred by the repressive evil of society. Reich came to believe that the suppression of biological energy had become so deeply ingrained that any attempt at revealing its true nature would bring the concerted wrath of the agents of society against such revelation. He came to believe that Christ in every age is murdered by the agents of the emotional plague (Reich, 1953).

Reich's response to the judge upon losing his court case was:

⁴⁰ Sharaf (1983).

⁴¹ Reich himself certainly experienced the FDA's dealings with him as harassment. Sharaf (1983), Mann (1989) and Boadella (1983) all corroborate this interpretation.

Your honour: We have lost, technically only, to an incomprehensible procedure treadmill. I and my fellow workers, have, however, won our case in the true historical sense. We may be physically destroyed tomorrow; we shall live in human memory as long as this planet is afloat in the endless Cosmic Energy Ocean, as the Fathers of the cosmic, technological age.⁴²

A number of accumulators were destroyed by the FDA and all of his books burned, both those which related to the accumulators and those which didn't.⁴³ He died in a Federal prison in 1957 of a heart attack, a condition he had often referred to in others as "heart break." The fact that his books were burned at the very centre of the "free world" did nothing, of course, to hinder his reputation as the quintessential revolutionary when, in the 1960s, his work experienced the first of several revivals. Today his work is seen as only one tributary of the expanding symbolism and practice of holistic health. The symbolism of the human body, a symbolism heavily influenced by Reich' work, is the central thematic of that movement.

2) A Note on the Critical Assessment of Reich's Work

Reich's work in many ways remains as problematic and controversial today as at the time of his death. His work with few exceptions has only very partially been integrated into the intellectual fabric of contemporary thought. This is in despite of the fact that his influence is more and more felt on the contemporary cultural scene.

The unity of Reich's work has been denied in sympathetic and unsympathetic assessments to date. I believe that the essential unity has been missed because the central synthetic image behind the various aspects of Reich's work has remained more or less unrecognized, or if recognized it has been denied not because of any very powerful argument but rather because it contradicts too much accepted knowledge.

⁴² Sharaf, 1983, p. 454.

⁴³ All of Reich's works were treated as if they constituted advertising and instructional literature for the orgone accumulators because, of course, they all made reference to "orgone" energy. Reich made a habit of rewriting all of his works in order to bring them up to date. Thus later editions of even those works written before the "discovery" of orgone energy included the new name for the energy. This argument that his works constituted advertising is somewhat odd, however, when one considers the breadth of Reich's writings. How his SexPol essays, or his analysis of the Fascist character, for instance could constitute advertising material for the accumulators is difficult to imagine. (See Sharaf, 1983 and Mann, 1989 for a discussion of the trial).

In the assessment of Reich by the traditional psycho-analytic establishment, only the early part of his work is judged as useful, that is to say, the part before Reich went "mad" (see, for instance, Chasseguet-Smirgel and Grunberger, 1986). Other commentators such as Cattier (1971), Cohen, (1982) and Rycroft, (1969) see Reich's middle Marxist "critical" period as an advance upon his early work but also see little worth in the later "crazy" work with orgonomic energy and religious interpretation. Juliet Mitchell (1974) identifies Reich's fundamental error as a confusion between the unconscious and instinct. In the light of my interpretation, Mitchell's argument mistakes a certain instability in the terminology of biology for a confusion on Reich's part. In fact, looked at from the position of the whole of Reich's work, Reich makes no such mistake. The unconscious is double. It is at once cognitive and bodily and as Reich himself insists both aspects are strongly conditioned by cultural intervention. The sociologist Phillip Rieff (1987) sees Reich's last period as a doomed attempt to resurrect a therapeutics of "belief" in the context of "Modern" industrial capitalism. The attempt is doomed because such a therapeutics must be based upon a commonly held moral ideal. The community founded upon such a commonality, however, at least in his eyes, is irretrievably lost amid the fragmentation of the "Modern" world and the relativization of knowledge predicated upon analytic thought. For Rieff, Freud's skeptical stance towards human freedom in the face of necessary social repression is the apex of realism. The real world is difficult to accept without any illusions and thus Rieff argues it is only natural for those who are not strong enough -- i.e., Reich (and also Jung) -- to deviate from the truths of the master in search of an illusory freedom. And, of course, the masses -- being what they are -- are forever looking for a leader to take away their suffering, by whatever means.

Reich's therapeutics may very well be a therapeutics of belief but this belief is not in a more or less arbitrary moral code whose function is to unify the community. Rather, his belief is in the universal faculties of the body situated in its world. The very term "belief" becomes unstable in the context of the kind of embodied and experiential thought Reich envisioned. Reich's work and, in general, contemporary holistic therapeutics aim to integrate objectivist

epistemology of science and psychology into a moral landscape predicated upon bodily being in the world. "Belief" becomes a belief in one's own experience in a world which has been socially objectified.

Going even further, it appears that we are in a time of transition when the language of bodily health and illness is being taken up again as the metaphoric model for the health and illness of society and politics. For instance, the ecological movement and the holistic health movement have taken up such metaphors in their efforts to create a unified vision of planetary life. The development of this meta-discourse of "health" and the image of the body writ large as society points towards the attempt to re-establish the reciprocal relations between self and society which in the Romantic view have been lost in the transition to the "Modern."⁴³ It is not the body as a bureaucratic and hierarchic model for conservative society which is coming to the fore, however. Rather, it is the body as the vortex of the connected flow and pulsation of self and nature, self and society which lends itself to social metaphor. It is the body and especially its perceptual capacity which is coming to be seen in various emergent social movements as the crucial factor in the creation of knowledge and culture itself.⁴⁴ In these emergent contexts bodily experience itself is seen as the instrument for the re-invention of society.

Reich uses a dialectical system, in essence derived from Marx, Malinowski and Freud, to conceptualize a vast web of reciprocal functions between material, social and biological entities. His system of similarities, (sympathies or correspondences) involves the extension of bodily symbolism to all aspects of natural and social life in both its conventionalizing (contractive) and creative (expansive) modes. His vision of an essentially magical universe is

⁴³ By the "Modern" I mean both major streams of "modern" ideology, the Romantic and the Enlightenment. It is the Romantic stream of the "modern" in particular, however, which agonizes over the loss of community. In general, when I use the term the "modern" or "modern" ideology I mean to include both streams, the Romantic and the Enlightenment. However, these two streams are in a particular relationship in the context of "modern" ideology in general. The Enlightenment stream dominates. Thus the term "modern" is often used to signify this relationship: the domination of Romantic thought by the Enlightenment stream.

⁴⁴ In addition to the holistic health movement and the environmental movement, one can point to the vast growth of various spiritual disciplines, the most obvious being Buddhism in America, to the anti-war movement, to the growing number of people dedicating themselves to various "life-styles" including rock climbing and skiing.

predicated upon his reading of the functional similarities between such diverse aspects of the world as the physiognomy of the emotional life and the physiognomy of the natural landscape, homologies between human sexuality and the formation of star systems, the muscles of the human body and the lineaments of character.

Given the above, Reich's work is certainly bound to appear a little quaint in the light of contemporary secular relativism and the notion of an essentially neutral "nature" upon which social and psychological realities are projected. However, the mytho-historic theme of the interrelationship between the cultural value of creative vitality and an objective bio-electric energy as the condition of health (both predicated upon a symbology of the sexual body) continues to become more and more influential in the psycho-somatic paradigm and the holistic health movement in general. And Reich's insistence upon the recognition of ecological, biological and experiential constraints on human behaviour as the necessary foundation for both physical and social health appear more and more as simple common sense. His condemnation of the routinized body and the "Modern"⁴⁶ neurotic distortion of perception and thought appear as the very foundation of new age thought concerning the relations between body, mind and society.

⁴⁶ I refer to the "modern" domination of sensual bodily experience, especially the experience of self transcendence by a rational epistemology and the model of the self whose highest task is self-expression rather than self-transcendence.

CHAPTER II: EMBODIMENT & IDEOLOGICAL UNFOLDING

1) Introduction

The following chapter presents the more technical and theoretical aspects of the interpretive model of the production of meaning which I have drawn out of my readings of symbolic anthropology and embodiment theory.⁴⁷ The theoretic model is in actuality nothing but a fairly simple set of rules by which meaning is constituted at higher and higher levels of complexity. The model is in fact quite similar to Levi-Strauss's structuralism with the fundamental difference that it is informed by an embodied epistemology rather than Levi-Strauss's disembodied epistemology characterized by the Saussurian notion of the arbitrariness of language. In the embodied approach, language and experience form a unified dialectical field. The way meaning is embodied in language mirrors the way meaning is embodied in consciousness.

The model is holistic in the sense that the same process of transformation governs the formation of meaning from top to bottom. It begins with a dialectical model of the nature of embodied consciousness and from this model a simple typology of ideological forms is extrapolated. The model is abstract and theoretical and the ideological forms which are derived from it are ideal types. The model thus ties together the fundamental elements of bodily experience and the most abstract ideological structures which emerge from this experience and which continually guide and modulate it.

The model begins with the idea that meaning arises in embodied consciousness from the dialectical relationship between bodily perception and cultural convention. Ideological structures, while developed out of the same dialectic between the existential realities of bodily perception and cultural convention, are embodied in symbolic language. Thus ideological

⁴⁷ Merleau-Ponty (1964) is by far the most influential in the development of the phenomenological paradigm of embodiment. In addition we can note that recent work by Laughlin, McManus, D'Aquili (1992) draws directly on Husserl as well as upon Merleau-Ponty. Recently Sonia Kruks (1990) has drawn together the work of Marcel, Merleau-Ponty, Sartre and de Beauvoir. Csordas (1993) in his overview of the consideration of the body in anthropology notes Douglas (1973) initiated an anthropology of the body and that the elaboration of her work is obvious in Benthall and Polhemus (1975) and Blacking's outline of an anthropology of the body (1977). He cites Foucault's work on the body in history (1973, 1977) and also Schepers-Hughes and Lock (1987).

symbolism and the bodily perceptual capacity are in continual interaction in the creation and re-creation of personal meaning and in the creation and re-creation of social ideological meaning. The formation of meaning in consciousness is always contingent upon conventional social meanings just as the formation of meaning in language is always contingent upon perceptual bodily apprehension.

This dialectical model of the processual development of symbolic reality may be utilized at any level of complexity. Always, however, the simplest unit of analysis is the tripartite dialectical representation of figure and its ground and the experiential image or metaphor which transcends and embodies the figure/ground relation between bodily perception and cultural convention.

I am concerned with modelling two processes: the processual development of conventional life and experience and the processual development of unconventional or creative life and experience. In the first instance we have a model of the way in which society creates the individual, in the second instance the way in which individuals create society. The process is modelled as the figure/ground reversal of the experiential gestalt whose parts are embodied perceptual experience and social/cultural convention. Reich's version of the social construction of character structure as body armour is mapped onto the general model of the way in which conventional ideology unfolds in society. His therapeutic reconstruction of character is mapped onto the general model of the way in which ideological structures are changed and re-created.

In the former case, dealing with "social convention," I am concerned to clarify: a) the ways in which Reich's work is socially constructed and reflects the categories of Romantic ideology and the tradition of empirical medicine and b) Reich's version of the social production of "persons" (especially neurotic persons) as the incorporation of social symbolism into the body. In the latter case, of "social invention," I am concerned to clarify: a) Reich's image of "natural" embodied experience⁴⁸ and his reversal of the conventional neurotic

⁴⁸ The fact that Reich's phenomenological approach to the body in his own clinical work produces a symbolic structure which is in essence congruent with the Romantic and empirical medical traditions points not only to the

character structure in his therapeutic invention of the healthy person and b) the general influence of Reich's model of health and therapeutic invention upon the holistic health movement.

Reich's language of flow and blockage is a phenomenological language which understands experience as a dialectical relation between what he terms the "direct" contact between the body and the world and the modulation and blockage of this relationship by the symbolism and behaviour of conventional social life. Within a theory of embodiment, the symbolic unfolding of experiential reality includes both subjective and objective, private and public aspects. The analysis of this unfolding thus involves four processes: a) the process of the social objectivization of experience as cognitive and bodily symbolism, b) the process whereby this symbolism modulates lived experience, c) the process whereby lived experience influences, invents and re-invents both bodily and cognitive symbolism and d) the process by which novel symbolic invention changes subsequent experience.

Meaning forms in the dialectic between bodily experience and social convention. This approach, although very similar to what has become known as the "social constructionist" paradigm, differs in one major regard. While social constructionism purports to be dialectical, in fact there is a tendency to emphasize the ways in which society determines or constructs the meaning of what it considers essentially raw experience. My approach, on the other hand, takes a more radical, and I believe a more balanced, phenomenological view of the dialectic. Thus an interest in what can be called the essential nature of bodily experience becomes a larger factor in the interpretation. On the one hand, experience is very certainly socially constructed at the level of body and mind; on the other hand, the system of social signs is invented and re-invented on the model of bodily, particularly perceptual experience. From this orientation social symbolism and the perceptual capacity both participate in the way the body

influence of these traditions on his work but also to the general influence of the phenomenological approach to the understanding of experience upon Reich, romanticism and empirical medicine.

is situated in the social and natural world and thus in the creation of conscious modes of awareness.⁴⁹

Reich's work, then, and by extension the tradition of empirical medicine and Romantic ideology in general, similarly emphasize the nature of embodied perceptual experience in the context of symbolic social life.

I now proceed to a brief programmatic description of the main concepts which govern the interpretive model. In essence, it is the same as that presented by the American anthropologist Roy Wagner in his book *Symbols That Stand for Themselves* (1986). It has, however, been altered somewhat in order to focus more attention upon the ideological structuring of the body itself and the effects of this structuring on experience. Following this brief elaboration, I will present a slightly more in depth discussion of the nature of "experience" and "convention," and the diagrammatic modelling of the dialectics of invention and convention.

In the appendices, there is a glossary of interlocking definitions pertaining to the theory of embodiment, the nature of symbolic meaning and ideological form. Examples from Reich's and related work are used to illustrate the definitions. I have also, in order not to impede the flow of explication, given expanded treatment to several important topics (e.g., social constructionism) in the appendices. The glossary can be read on its own and provides a general theoretical overview of my model of the relationship between the formation of meaning in embodied consciousness and its expansion into ideological forms both cognitive and bodily.

2) Elements of the Anthropological Model

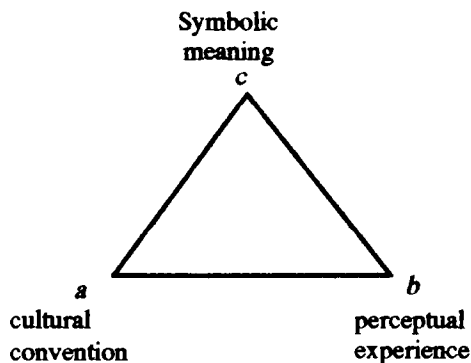
a) From the point of view of embodiment theory, the human body, situated in the world, (both natural and social) gives to consciousness the image of reality. From this point of view,

⁴⁹ I elaborate a number of investigations into the nature of perceptual consciousness and the experiential structuring of meaning in Appendix K: The Nature of Perceptual Consciousness.

"reality" or the "meaning of experience" is always given as a perception (Wagner, 1986). The anthropologist Thomas J. Csordas (1993) defines the methodological field of embodiment as a dialectic occurring between "perceptual consciousness and collective practice" (p. 137).⁵⁰ Csordas characterizes "collective practice" in terms of what he calls "somatic modes of attention" which he defines as "culturally elaborated ways of attending to and with one's body

in surroundings that include the embodied presence of others" (p. 138).⁵¹

Figure 3 Symbolic Construction of Meaning



The image of reality, then, is given by the dialectic between a "primordial experience characterized by the absence of duality between mind and body, self and other" and the objectification of the unified field of perception "in reflective practice, through a particular somatic mode of

attention" (p. 149). Put in slightly simpler terms, "meaning," arises out of the dialectic between bodily perceptual experience and cultural/social convention.

b) The bodily perceptual capacity thus situates the body as continuous with the world. The world and the body are inseparable and continuous. On the other hand, social convention involves the objectification of this unified field. This is accomplished by the formulation of categorical boundaries, separating one aspect of experience from another. Conventional categorical boundaries are established by the metaphorical linking of one thing with another,

⁵⁰ In his analysis, he brings together Merleau-Ponty's emphasis upon the private world of perception and Bourdieu's notion of the socially experienced body or "habitus" (p. 137). The phenomenologist Husserl calls these aspects, noema and noesis.

⁵¹ He notes that: "Because attention implies both sensory engagement and an object, we must emphasize that our working definition refers both to attending 'with' and attending 'to' the body. To a certain extent it *must* be both. To attend to a bodily sensation is not to attend to the body as an isolated object, but to attend to the body's situation in the world. The sensation engages something in the world because the body is 'always already in the world.' Attention to a bodily sensation can thus become a mode of attending to the inter subjective milieu that gave rise to that sensation. Thus one is paying attention *with* one's body (p. 138)."

one context with another upon the basis of certain resemblances. To establish resemblance, however, also establishes difference. Thus metaphorical boundaries are established between categories of things which resemble each other. There are thus two aspects to metaphor: an aspect which brings together things upon the basis of resemblance and an aspect which separates things which have an observable lack of resemblance. Roy Wagner (1986) suggests a spectrum of metaphor whose poles are the iconic or analog image (which imitates the thing it represents) and referential or point metaphor (which has an arbitrary relationship to the thing it represents.)⁵² In language itself, then, there is this same polarity between a perceptual continuity between things and the conventionalization of this continuity. The structure of meaning in language is thus fundamentally identical with the structure of meaning as it arises in embodied consciousness. Both have an aspect which gives to consciousness an image of continuity (between the body and the world, between some aspect of the word and another aspect) and each have an aspect which gives to consciousness an image of discontinuity (conventional distinctions, lack of resemblance).

c) The meaningful relationship between perceptual consciousness⁵³ and cultural convention⁵⁴ is a figure/ground gestalt.⁵⁵ Because the structure of meaning in consciousness is the same as that in language, this holds for both the embodiment of meaning in consciousness & the embodiment of meaning in language. Following Wagner (1986), I treat the foreground "figure" as the explicit "control" on the meaning of the implicit "background." To take an

⁵² See Glossary of Terms in Appendix F.

⁵³ The term "perceptual consciousness" is used throughout as synonymous with "bodily consciousness," "experiential consciousness," "experience," "bodily experience," "the perceptual image," "the perceptual image of experience," "the experiential image," and so on.

⁵⁴ The term "cultural convention" is used throughout as synonymous with "ideology," "social symbolism," "conventional symbolism," "conventional social structure," "the social sign," "textuality," "social or cultural text" and so on.

⁵⁵ To see the relationship between perceptual consciousness and cultural convention as a figure/ground gestalt is merely to always see the one in relationship to the other. I take this notion of foreground and context as being an essential facet of anthropological interpretation. It is simply to say that any social convention (e.g., a male social role in a given society) is always contextualized by the embodied world of perceptual experience, that is to say by nature. To reverse the figure/ground relationship is to say that any perceptual experience is always contextualized by social conventions. In other words, social role acts as the context for experience.

example from psychoanalysis: in the development of character, the conventional moral dictum that it is wrong for a child to play with his or her genitals may act as the foreground control on the implicit background of the child's feelings and behaviour which Freud called polymorphous perversity. The figure/ground gestalt is comprised of a moral dictum which controls feelings. At the level of language, the conventional dictum "no" controls the experiential background summed up in any number of metaphors which circle around the notion of "genital" or "animal" or "uncivilized" or "bad" physical sexual pleasure.

d) In turn, each aspect of the figure/ground gestalt is dual. This means that there are both cognitive and bodily aspects of convention and cognitive and bodily aspects of experiential perceptual life. Both body and mind are treated as social mediums of expression. Each also has its perceptual aspect. This means that nested within any foreground figure, there is also a body/mind gestalt and also that nested within any background context there is also such a body/mind gestalt. (See Appendix G and Appendix H).

e) The figure/ground gestalt is reversible. The reversibility of the figure/ground relationship is the foundation for the development of knowledge. In the development of knowledge, experience modifies convention and convention modifies experience. If experience is not allowed to modify convention, then knowledge stagnates. If convention is not allowed to modify experience then madness is not far off. The a priori assumption behind this ongoing reversibility of the figure/ground gestalt of experience/convention in the development of knowledge is that there is no absolute "fit" between knowledge and experience. The fit between them is always relative to the practical use of knowledge. In the development of knowledge, the implicit ground, or some aspect of it, comes to dominate or control the gestalt in such a way that what previously dominated recedes into the background. To reverse the example above, the feelings of sexual desire overcome the symbolic interdict to not touch and

the pleasure the child experiences "controls" for the time being the meaning of background adult morality.

f) There are two dialectical processes which figure in the development of complex ideological forms. These two processes mirror, at a higher level of complexity, the two figure/ground relationships at the root of embodied consciousness. These two figure/ground relationships are i) that relationship whereby convention controls background experience and ii) that relationship whereby experience controls the background of convention.

Meaning unfolds as two different developmental sequences according to whether the sequence begins with a conventional or an experiential control. When the sequence begins with a conventional control we have the dialectic of convention. When the sequence begins with an experiential control, we have the dialectic of invention. In the former case, conventional symbolism unfolds as an expanding set of symbolic frames each aimed at the expansion of conventional control. There is an alternation between the control of experience by convention and vice versa but there is a processual accumulation of control as it were. The controlled ground of experience becomes the foreground figure which in turn controls a background context at a higher level of the developmental sequence.⁵⁶ The development of what Reich terms the character armour and the neurotic character in general is analyzed as the dialectical unfolding of conventional control. In the latter case, experience controls conventional symbolism in such a way that it re-organizes it to produce novel meaning. Reich's therapeutic use of bodywork is a dialectic of invention whereby conventional symbolism and understanding are undone and the character of the patient is re-invented.

g) Two different ideological orientations emerge from the two ways in which the relationship between cultural creativity and conventional life⁵⁷ are handled. The relationship between the

⁵⁶ Because we are dealing both cognitive and bodily symbolism, the model of dialectical unfolding proceeds from a) a cognitive social aspect to b) a bodily experiential aspect to c) a bodily social aspect to d) a cognitive experiential aspect, and so on.

⁵⁷ For a somewhat more in depth look at the different ways "non-modern" and Enlightenment ideology are modelled, see Appendix F.

dialectic of convention and the dialectic of invention can be handled creatively as a dialectic or it can be handled conventionally as non-dialectical. Again, this process mirrors the fundamental facts of embodiment itself. In the primary figure/ground gestalt, if experience is allowed to periodically control convention, then knowledge accumulates as a dialectical process. In this case there is a reciprocal relationship between conventional aspects of social life and the experiential potentials of embodied being. If, on the other hand, conventional knowledge continually controls experience, knowledge stagnates. In fact, this is only partly the case, because convention simply cannot completely control experience. What in effect occurs in the development of ideology is a continual fragmentation of ideological structure so that the ideology of control spreads into more and more aspects of experience.

Just as there are two sides to the dialectic in the construction of personal and social meaning, so also there are two essentially different types of human experience (conventional and creative) and also two essentially different types of social ideology. I am speaking here of ideal types. Each ideal type of human experience may be linked with an ideal type of ideology. Not surprisingly one type of experience and ideology is linked to the bodily and perceptual aspect of the dialectic. The other is linked to the conventional and social aspect.

Each of these two distinctive types of ideology is characterized by a particular type of discursive practice. In the one case, the system of conventional metaphors emphasizes the perceptual continuity between the body and the world and a system of resemblances between things. The relationships between different categories of things are arranged hierarchically, that is to say as some sort of dialectical figure/ground relationship. The fundamental distinction is that between the macrocosm of higher powers and the microcosm of social life. In the other case, the system of metaphors emphasizes the conventional boundaries between the body and the world and a set of causal relations between different categories.

I believe these two ideal types of ideological orientation underlie a great many historically developed dichotomies such as that between Romantic and Enlightenment ideology which I elaborate in the next section. Right now, I am concerned with the more general

distinction between an ideal type of religious ideology and a non-religious secular ideology. The ideal type of religious ideology is typified by a symbolism of moral hierarchy (macrocosm and microcosm) and some sort of social ritual which aims at symbolically linking the two domains of macrocosm and microcosm or cosmos and nomos as Peter Berger (1967) calls them. This type of ideology is dialectical. Secular, profane or scientific ideology is characterized by the denial of the moral hierarchy and a methodology which aims at symbolically linking the separate categories on a single plane in a set of causal relationships. This type of ideology is analytical. These ideal categories are higher level abstractions derived from the fundamental distinction made in the paradigm of the embodied construction of meaning. Thus hierarchical and dialectical ideological forms emphasize the bodily and perceptual side of experience while non-hierarchical and analytic ideological forms emphasize the conventional social objectifications of experience.

h) Each of the ideological types is intimately linked with a certain structure of self or identity which in turn gives to consciousness a particular experience of the world. Thus we have the distinction between "participatory" identity and "causal" identity made by Shweder and Bourne and also by Stanley Tambiah.⁵⁸ It must be remembered that each ideological type and each type of self involves both aspects of the embodied construction of meaning. The distinctions between ideal types of ideology and ideal types of identity involve a relationship between the same fundamental aspects of experience, the same fundamental components and processes by which meaning is embodied. It is a question of emphasis. The types of self, the types of ideology and the types of experience although varying widely from culture to culture and from time to time are thus underpinned by the universal experience of embodiment.

i) "Modern" ideology is represented as a composite of the two basic ideological types extrapolated from the universal facts of embodiment. These two streams are that of Romantic

⁵⁸ See Appendix J: Ideology and the Self

thought and Enlightenment thought. Romantic thought is hierarchical and dialectical.

Enlightenment thought is analytical and denies the hierarchy of value. Romantic ideology is thus symbolically linked with sacred ideology and participatory identity while Enlightenment ideology is linked with profane ideology and causal identity. Romanticism is in general also linked to "Non-Modern" religious ideology in the sense that Romantic thought tends towards mystical hierarchy, an ideal of self transcendence, the solidarity of religious community and so on.

The anthropologist De Zengotita (1989) sees the Enlightenment influence operating on "the surface of things" while Romanticism

has always been the shadow of the modern positive -- excessive, oppositional, holistic, emotional, intuitive, implicit, transitory, exalted, marginal, apocalyptic, elegaic and ineffable. Romanticism is a way of being and doing that eludes definition, for elusion is one aspect of the dialectic constituting its deepest purpose. When Romantics take history as ground for attacking the Enlightenment, they do not stand on it. Romanticism sacrifices all frozen postures to irruptions of genius and immanent spirit; to it belong the radiant moment, the noumenal touch (p. 75).

He goes on to say that scholarship, particularly within the context of the history of ideas, has elaborated a great number of oppositional dichotomies which characterize the relationship between the Enlightenment and the Romantic modes of thought. These include: "transcendence vs. immanence, mechanical vs. organic, control vs. spontaneity, calculation vs. imagination/feeling, society vs. community, sincerity vs. authenticity, utility vs. inherent value, abstract vs. concrete, static vs. dynamic, liberty vs. self-determination" (Ibid).

The anthropologists Robin Horton and Ruth Finnegan (1973) provide a useful contrast between the two accounts of the "great transition" from "primitive" to "Modern" thought utilizing the work of Levy-Bruhl and Durkheim. They call the Romantic version of the transition the "Contrast/Inversion" Schema and the Enlightenment version the "Continuity/Evolution" schema.

Table 2 The Two Schemas of the Transition to "Modern" Ideology Compared

Contrast/Inversion Schema	Continuity/Evolution Schema
Symbolic representation	"facts" of empirical data
"primitive" and "Modern" thought may be contrasted and the "Modern" is an inversion of the "primitive" in the sense of emphasizing reason over symbol, feeling and emotion over rationality, sacred over profane ...	Sees continuity and evolution between the so called "primitive", symbolic, emotional, intuitional, thought of traditional societies and "Modern" instrumental, scientific thought.
Characterizes science as narrowly positivistic in order to minimize its relevance in those areas of life which dominate in traditional societies. Sees the "Modern" world view as lacking depth, emotion, meaning, and engendering a general alienation of self from other and from community.	Sees the proponents of the contrast/inversion schema as victims of a Romantic search for a "lost world", the world of the pre-industrial West. This Romantic yearning is a direct result of the "Modern" loss of confidence engendered by rapid technological development and the resulting alienation etc.
Traditional and "Modern" thought (symbolic and instrumental) serve different functions: the one concerned with spiritual, emotional (broadly symbolic) matters, the other with material matters. (Also social function of symbol: Durkheim)	Sees all talk of spiritual or non-present beings as serving the same function in traditional society as "Modern" talk of unobservables. "Modern" society is simply better at explanation than traditional societies.
Sees positivism as distorting symbolic thought, rationality as limited	Sees Liberal Romantic scruples as hindering a more objective view of traditional societies
Surrealists: Real -- Surreal Levy-Bruhl: Real -- Supernatural	Functional explanation is continuous between traditional and "Modern"
"Being" & mythic cyclicality	History, & Progress

One very general aspect of the Romantic ideological project involves the transformation of the sacred symbology of traditional society into the symbology of secular psychology.⁵⁹ Reich's work participates in the Romantic call for the abandonment of the

⁵⁹ The dichotomous categories of the Romantic and the Enlightenment paradigms are, it seems to me, a product of the humanist Enlightenment mode of explanation itself which casts Romanticism, by and large, in the role of the negative other. These categories, are, moreover, in the context of postmodern theory and practice, in the process of collapsing in the general deconstruction of humanist categories. There are, of course, a great many reasons for this general loss of faith in what Reich somewhat awkwardly terms the "mechano-mystical" orientation. Here, I need only point out that the gap which has opened up in the contemporary subject is that between desire and its satisfaction. The commodity form with its explicit and implicit linkages to images of power, status and sexuality is more and more being seen as unable to really satisfy psychological needs. The refusal to participate in the cycle of escalating dissatisfaction is a turn, however awkward, toward the reconstruction of the broken self.

dichotomous relationship between the two streams of "Modern" thought. Reich's romanticism participates in the general move towards the recovery of all that is perceived to have been lost due to the Enlightenment rupture of traditional and historical being. Contemporary Romantic thought involves a move towards bodily participation in the world whether this involves the way human utterance participates in the creation of the world, body language is used by marginal groups to create identity, the way in which kinesics and the perceptual capacity precede the alienation of the word or the way that the manipulation of the symbolic body changes consciousness.

In Enlightenment ideology, relations are essentially causal rather than dialectical and there is no "higher plane" which interacts with the natural world. God is dead. In hierarchical and dialectical ideology, there is a reciprocal relationship between animals, gods and humankind, the dead and the living, the visible and the invisible. Humankind participates in the symbolic creation of the world. In uni-planar and analytic ideology, categorization aims at exclusivity: subjective aspects are excluded in favour of objective ones, the dead have no existence, morality is something added to the bare facts and so on. Humankind does not participate in the symbolic creation of the world. Rather humankind can at best control what is already created.

Romantic and "Non-Modern" ideology in general have two hierarchically and dialectically related conventional spheres: that of the sacred and the profane.⁶⁰ Enlightenment ideology, on the other hand, has only one plane of convention. Human conventions, in general, are arrayed along this plane ranging from the "true" to the untrue or irrational and superstitious. The hierarchical realm of sacred and profane is reduced to a dualism between

⁶⁰ These spheres may also be characterized as macrocosmic cosmology and microcosmic symbology, the larger and the smaller. In my model, I follow Roy Wagner (1986) in equating the experiential sphere with the macrocosmic sphere and the conventional sphere with the microcosmic sphere. This simply follows embodiment theory which sees the domain of experience as larger and more encompassing than social convention because the perceptual capacity creates a unified whole of self and world. On the other hand, in the microcosmic sphere of cultural convention, the vastness of experiential potential is reduced to particular conventional symbols, words, gestures, ideas.

rational and irrational. In nineteenth century medical and philosophical thought, mechanistic and vitalistic theory illustrate the same dichotomy between ideological orientations.

From the point of view of my abstract model, the essential difference between the discourses produced by these two streams of thought centers upon the different epistemological assumptions regarding the relationship between representation and experience. These two different epistemological assumptions directly affect the way in which the relationship between the dialectic of convention and the dialectic of invention is handled.

j) Each ideological orientation has a conventional mechanism which handles the relationship between the dialectic of convention and the dialectic of invention. This conventional mechanism is in the one case an experiential dialectical mechanism. In the other case it is a conventional non-dialectical mechanism. Convention in general aims at the control of the relationship between the world and society (or nature and culture). The primary distinction between the two types of ideology can thus be made with direct reference to this control function. Sacred ideology aims at control of persons and the external world through a dramatic mimetic enaction of the dialectical interplay between convention and experience as social ritual. On the other hand, "Modern" Enlightenment ideology is characterized by its penchant for the pursuit and control of experience by convention itself. Classical scientific methodology aims at understanding the system of causal links which joins all aspects of dualist Enlightenment ideology.⁶¹ Ritual is replaced by method in Enlightenment ideology.

⁶¹ These very general characterizations of ideological forms are ideal types. They are radically simplified models of very complex forms. They are phenomenological reductions of ideological forms. Given that the dialectic has at root two and only two aspects, the most radical reduction possible to describe an ideological form must necessarily involve a description of the relationship between these two aspects. In this sense, I have characterized "modern" ideology as a relationship between experience and convention wherein convention dominates. Alternatively, I have characterized "non-modern" ideology as a relationship between experience and convention wherein experience dominates. This is, of course, only the starting place for an analysis of any particular ideological form. I take these assertions concerning the essential nature of different ideological forms as phenomenological reductions of quite traditional sociological formulations of their nature. Thus "modern" Enlightenment ideology is characterized as a denial of bodily experience in the sense that scientific methodology insists upon a narrow control of bodily (empirical) experience in the pursuit of truth in a way that, for instance, ritual magic does not. These reductive characterizations of ideological forms should be treated as exactly that. The denial of the dialectical interaction between facts and values in Enlightenment ideology and the pursuit of objective categorization has led to an

k) Sacramental ritual in "Non-Modern" ideology is explained in terms of the anthropological concept of "ritual reversal."⁶² As I have stated above, it aims at a control of personal and macrocosmic powers. Sacrament is aimed at the ritual enaction of the connection between the macrocosmic sphere of sacred life and the microcosmic sphere of social life. Ritual reversal, then aims at the reversal of the conventional controls on sacred experience.⁶³ In ritual reversal, sacred transcendent experience is allowed to control convention. As such it links the microcosmic sphere (constituted in the dialectic of convention) and the macrocosmic sphere (constituted in the dialectic of invention). Thus, as Wagner (1990) notes, ritual reversal in many different societies involves the transcendence of the sharply marked dialectical distinctions between the sexes, clans, proper and improper behaviour and so on.

In contemporary therapeutic terms, the unconscious aspects of thought and behaviour which are brought into being by the various repressions of cultural convention, are allowed a public place to manifest themselves. Public and private domains inform each other in such a way that no such explicit distinction can be made. This is, of course, in direct contradiction to the situation in contemporary life dominated by Enlightenment epistemology. Today public and private life are very much kept separate.⁶⁴ Compared to small-scale face to face societies having an ideology of the sacred, the individual has very little opportunity to influence public life. The experience of having the democratic vote is hardly "participatory." The mentally ill individual, or for that matter any deviant individual, has very little input into the social symbolism which comprises the context for deviance and plays a very large part in the forms

incredibly complex system of discourses in contemporary life. I do not think, however, that we should lose sight of the original *denial* which lies at the root of the technology of control which this ideology has spawned.

⁶² See Appendix F: Glossary of Terms.

⁶³ I here take "sacred experience" to be synonymous with "expanded experience" which is synonymous with "transcendent experience." There are, of course, other types of "expanded experience," i.e., that of artistic creativity, sexuality and so on. By "expanded experience" I mean quite simply the expansion of bodily perception which is thus always the expansion of meaning.

⁶⁴ With the term "private" I have in mind particularly the contents of individual minds and the behavioural impulses of individuals which do not conform to conventional expectations. The "private" in this sense is a social creation. Insanity is thus a socially created but "private" affair. My assertion is that "non-modern" ideology via ritual reversal aims at the continual re-integration of such socially created aberration into the social fabric *as a creative force*. The re-integration of such socially created neurosis in contemporary western society is in general seen as a continual *control* of irrational impulses and ideas.

of its manifestation. Reich's cosmology is analyzed as a manifestation of Romantic ideology, dialectical and hierarchical. I analyze his therapeutics as an example of contemporary ritual reversal.⁶⁵ Reich's therapeutic involves the reversal of a sense of male authority in the abandonment of self in the sexual embrace, the reversal of mental and physical blocks in the flow of energies, and also later on the reversal of the planetary process of desert making in the bringing of rain and so on.

I) Roy Wagner (1986) argues that the Enlightenment denial of the sacrament of ritual reversal means that the "modern" has as its central feature the historical enactment of the reversal. Instead of the reciprocal relationship between public and private spheres as in "Non-Modern" ideology, there is a bifurcation between public and private (and between a host of other aspects including mind and body, conscious and unconscious and so on). Class structures develop and cultural creativity is controlled by an elite.

The suppression or blocking of ritual reversal means that the invention of society and self are not enacted in terms of the general expansion of private experience into the public domain. The meaning and causes of the various developments of modern ideology and society are, of course, extremely varied and complex. In terms of the anthropology of the self, however, the primary movement I am interested in is the development of the internal psychological self and the coming to ascendancy of the notion of personal expression over the

⁶⁵ In the sense Roy Wagner (1986) uses the term, "ritual reversal" involves the collectively organized and dramatized bodily experience of the figure/ground *reversal* between the creative flow of perception and the conventional constriction of same. The central symbolism of the figure/ground reversal involves the mimicry of the power of the macrocosmic domain. The tendency towards reversal which is always immanent in the world (that tendency characteristic of death and decay which brings down marriages and kings alike) is imitated in ritual enactments wherein individuals and social entities identify with and control powers. Dialectical ideology imitates that which it hopes to control; non-dialectical ideology acts to contain and restrain that which it hopes to control. Our own technological model of "control" has indeed taken over the very meaning of control. The control aimed at by ritual reversal is "symbolic" control and generally it is thought of today as "merely" psychological.

In Freudian terms, ritual reversal stages a collective expression of unconscious repressed materials with the aim of re-integrating these materials into the main stream of social life. In cultures which practice ritual reversal, the private domain of psychic experience is periodically allowed to inform public conventional life. There is a certain reciprocal relationship between the public and the private. Dialectical differentiation is set up publicly as a set of strong differences (between men and women, the dead and the living and so on) and in ritual reversal, this strong differentiation is mediated.

transcendence of self. Reich has his own particular version of the transition from the "primitive" to the "Modern" as a Romantic reversal. For Reich, this reversal involves a denial of the outward movement of sexual energy which results in the neurotic internalization of the creative process. From the point of view of my analysis, the dialectic of invention is no longer involved in the reversal between macrocosm and microcosm but between the microcosm of society and the sub-microcosm of the internal psychological and moral subject. This change means that the subject is no longer invented or re-invented as the sacred subject but as the secular psychological subject.

m) In summation, the general system of ideal types used in my analysis is derived from a model of how meaning is embodied. The model of how meaning is embodied in metaphoric language and at higher levels in complex ideological structures mirrors the fundamental dialectic wherein meaning appears in consciousness. The dialectic is between a) a perceptual continuity and resemblance between things including living bodies and b) the conventional distinctions which divide up the world and consciousness in a system of symbolic categories. Two processes involved in the development of knowledge are isolated: the dialectic of convention and the dialectic of invention. Two ideal types of ideology are derived from the way in which the relationship is handled between cultural creativity and cultural convention. One emphasizes the creative and perceptual side of the dialectic, the other the conventional side. In like fashion, two different types of identity are theorized. Again, one type of identity emphasizes the continuity between self and other, cosmos and nomos, subjectivity and objectivity, body and mind, while the other emphasizes the dis-continuity between them. The western "Modern" tradition is itself seen as a dialectic between these two abstract ideological types typified as the Romantic and Enlightenment streams of thought.

My interpretive framework, then, begins with the universal process whereby meaning is produced in embodied consciousness as a dialectic. The dialectic is between perception (or simply "experience") and convention. Experience and convention, however, mirror each

other, because metaphor, the fundamental unity of meaning embodies meaning in the same way as the image in consciousness embodies meaning. From this position, there is no "out there" which can be correctly or incorrectly symbolized by consciousness or language. "Out there" is always already in a relationship with the "in here" of the embodied image in consciousness and/or the image embodied in language. The relationship between the world and its embodiment as consciousness or as external symbol is a reciprocal one whereby the world and its image simultaneously create and maintain each other. From this initial and fundamental interaction, a system of ideal types is derived.

3) Reich's Work as an Embodied Phenomenon

Reich's work is embodied in a system of interlocking symbols which in their totality I analyze as an ideological system. This embodiment of meaning exists at the level of the microcosm of culture. Macrocosmic experience is embodied in cultural symbols. In this sense, experience is reduced and codified in cultural conventions. This, however is not the level of embodied experience itself. The level of embodied experience itself involves the experiencing body in the world in its relationship to cultural conventions embodied in symbols. Embodied experience involves a macrocosmic inclusion of cultural convention.

Of course, at the level of cultural convention, one may point to either level. This is to say one may point to the ways in which meaning is embodied in language or one may point to the ways in which embodiment includes an experiential and a language element. Reich's work is thus necessarily embodied (all meaning must be embodied), but because his work begins with and proceeds from the body situated in its world, his work is embodied in a particular way. It is embodied in a Romantic discourse. Reich's therapeutic is thus embodied in a Romantic discourse and it is also about embodiment and its relationship to health and illness.

4) A Closer Look at the Nature of Bodily Experience & Cultural Convention

But let us look very briefly at the nature of our two terms which form the foundation of the dialectic, bodily experience and cultural convention. In this analysis, "experience" is

equal to "perceptual experience," and "cultural convention" is the symbolic organization of experience. Both sides of the dialectic, however, are essentially metaphoric. This is to say that the experiential or perceptual image is a metaphoric representation different from conventional representation. Perceptual experience is primary inasmuch as the real world is in the first place given to consciousness by perceptual experience. Perceptual bodily experience, then, from this orientation appears as the very world itself or, at least, the one who perceives and that which is perceived appear as continuous with one another. As Merleau Ponty (1964) asserts, perceptual experience is always "participatory" experience.⁶⁶ On the other hand, linguistic, or for that matter, bodily metaphors appear as particular ways in which this participatory continuity between subject and object are objectified or organized as a set of more or less conventional relationships.⁶⁷

However, because these two metaphoric aspects never appear alone but always as a figure/ground relation, the essential nature of both experience and convention always involves a composite of the two. As a figure/ground gestalt, conventional metaphor itself has a perceptual part. Likewise the image of perception or perceptual consciousness always has a conventional part. The model of embodied experience and the model of metaphor are thus essentially identical.⁶⁸ The essence of experience, then, (that is to say the image of experience in consciousness) is that of the foreground participatory "flow" of resemblance against the background of cultural convention. Alternatively, the essence of cultural convention is that conventional metaphor acts as the foreground control on the implicit background of perceptual experience. In this latter case, cultural convention stops the flow of perceptual consciousness at a certain set of relationships, the metaphor, the noun or name. The essential thrust of

⁶⁶ For a more in depth look at the nature of "perceptual consciousness" or bodily experience see Appendix K: The Nature of Perceptual Experience.

⁶⁷ I am thinking of the general notion of metaphor as found in the symbolic anthropology of such authors as Victor Turner (1969), James W. Fernandez (1986), and Roy Wagner (1986.).

⁶⁸ For a brief discussion of the relationship between the model of metaphor and the model of embodiment see Appendix I: Embodiment & Metaphor.

experience from this orientation, then, is creative, while the essential thrust of conventional life is towards the control of the flow of relationships between body, mind and environment.⁶⁹

Implicit in the idea of bodily experience, then, is the idea of the invention or re-invention of cultural meanings in the light of this experience. To experience the world is to invent the world or to "participate" in this invention. On the other hand, implicit in the idea of cultural convention is the idea of the social control of perception. Once experience has participated in the invention of a new metaphor, this metaphor, if it has cultural utility, operates to limit the field of sensibility or perception. It operates as a cultural control. This is especially so when we forget that a particular figure of speech is metaphoric and relational and it comes to seem like an arbitrary designation for some thing or event in the world. Again, the potency of convention would appear to increase markedly when we consider the inculcation of cultural metaphors into the body itself. Pierre Bourdieu emphasizes this aspect with his concept of the habitus as does Reich himself with his concept of bodily armour.

It is important to note that the figure/ground reversal which is involved in the definition of experience and convention also appears to naturally involve a potential change of level. This is to say that, phenomenologically speaking, bodily experience as foreground control on conventional language appears at a different level than the bodily perception of meaning as the implicit background when controlled by conventional signs. This change in level has in various different contexts been described as an expansion of consciousness, the

⁶⁹ This is more or less the same position Jean Piaget takes in his explication of his concepts of accommodation and assimilation. New knowledge is *assimilated* to a conceptual schema by the child. This assimilation of knowledge involves the assimilation of a particular conventional relationship between words and things. In the process of assimilation, cultural convention controls experience. In the process of accommodation, however, new experience causes the child to change the conceptual schema to accommodate the new knowledge. Experience controls the language system. I suppose it is simply common sense to assert that all knowledge originally comes from experience. It cannot come from convention because convention is always a reduction of the experiential field. Certain conventions, however, i.e., conventional scientific methodology can control the field of experience in order to produce new knowledge. It is not this conventional control, however, which really produces the knowledge; knowledge only accrues when experience is allowed to impinge upon conventional knowledge to the extent that it changes it. It would appear that the dialectic of invention whereby experience controls and modulates conventional knowledge is somewhat hidden in the context of scientific methodology. Thus all of the irregular visions, visualizations, irrational hunches and so on which are endemic in creative science are thought of as fundamentally anomalous. From the perspective of embodiment theory they are the norm, the notion of knowledge accruing in a methodical way from the manipulations of ordinary science is the aberration.

expansion of bodily sensibility or the difference between the everyday realm of experience and the realm of sacred or poetic experience. Today in contemporary western industrial society, drugs and sports are commonly understood to expand consciousness to give a person a "high," or to take them "somewhere else." The metaphors of seeing the world "afresh" or with "new eyes" are also common enough. In the context of sacred or superstitious ideology, this change in level may also involve ideas of possession, increases and decreases in energy, the switching from one body to a more subtle body and so on. In numerous therapeutic traditions, the transition is often described as being accompanied by expanded sensibilities such as clairvoyant seeing, ability to go without sleep, changes in the colours of the aura, clarity of thinking and so on. Reich emphasizes this distinction of levels as manifest in health and illness or neurosis. It involves changes in skin colour, the mobility of the body and emotions, sexual potency and so on. Reich's therapy is aimed at the reversal of the authority of cultural convention over the human body. For Reich, the proper order of authority is nature over culture, not the other way around.

My emphasis upon the production of reality as a manifestation of an embodied dialectical process, means that cultural invention and the influence of embodied being upon symbolic expression is brought into the foreground. The emphasis is upon the participatory nature of the symbolic creation and experience of the world. This emphasis, however, does not aim at the exclusion of the other essential (conventional) process in the establishment and maintenance of symbolic reality. The approach simply aims at achieving a balance between the two. I take balance to be a positive value. That which does not balance tips over.

As already mentioned, Romantic ideology sees the relationship between invention and convention as hierarchical, the creative or imaginative aspect of the nature of the real being allocated to the macrocosm, while the social, cultural and conventional aspects are relegated to the microcosmic domain. The Enlightenment stream of thought in "Modern" ideology, on the other hand, denies this hierarchy in favour of non-participatory or "causal" being. In this light, Reich's work stands as an attempt to re-situate the creative imagination in the

macrocosmic domain, not however, as a god "out there" but rather as an energy "in here" as well as "out there." Reich's image of universal orgone energy thus appears as a metaphor for perceptual consciousness itself -- the image of the continuity between subject and object, body and mind, being and the world.

5) The Dialectics of Invention and Convention

Because of my particular interest in the body and bodily symbolism I am concerned with the interrelations between four figure/ground gestalts. The first gestalt is primary, although, of course, it is the product of a long history. The child's body, itself the result of a long evolution always arrives in an already developed social system. In the development of individual consciousness, the other three gestalts tabulated in the chart below, evolve from the processual unfolding of the primary social and bodily context as metaphorical constructs. The primary figure/ground gestalt is that of the linguistic sign and primary perceptual bodily consciousness.

Table 3 The Elements of the Dialectics of Convention & Invention

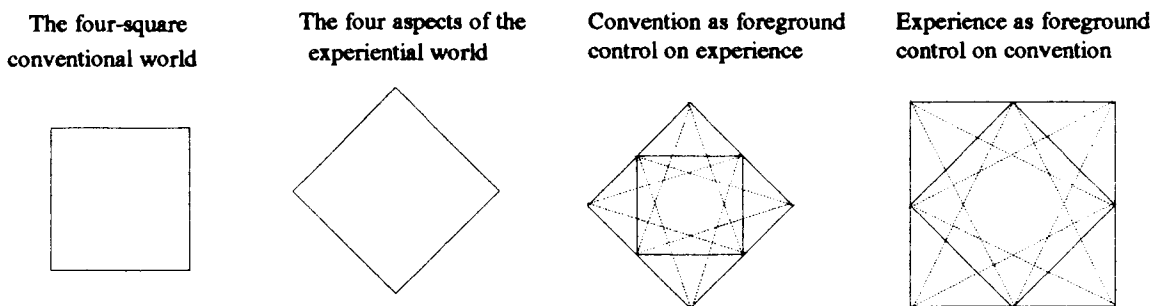
Public Cultural Convention	Private Psychological Experience
The linguistic sign	Perceptual bodily consciousness
The incorporated bodily sign	The cognitive perception of meaning
The linguistic sign expanded into cultural metaphoric frame	Perceptual bodily consciousness expanded into cultural metaphoric frame
the incorporated bodily sign expanded into the social metaphor of identity or character.	Cognitive perception of meaning expanded into the world view: self in context.

The diagrams used to illustrate the process of dialectical unfolding follow several rudimentary conventions. The square is used to denote the four aspects of the microcosm of the conventional world. The diamond is used to represent the corresponding set of four aspects of the macrocosmic experiential domain. Whichever figure is interior to the other acts as the foreground control on the background context. Alternately, whichever figure is exterior acts as the contextual limit upon the foreground control. The lines which join the foci which do not belong to either the square or the diamond are meant to indicate the transit from one

dialectical trinity to the next. The movement involves what Roy Wagner calls the "obviation" (see glossary) or exhaustion of the meaning of one layer of metaphor by another.⁷⁰ Each of the conventional foci are linked to the two opposite experiential foci; each of the experiential foci are linked to the two opposite convention foci. The development of the diagram involves the inclusion of additional layers expanding experience and convention outwards as well as inwards.

The diagrams are themselves analogical or iconic, which is to say they aim to mimic the fundamental elements of experience given by the body. The fundamental experience of embodiment is that experience embodies convention. The experiential world is vast; convention is limited. As such, when convention embodies experience, there is a change in scale. The macrocosmic world is brought down to the level of microcosmic convention.

Figure 4 The Elements of the Diagrammatic Model⁷¹



6) Ideological Unfolding of the Conventional World

The development of symbolic reality unfolds as a series of dialectical mediations whereby the microcosm of social convention acts as the foreground mediation or control upon the macrocosm of experience.⁷² The direction of control is shown by arrows in Figure 5 below.

⁷⁰ A more conventional term is perhaps "internalization." In the present case, however, we are dealing with the notion of a cognitive internalization and a somatic incorporation of social symbolism.

⁷¹ These diagrams are derived from those of Roy Wagner (1986). The major difference between my diagrams and his is the fact that I deal with four conventional and four experiential foci in the production of ideology while he used three each.

⁷² As I have previously stated, from the perspective of embodiment theory, social convention is microcosmic while that of experience is macrocosmic. This means nothing other than from this perspective the experiential

The sequence of dialectical mediation begins with the primary figure/ground gestalt of the sign (at *a*) and bodily perception (at *b*). Because experience is controlled by convention, at

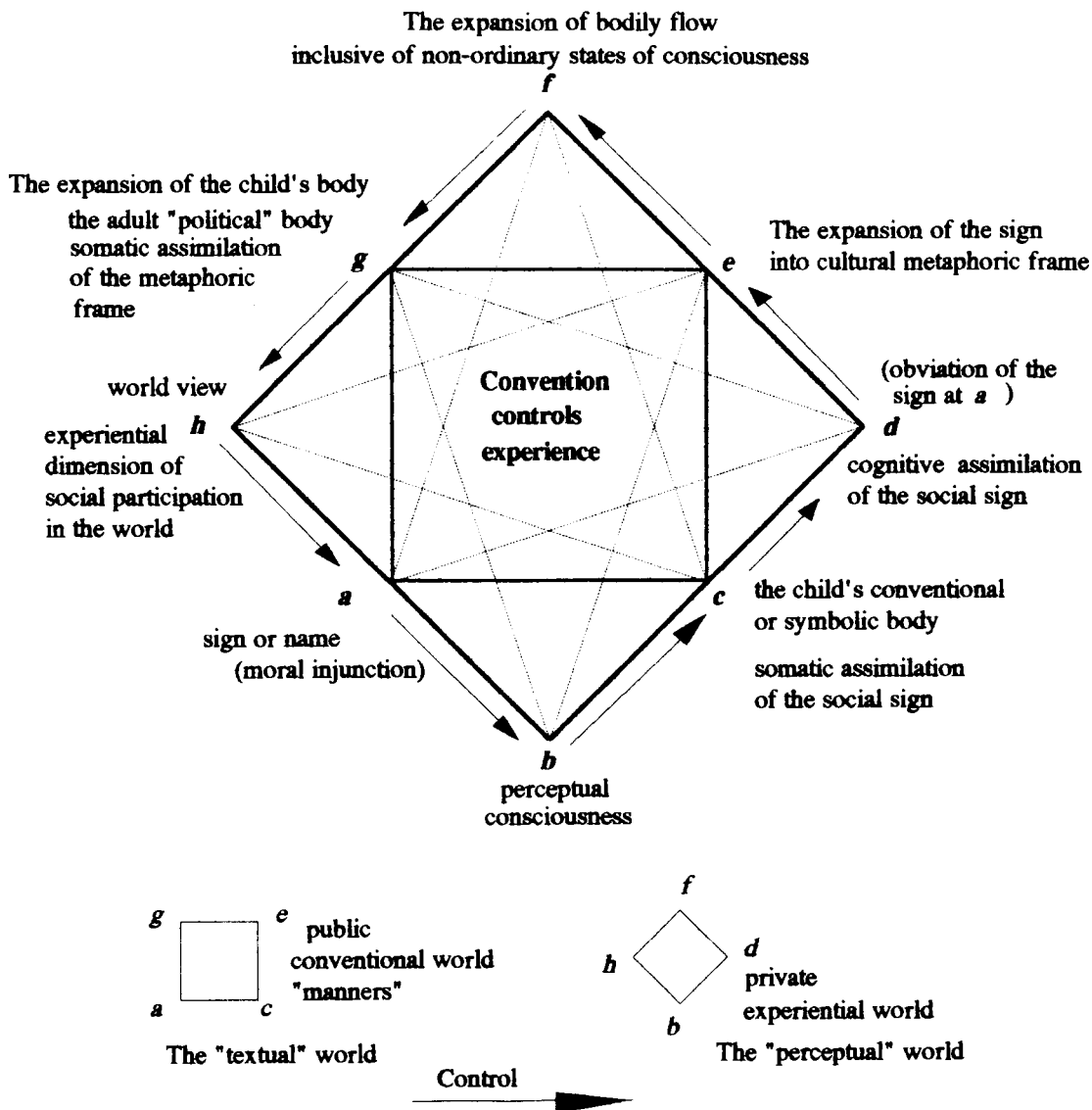


Figure 5 The Conventional World: Experience Mediated by Symbol

each stage of the processual unfolding there is an expansion of convention into the social domain at the same time as the experiential potentiality of the body is formed and limited. At

world is the larger world and that in the natural order of things it embodies and contains the smaller cultural world. It seems important to me to use this terminology for it is a constant reminder that this is the *natural order* of things. Nature embodies culture. The reversal of this order such that culture embodied nature is at a lower and therefore microcosmic level. It is also useful to realize that Reich's project involves re-interpreting sacred symbology as bodily symbology. There is a reversibility between macrocosmic experience and microcosmic convention but there is always a change in level.

each gain in sociality, there is a restriction of the flow of possibility, a restriction of the flow of perceptual experience. The movement of the dialectic from one dialectical triangulation to the next involves the processual "obviation"⁷³ of the initial term of the previous set. That is, the second set of terms (*bcd*) is linked to the first set when the cognitive construct (at *d*) obviates and exhausts the meaning of the initial term (at *a*.) Each such obviation involves either an internalization of an external cultural symbol or the externalization of an internal socially conditioned image.

7) The Cultural Dialectic of Invention

The dialectic of invention involves the reversal of the figure/ground relationship between the macrocosmic world of perceptual experience and the microcosm of cultural convention. Whereas in the dialectic of convention, microcosmic conventions mediated and controlled perceptual consciousness, in the dialectic of invention, the macrocosmic image given by perceptual consciousness controls or mediates the conventional context. The creative process, then, is the freeing up of the flow of analogy in language and the flow of resemblance in experience. In either case, there is a sense of "energy," "knowledge," or "perception," loosened from conventional bonds. The reversal frees up the conventional controls upon the perceptual flow of ideas, feelings, social contacts and so on. In language, the set of conventional names contextualizes the creative play of resemblance. In body language also, it is the set of conventional "names" (postures, gestures, etc.) which contextualize the play of consciousness.

The dialectic of invention may operate in private or public life at the level of bodily or mental experience. But beyond the very general way in which invention operates in social life, social convention sets up various specific contexts for the expression of cultural invention. In the development of "Modern" ideology, the instruments of invention came to be co-opted by a particular class and various different professional groups. My interest is, of course, primarily in the realm of therapeutics rather than politics, science, industrial production or art.

⁷³ See Glossary of Terms, Appendix F.

8) Reich, Romantic Ideology & the Body

If one takes the position, as I do, that at the core of Enlightenment ideology is a suppression of the participatory ethos of ritual reversal, then Romantic ideology appears as a sort of "ghost" image of "Non-Modern" culture which hovers around the atomistic and private world of the private self of internalized convention. The desire of the Romantic "ghost" is, of course, to re-integrate the order of sacred convention in the "Modern" world. On the other hand, from the orientation of Enlightenment thought, the Romantic appears as a pervasive nostalgia for a lost order of being and also as an existential threat to the conventional order.

The "Modern" industrial western scene, then, can be viewed from these two orientations towards the body. The Enlightenment orientation is essentially interested in the extension of conventional control to all aspects of life including, of course, the human body itself. On the other hand the Romantic seeks the liberation of the body and also the practical understanding of the techniques for its liberation. The Romantic orientation is thus essentially therapeutic in relationship to the dominant paradigm which is analytic. It is therapeutic in the "Non-Modern" sense -- that is to say in the sense of salvation. It is also an aggressive therapeutic in the sense that it is anti-Enlightenment. It is precisely the Enlightenment denial of the sacred which needs to be fixed.

Paul Tillich (1981) tells us that:

When salvation has cosmic significance, healing is not only included in it, but salvation can be described as the act of 'cosmic healing.' The root of the word 'salvation' in many languages indicates this. Thus, the Greek word *soteria* is derived from *saos*; the Latin word *salvatio* from *salvus*; the German word *Heiland* from *heil*, which is akin to the English word 'healing.' *Saos*, *salvus*, *heil*, mean whole, not yet split, not disrupted, not disintegrated, and therefore healthy and sane . . . Salvation is basically and essentially healing, the re-establishment of a whole that was broken, disrupted, disintegrated (p. 14).

In subsequent chapters, I will show that Reich's theory of the self posits a dialectic between three distinct levels: a) the level of unconscious symbolism, b) the level of normative or everyday cognitive and bodily symbolism and c) the level of the therapeutics of expanded consciousness. Reich's posits "primitive" reality as a fluid mobile pulsation alternating

between the expansion of consciousness in "direct" bodily experience and the contraction of this experience into conventional social forms. Sexual and creative energy is free flowing and remains largely unblocked.

Reich's therapeutic is a deconstruction of unconscious machine-like structures or "signs" incorporated in the human body. It aims for a transcendent ideal of sexual expression. I argue that it should not be seen either as a trivialization of sacred transcendence or as a regression into some sort of "primitive" wildness. Rather, Reich's deconstruction of the social body as conventional text, is aimed at a return to the democratic ideal of general participation in cultural creativity and a repudiation of the capturing of creative potential by capitalist elites. As such it is a pragmatic ideal entirely congruent with the ideal of an expanded empirical science. This science is, of course, a Romantic or utopian science, not the science which propagates what Reich saw as the creeping plague of mechanistic convention.

CHAPTER III: THE SYMBOLIC STRUCTURE OF REICH'S THERAPEUTIC

1) Introduction

In the light of my theoretical discussion of embodiment and symbolic construction, it should be clear that Reich's therapeutic paradigm, itself, is predicated upon a phenomenological approach to the body. His approach is conditioned by two major factors which operate as the poles of his dialectical understanding -- his clinical understanding of the existential nature of embodied experience and his historical understanding of "Non-Modern" ideology and social life. Reich's romanticism is founded upon the relations between these two poles. His concept of both psychological and physiological health is founded upon a notion of erotic transcendence which is intimately tied up with his theory of the existential bodily potential (& need) for transcendence and the "primitive" social acknowledgment of this need and capability. This image of the body is a particular image of what Victor Turner (1969) called the body in the subjunctive mood.

In this chapter I will look at four aspects of Reich's therapeutic in the following order: a) Reich's notion of universal energy, b) Reich's vision of "Non-Modern," "primitive" ideology, c) his version of the development of "Modern," "neurotic" character structure and d) his "orgonomic" therapeutic reversal. In the first case, I look at the Romantic image of the unity between word and thing in Reich's language. In the second case, I examine Reich's image of the integration between cultural convention and invention. In the third, I map Reich's version of how the dialectical pulsation is blocked and convention is driven more deeply into the body. In the fourth instance, I examine Reich's therapeutics system and his concept of the way in which the dialectical pulsation is re-established in a symbolic movement which mimics the "natural" biological economy.

2) The Romantic Language of Universal Energy: Flow & Stasis

Reich's dialectics concern his concept of energetic flow -- which I liken to bodily perception -- and the blockage of flow. The dialectical interaction of flow and the blockage

of the energetic flow in the body -- in what amounts to an analog of the "name" in language -- creates the system of what Reich calls "functional identities" at different levels.

The sociologist Paul Robinson (1990) asserts that "if Reich's political ideas were utopian, his biological and cosmological speculations can only be called insane." He goes on, however, to say that "yet a strange logic underlies even his most extreme formulations, and the student who has immersed himself in Reich's early work will find the science of Orgonomy curiously familiar" (p. 59). This "strange logic" involves exactly the logic of his dialectical functionalism.

According to Reich, universal orgone energy operates via a pulsation which has an expansive and contractive phase which links mechanics to life force. Beyond anything else, however, the concept of universal energy, at the level of symbolic thought, is simply another way of talking about the inter-relatedness of all things; it is a way of talking about the sympathetic participation of all things in each other. This concept is implicitly cosmological. With regard to the problem of health and illness, it is at the foundation of a universal symptomology.

There are a great many accounts of invisible energies both in the esoteric traditions as well as in conventional scientific research. Edward Mann (1989), one of the major researchers into Reich's energy concept, gives us the following synopsis of the material concept.

As Reich conceived it, orgone energy is present in the atmosphere, is related to the sun, extends through all space like the 'ether,' is drawn in by all organisms, and is what accounts for the movement -- contraction and expansion -- of all living things. It flows through organisms, creates a field around them and can be transmitted from organism to organism (among human beings, by the laying on of hands, for instance). It governs the total organism and expresses itself in the emotions as well as in purely biophysical movements. In the sexual orgasm a large discharge of orgone takes place, whose biological function is to restore energy equilibrium to the organism. If the orgone flow is unnaturally checked in an organism (e.g., by character armoring), disease will set in. It is believed that orgone has a strong affinity for water. It holds

together the moisture elements in clouds. It is the basic link between inorganic and organic matter (Mann, 1989, p. 29).⁷⁴

Reich was very fond of the works of Rousseau and shared his interest in the moment when knowing emerged from being. For both men, this moment announced the beginnings of the break with the transparent knowledge that preceded the development of "Modern" ideology. Language is the central question for Romantic thought. Thomas De Zengotita (1989) tells us that for the Romantics "the musicality of emotional speech was a promise of healing for the wound of reflection. Sound itself was being. Like feeling, it was continuous with things" (p. 79). The Romantic notion of language, then, is at once sensuous and prior to a precise distinction between the thing and its name. Meaning was always already embedding in a rich contextual panoply of meanings and the relation of metaphor to thing was infinitely sympathetic.

It is not coincidental that in the Reichian symbolic it is the streaming of emotions which heals the "wound of reflection." It is no accident that sound, emotion, pleasure are continuous with the world, no accident that meaning should follow feeling without a break. The central theme concerns continuity and the immediacy of connections within a world in which human society had not yet become the sign of corruption, when intuitive understanding was not something to be regained only with great difficulty. It is not culture (or certainly not "Modern" culture) which creates the syntax of cosmological meaning but Nature: contemporary life is but a massive series of breaks with the organization of the natural world.

The Romantic image of the world is a world of intermingled continuity between material substance and ideation, between thought and sound: its atmosphere is at once material and immaterial, concrete and imaginal. There are no independent substances. The continuity between a living breathing conscious animal and the air is not simply a function of literary trope. In Reich's eyes, the principle of atmospheric orgone energy was no more metaphoric than air is. The problem concerns how to understand the principle of universal participation without keeping this understanding separate from the way the world really is.

⁷⁴ See Appendix E for a summary of the Orgone theory.

Charles Rycroft (1969) complains that Reich should have been a poet. Reich himself would most likely deem the thought process which sees poetry as irremediably separate from science as essentially neurotic.

There is apparently an isomorphism between the way magical speech is inextricably linked to the analogic flow of perception by which the world is made present to us as embodied beings and the way in which we are all actually inextricably linked to the world by the air which we commonly breath. Both situations, that of breath and that of speech are at once transparent and mysterious; they are transparent because the word and the thing, the body and the air participate in the same reality and they are mysterious because the reality that they participate in remains open ended. There is apparently no end of the atmosphere as there is no end of meaning. Breath and quality of breathing is central to Reich's approach to the healthy functioning of the biological organism.

The concept of a ubiquitous "ether" which permeates space is certainly logical enough. Supposedly Einstein put an end to it. But we shall see.⁷⁵ Orgone energy, or universal life energy, or the God symbol is the symbol precisely of the continuous nature of the relationship between things. As such it is the sign of relationship and the sign of the whole. The world of the fallen word, the world ruptured by reflection, the world in which minds and bodies are not at ease with each other, the corrupt world of the social -- all these are on the side of discontinuity, of partiality, of atomistic regularity and lately of course, in social formation, of a democracy of interchangeable parts.

Reich himself, however, finds the relation between energy and language somewhat vexing: "It is," he says, "difficult to give a strict functional definition of 'the living'":

The concepts of traditional psychology and depth psychology are bound up with word formations. The living, however, functions beyond all verbal ideas and concepts. Verbal language is a biological form of expression on a high level of development. It is by no means an indispensable attribute of the living, for the living functions long before there is a verbal language. Depth psychology, therefore, operates with a

⁷⁵ Louis Pasteur supposedly put an end to the idea of the spontaneous generation of life on the planet. The idea has not gone away. Pasteur's concept of the organism under attack by germs seems to many minds today more pernicious than helpful.

function of recent origin. Many animals express themselves by sounds. But the living functions beyond and before any sound formation as a form of expression (Reich, 1950, p. 360).

Given this pre-verbal beyond of animal life, Reich then goes on to speak of the expressive (but non linguistic) capabilities of living organisms. He begins with the term "expression" itself saying that the very "language of the living" is to be found in "expressive movements." Thus:

The expressive movement is an inherent characteristic of the protoplasm. It distinguishes the living strictly from the non-living systems. The term means, literally, that something in the living system 'presses itself out' and, consequently, 'moves.' This can mean nothing but the movement of the protoplasm, that is, expansion and contraction. The literal meaning of 'emotion' is 'moving out,' which is the same as 'expressive movement.' The physical process of plasmatic emotion or expressive movement always goes with an immediately understandable meaning which we call the emotional expression. The movement of the plasm, then, has an expression in the sense of an emotion, and the emotion or the expression of an organism is bound to movement (Reich, 1950, p. 360).

The relationship between pre-verbal meaning and emotional expression which is the very nature of living things is, for Reich, direct and immediate. At the level of non-verbal communication or what has now come to be called body-language, there is no break between expression and what is expressed. There can be no break because the very movement which denotes life is exactly the expression of that life; there is no "representation" of life, only life itself and it is movement and movement is in essence emotional.

On the other hand, Reich is well aware that emotional expressions and their meanings vary cross culturally. This is the basis of his understanding of the development of character as the product of the varied ideological controls which are applied to primary expression. Reich's notion of instinct pertains at one and the same time to automatic biological processes and the automatic perception of those processes when neither the biological process nor the perceptual capacity has been blocked. He gives us an idea-value which weds the movement of biological energy to emotions which always express a value.

Reich goes on to say that even though language, as a high level of biological functioning reflects the "state of plasmatic emotion in an immediate way" it cannot reach this

state because "the living" is not only beyond and previous to ordinary language, it also has "its own specific forms of expression which cannot be put into words at all." He goes on to invoke the power of music and the place of music as previous to language.

Music is wordless. Nevertheless, it is an expression of movement and creates in the listener the expression of being 'moved.' The wordlessness of music is generally considered either a sign of mystical spirituality or of deepest emotion incapable of being expressed in words. The natural scientific interpretation is that musical expression comes from the very depths of the living. What is described as the 'spirituality' of great music, then, is an appropriate description of the simple fact that seriousness of feeling is identical with contact with the living beyond the confine of words (Reich, 1950, p. 361).

Reich wishes to regain "contact" with a particular level of reality, with the movement of the plasma of the body, a movement that is the direct emotional expression of the life energy. The archetypal form of this movement is, of course, the orgasm reflex, the flow of orgasmic energy throughout the whole body unblocked by the armouring of the muscle segments.

But what of the expressive states of the body when energy is blocked? Reich has this to say concerning the reading of the language of distorted expression:

Once one has learned to understand the language of biological expression, the kind of armor and the extent of its rigidity are not difficult to evaluate. The total expression of the armored individual is that of 'holding back'. . . The shoulders are pulled back, the thorax pulled up, the chin is held rigid, respiration is shallow, the lower back is arched, the pelvis is retracted and 'dead,' the legs are stretched out stiffly or lack expression . . . (Reich, 1950, p. 364, 365)

The holding back is a defensive posture against contact with the biological core, with emotion and with the flow of energies and fluids in the body. It is holding back from the orgasm and everything that the orgasmic function has come to mean in society and for that individual. The armouring which is the expression of this holding back is encoded in the body; it is unconscious and autonomous. It is the character; it is not usually felt as other than the self. What is felt as "other" is more likely the neurotic perception of the world or the perception of physical disease. In Reich's words:

The armored individual does not himself feel the armor as such. If one tries to describe it to him in words he usually does not know what one is talking about. What he feels is not the armoring itself but only the distortion of his perceptions of life: he feels himself uninterested, rigid, empty, or he complains about nervous unrest, palpitations, constipation, insomnia, nausea, etc. If the armoring is of long standing and has also influenced the tissues of the organs, the patient will come to us with peptic ulcer, rheumatism, arthritis, cancer or angina pectoris (Reich, 1950, p. 366).

The mind has lost contact with the body but the body frames and constrains consciousness. There is no flow. Or at least the flow is reduced. Reich's thrust, then, is anti-manners, or anti-culture just as the sociologist Phillip Rieff (1987) has complained but in fact Reich's antipathy to the conventions of social life really only involve manners or culture when established as an inflexible set of arbitrary controls. Rieff follows Freud in taking cultural morality as implicitly arbitrary. Reich takes the position that the arbitrary nature of controls is a "Modern" phenomenon and in no way universal.

For Reich, the sexual act is at the very centre and the core of consciousness; it precedes language but is transparently meaningful. From this act, at once intensely private and inextricably social, flow the transparent signs of our relationship to the world in general. The transparent meaning of sensual pleasure or displeasure is, at once, a psychological (cognitive), physical and biological phenomenon. The transparency of the sparkling eye, the rosy tint of the skin, the flexibility of the spine, the loose animal gait stand out as the pure undistorted language of nature.

3) Reich's View of "Non-Modern" Character Structure

In Reich's sociology, based upon the work of Morgan, Engels, Marx, and then finally Malinowski, there is a picture of the Romantic savage, sexually liberated and passing his existence within the context of a cooperative social organization, the matrilineal gens. All this, however, would be lost in the transformation of matriarchy into patriarchal authoritarian systems, the advent of private property, the division of labour and sex denial. Reich proposes an ideal model of "sex economy." This sex economy is self regulated and the orgasmic potency of individuals is maintained because their natural sexual desires have not been diverted, repressed and restricted. The licentious "primitive" is pitted against the repressed "Modern."

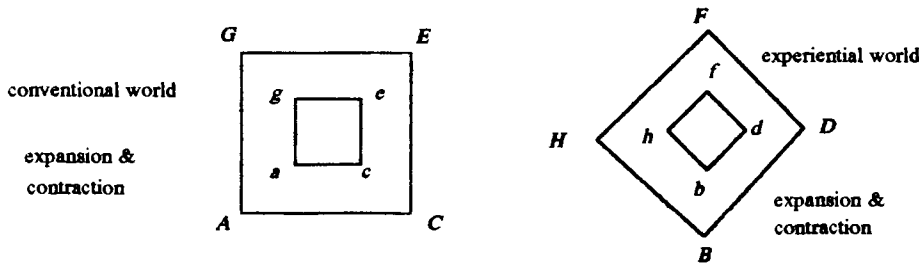
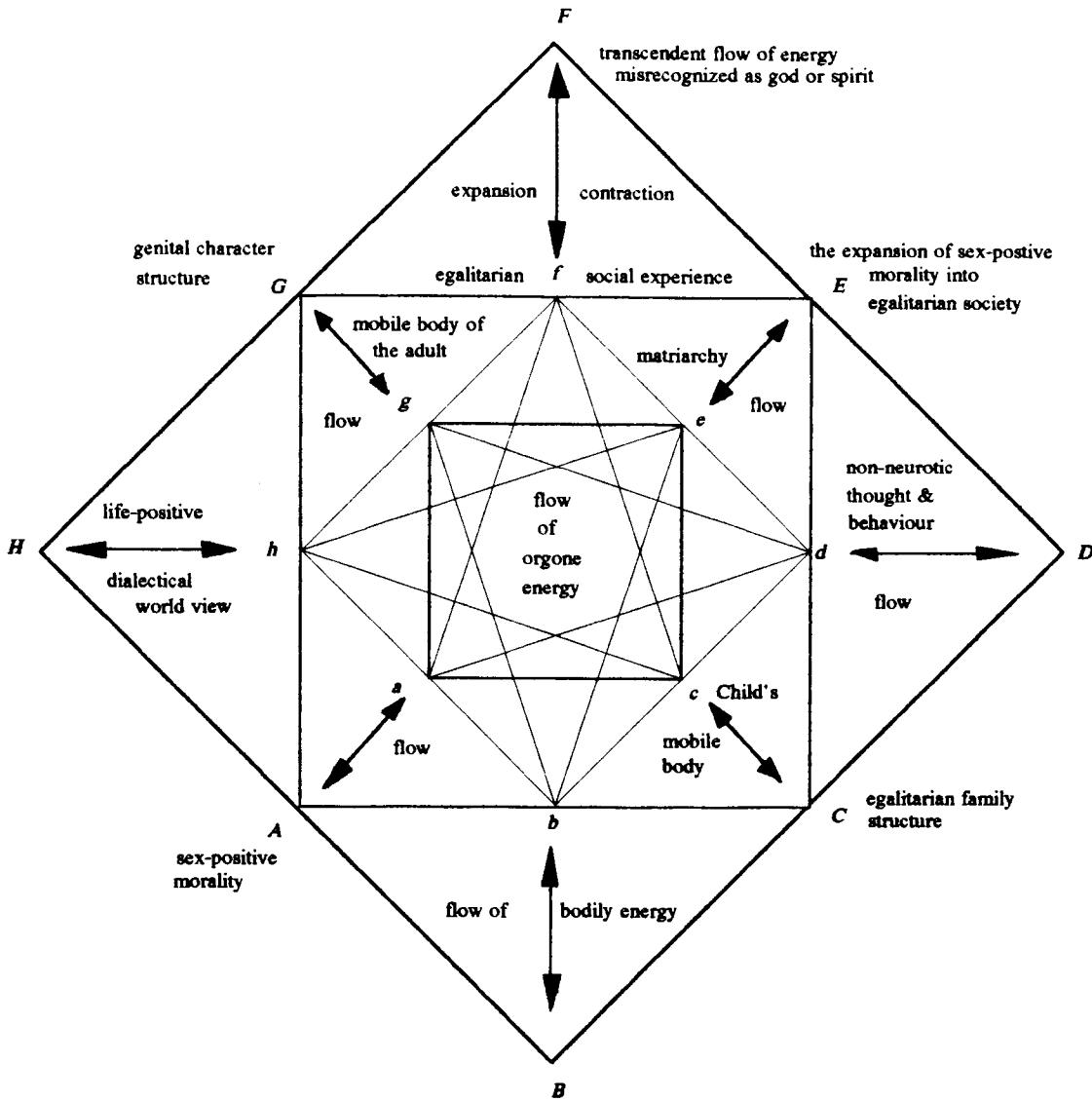


Figure 6 The Processual Unfolding of the "Non-Modern" World⁷⁶

As with the similar work of Engels and Marx themselves, the historical and anthropological aspects of this portion of Reich's work has not weathered very well. On the other hand, the rhetorical critique of capitalist culture has.

⁷⁶I have used the same letters, e.g., "b" and "B" to indicate the same positions in the sequence, the one the expansion of the other.

Table 4 Reich's Vision of "primitive" Ideology

Convention controls experience

- a: Reich envisions a sex positive symbology,
- b: which allows for the development of a mobile perceptual body
- c: which is not distorted in the process of social construction in the egalitarian family.
- d: Subjective imagery is thus not constricted -- i.e. it is not neurotic,
- e: and although the expanded metaphor of God is a misrecognition of orgone energy at least it is a positive recognition. It is hierarchical. It is transcendent.
- f: Individual experience is thus not alienated from the social ideal;
- g: The adult body remains mobile in matriarchal kinship and
- h: The total experience of being is healthy.

Experience controls convention

(The direction of flow is reversed and now proceeds from experience to convention)

- b: With the reversal of control, the natural functioning of sexuality (flow)
- a: controls the image of social morality and does not allow it to become rigid or negative
- h: which in turn informs the world view with vitality and harmony
- g: which helps insure that the adult body is mobile and graceful and alive (the genital character)
- f: and that the self is not in conflict with society
- e: under the sign of sexual energy (Orgone energy misrecognized as God or gods)
- d: and that there is a lack of anxiety neurosis (thought is unified)
- c: and that the child's body is not trained to deny pleasure
- b: which means that perception is in good "direct" contact with reality.

Reich is impressed with Engels' *Origin of the Family* and also Morgan's work, both of which contradict Freud's thesis in *Totem and Taboo*. Whereas Marx argued that social morality is continually historically determined by the base conditions of material existence, Freud saw only one unique instance of archetypal parricide which produced guilt and thus a necessarily repressive morality.

From this Reich argues that one must investigate "primitive" sexual behavior in order to assess the relationship of perversions, sexual disorders and anti-social behaviour to the social system itself. Reich began to search the ethnographic literature but his attempt to find the historical context for mental disorder and neuroses was made difficult by the general lack of concern in the ethnographies he came across for inner experience in general, never mind sexuality and neurosis. He had just about concluded that the only theory of any worth was that of Morgan and Engels when he came across the research of Malinowski, the English

ethnologist whose work at last brought together the relationship of sexuality, the neuroses and the economy in a society organized according to the "mother-right."

Given his assumptions about "Modern" character structure and its relationship to sexual morality, Reich expected to find in the sexual mores of the Trobrianders a sex-affirmative morality, sexual freedom among children and adolescents and thus "orgastic potency" in most adults. Happily Reich cites Malinowski who states that because the Trobrianders are "untrameled by the authority of their elders and unrestrained by any moral code, except that of specific tribal taboo, there is nothing but their degree of ripeness, of curiosity, and of 'temperament' or sensuality, to determine how much or how little they shall engage in sexual pastimes" (Malinowski, cited in Reich, 1972, p. 106). Reich tells us that:

the moralistic hypocrites assure us that we are set apart from the 'savage' due to our ethical acquisitions, on which we have a monopoly, and . . . everyone -- from the Pope to the Swastika Honor students to bourgeois sexologists -- rage against the 'moral decline into savagery.' And yet, one simple fact stands out: the primitive peoples are in full possession of the capacity for sexual experience, and 'civilized' peoples cannot obtain satisfaction in sex, since their sexual structures are deformed with neurosis due to moral constraints imposed in their upbringing. (Ibid, p. 122)

Reich thus assures us that "where the overwhelming majority of a society experiences sex-economical activity, neuroses cannot exist . . . since neuroses are the result of an impaired genitality." Reich takes from Malinowski that matriarchal society is relatively free from perversions while patriarchal society is replete with neuroses. He cites Malinowski as stating that "In some respects his [the Trobriander's] moral regulations are biologically sounder than our own, in some more refined and subtle, in some a more efficient safeguard for marriage and the family" (Ibid, p. 130).⁷⁷

Reich's image of "primitive" ideology is of a more or less harmonious combination of both convention and invention as the natural rhythm or pulsation whose limits are social and biological life. Reich's image of "primitive" ideology does not focus on any particular

⁷⁷ Reich utilizes Malinowski's work primarily as a model of the "primitive." He does not go into either Malinowski's psychoanalytic work or his concept of magical language. Reich met and spoke with Malinowski in England and their relationship was evidently friendly as Malinowski vouched for both Reich and his work when he got into some difficulties with American immigration at one point.

ritualization of invention but sees the creative force as integral to the sex-positive morality.

Under normal conditions, the loosening of the normative cognitive controls on the interpretation of perceptual meaning leads to an expansion of meaning and the expansion of the perceptual sensorium. When this loosening involves the conventional symbolism encoded in the body itself, the expansion of the sensorium can be quite dramatic as in ecstatic ritual or in Reich's conception of the orgasm reflex. The transcendent experience involves the radical expansion of the sensorium within the context of a ritual or sacred symbolism. Transcendence as the image of the creative act is thus always contextualized by the cultural symbolism of creative transformation. On the other hand, and in the other world, as it were, of bodily experience, cultural symbolism is always already contextualized by the body of the world and by the bodies of those it penetrates.

Reich does not, however, single out any particular social form or institution which is aimed at therapeutic or political reversal. Rather, he sees "primitive" people exemplified by the Trobriand islanders, as having a mode of life which is in harmony with the dictates of nature. Thus Reich sees matriarchy in general as a system basically in harmony with the principles of healthy sex economy. It is the fact of a healthy sex life which keeps all other aspects of social and private life in harmony.

4) Neurotic Character: The Transit to "Modern" Ideology

Table 5 below gives the Reichian correspondences or reciprocal imagery between the transition from the healthy character structure to the neurotic structure and the historical transition from "primitive" to "modern" society.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Reich conceives of repressive ideology as both an historical process (whereby sexual and economic repression was historically imposed in the transition from primitive to "modern" society) and as a contemporary psycho-social problem. The development of contemporary neurotic character in the individual in "modern" society mimics the development of the historical model of neurotic character from its roots in primitive society. There is thus a quite direct relationship in Reich's work between his model of healthy genital character structure, "primitive" character and the undistorted somatic consciousness of the child. In fact, at the end of his life Reich gives up on the ability of therapy to do much for the adult. His only hope was in children. Reich did not elaborate very much upon this relationship between child and the "primitive." The relationship remains more or less implicit. The healthy organism of the child and the "primitive" person is healthy precisely because it has not yet been controlled

Table 5 The Parallel Development of Neurosis & "Modern" Ideology

INDIVIDUAL	SOCIETY
Biological Core --> Periphery of Organism	"Primitive" Society --> "Modern" Society
Energy from the biological core is blocked by the bodily armouring.	The free sexuality of "primitive" society is constrained by social structures (capitalist and religious)
The blockage of energy produces neurotic character structure and behaviour as well as biological sickness such as cancer.	The general control of sexuality and the development of sex-negative morality in society produces the neurotic patriarchal, authoritarian family.
Blocked Energy --> Individual Neurosis	Sex-negative morality --> Patriarchal Family
Individual neurosis is characterized by passivity and a lack of confidence which leads to the desire for an authoritarian father figure.	The Patriarchal or authoritarian family organized on a mass scale is fascist.
Loss of understanding of oneself and the relations between self and the world follows upon the loss of contact with bodily being.	The Loss of a true understanding of spiritual forces, leads to the understanding of God as "other" and then subsequently to the mechano-mystical epistemology.

Reich also uses Malinowski's work to argue for his own radical position. He tells us that "the 'licentious,' biologically regulated sex life of the Trobrianders really does coexist in contradiction with their marriage and family," and that "if we really do want to come out for a 'license' which eliminates neuroses and perversions, as against the marriage and family which bring perversions and neuroses and sexual suffering, then we really must forget about compromise" (p. 131).

Reich seeks to show how Malinowski's work can be interpreted to demonstrate the transformation of Trobriand society from matriarchy to patriarchy, the transformational mechanism linking "sex negation" and "class division" being "the ritual of marriage dowry" (p. 141). He isolates "economic and sexual contradictions" among the Trobrianders stemming from the "maternal clan arrangements" and "the social role that the male assumes, whether as the mother's brother or as the husband" (p. 134). Thus:

and molded in "modern" repressive society. In both cases, Reich emphasizes the loss of bodily potential for experience, in the one case in the transition to adulthood and in the other the transition to "modern" culture.

In Trobriand society we have witnessed the growth of father-right from a system of mother-right, and we discovered in the ritual of marriage dowry the basic mechanism for the transformation of the one social organization into the other. We witnessed how the primitive communist matriarchal gens fell increasingly into an economic dependency, however ideologically camouflaged, on the chief and his family as the gens developed in a patriarchal direction. (pp. 170, 171)

Reich leaned heavily upon the work of Lewis Morgan and Engels' book *On the Origin of the Family* for this idea of the nature of the "mother-right" as representative of natural law subsequently followed by the patriarchate. Today of course, Engels' account has been criticized on the one hand for its basis in the dubious evolutionary anthropology of L. H. Morgan and on the other for his failure to really recognize the domination of men in the proletarian family. Maurice Bloch, in *Marxism and Anthropology* (1983), notes that "for Marx the 'discovery' of the gens was probably the most important of Morgan's contribution to anthropology." He goes on to say that

The gens for Morgan is a grouping within which marriage is communal and where children and wives are pooled. In a group based on matrilineal descent . . . one belongs to the group because one's mother belonged to it and not because of the identity of the father, since this cannot be known. The gens for Morgan is the source from which both later kinship systems and later political systems evolved. For Marx, what was most important in the gens is that it was a group based totally on communal principles, where individuality and selfishness did not exist and where private property had not begun to appear (p. 46).

As Bloch points out concerning the work of Marx and Engels, their engagement with anthropology was two fold -- on the one hand it involved a rhetorical attack upon current bourgeois culture whose institutions were considered sacrosanct, eternal and given by god. Cultural forms such as the family, the relations between socio-political forms and technological advances are in fact historically variable from culture to culture even if they do not occur in a set series of sequential stages. Bloch argues that although the early evolutionary social theorists produce what looks much more like a history of western Europe than a universal schema, this does not negate the usefulness of the idea of evolution or stages. Reich, along with Marx and Engels, went wrong with the particular ideas of kinship, marriage, the equality of women and so on picked up from early anthropology.

As Bloch notes however, contemporary anthropologists would

stress that our view of marriage as a private alliance concerning almost exclusively two people is totally inappropriate for most non-capitalist societies, especially those based on descent groups. In these societies marriages involve alliances between groups, often of a political character, and as such they are initiated and organized by the leaders of the group concerned rather than by the future couple. Similarly, in these societies a large number of people on both the bride's and the groom's side are involved in an obligatory exchange of property of major significance (p. 74).

In fact matriliney is not associated with "communal corporate descent groups" any more than patriliney and neither is the high status of women (p. 75). Patrilineal as well as matrilineal descent groups are corporate. What really matters for Marx and Engels and also for Reich is not the particular history but that marriage, the family, property and the state, and so on, are historical and that they are related to the type of society and its economic institutions wherein they occur. But as with Marx and Engels, it is their second usage of anthropology -- as fuel for a critical rhetoric -- which has lasted best.⁷⁹ The "primitive" serves for Reich as a tool for the critique of western certainties.⁸⁰

Reich isolates the dowry as the mechanism from which private property and class divisions originate and which initiates the transition from matriarchal communism to patriarchal capitalism. In subsequent research, it has been shown that both matrilineal and patrilineal societies are corporatist and so this transition is illusory. The notion that the mechanism of marriage dowry as the major hinge between corporatist and capitalist society also has not been borne out by extensive ethnographic research. Reich, himself, was not satisfied with this historical explanation and later on re-engaged with the problem in more philosophical terms as the existential problem of good and evil. Directly after his marxist and sociological work Reich turns to his biological studies in search of the solution to the problem of the restriction of human capacity to love and work creatively. He continued to use,

⁷⁹ Reich ultimately, however, abandons political rhetoric as a lost cause and comes to hate all sorts of politics, right and left, -- calling them all "red fascists." He saw people involved in these politics as unable to free themselves from their own armoured bodies.

⁸⁰ However, his argument is never truly historical (distorted or otherwise). Reich's rhetorical use of "primitive" culture is ultimately based upon his concept of the "primitive" or "natural" biological body and its healthy functioning.

however, the same fundamental principles of dialectical functionalism. It should not be very surprising, then, that his biological work produced a symbolism of hierarchical continuity between levels of analysis.

What is striking about Reich's image of the healthy "primitive" character structure and society is the degree to which this image is integrated. He was not, of course, an anthropologist and he did not have any field experience in the usual sense. His image of "primitive" life is therefore quite simplistic. On the other hand, his strong suit was a tireless desire to link his practical clinical experience with the widest possible application of dialectical thought and almost always with a practical aim in mind. The "Modern" world was in a very bad state & he very much wanted to change it. He was willing to use anything at all that came to hand. And because he appears to have had an almost limitless vitality, a great deal did come to hand.

5) "Modern" Ideology & the Neurotic Character Structure

As Bertell Ollman⁸¹ points out, "character structure . . . deadens people sufficiently for them to do the boring, mechanical work which is the lot of most people in capitalist society" (p. xvii). The process whereby people are insulated from their instinctual inner life deadens the relationship between themselves and outside stimuli. Education becomes difficult and various reaction formations set in especially the "ascetic ideology" which increases the blockage of energy and denies its discharge.

The resistances of the character armouring, inasmuch as they paralyze the rebellious instincts in the child, are generalized to paralyze all possibility of rebellion in the adult because any rebellion is laden with anxiety. The character armouring comprises exactly the resistance to changes in the social system which would act to free the individual from both internal and external control. Ollman goes on to say that "Within the theory of alienation, character structure stands forth as the major product of alienated sexual activity." "It is" he

⁸¹ See the introduction to *Sex Pol: Essays 1929-1934*, Reich, 1972.

says "an objectification of human existence that has acquired power over the individual through its formation in inhuman conditions." He continues in the same vein to say:

Its various forms, the precise attitudes taken, are reified as moral sense, strength of character, sense of duty, etc., further disguising its true nature. Under the control of the ruling class and its agents in the family, church and school who use the fears created to manipulate the individual, character structure provides the necessary psychological support within the oppressed for those very external practices and institutions (themselves products of alienated activity in other spheres) which daily oppress them. In light of the socially reactionary role of character structure, Reich's political strategy aims at weakening its influence in adults and obstructing its formation in the young, where the contradiction between self-assertiveness and social restraint is most volatile. The repressive features of family, church and school join economic exploitation as major targets of his criticism" (In Reich, 1972, p. xviii).

Reich's own work may be understood in terms of the well known dialectical double negation. Reich notes:

commodity production was a negation of primitive communism, in which there existed only production of consumer values. Socialist economy is the negation of the first negation; it denies commodity production and thus arrives spirally at an affirmation of that which was at first denied -- the production of consumer values, and communism (Reich, 1972, p. 29).

He goes on to say that the same applies to the development of sexual forms and ideology. "Primitive" societies, having a form of "primitive" communist economy, have a natural form of sexual life but with the historical development of a commodity society and private property sexual affirmation changes to sexual denial in society in general and also within the individual structure. Given the law of dialectical development, this sexual denial must at a higher level be transformed into a sexually affirmative morality and thus character structure. He goes on to note the nature of the conflict today:

The present period is a period of two conflicts: one concerns the abandonment or preservation of the commodity economy; the second sees an increasingly acute conflict between a social tendency toward a more stringent suppression of sexuality, and an opposing tendency toward a restoration of natural sexual economy in place of moral regulation and suppression (Reich, 1972, note p. 29).

The neurotic character performs work in a mechanical way, sexual desire is dulled and only a small amount of biological energy can be discharged; sexual fantasies disrupt work.

With sex-economic work performance, there is an energy oscillation between work and sexual activity.

Reich sees psychoanalysis itself as a reaction to the ideological and moral superstructure which developed out of the sex negative morality of ecclesiastic ideology. The French Revolution and the later bourgeois revolution of the nineteenth century swept away most of the vestiges of feudal production and apparently broke with the old sex-negative morality. However, with the establishment of the capitalist mode of production the bourgeoisie re-allied itself with the Church in order to maintain control of the proletariat and thus the sexual morality of the church was maintained albeit in a slightly different form. In Reich's words:

The damming up of sensuality, monogamous marriage, the chastity of young girls and hence also the fragmentation of male sexuality, all acquired a new meaning -- this time a capitalist one. The bourgeoisie, having overthrown the feudal system, took over to a large extent the ways of life and the cultural needs of the feudal world; it had to barricade itself against 'the people' by moral laws of its own, and thus imposed increasingly greater limitations on the primitive sexual needs of man (1972: pp. 49, 50).

With regard to the cure of sexual repression within the context of conventional psychoanalysis, Reich (1972) asks in *The Imposition of Sexual Morality* "what is to be done with the liberated drives?" The traditional psychoanalytic answer involves the bringing to consciousness of sexual desire and then the control and/or sublimation of this desire. But the need for sexual gratification itself is not seriously considered. His clinical work convinces him that "not only does neurosis never occur except in relation to genital disorders and the gross blockage of sexual energies, but also, a mental disturbance due to fixation on infantile sexual goals will interdict a normal genital organization and accordingly an ordered sexual regimen" (p. 92). But even if one achieved "a viable sexual organization," the environment of the patient very often operated to undo the cure. This was especially true of the proletariat who had strikingly different sexual and material lives than those of the usual bourgeois well paying private clients. There were, nonetheless, certain attitudes towards sex which were very like

those of the middle class. "Especially" Reich says "the nature of the family-organized process of education was remarkable. Sexually and otherwise it reduced and shattered the working person just as it did the middle-class person" (p. 95).

Reich's pseudo-historical version of the transition in general fits into the "Romantic" contrast/inversion schema of the transition described by Horton and Finnegan (1973). Reich theorizes universal bodily sexual needs as the transparent ground against which all later consciousness functions. In order to function properly, rational or any other sort of thought should be considered as an extension of the perceptual biological body and its "direct contact" with emotion and the real world. As always for Reich, his thinking addresses the nature of unity and diversity.

Reich's theory of the "break" between the body and mind, perception and representation in the formation of the "Modern" actuality closely parallels the Marxist theory of use value and exchange value. Both, in fact, follow a general model of embodied meaning inasmuch as they both have a concept of the range of experience as an expansion and a contraction of the same process. The natural sign of sexuality is equivalent to the transparency of use values. The opacity of exchange value is equivalent to the opacity of arbitrary abstraction which is itself the sign of neurosis or at least wrong thinking.

Marshall Sahlins (1976), in a discussion of the "pre-symbolic" nature of Marx's theory, tells us that for Marx

the first classification men make is the distinction between things that are pleasurable and painful, edible and inedible. In language, it is nature itself that speaks, in the beginning without metaphor. The human power of bestowing a value on natural differences is reduced to an echo of practical-intrinsic significance (p. 142).

Sahlins then proceeds to give us a comparison of Marx's "genealogy of conceptual thought" and Malinowski's totemism. For both thinkers, it is not a question of initial speculation about the world but rather an immersion in nature from which naturally utilitarian objects emerge as transparently useful. The environment appears transparent to those who are

hungry. It is not a question of referring back perceptions to an arbitrary symbolic system in order to ascertain meaning. Meaning simply appears to the practical mind. Marx's "language of real life" must win out over new modes of intercourse and new conceptions which grow "in the wake of society's historical passage." The historical mind thus creates a rupture in the natural transparent continuity between the perceptual gestalt and symbolic interpretation, the macrocosmic and the microcosmic realm.

Sahlins criticizes the Marxist formulation because with the transparency of the use-value there can be no understanding of the history of specific "needs" of a culture. "Needs" are understood to be universal, natural and transparent; it is the satisfaction of these needs which is variable. One could, of course, mount this same criticism against Reich. For that matter any appeal to the Nature of a thing (its essence) is subject to the same critique.

To pursue a history of needs, however, would only push back the origins of need as a primary relationship to some form previous to use-value or to sexuality -- that is to some form of apprehension at once more concrete and more abstract than "usefulness" to embodied beings or in fact to the very understanding of pleasure. In fact, the history of needs not separate from the history of satisfaction of *perceived* needs is exactly the history of the development of exchange value or in Reich's terms, it is the history of the development of the "Modern" character which is to say the nature of the "Modern" disease. There are, as it were, primary needs and secondary needs which come into being with the dissatisfaction which follows upon the opening of the historical aporia between mind and body, sex and the representation of sex.

Looked at from this point of view, the unfolding of history involves the interrelation between the macrocosmic sphere (of "need" as a transparent relation) and the microcosmic sphere (of the historical modification of originary need as exchange-value.) Use-value and exchange value are in a figure/ground reversal. The transparency of fact and its value or utility does not collapse the dialectic but involves the apprehension of the flow of reversal, the pulsation.

The dialectical figure/ground reversal is embodied and the dismantling of the historical dialectic or rather its mythic "product" may be considered a therapeutic move aimed at the healing of the break between the mind and body and brings us to the zero point of meaning -- which is also the excess of meaning -- unspeakable and overwhelming -- the expression of the all and the nothing.

Ecstatic experience is in Reichian terms the result of the phenomenological bracketing of the social as it has been historically and unconsciously sedimented in the body. But, and this is the crucial point, ecstatic experience of the flow of orgasmic energy (emotion) is the normative ground upon which all else takes place. The normative functioning of sexual beings -- that is to say in their relations of love -- creates the normative ground for practical healthy behaviour. The natural and the conventional are united. The ecstatic experience is not a disruption of culture -- culture, when it has gotten off track, is a disruption of the pulsation between ecstasis and convention. It is because of the consistent historical nature of this cultural disruption that what is normal, functional and practical as well as self evident comes to be thought of as extraordinary, non-normal, insane.

The Reichian conception of "needs" is at root energetic and sexual and this conception invokes the community (at least in its minimal form as the couple) at the same time as it invokes the individual. For Reich the fulfillment of a certain automatic functional process is the pre-requisite for the transparency of signs and use-values. He invokes the image of a consciousness opened out and interpenetrated by the world, at once an idea and a value. The apprehensions of the mind are perceptual extensions of sensations or biological functions at a lower or more fundamental level. This conception is, however, not deterministic. It is, in common with much "Non-Modern" thought, as Dumont (1986) has noted, segmental. Reich's chain of relations is essentially that of "medieval" western ideology.⁸²

⁸² Medieval ideological structure is "non-modern" in the sense in which I use this term.

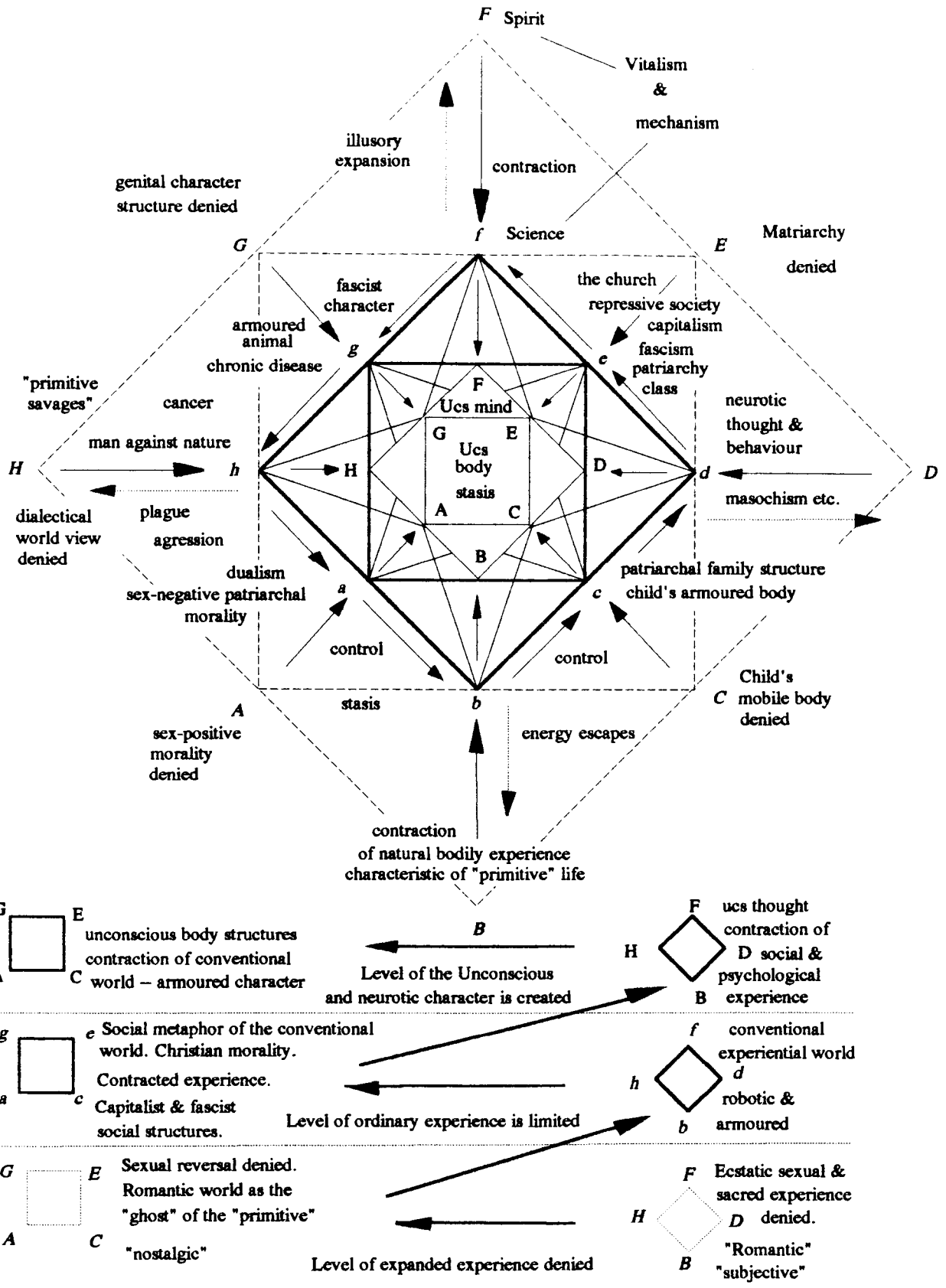


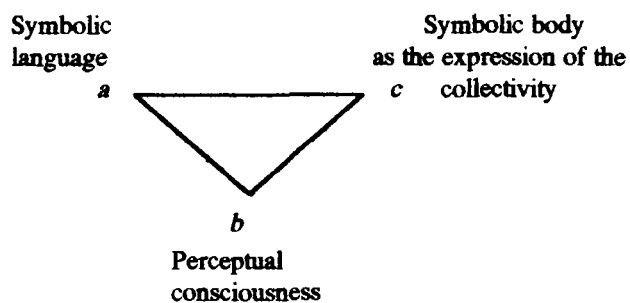
Figure 7 The Unfolding of Neurotic Character Structure & Ideology

6) The Processual Unfolding of "Modern" Neurotic Character Structure

Figure 7, above, lays out Reich's conception of the development of Neurotic character structure and repressive "Modern" ideology on the dialectical model.

Reich envisions neurosis and neurotic character structure as the result of the contractions and constrictions imposed by "Modern" society. "Modern" society itself is seen as a complex web of contractions and restrictions upon "primitive" society. The outermost two spheres in Figure 7 -- the conventional and the experiential -- represent the expansive image of transcendence which constitutes the Romantic "ghost" of traditional society and experience. This image of the Romantic appears in Enlightenment discourse as a more or less chaotic mix of intuition, hallucination, creative expression, neurosis and subjectivity. Expansive motion in general comes to signify the untrue, the subjective and the trivial. This is the unstable moral and theoretical ground which Reich took up, and which any other theoretician or practitioner must take up if he or she is going to attempt to put the Humpty Dumpty of the "Modern" world back together again.

In the following explication, I refer primarily to Figure 7. Figure 8 is simply the first mediation as shown in figure 7. As a reversal of the "Non-Modern" image, the image of the "Modern" involves the creation of an internal unconscious language which mimics the language of control outside of the body.



The "Modern" neurotic character develops through the processual *incorporation* of ideological structure in the body. Particular muscle tensions, in the belly, neck and so on are regularly used to suppress bodily

Figure 8 The First Mediation: Bodily Incorporation feelings. These habitual tensions act in the same manner as the formation of conventional terminology (or names) in language to control the flow of meaning/perception. The symbolic name is incorporated in the body as well as in the mind.

In the first triangulation, (*a-b-c* in Figure 8) the symbolic body -- as an expression of the collectivity -- comes to mediate the relation between symbolic language and perceptual consciousness.

The real problems begin, from Reich's point of view, when these habitual tensions, postures and gestures become *chronic* and out of conscious control. There is no regular complete release of the chronic tensions in the body. The energies cannot flow. Tears cannot flow. Anger cannot flow. Love cannot flow. The beginning of neurosis begins in the child's body. Later individuals become sick, both physically and mentally, social institutions stagnate, creative art and science are stifled and the stagnation of energy casts a pall over everything. A block is inserted between the mind and the body and also between the individual private world and the wider social reality.

The second mediation (in Figure 7) involves the "obviation" or substitution of the experiential image (at *d*) for the conventional sign (at *a*). Conventional moral principles are *internalized*. In Reich's terminology, the state of consciousness engendered by the conventional controls on the body is functionally identical to those symbolic controls or to the body armouring itself. The internal image in consciousness is substituted for the external sign which began the sequence. Neurotic mentation is the result of bodily *incorporation* rather than a conflictual problem with cognitive *internalization*. The ideology of control incorporated in the body creates a split between subjective and objective thought, conscious and unconscious thought, rational and irrational thought. The split between unconscious and conscious thought is rooted in the body. So is the alienation of self and other, individual and society. For Reich, if one lacks recognition of their underlying unity, all such dichotomies are a manifestation of neurosis. Underlying all of the chaos of relative and "causal" relations of experience is the loss of contact with their unity, that is to say with the unity of the perceptual body. In terms of value, it is loss of contact with the flowing energies of the world. It is a loss of the primary nature of sensory experience which Reich equated with the "primitive".

The next metaphorical obviation (Figure 7) that produces the neurotic character involves the substitution of conventional metaphor (at *e*) for the perceptual image (at *b*). This metaphoric substitution is an expansion of the sign which originally controlled perception (at *a*) into a social or frame metaphor. With the substitution of the conventional symbolism of the whole complex of social behaviour -- roles, hierarchical structures, ritual, bureaucratic modes etc., for primary "feelings" and inchoate bodily perceptions, the initial phase of socialization is complete. Embodied consciousness, if socialization is successful, is now well adapted and habituated to its "place" or "level" or "function" in society. The relationship between language and the body is elaborated as a psychological and somatic identity and that identity is inserted into the expanded metaphorical frame of social ideology.

With the next mediation, there is the metaphorical image of the individual self in relationship with social metaphor. The image of this relationship -- on Figure 7 -- (at *f*) obviates the initial development of the child's armoured body. As the social is incorporated into the body, so also is the image of the self incorporated into the expanded frame of social ideology as character.

The next mediation is that of the "political" adult body in society (at *g*) which obviates the psychological image (at *d*.) It emerges out of the psychological understanding of the self in the world and the incorporation of the "world" (i.e., society) into the body. The symbolic controls incorporated into the body are functionally identical to the social structures which institutionalize these controls.

It is important to note that Reich's image of the individual is in essence an image of the animal body. It is also important to note, however, and this is where the difficulty lies, that Reich links cognition and cognitive meaning to the instinctual processes which are implicated in the essential functions of the animal body. This does not mean, however, that Reich means to point to the *biological* determination of meaning. The categories of "instinct," "biology," "cognition," "meaning," and so on are *all* destabilized in the sense that none of these terms in the context of the paradigm of embodied experience are discrete. Their

meanings are in fact extremely promiscuous in the sense that terminological boundaries are vague and variable.

Reich himself seems to follow a determinist understanding when he sets up the dichotomy between the fascist *machine* and the natural *biology* of the organism. The destabilization of the category of "biological reality" hinges upon the doubleness of the category of the body. The conventional understanding of "biology" refers to a set of decontextualized parts and functions. If, however, the notion of biology is contextualized by human consciousness on the one hand and by society on the other, then we have a "living" biological organism. Over and over again, handicapped by his lack of a sophisticated psychological and phenomenological vocabulary Reich reiterates this overriding concern with "the living." He is interested in nothing else. Reich's understanding of biology is always a bio-phenomenology.

With the next obviation, the experiential image of the whole (at *h*) is substituted for the expansion of the sign into social metaphor (at *e*), Reich's *image of the world* (that is to say the "Modern" world) is that of "plague." It is the image of neurotic, biological and social stasis and stagnation. It is the hell of bureaucracy and war. It is the fascist outlook. It is alienation and control. It is sterile wombs, unpleasure and cancer. It is dissatisfaction and contrariness. It is the evil of Dor energy. It is stasis: man against nature.⁸³ It is the image of repression as Freudian necessity.

The next obviation occurs with the return to the beginning and the substitution of the sign for the image of the relation between self and society (at *f*). If the ideology of control is successful, the neurotic image of a split world is reasserted and the system of conventional and technological ideology of death and stasis is elaborated. If, on the other hand, the ideology of control is not quite successful -- and it never is -- then there is negative and often subversive reaction to the system of control. At each of the foci of the processual sequence,

⁸³ This image of "man against nature" which Reich explicitly uses produces stasis in the sense that social convention is used to block natural functioning in "man's" body and in nature. Stasis occurs due to the non-recognition of the underlying unity between "man" and "nature." He uses the term in the sense of "society" against "nature."

convention is driven more deeply into the body and mind. But also at each foci, there is the potential for the escape of energy, both neurotic and healthy escape. It escapes partly as illusion, violence, neurotic compulsion, war. It escapes partly as "cultural" activity, rock and roll, theatre, art. It escapes partly as therapeutic reversal.

7) Functional Identities in the Unfolding of the Dialectic

With the expansion of stasis, control and negativity into wider and wider frames, each level comes to mirror the processes which went into its making. The various aspects of this development -- the foci of Figure 7 -- are in Reich's terms "functionally identical."

Psychological experience, the conventional armour or chronic physiological structures of the body, the bodily capacity to perceive, the elaboration of social structure and the world view or total orientation of the organism are all interrelated in such a way that the different structures, at their different levels, serve similar functions. In his first psychoanalytic phase, before his work in microscopic biology, he tended to think in terms of the functional identity between psychological attitudes such as paranoia, anxiety, compulsions etc., and physiological factors like posture, breathing and chronic tensions in the body. Later on he theorized the functional identity between "diseased" social relations, "diseased" bodily organs and "diseased" planetary parts such as deserts.

For the purposes of diagnosis, then, the question of understanding some psychological aspect of character could be approached by reading the "face" or the emotional physiognomy of disease and health. A state of mind or neurosis was the result of the dialectical interaction between the flow of energy in the body and the way this flow was being controlled by a conventional or habitual blockage. The two sides of the equation were for Reich "functionally identical" in the sense that the social elaboration of physical posture, expression, tone of voice etcetera are the "direct" manifestations of psychological character. Character -- as a psychological orientation, a set of "states of mind" & so on -- does not exist outside of these particular bodily attributes. In turn, these particular bodily attributes do not exist outside of a particular character formation.

Such a system of functional interrelationships meant that, in therapeutic terms, the functional diseases of character could be addressed in a variety of ways. Psychological aspects of functional disability could be addressed in terms of more or less classical psychoanalytic technique; character analysis could attempt to make the patient aware of the relationship between bodily forms and mental forms, the physiological or postural dimension of character could be worked on directly in order to bring into conscious awareness the patient's bodily habituation; the socio-political dimension could be addressed in terms of mass sex education. The bio-electrical dimension could be worked on directly via an application of orgone energy from the orgone accumulator to the diseased part of the organism.

Referring to Figure 7, the sacramental trinity, if I can be excused for calling it that, is comprised of the expanded frame of social metaphor (at *e*), the social body or character structure (at *g*) and its mediator the experiential image (at *f*). The central image of "Modern" ideology is characterized by the dualism of the transcendent and the causal mechanism. Romantic thought emphasizes the pole of experience; Enlightenment positivist thought emphasizes the pole of convention.⁸⁴ The goal of Reich's therapeutics involves the integration of this imagery under the sign of the direct contact between meaning and action.

8) The Therapeutic Symbolism of Orgonomy

If "Modern" ideology itself involves a dialectical relation between Enlightenment control and Romantic remission (or therapeutic reversal) as I have suggested, then it is the role of Reich's Romantic therapeutic to reverse the Enlightenment controls upon the body. See Table 6. The Romantic subversion of the repressive ideological controls, of course, take a great many different forms. There are, however, two fundamental concerns in the Romantic project in general: the desire for "Modern ideology" to re-enter into a relationship with "Non-

⁸⁴ Positivist thought, objectivist and disembodied epistemology, uni-planar analysis, the rational emphasis upon non-contradiction and so on all epitomize the tendencies of the Enlightenment stream in "modern" discourse. Because the Enlightenment stream dominates the Romantic stream in "modern" ideology, these tendencies are very often equated with the "modern" in general and the Romantic stream of thought, in common parlance, is characterized as irrational or equated with religious ideology or mystical ideas and so on.

Modern" sacred ideology and the elevation of the creative sensual aspects of culture over its conventional and more strictly rational aspects.

In Romantic thought in general and in Reich's thought in particular, creativity and tradition are linked in an apparent contradiction. In Reich's case, at least, the contradiction is only apparent, because Reich's image of tradition is not an image of that which is fixed but an image of that which is mobile. It is an image of a wider and fuller experience than that afforded by an ethos of control. It is, in fact, an image of embodied experience itself released from *internal* and *incorporated* control into the social body of the community.

In his early concept of "primitive" life in harmony with the pulsation of natural processes, Reich saw the sacred as a misrecognition of natural processes. His image of the "Non-Modern" thus differs from the anthropological view developed by Victor Turner, Roy Wagner and others which focuses upon the social institution of ritual reversal as the mechanism whereby the stability of the individual and social life is achieved. Later on, however, Reich took the view that perhaps religion had a necessary function in public and private life. Which is, I suppose, another way of saying that he came to see his own therapeutic of reversal as serving this same function. From this point of view, the therapeutic, as primary agent of social invention, functions as ritual reversal.

Reich's development of the technology to harness orgone energy, is, then, an external and scientific manifestation of a long tradition of the "technology of the sacred," whereby consciousness is manipulated under the sign of transcendent experience. Whether this external technology will ultimately be seen as extraneous apparatus to an essentially internal process, remains to be seen.

Reich's therapeutic operates to free up the contractive movement of "Modern" character structure and its reciprocal relations with society. The newly engendered movement is that of a pulsation between the expanded and contracted forms of convention and experience. The image of Reich's therapy is of an expansion of experience into the domain of that vacated by "primitive" culture and the Romantic experience. The earlier "primitive" or

"natural" process of expansion and contraction of the socio-biological organism, now, however, must be replaced by a therapeutic imagery inclusive of a set of conventional relationships. These are given briefly in Table 6 below.

Table 6 Reich's Therapeutic Context & the Experiential Image of Therapy

<p><i>The Imagery of Reich's Therapeutic Context</i> (The letters refer to Figure 9)</p> <p>A) the sign of the dialectic: trinity</p> <p>C) the bodily sign of the dialectic: sexuality</p> <p>E) the expanded metaphor of the dialectic: therapeutic reversal</p> <p>G) the expanded bodily metaphor of sexuality: universal energy</p> <p><i>Four aspects of therapeutic experience as the image of perceptual flow</i> (Figure 9)</p> <p>B) the unitary experience of the flow of energy and emotion in the body. The flow of emotions.</p> <p>D) the unitary experience of the direct contact of name and thing in the mind. The flow of ideas.</p> <p>F) the unitary experience of direct sexual participation. The flow of sexual relations in society.</p> <p>H) the unitary experience of the bodily organism in social interaction: the flow of social life in the context of the flow of nature.</p>
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Given the conventional realm of therapeutic symbolism and the image of therapeutic experience as an expansion of conventional experience, the therapist may begin at any juncture of the experiential and symbolic elements which constitute the dialectic of convention. Reich's therapeutic methods may be applied to any or all of the junctions. His therapy is aimed at the reversal of the cycle of control and the increasing of healthy flow and thus contact with the real world in the physical body, the biological body, the character structure, social institutions, thought and nature.

The imagery of universal energies, the technology to harness "orgone" and combat "Dor" energy at the level of health, politics or interplanetary war offer a series of metaphoric substitutions that together form Reich's cosmology. Therapeutics, then, as existential and social aim, involve the enaction of the dialectic of invention as the emulation or mimicry of the creative process itself. The good is that which pulsates in the natural rhythm of creative good health. The evil is that which does not.

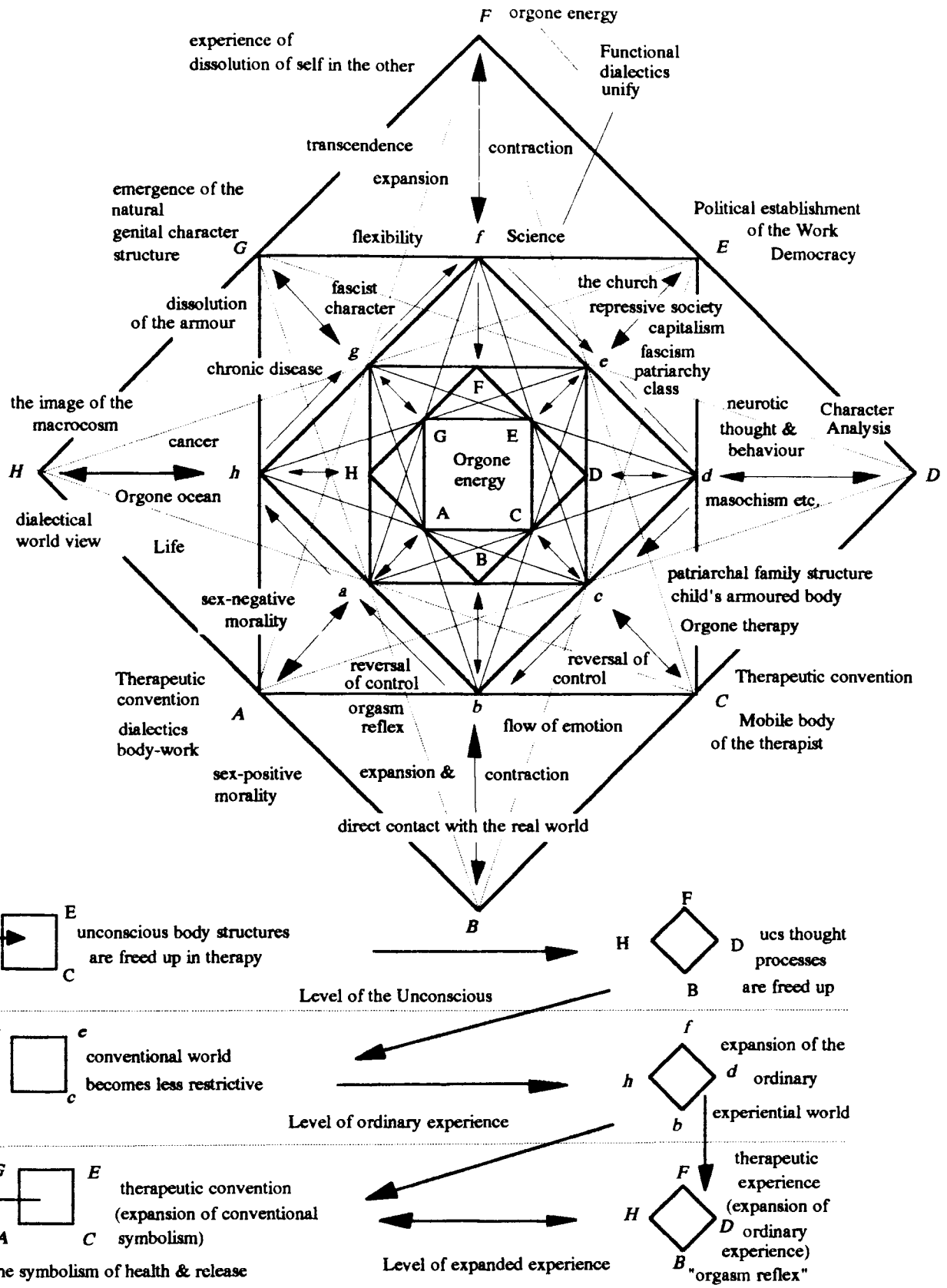


Figure 9 Reich's Therapy: the Processual Deconstruction of Convention

The following explanation of Reich's therapeutic refer to Figure 9 above. The movements between levels at the bottom of the diagram are not definitive but show the reversal of the production of character beginning with a therapeutic intervention aimed at loosening up the unconscious structures of the bodily armour.

The dialectics of reversal begin with the first set of mediations but in reverse. Instead of the sign controlling the bodily perception to produce the conventional flow of meaning, it is the bodily perception which is used to reorganize and control the flow of meaning. With the reversal, the conventions of therapeutic reversal become the implicit background context and the creative perceptual image becomes the foreground control. At the same time as the flow of energy and analogy are initiated by the unbinding of the body from its internal incorporated ties, the body is released into the symbolic world of the ritual or therapeutic context itself. This means that perceptual consciousness is allowed free play (or freer play) within the context of the larger symbolic social body. Perceptual consciousness is liberated from everyday convention into a special world which aims at social and psychological transformation and the implicit or explicit enactment of symbolic transcendence.

From one point of view, this is no liberation at all because freedom appears to be nicely contained by the conventions of normative society. This is certainly true. On the other hand, if the image of society is not given a negative value (as in opposition to the desires of individuals), then, it is not a question of the conventional containment of what is potentially wild. Rather it is a question of the *reciprocal invention* of society and person, public and private experience. Of course, the symmetry between convention and invention, public and private, control and therapeutic remission can never be complete. The system is healthy, however, when there is mobility and adaptability. The system is healthy when energies are allowed to circulate.

If "Modern" character structure develops through the incorporation of unreleased conventions in the body, then there are two levels of unbinding which must be accomplished in the contemporary therapeutic process. These are the level of conventional bodily and

mental conditioning and a deeper level of conventional conditioning which is developed by the history of rational control. The first level corresponds more or less to the level of convention established in what Reich thought of as "primitive" culture and the "naturally human" state. This level of convention is conditioned by the regular experience of reversal whereby convention is dissolved. The second level of incorporated convention corresponds to the internalization of objective consciousness as the non-reciprocal nature of truth. This is the "Modern" unconscious. This level of convention is conditioned, in Reich's system, by the consistent refusal of reversal in sexual abandonment and the subsequent inability to accomplish the reversal. The internal level of autonomous personhood, as a split consciousness, is created and maintained in opposition to the level of the social by the social rejection of the reversal.

Thus it is that contemporary therapeutic reversal operates, not as a reversal in a reciprocal relationship with the dominant ideology, but as a social force aimed at the subversion of the culture of control. I have characterized this subversion as being one of the roles of Romantic thought in general. This subversive force is, however, naturally enough, very often co-opted by the dominant morality and put in its own service, under cover, as it were. This co-optation is accomplished as soon as some aspect of the therapeutic process is "held back." This holding back operates as an internal control on the therapeutic process itself, maintaining as it does, various aspects of the idea-value of the dominant "Modern" ideology of class and production.

The dialectic of convention is not conditioned by its periodic contact with the transcendent experiential domain of therapeutic invention as a social process. Rather the private world of conventional "modern" character structure is conditioned by its contact with the internal domain of psychological invention whereby the self must continually invent itself as a set of moral decisions within the context of an internalized set of conventional social markers. The controlled structure which is the "Modern" self incorporates an intense internal dialectic of invention and an equally intense external dialectic of social convention. In

contemporary conventional parlance, this split is between the internal psychological mind (conscious and unconscious) and the external body whose image is split between that of the medical corpse and the social entity.

Contemporary therapeutics which see the very nature of the internal psychological self as an unhealthy development cannot engage in a therapeutic endeavour which seeks to merely aid the self in managing and making moral decisions and in general understanding itself in terms of the psychological dimension. Traditional psychoanalysis is such a therapeutic and as such it is rightfully considered by many commentators including Reich to be essentially conservative in its outlook. It is aimed at the maintaining of "Modern" character structure as a structure of necessary internal controls.

Reichian therapeutics, in contrast, aims to unbind the internal psychological self as well as the conventional body and Reich himself was perhaps the most trenchant in refusing all "deals" with the enemy. The bound energy in the body must be released to move both inward into the psychological domain and the conventional world of rational and methodological constraint and outward into the natural and social world. Reich's therapeutics aim at a rhythmic essentially anarchic relationship between the physical, psychological and political domains.

Because the "Modern" dialectics of morality and therapeutic reversal are not integrated,⁸⁵ there tends to be a reciprocal invention of the mind and the body as *novel* change, as the continual relativization and distancing of parts. Invention in the "modern" world dominated by enlightenment discourse has essentially to do with the movement of the mind as the objectivizing control on the body. Enlightenment ideology views the body as a piece of technology. In turn, technology functions to continually invent the mind in new forms, many of them pornographic.

⁸⁵ Character and therapeutic reversal are integrated in Reich's image of "primitive" Trobriand society and they are also integrated in Reich's image of a work democracy.

9) Therapeutic Reversal of the Armoured Block

The symbology within which the therapeutic experience takes place sets conceptual limits on the expansion of experience. It must be emphasized that this sort of control is "contextual" control rather than foreground control. In the dialectic of convention, social symbolism is the foreground control on experience. In the therapeutic enactment of reversal, the experiential image functions as the foreground control while social symbol and activity frame the experiential flow of ritual and therapeutic images. Ritual or therapeutic convention, then, acts as the hinge between conventionally constrained experience and the expansion of this experience into the wider frame.

As shown in Figure 9, the dialectic of invention is initiated by the reversal of the figure/ground relation between sign (at *a*) and experience (at *b*). This reversal is diagrammatically depicted by the control of bound energy (at *b*) by ritual convention (at *C*). This unleashes energy into the internal psychological system (at *B*) and also into the social system (at *B*). The relationship between expanded experience and the therapeutic intervention is itself mediated by the sign of expanded consciousness (at *A*). It is obvious that the networks whereby the released energy may be reversed back through the psychological and bodily system are innumerable. The therapeutic process involves various ways of directing this reversal of the flow of energy in mind and body.

Concerning the psychological resistance which is encoded in the body as muscular armour, Reich (1973) tells us that "every muscular rigidity contains the history and the meaning of its origin" (p. 269). With the loosening of the armour come infantile memories linked to the origins of the chronic character attitudes. It is not so much individual muscles which are involved, however, but rather whole muscle groups which belong in Reich's words to a "functional unity." He tells us that "When, for example, an impulse to cry is to be suppressed, it is not solely the lower lip which is tense but also the entire musculature of the throat; in short, those organs which are brought into action as a functional unit in the act of crying" (p. 271). The armour is thus in segments which are directly related to various human functions. Reich goes on to say that

the total expression of the body can usually be condensed in a word or formula which, sooner or later in the course of the character-analytic treatment, suggests itself. Strangely enough, they are usually formulas and names derived from the animal kingdom, such as 'fox,' 'pig,' 'snake,' 'worm,' etc. (Ibid).

Reich's approach to dissolving the chronic tension of the spastic muscle groups usually begins with the group farthest away from the genitals. "It is" he says "the facial attitude that is most conspicuous." He goes on to say that "facial expression and tone of voice are also those functions which the patient himself most frequently and most carefully pays attention to and feels. The attitudes of the pelvis, shoulders, and abdomen are usually concealed" (Ibid). Reich goes on to describe the major muscular attitudes including problems with breathing.

The complete dissolution of the muscular armour releases the orgasm reflex which for most people even in sexual activity is very restricted so that libidinal energy is by no means fully discharged. Reich describes the segmentation of the body below.

A snake or worm demonstrates a uniform, wavelike, rhythmic movement which governs the entire organism. Now let us imagine that some segments of the body are paralyzed or somehow restricted, so that they are not able to move with the rhythm of the entire body. In such a case, the other parts of the body would not, as before, move in one unit; the total rhythm would be disturbed, owing to the exclusion of individual muscle groups. Thus, the completeness of the body harmony and motility is dependent upon the uniformity, totality, and freedom from disturbance of the impulses of the body (p. 297).

Discussing the various neurotic distortions which accompany muscular armouring, Reich says that

depersonalization becomes understandable as a lack of charge, i.e., as a disturbance of the vegetative enervation of individual organs or organ systems (e.g., the fingertips, the arms, the head, the legs, the genitals, etc.) The lack of unity in self-perception is also caused by the fact that the current of excitation in the body is interrupted in one place or another (p. 319).

"The orgasm reflex" he says "consists precisely of the fact that a wave of excitation and movement runs from the vegetative center over the head, neck, chest, upper and lower abdomen, to the pelvis and then to the legs" (p. 297). If this wave is obstructed in any way or blocked by the muscular armouring or by an idea, the reflex is disrupted. The most important

method for freeing the orgasm reflex is a "breathing technique" which evolved over time in therapeutic work. Working downward through the various armoured segments the therapist arrives at the origin of the problem in the pelvic area. In his discussion of the mobilization of the "dead" pelvis Reich says that "The voluntary movement of the abdomen, pelvis, and upper thighs as a single unit is undoubtedly the most important and frequent means of preventing the pelvis from moving by itself" (p. 308). He goes on to say that:

the more intensely the inhibition of the pelvic movement is worked on, the more completely the pelvis participates in the wave of excitation. It begins to move forward and upward without any conscious effort on the part of the patient. It is as if it were drawn up toward the umbilicus by an external force. At the same time, the upper thighs remain motionless" (p. 308).

The character of the true orgasm reflex is unmistakable, he says, and always pleasurable but it is often difficult to separate the true vegetative movements from those movements which are precisely meant to block the reflex and pleasurable sensation. Reich tells us that

The very movement which, carried out by individual muscle groups, represents pathological reaction to the body and serves to ward off sexual pleasure, is, in a wavelike movement of the total body, the basis of the capacity for spontaneous vegetative pleasure. The *arc de cercle* of the hysteric, in which the abdomen and the chest are arched forward while the shoulders and the pelvis are pulled back, now becomes comprehensible as the exact opposite of the orgasm reflex. (p. 309)

Reich goes on to say that:

The orgasm reflex is a unitary response of the total body. In the orgasm, we are nothing but a pulsating mass of plasma. . . The orgasm reflex is found in all creatures that copulate. Among more primitive biological organisms as, for example, protozoa, it is found in the form of plasmatic contractions. The most elementary stage at which it can be found is the division of single cells (p. 313).

Reich theorizes that higher organized forms, which have a skeleton such as the human, can no longer contract to a spherical form like a protozoon and so must bend rapidly to the greatest possible extent. The orgasm reflex, then, is the manifestation of the desire to contract and become spherical. The organism wants to return to its original and most perfect shape --

the circle, the God symbol. The urge towards the dissolution of egoic individuation could hardly be more graphically or more romantically conceived.

CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSION

1) Introduction

The central aim of the thesis has been to show the integrative nature of Reich's Romantic cosmology and therapeutic practice. According to my analysis, this integration is achieved by Reich's unifying concept of the human body as the metaphorical nexus of energy and meaning. The image as it appears in consciousness (as a representation of the world) and in language (as metaphor) is mediated by bodily perception. Reich's model of healthy and unhealthy character structure is underpinned by an epistemology which privileges a moment of transparency whereby the "meaning" of experience is in "direct contact" with that experience itself. The development of the "Modern" character structure is described as a processual movement away from that ideal. His therapeutics aim at recapturing it.

In this chapter, I examine the implications of Reich's paradigm of embodiment for the image of the Romantic body, for therapeutics, for the relation between self and moral community, for the image of evil in character and society, for the unfolding of ideology, for the instability of terminological categories and the analogous relation between Reich's dialectics of energy and the dialectics of meaning in the anthropological model used in the thesis.

2) The Romantic Body

Reich's natural body is made in the image of the living naked truth which is:

a natural function, just as is walking or running or hunting the bear by the Eskimo or finding the tracks of the enemy by the Indian. It is, within the framework of the totality of natural functioning, an integral part of the organism and it depends on the integrity as well integration of all the senses. The first, Orgonotic sense must be intact. Truth, no matter in what realm of life or whatever its scope, is thus a tool of the Living, in line with all other tools that are given or shaped by the senses and the organismic motility (Reich, 1953, p. 167).

But with the development of the modern world, Reich tells us, truth became merely an ethical ideal and the natural biological organism is transformed into a neurotic machine. With the loss of contact, the gap between the world and its representation, between the psychic

organization and the somatic reality, opens up and the image of truth as an ideal mirror image appears.

Dr. Ola Raknes, a Norwegian student of Reich's, specifically equates the sensual awareness of children and unarmoured adults to mystical experience. In her words:

Children are alive in a way that one seldom finds in adults. The special quality of this aliveness is seen in many ways: there is a natural grace in all movements, a fresh impulsivity with heartfelt actions in both affection and anger, a wholehearted concentration of whatever task is undertaken, a free experience of bodily (sexual) pleasure and, finally, a unique capacity for contact with other people and a sense of what is healthy and what is sick (cited in Bodella 1973 p. 235).

She goes on to say that:

In therapy it sometimes happens, usually with patients who are not used to noticing their bodily feelings, that these sensations come to awareness without the patient being clear that they are his own feelings and are localized in the body. As long as they are not felt as arising from the body these patients experience them as just as mysterious and bizarre as the religious mystic does, even if he recognizes them in an inexplicable way or as being a natural process. But once each patient has experienced his own organism as the source and ground for the sense of vitality, mysticism disappears and it becomes quite natural. (Ibid)

Michael Murphy's recent book *The Future of the Body* (1993) gives us a multi-faceted image of what I have called the Romantic body. In it, Reich's work figures as only one aspect of the broader picture. Its central theme is the "transformative capacity" of the human body or the possibility for "extraordinary" life. The working hypothesis is thoroughly anthropological: living in a particular society puts limits on human potential. In Murphy's words:

We live only part of the life we are given. Growing acquaintance with once-foreign cultures, new discoveries about our subliminal depths, and the dawning recognition that each social group reinforces just some human attributes while neglecting or suppressing others have stimulated a worldwide understanding that all of us have great potentials for growth. Perhaps no culture has ever possessed as much publicly available knowledge as we do today regarding the transformative capacities of human nature.

Central to the image of the new body is the conscious moving of awareness to different parts and the gaining of conscious control of parts usually unconscious. This involves a progressive illumination of background context. In Reichian work, it is a question of gaining

control of automatic processes so that they can function in a flexible natural manner. Murphy, however, is not only concerned with naturally emergent capacities but also the development of potential via the conscious control of body functions. Reich emphasized the function of sexual ecstasis as the general model for the healthy flow of energy in the body. But his theory of bodily energetics fits in well with all sorts of theoretical and practical programs involving the interrelation of bodily energetics and consciousness. These include healing with the hands, manipulation of the energetic body or the human aura via exercises, diet or mechanically, the development of special somatic states of heightened perception utilizing practices from various healing traditions, martial arts, religious disciplines and so on.

The true body is the creative body -- it is the alive animal body -- it is the lover's body -- it is the magical or transformative body. It is the sacred body and experiential body whose natural perceptual capacity can see through the illusory (read ideological) nature of social reality. It is robust; it is bright -- the eyes shine -- the skin is vibrant -- it is vital, energetic, sexual. The new body is caught up in the thematics of growth, expanded consciousness, higher powers, extraordinary capacities, transcendence. At the height of human experience is egoless existence, no-self, selfless love, unitive awareness. The ideal new body is the body unbound -- it is de-culturated and is thus free to circulate in any number of cultural symbolics; it is also free to adorn itself in the apparel of any and all cultures. The Romantic body is conceived as a universe of energies, transformative and poised for action. Reich's "genital character is predicated upon the body adapted not to a specific environment, social and natural, but the body adapted to multi-environment -- to multi-situations and to the variability of stresses.

The Enlightenment body, on the other hand, is essentially the corpse -- or as Lacan has it, it is the "specular" body -- it is the image of the body in the mind. It is the invisible body; it is the pornographic body; it is the consumer body; it is the robot body.

There is no doubt in my mind that the Romantic view of the body is more interesting, more whole in the sense that it is more true to human experience and also that such a view

leads to a more healthy ecology of human relations and human/natural relations. It is "better" in the sense that it involves a re-integration of the split between mind and body individual and society, society and the natural environment. With such an image of the body, there can be no question of the split between subjective and objective and thus the world occupied by such a body can not consist of a distinction between consciousness of the real and subjective projections.

3) Embodied Energy, Therapeutics & Value

Reich's therapeutics are, as I have shown, a Romantic version of the general process of *ritual reversal* whereby the repressions or habits incorporated in the conventional body are periodically loosened and the repressed material is allowed to inform the very conventions which were instrumental in the incorporative process. As such, his therapeutics participate in the contemporary attempt to *reverse the reversal* of the dominant ideology of the "Modern." This reversal would transcend the "Modern" and institute a "Post-Modern" Utopia.

Reich sees sexual experience and the strong flow of energy (as passion) in the body as the sacramental linkage of macrocosmic experience to microcosmic convention.⁸⁶ Health is predicated upon the pulsatory flow of energy.⁸⁷ Although emphasizing sexuality, Reich also paid particular attention to breathing and the blockage of natural breathing. He saw what is today often called "breath-work" as the single most important factor in the loosening of the bodily armour.

One of the most conspicuous and dramatic aspects of the conjunction of morality and illness arises with Reich's work on cancer. It was, of course, Reich's rental of orgone

86 In Figure 9, the sacrament involves the expansion of the point *f* outward to *F*. It is the experiential and creative mediation of the four aspects of social convention — the sign (at *a*), the armoured body (at *c*), the expanded social metaphor (at *e*) and the political body (at *g*). The sacrament at *f* is an experiential expansion of the flow of energy at *b*. This relationship is implicit in the triangulation of *e-f-g* as the social metaphor (at *e*) is an obviation or substitutive metaphor for the perceptual flow of energy (at *b*) and the foci of flow at *b* is itself an obviation of the political body (at *g*).

87 Georges Canguilhem, (1991) the French medical historian, tells us that it is generally agreed that sickness is *conservative* in the sense that it involves a certain maladaptive stasis in organ function. Health, on the other hand, involves a certain biological and psychological *flexibility* which is adaptive to changes in the external environment.

accumulators to a number of cancer patients that led to the infamous court case and his jail sentence. As always, for Reich, the etiology of disease is essentially social. But social problems are not only the cause of psychological problems but of physical problems as well. In general, the notion that one's sex life is directly related to the occurrence of cancer and other pernicious diseases did not, of course, sit well with conventional scientific medicine in the 1940s and 50s. In general, the notion that a person's "natural" morality or goodness is based upon that person's ability to express love in the most basic way runs directly against the liberal notion of morality as an intellectual endeavour. What is more, Reich held that the morality of the "modern" world was primarily concerned with the excessive neurotic control and regulation of both sexuality and private property. For Reich, disease was caused by the chronic contraction of bodily structures which are out of the conscious control of the individual. They are out of conscious control because they have been split off by a repressive moral and social system. Thus it is that Reich sees the struggle against disease as a moral struggle to be waged in the domains of biology, psychology and society. From this point of view, individual moral blame for one's own disease flows from one's acquiescence to social evil. Cancer is to the individual body what fascism is to the social body.⁸⁸

Such contemporary psychological concepts as "dysfunctional" families, "co-dependent" individuals or "toxic" relationships express a similar social etiology for psychological distress. The recent emphasis upon the metaphor of "stress" arising from such relationships and the pressures of contemporary city life, in general, also relies on a fundamentally social etiology of disease. There is also a fairly direct connection between Reich's notion of character as a bodily incorporation of a set of metaphorical blocks in the body and the contemporary therapeutic notion of "body memories."

⁸⁸ It is just this sort of equation of moral responsibility and disease which Susan Sontag finds objectionable in her book *Illness as Metaphor and Aids and its Metaphors* (1978). Sontag is much more comfortable with the symbolism of "chance" and "accident" than she is with the linkage of disease and moral responsibility. For Sontag, moral metaphor simply should not be linked with disease. My own position is that the social and psychological goodness or badness of the linkage of morality and disease depends entirely upon the nature of the metaphor.

I will say a few words about this latter concept. Reich explicitly notes that forgotten or unconscious memories return when certain parts of the body armour are loosened up. The current debate regarding the validity of such memories centers on the notion that therapists may in fact be consciously and/or unconsciously suggesting particular interpretations of what are really the inchoate feelings of their clients who are vulnerable to such interpretations. It seems to me that such memories may in fact be essentially "true" in the sense that they are the recollection of long forgotten social situations which were instrumental in the development of the bodily armour. On the other hand, therapeutic symbolism and context always implicitly or explicitly present an interpretive framework for the understanding of mental and physical distress. Thus the question cannot really be generalized. It is a question of the specifics of the case.⁸⁹

The Reichian conception of the healthy body that is in direct contact with experience and its meaning has had a broad influence on contemporary therapeutics. There is an obvious connection in my mind between the concept of the healthy body as a system of energy flows and a great number of other therapeutic systems, both ancient and "modern", in the tradition of empirical medicine. Many of these are becoming more and more influential in alternative medicine today. Chinese acupuncture and acupressure are perhaps the best known. The imagery of chakras, subtle bodies, the aura, emotional emanations, multiple planes of experience, and so on, all involve the re-integration of a notion of moral hierarchy in the evolution of the self. They all involve energetic systems and the concept of blockage of energy flow in the etiology of disease. They all operate on the assumption that medicine

⁸⁹ The question is parallel to that faced by Freud. Were his female patients fantasizing or were they telling the truth about what their fathers and other males had done to them? Freud came down on the side of fantasy. Feminist thought today has generally come down on the side of actuality. As with all such cases, there are cases to clearly illustrate both sides. In the case of bodily memory, as with unconscious thought in general, the most important point is perhaps that *something* no doubt happened to cause the distress which has brought a person into therapy. There can also be little doubt that this *something* concerns some aspect of the relationship between child and parent or other adult figure. Whether the inchoate feelings of hurt and rage of the distressed person are occasioned by a consistent alienated non-sympathetic, authoritarian ignorance (for example) or actual outright sexual and physical abuse is of course of the utmost importance for the persons involved. There is not only the problem of trying to correlate experience and understanding which is the basis of sanity, there is also the question of the law, jail terms, funding for therapy and so on. On the other hand, if one steps back and looks at the overall picture, it is the widespread expression of distress which is perhaps the more important social fact.

should be in the service of the movement of energy rather than involve itself in mounting attacks upon illness producing biological agents.

Reich's unified theory has had a formative influence upon the expanding field of psycho-somatic medicine. The nature of biological immunity and its relationship to stress, chronic tension and the characterological profile has become a central focus in this area. The notion of emotions being trapped in the body as chronic tension in muscles and organs is also very widely accepted as an etiological premise. Body-work as a way of addressing both psychological and somatic aspects of experience is expanding enormously in the last few years. The re-establishment of a conscious healthy relationship between body energetics and the symbolism of psychological narratives -- conventional stories we tell ourselves about our natures -- is perhaps the major overall program of contemporary humanistic therapeutics.

4) The Biological Self and the Moral Community

One way of interpreting the debate surrounding Reich is as a conflict between the phenomenological and the rationalist modes of thought as they pertain to the understanding of religion. Reich, the Romantic, claims that the experience of the sacred is not the experience of the completely "other" but is rather the experience of the very best in the self. Enlightenment thought for its part, and this is to generalize greatly, de-sacralizes biological energy, downgrades emotional "feelings" and tends to regard the experience and the symbolism of the sacred as socially organized *projections* onto a neutral nature. From the embodied perspective, however, there is no neutral or objective natural world. The world and the consciousness which perceive the world are co-extensive. Just as our model of ideological unfolding occurs between conventional social text and the bodily experiential context, so also Reich's image of character is always in relationship to an image of the social community. It seeks to transcend the "modern" conflict between the individual and society, mind and body, public and private life. As such, it sees the phenomenology of embodied being as the foundation of a new identity and a new moral community. The identification of orgone energy with the experience of god means that the *values* of embodied being flow from the *facts* of embodied being. The

ideal of the good is a concept of the "natural" morality of self regulation which emerges from organic functioning and is not imposed by society. Reich bolsters this understanding of the biological organism with his promotion of a certain idea of the "primitive".

But as I have shown, Reich's grasp of the "primitive" is informed more by his understanding of the existential underpinnings of the formation of character and his desire to attack the social structure of "civilized" societies than upon an in-depth historical or anthropological knowledge. What is at the very heart of Reich's romanticism is not any particular notion of the "primitive". It is a theoretical conception of the potential underlying (or transcendent) sensual and objective unity of language and experience. The "red thread of sex" and the transparent meaning of sex runs through all aspects of his work and it is the model for all vital functioning, all health and all creativity. Reich's appeal to the "primitive" is primarily as an example of what he takes to be the existential reality of the body in the world. His ideal is that of "self-regulation" a mode of behaviour as far from absolute license as it is from moralistic denial.

Reich's image of "matriarchal" society, more or less free of economic or sexual repression, is of a piece with his notion of "primitive" character structure. Reich's appeal to matriarchy is essentially an appeal to an image of the reciprocal relation between the social recognition of the importance of sexuality and its manifestation in non-neurotic character structure. But again, Reich looks backward in the attempt to find the historical manifestation of what he takes to be the implicit potential of the relationship between the individual and society. Reich's utopian vision of a "work democracy" involves the dismantling of sexual repression as well as a marxist dismantling of economic repression.⁹⁰

90 The image of the female is present throughout Reich's work. It is implicit in the image of the "flow" of energy, emotions and fluids in the body. It is implicit in his notion of the abandonment of oneself to the orgasmic experience. It is implicit in the notion of the primacy of the body over intellect. In this sense, the primal imagery of cosmic energy is female while the social blockage of this energy in the armour, fascist social structure, capitalist ownership, bureaucracy and so on is male. I do not here mean to insist upon the "truth" of any particular imagery of the female. Reich himself did not see his symbolic system in terms of any particular image of the female as distinct from the male. The splitting up of the imagery of bodily potential between an ideal of the female and the male in contemporary times is certainly socially developed. For Reich, the re-integration of the pulsation of female and male energies involves the re-situating of the male energies (authoritarian and armoured) in the context of the flexibility of the experiential world which appears, as we have noted, in the image of the female. Reich takes the

But Reich also links his image of the genital character to Christ. Reich's work *The Murder of Christ* (1953) is held by some to be his greatest work, by others to represent his retreat into mysticism. It is probably neither. It simply places his previous work into a new religious and political context. For Reich, any tradition, scientific or religious, that aimed at the apprehension of totality must have had some, however incomplete, grasp of what he now saw as the real dimensions of the material universal cosmic energy. Reich simply aimed to equate the healthy character structure with a re-interpretation of Christian morality.

A central image of the book is that of man in a trap. It echoes Rousseau's image of man who is "born free" but "everywhere he is in chains." Why, Reich asks, do people who actually know where the exit to the trap is, and most people do, not free themselves?" "It is" says Reich "THE BASIC EVASION OF THE ESSENTIAL which is the problem of man" (Reich, 1953, p. 4, capitals in the original). Humanity fears and hates the exit from the trap as he fears and hates the God in himself as he fears and hates the sexual feelings in himself as he fears and hates the light of day and the freedom of nature because he has been so long in the trap and spent so long making the trap comfortable for himself and investing himself in its beautification.

To people who are incapable of sexual relaxation, sexual excitation gradually and inevitably becomes something torturing and destructive. As a matter of fact, sexual excitation is torturing and destructive if the discharge of the sexual energy is not allowed to take place. Thus we see that the religious conception of sexuality as an evil and destructive force has its basis in actual somatic processes. Under these circumstances, the attitude toward sexuality must split up: the typically religious and moralistic evaluations, 'good-bad, 'heavenly-worldly,' 'divine-infernal' become symbols on the one hand of sexual gratification and on the other hand of the punishment for it (Reich, 1970, p. 127).

Enlightenment symbolism of dominant male & subservient female and reverses it. This move is thus simply part of the more general Romantic move which aims at re-situating all social and conventional life (including objectivist science) within a hierarchical value relation whose paramount sign is that of the flow of emotion/perception in the body. In any event, Reich proposes a sexual equality between men and women and sees the female and male orgasm as structurally similar.

It is the very *hatred of life* which has grown from the armoured animal. As Christ is the very principle of Life, then the murder of Christ is the murder of Life itself.⁹¹

But this murder is a very complex thing. It is very well camouflaged in economics, war, cover-ups, evasions, the frameworks of law and crime, "state versus people, morals versus sex, civilization versus nature, police versus criminal" (p. 6). The only hope is with children and a radically different way of raising children. For Reich, the highly variable infant behaviour and emotional expression is "God-like" and the armoured mechanized animal is the manifestation of sin and the devilish. The exit to the trap is a return to the understanding of the sacred body, the body which has the Godlike variability of the infant.⁹²

Reich tells us that: "No deer or bear or elephant or whale or bird or snail could do what the sitting man does. They would dry up and die right away. You can see in the zoo what sitting does to wild animals" (p. 57). The human structure is frozen, tight and finite. Motion is infinite. Christ, Reich tells us, "took himself just as seriously as a deer takes itself seriously" (p. 59). For Reich the neurotic character is the pornographic character and pornography is, of course, a "representation" of sex -- today, a distanced objectified and most often a photographic representation. What Jacques Lacan (1978), the French psychoanalyst called the "specular body" is, for Reich, a particular spectacle: the distanced and objectified pornographic body. And the image of the mirror so central to Lacan's account of the production of the specular body and its illusory arbitrariness is exactly the image of distancing for Reich. The mystical or the "mechano-mystical" attitude has precisely to do with the epistemological image of the truth as a mirror image. Reich's project is to smash the mirror of re-presentation and re-establish the macroscopic image of the world as participation, movement, passion.

⁹¹ Reich notes that "in the distinction between the 'body' and the 'flesh' in early Christianity, our present organomic distinction between the 'primary,' naturally inborn drives ('God'), and the 'secondary,' perverted, evil drives ('Devil,' 'Sin') was anticipated" (p. 9).

⁹² One of Reich's best friends was A.S. Neill the British author and educator who started the radical school Summerhill that was so influential during the 1960s. Neill's book *Summerhill: a Radical Approach to Child Rearing* (1960) did a great deal to spread and legitimate Reich's ideas concerning the education and general upbringing of children in a non-authoritarian environment.

There is, no doubt, a relationship between the virtual *disappearance* of the body and the appearance of the flesh (as objectivated thing) in the context of western religion and also in mass culture and the disappearance of what Marshall McLuhan (1962) called the "audile-tactile" engagement with the world and the appearance of the arbitrary typographic "inscribed" representation. The separation of representation from experience is for Reich, the very definition of pornography. The break, although it appears historically as a "technical" matter -- the development of the division of labour or print technology -- is in fact a *moral* break. This break (between God and the Devil, the infant and the armoured animal, the mind and the body, incorporated and inscribed memory, word and thing) is the very occasion for the creation of perversions -- that is to say all that which is "dirty" and out of place.

As the British anthropologist Edmund Leach (1976) has pointed out in his discussion of structuralism, "dirt" is exactly that which is suppressed or excluded in the establishment of cultural categories.⁹³ In order that there be a sharp distinction between one category and another, (between good and evil for instance, or between the sacred and the profane) the ambiguous overlap between them must be suppressed. In Reichian epistemology, however, this ambiguous overlap is exactly the locus of the participatory truth of experience.

The well known "oceanic feelings," which Freud theorized were based upon the illusion of infantile narcissistic omnipotence, were not in Reich's eyes illusory at all but predicated upon real bodily sensations, albeit sensations which were regularly blocked out of conscious awareness in the "Modern" world. Thus the experience of oceanic connectedness and contact cannot be experienced by the individual nor can it be shared with other individuals. In the first place, one is simply cut off from the sensations by a dulling of the body; in the second place, we have lost the ability to read non-verbal meanings in the body.

From the Freudian position, the religious sentiment appears as somehow irretrievably lodged in the past. Freud's image of religion is intimately linked to his notion of the child's *imaginary* participatory consciousness as "narcissistic omnipotence". From the Reichian

⁹³ Leach paraphrases Mary Douglas' concepts elaborated in her book *Purity and Danger* (1966).

position, the religious sentiment is actually predicated upon an existentially available and completely ordinary mode of bodily consciousness which is systematically blocked by contemporary morality. Always there is this problem of evil.

But what of the general liberal fear that a return to what appears as a religious, hierarchical ideology necessarily involves the loss of democratic freedom and the return of all of the nasty things associated with rigid social boundaries, ascribed identity, arbitrary power, priest craft, the suppression of women and so on? This fear, originating in the domain of Enlightenment rationalist ideology is apparently focused on the idea that the "free" atomistic ego will be replaced by the social *unconscious other*. In this view, the locus of will and choice is displaced from the individual ego onto social institutions which are antithetical to individualism and which are controlled by special interest groups. The image of the sacred, as such, is seen as a more or less *arbitrary* symbolism whose unconscious function is social and/or psychological integration. Alternately, the organization of the religious sentiment is seen as merely a dodge to establish power. In Reich's view, however, what has happened with the development of "Modern" ideology is that exactly these social and structural rigidities have been historically internalized or incorporated in the body to become the individual ego. For Reich, if we are to escape the trap of convention, we must escape from both the defensive mechanism of the ego as well as from the rigidities of social structure.

From this point of view, the return to the body as the foundation of sacred experience does not involve a regression or a retreat from the advances made by "Modern" liberal thought as so often charged; rather it is an advance upon the lopsided development of "Modern" society and the artificial environment. It is a repossession of non-alienated bodily being. The body is always already *both* self and non-self, public and private, fact and value. In Reich's view, the social "other" of the free self has already taken over. "Modern" society is thus precisely "religious" in the negative sense that is ruled by dogmatic conventions which have been incorporated in the body in authoritarian contexts.

If Reich's concept of evil is social, he gives us a very wide spectrum of social evil indeed. At one end of the spectrum is the arbitrary sign or name (i.e. the name of Bruno's killer) while at the other is the contact with beings from outer space. In between are all the conventions of social life which plague the emotional (energetic) life of humanity.

5) Giordano Bruno⁹⁴ & the Plague Character

For Reich, the relation between self and society was ideally egalitarian. But because, in his eyes, the "civilized" world was dominated by the agents of the "emotional plague," Reich's ideal individual was the Romantic hero-scientist. The hero's task was to re-establish the flexibility and flow of social, biological and psychological interaction when it was blocked by evil forces. Reich's image of the hero is illustrated by his story of Giordano Bruno's martyrdom at the hands of a plague character.⁹⁵

Giovanni Mocenigo is the name of the Venetian nobleman whom Reich calls the killer of Bruno. Bruno is at one and the same time symbolic of Christ and Reich himself. The story brings out quite well Reich's notion of the utter banality and arbitrariness of evil as it is propagated by the emotional plague. Evil is totally disconnected from the reality of the natural

94 Giordano Bruno lived in the watershed sixteenth century and as Francis Yates (1964) has argued it was his work along with the general Renaissance resurgence of interest in magic that was the ground of the development of science. The historian John Hedley Brooke (1991) has this to say of Bruno.

Bruno was familiar with the collection of texts known as the *Corpus Hermeticum*, then attributed to an Egyptian philosopher, Hermes Trismegistrus. Whereas some see in the Hermetic texts there is an anticipation of Christianity, Bruno saw an alternative. Indeed, he hoped they would provide the basis of a religion that could unite the warring factions of the Church. His world-picture was colored by a magical philosophy that almost became his religion. He described Moses as a magus who, learning his magic from the Egyptians, had outconjured the magicians of Pharaoh. The true cross, for Bruno, was the Egyptian cross -- full of magic power for tapping astral influence. The Christian cross was a weak derivative (p. 40).

95 In his book *Listen Little Man* (1974) Reich addresses the "Little Man" thus: "You had your choice between Jesus with his majestic simplicity and Paul with his celibacy for priests and life-long compulsory marriage for yourself . . . You had your choice between Marx's insight into the productivity of your living labor power, which alone creates the value of commodities, and the idea of the state . . . In Germany you had your choice between Goring and Himmler on the one hand and Liebknecht, Landau, and Muhsam on the other . . . You had your choice between the cruel Inquisition and Galileo's truth . . . You had your choice between shock therapy and the understanding of psychic disorder . . . Only very recently you had your choice between murderous atomic energy and helpful orgone energy . . . you now have your choice between ignorance of the cancer cell and my disclosure of its secret, which can and will save millions of human lives . . ." (pp. 66, 67). Needless to say the little man makes all the wrong choices.

world. Giordano Bruno was chosen as victim "because he rediscovered Christ in the Universe, i.e., the love of God in terms of astrophysics" (p. 104). He goes on to say that

Bruno had, in the sixteenth century, by mere thought, anticipated the factual discovery of the cosmic orgone energy . . . He had discovered and captured in a system of thought, the interrelations between the body and the mind, the single organism and its environment, the basic unity and multiplicity of the universe, an infinite universe embracing infinitely numerous worlds. Everything exists for itself, and yet it is an integral part of a whole . . . Bruno believed in a universal soul which animated the world; this soul to him was identical with God. Bruno was basically a functionalist. He knew about the simultaneous functional identity and antithesis, even if only in an abstract manner . . . In his system there was no unbridgable contradiction between individualism and universalism, since the individual was an integral part of an all encompassing whole, and not a mere number to a part in a sum of parts, as in mechanical mathematics. The 'World Soul' was in everything, acting as an *individual* soul and, *at the same time*, as an integral part of the *universal* soul (p. 104).

We are told by Reich that Bruno had to die. He knew too much of the truth and the truth is disruptive to the established order "which kept the still-slumbering mass of human animals together . . ." (p. 105). Liminal *communitas* (Turner, 1969) threatens the normative structures of the social world. But how does this murder take place? Reich tells us that "the true killer who starts the ugly show, is usually an inconspicuous, 'upright' citizen who has nothing to do with either the problem of the sleeping and dreaming herd of men or with the grave administrative responsibilities of the inquisitors and judges" (Reich, 1953, p. 105). The true pestilent killer we learn is "an accidental nuisance" and "the victim only happened to cross the way of the killer at a certain moment; a moment which bears importance to the life of the killer, but not to the life of the victim." He goes on to say that this Venetian nobleman by the name of Giovanni Mocenigo was "a nonentity of some proportions." His name had "no rational meaning whatsoever . . . His name could have just as well been Cocenigo or Martenigo. It wouldn't matter at all . . . he knows nothing, loves nothing, cares for nothing except for his complete nothingness. He sits around or walks around, not necessarily always in a place, habitually breeding evil. He produces dreams of evil like a hen lays eggs, one every once in a while" (p. 106). Such a nonentity "may be anybody in any government or commercial office, in a bacteriological university institute or in a cancer society. He may be

young or old, a man or a woman. What matters is only one thing: *He breeds evil out of frustrated, cruelly perverted genital desire, and hates the Love of God which he is resolved to kill in the name of God or Christ or national honor*" (p. 107). This Mocenigo delivers Bruno to the inquisition when Bruno isn't able to teach him the great art of memory.

The very name of Bruno's killer means nothing. Evil appears at precisely those points where symbolic meaning and the world are most divorced from each other -- at the division between the mind and the body, between perceptual flow and the distortions of intellect. Evil is arbitrary. Evil is the arbitrary constriction of the body as means of expression. Because the transcendence of enacted metaphor is denied, the pursuit of existential needs and desires involves the progressive plague-like spread of the "virus" of language.⁹⁶ It is the poisonous spread not of creative metaphor but of poisonous convention. Reich's plague is the plague of language. It is, if you will, the spread of the objectivist "name." It is the spread of arbitrary power incorporated in the body of the "little man." The rule of external *inscribed* social law is *incorporated* into the body.

6) The Cosmic Dimension of Evil

With each new expansion of his realm of activities, Reich enlarged his ideas of both the good and the evil. He began with a concept of the good as libidinal energy and then moved to the development of character as a moral and energetic economy. From there he went to the analysis of the structure of good and evil in the contemporary family and other socio-political structures which developed in the "modern" world from the "primitive." From there he engaged in biological research and with the "discovery" of orgone, the dimensions of good and evil (as flow and blockage) embraced the totality of the natural world. In each case, there is a functional identity between a concrete physiological aspect and a symbolic psychic meaning. A new understanding of evil came to light in the infamous "Orunur" experiment when it was "discovered" that Orgone energy could be transformed into a deadly negative

⁹⁶ This is, of course, the American outlaw novelist William S. Burroughs' creative adaptation of Reich's image of language.

energy Dor (deadly orgone energy) in a reaction with radioactive materials. This image of a negative energy gained a further cosmic/moral dimension with Reich's growing suspicion that the evil in the world was being caused by space people in UFO's who were creating Dor energy in the atmosphere with their spacecraft. The time was the 1950s: a great number of sightings of UFOs were being reported around the continent. The US airforce itself was tabulating these reports and making investigations. It was the eve of the cultural upheavals of the infamous 1960s.

Good as well as evil were now on a completely cosmic scale. But, in a sense, although Dor energy and the theory of cosmic invasion were completely logical developments from his previous ideas, they remain a sort of ghost image of possible salvation or tragedy which haunts the margin of Reich's mythic construction. As prophet, any number of factors continue to fit into his apocalyptic vision. One need only point to the ever increasing threat of nuclear contamination, the increasing problem of atmospheric pollution and the depletion of the ozone layer. It remains to be seen if something like people from outer space will come to take their place in his cosmology. Certainly if the public fantasies of a culture have any prophetic status at all, the thousands of movies, books and television shows being churned out on the topic must foreshadow some sort of arrival. Throughout history one or another improbable "other" has always arrived to bring about change. Are we to think that anything has really changed just because we approach the status of a global community?⁹⁷ Prophecies, of course, tend to come true if only because they are framed in general enough metaphoric terms to lend themselves to innumerable interpretations.

7) Evil, Historical Motivation & the Body

Reich's practice is thoroughly anti-modern in the sense that it seeks to reverse the process of the relativization of knowledge. If the primary development of "Modern" ideology

⁹⁷ I am, of course, referring to McLuhan's (1962) notion of the development of a post typographic electronic "tribe." The tribal drums, as it were, are electronic media and McLuhan theorizes that the new communications net will lead to the integration of planetary culture into one global community.

has involved the loosening of the social entity of the self from the natural world, the new direction is towards a loosening of the body from this concept of the self and re-situating it in the world. Reich's reversal operates via a relativization of relativized modes of being. In more dialectical terms, it involves the reversal of the reversal. Reichian therapeutics involve the relativization of habitual modes of being incorporated in dead mechanical bodies which function primarily as signifiers or markers in the game of power.

Evil for Reich is an expression of the socially derived motivation to block the natural development of the community of biological organisms. There are four distinct levels of ideological "motivation" in Reich's work. The levels involve a) that of the model of embodiment at its most fundamental, as a dialectic between language and experience, b) the level of "Non-Modern" ideology as a dialectic between convention and ritual social invention, c) the level of "Modern" ideology as the dialectic between Enlightenment and Romantic thought and d) the level of "Post-Modern" ideology as the potential interaction between planetary bodies and extraterrestrial bodies.⁹⁸

From the perspective of embodiment theory, the construction of knowledge is motivated by an ongoing perceptual contact with the flow of images in the world. The development of knowledge is directly motivated by adversity in the environment. Motivation thus, in the most general sense is the desire to control the relationship between the body and its environment.⁹⁹ The classical admonition is to live in the "now." To be present to the world

⁹⁸ Reich did not explicitly use any such term as "post-modern." What I refer to here is Reich's attempt to see beyond the "modern" to a new society and a new way of being. It envisions a "post-modern" world which differs dramatically from the "modern" world as Reich saw it. "Post-modernism" is, of course, a very loose term and one could argue that most if not all of the theoretical formulations to date really pertain to the "post-modern" as a sort of extreme of the "modern" if the "modern" is conceived of as a relativizing discourse which produces a highly fragmented and alienated social world. Much of Jean-Francois Lyotard's work (1984), Jameson, (1983) and Boudrillard (1988) could be construed in this way. My own view of the "post-modern" that stems from the logic of the dialectical model I am using and Reich's work is quite different from these formulations. My own idea and Reich's idea of the "post-modern" involves a reversal of the process of fragmentation towards a new synthetic. However it is very likely that the "post-modern" world will involve an ever increasing number of discourses and thus there may indeed be several major post-Romantic paradigms which function as foreground controls on the background of Enlightenment produced fragmentary discourses. Reich envisions a bio-political therapeutic as the dominant paradigm. His biology is, of course, not the biology of Enlightenment science. His biology is his unique brand of biological phenomenology or experiential biology.

⁹⁹ One must be careful with this term "control" because it is a term which is destabilized in phenomenological work. There are two distinct types of "control" central to the distinctions I wish to make here. The type of control

and to oneself is the ideal. In "Non-Modern" ideology, the conventions of sacramental practice are motivated by the desire to control the tendency for the experiential world to disorganize social life. Bodies are brought into mimetic contact with transcendent macrocosmic realities via the manipulation of cognitive and bodily symbology.

In "Modern" ideology, the production of conventional knowledge is motivated by the desire to control the experiential world by the development of externalized technological extensions of the body. Reich argues that there is also an inward movement which creates the body as machine. Social symbology is used to separate and differentiate people from each other and from society. It is the separation of a machine-like and text-like component from its biological core which creates neurosis and bodily illness.

From the above, it would appear that Reich himself conflated the paradigm of embodiment with that of "Non-Modern" ideology. His image of the "Post-Modern" -- the reversal of the "Modern" -- is of a bio-energetic practice and technology which controls the environment by a mimetic enactment (therapeutic and sexual) of the desire of energy itself to flow.

Reich's four levels of ideological structure may be easily correlated with the four aspects of convention in my model of the unfolding of ideology in general. These are the four aspects of social convention: the linguistic sign, the bodily sign and the expansion of these signs into social and bodily metaphor. In order to expand the model into the historical dimension, we must shift our attention away from how these four aspects of convention interact in the production of a single ideology and onto the way in which their interaction can be used to understand the processual unfolding of different ideological structures. I do not introduce any new explanatory mechanism in this expansion. The model remains holographic throughout.

I refer to here is "mimetic" control, the attempt to control through identification and imitation. This manifestation of the desire to control is at the root of mythic and magical language. It produces a series of correspondences rather than a set of causal relations.

In figure 10 below, I lay out a processual sequence which shows the movement through the same sequence of dialectical interactions as the general model of ideological production, but at the more general level of the succession of ideological forms in history itself. I place the paradigm of embodiment at the beginning as the existentially given nature of embodied experience. From this fundamental given, the ideological sequence of "Non-Modern" ideology, "Modern" ideology, and a projection of "Post-Modern" ideology unfolds.

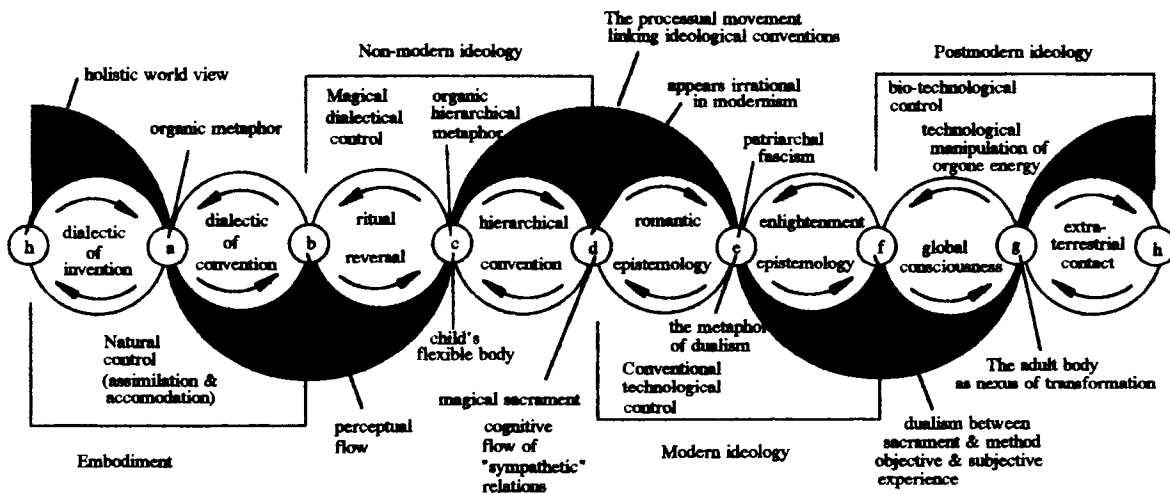


Figure 10 The Processual Unfolding of Ideology in History

In the paradigm of embodiment, as I have developed it, meaning is produced in the dialectic between the direct contact of sign and experience. In the expansion of the model into history, then, "Non-Modern" ideology appears in the place where the child's socially produced body previously appeared. In like manner, "Modern" ideology (characterized by the split between Enlightenment and the Romantic streams) appears in the place of the expanded social metaphor and "Post-Modern" ideology stands in the place where the adult body figured previously. I take this to be the essential sequence which Reich saw in history and it will, of course, be noticed that this historical sequence maps directly onto Reich's model of the psychological development of character. The essential nature of biological life -- "direct

contact" -- is at the beginning (and remains always at the core) of all experience and all ideological overlays. From this, there is the following set of relations: the child's body is to "primitive" ideology as the mind/body split is to "Modern" ideology, as the unified adult body (childlike and technological) is to "Post-Modern" ideology.

Reich's image of the transition from "primitive" ideology to "Modern" ideology is in the form of a moral reversal. "Yes" to sex changes to "no" to sex. In Reichian terms, the reversal from "primitive" to "Modern" thus involves the transition from an image of self and society predicated upon the flexible child's body to an image of the relation as the social metaphor of adult authority (power plus rationality) over the child's body. The body is subsumed in the metaphor of culture. In the dominant paradigm of "Modern" ideology, the body, as such, tends to disappear. Rather, the mind, not as perception but as rational language, comes to be the model of self and society. The historical dichotomy between the mind and the body, Enlightenment and Romantic (holistic) epistemology means that there are two different images of the future body. On the one hand, there is the image of the body as machine with replaceable parts. The brain as computer is the dominant paradigm in artificial intelligence research. Still on this side, there is the image of genetic engineering, the cloning of intelligence, special instrumental capacities and so on. The imagery is of an ongoing extension of technological control. Another aspect of this vision is to be found in the context of "virtual reality." In virtual reality bodies are pure projections into an artificial space. There is no body at all.

Implicit in Reich's work, taken as a whole, is his vision of the utopian movement from neurotic character structure to healthy genital character structure and from the "Modern" plague society to a healthy society free of neurosis, cancer, fascism and bureaucratic blocks. In terms of my ideal typology of ideology, this vision involves the move from a particular image of "Modern" ideology to a particular image of "Post-Modern" ideology. For Reich, this move from "Modern" neurotic character and society involved a reversal whereby adult authority, characteristic of "Modern" ideology and the patriarchal family, is dissolved in the

healthy potential of the child's body. What he proposes really is the image of the adult body as the complete manifestation of the potential of the child's body rather than the persistent repression and denial of this potential. For Reich, this reversal involves the freeing up of the body, the mind and social relations so that they function together in a flowing, unblocked way. Reich's image of the cosmic energy economy of the healthy body very definitely informs New Age thought in general and particularly the image of the transcendent potentiality of the mature adult body. Reich's notion that many intimations of the vast potential of the human body for experience can be found in the lives of earlier "primitive" cultures is, of course, commonplace in alternative healing practices and in New Age thought in general. In contemporary popular culture, there is a rapidly growing interest in the "transformational" body as the locus of a vast array of alternative modes of consciousness. These modes, as explored, for instance, in Michael Murphy's large book *The Future of the Body* (1992), look to shamanic ritual, to the alternative modes of consciousness documented in the world's religious literature, to neo-Platonic philosophy, to various "Non-Modern" healing traditions, to paranormal experience and so on.¹⁰⁰ The image of the transformational body in popular culture also is very much informed by drug experience and the technological enhancement of body techniques used in various "Non-Modern" contexts (e.g., fasting, meditation, visualization techniques, chanting, sexual abstinence or practices which enhance sexual control, self hypnosis and so on). Bio-feedback devices, electrical acupuncture techniques, the development of exercise equipment and so on all are aimed at the exploration of bodily potential for consciousness. Reich's image of himself and his co-workers as cosmic engineers using machines of his own design to control the flow of universal orgone energy in bodies and in the sky seems to me to be directly linked to the present conjunction of technology and various aspects of "Non-Modern" ideology. These include such manifestations as the use of electronic bio-feedback devices, electronic music and/or sounds in rituals of relaxation and the advent of "technological shamanism" which uses various electronic devices

¹⁰⁰ I take Murphy's book as the most recent compendium of New Age interests. It is, I think, a must for anyone interested in popular culture and alternative medicine.

to modulate consciousness. Similarly, the language of alternative health practices is more and more obviously the language of ritual magic lifted from various different cultural contexts and married to the language of computers, chemistry and genetic engineering. The factual language of science and technology, and also technology itself, is very quickly being brought into a great number of different metaphorical contexts which aim at the transformation of consciousness, the expansion of bodily perception and the healing of bodies and minds. However, one feels about these developments, Reich was very much a pioneer in these developments.¹⁰¹

The experiential domain which is more and more impinging upon "Modern" consciousness is, of course, the domain of outer space and the potentiality of contact with other inhabitants of outer space.¹⁰² At the end of his life Reich remained ambiguous about the import of this new experiential dimension. On the one hand, he came to think that deadly orgone energy (DOR) was caused by UFO's, on the other he wondered whether he himself was not a space person sent to earth to teach its inhabitants about orgone energy (Sharaf, 1983).

If the dichotomy of "Modern" ideology is that of Romantic and Enlightenment thought, the developing dichotomy of "Post-Modern" ideology may come to be that between terrestrial and non-terrestrial bodies.¹⁰³ The non-terrestrial body, at least for the present, is that body which possesses all those powers that we have only small intimations of, that can be found in dreams or, more recently in digital manipulations of video images. All of the powers of the body, however, have one thing in common. They all involve images of the direct participatory experience of the body in its world.

¹⁰¹ The *Utne Reader* (published by LENS Publishing Co., Inc., 1624 Harmon Place, Minneapolis, MN.) provides a bi-monthly selection of the alternate press in America and is very useful as a cultural guide in these matters. So also is a radically alternative magazine such as *Magical Blend* (published in San Francisco) whose contents page for July 1994 includes "Why we are all addicted," "Of Water and the Spirit," "The UFOs of Ancient India," "Sacred Sexuality," and "Cyberia: Life in the Trenches of Hyperspace."

¹⁰² Perhaps I should note that I am here concerned with the *social* fact that there is a growing interest in outer space and outer space beings in popular culture not that I think any such contact is imminent.

¹⁰³ The distinction is parallel to that between Reich's "primitive" body and the "modern" body. One might also think, of course, of the myriad of cultural distinctions between black and white bodies or between male and female bodies.

8) Anthropology, the Paradigm of Embodiment & the Instability of Categories

The general problem of understanding the relationship between an embodied holism and a textual dualism permeates Reich's work. The problem remains unresolved in philosophy as well as in the social sciences. Certainly there is no one paradigm which dominates. As Csordas (1993) notes, the use of the embodiment paradigm when investigating what he calls "revelatory" somatic modes of attention, destabilizes our own subject-object categories.

Within the "flux of analytical categories" the categories of cognition or affect are inadequate for the investigation of what are for westerners non-ordinary modes of somatic attention. As he asserts "the categories of trance and altered states of consciousness remain virtual black boxes" (p. 147). The symbology of perceptual consciousness quite naturally involves the "continuity" between bodies and the world. There is a state of flux or liminal blurriness at the boundaries of our conventional categories.

Certainly this problem of the instability of categories has plagued the present interpretation. The language of embodiment, as I have shown, aims at incorporating the language of textuality in its hierarchical structure, but the language of textuality wants to go its own way as it were. It continually leads away from the language of embodiment and towards the "factuality" of convention. The language of embodiment itself continually leads off in directions which seem more mystical or metaphorical than the interpretive project is ordinarily asked to encompass.

In general, there is a terminological instability between the paradigm of embodiment and a system of analytic categories based upon the principle of non-contradiction and mutual exclusion. In the former, the contextual ambiguity of experience is emphasized: the human corpus *embodies* the brain and the human mind (embodied by the brain) *embodies* the human corpus *as symbol*. In the paradigm of analytical thought, the textual or objective is emphasized: the human body is an analytical category separate from the mind. In the embodiment paradigm, there is always an image of the figure/ground gestalt. In the analytic paradigm, the image of the macrocosm is always controlled by a set of conventions. In the

embodiment paradigm, then, there is always an image of the transcendent while in the analytic paradigm, there is a split between the objective world and the subjective world.

From the side of analytic analysis, the problem in the interpretation of Reich's work involves sorting out exactly the nature of his subjective *projection* into a set of conventional scientific and historical categories taken as the normative ground. From the side of dialectical analysis and the paradigm of embodiment, however, the problem cannot be to decode Reich's work against a stable background of categories whether scientific or historical. It cannot be this, simply because from the point of view of embodied symbolics, any stable set of categories is stable because it is *conventional* not because it is *true*. Csordas notes that "inevitably, perhaps, when we try to give theoretical formulation to this indeterminacy, we easily slip back into the language of either textuality or embodiment, representation or being in the world" (p. 149). He sees this indeterminacy as being the background condition of cultural analysis from the position of embodiment.¹⁰⁴

Because the general image of experience (as perceptual flow of meaningful bodily experience) and the image of metaphoric language (as the perceptual flow of cognitive meaning) are structurally analogous in the embodiment paradigm, their relationship must always remain indeterminate. In a sense they reflect each other in the traditional sense of the microcosm as *reflection* of the macrocosm.¹⁰⁵ Reich, however, distrusts the mirror metaphor, and argues for a bodily and emotional way in which language and experience are in "direct contact" with each other. In the embodiment paradigm in general, experience and its name are coterminous in perceptual consciousness. Names and things are both taken up into their worlds, the system of language, the life world of experience. Metaphor must be *energized* in

104 Csordas examines two aspects of this indeterminacy as found in Merleau-Ponty and in Bourdieu, the former he terms an "existential indeterminacy" which privileges the paradigm of embodiment (and thus subjective experience) while the later he terms "logical indeterminacy" which privileges textuality and cultural metaphor. Csordas treats Merleau-Ponty's understanding of embodiment as "transcendence" insofar as authentic acts of expression constitute a subjectively transcendent world while he treats Bourdieu's notion of textual indeterminacy as "innovation." In the end, Csordas sees that the relationship between textuality (which is itself indeterminate in Bourdieu's view) and Merleau-Ponty's indeterminacy of embodiment are themselves indeterminate in their relationship.

¹⁰⁵ By "traditional" I mean traditional sacred convention. The classic formulation as it comes down in western thought is attributed to Hermes Trismegestrus: as above so below.

order to be meaningful; energy must be *metaphorized* for just the same reason. Reich's dialectical model of the expansion of energy out into the world and its contraction away from the world closely resembles the model of embodied language as the expansion of meaning into new metaphor and its contraction into the arbitrary sign which is characteristic of ideological formation.

This resemblance between energetic and symbolic relationships in a dialectical pulsation between the macrocosmic experiential image as energy and microcosmic conventional reference as a crystalization and blockage of the flow of the energy/image, means that there is no fundamental difference between bodily experience and metaphor. Experience is metaphor and metaphor is experience. This is, in fact, a central tenet of the anthropologist Roy Wagner's (1986) thesis: metaphor is self referential. Cultural metaphor cannot be reduced to either arbitrary cultural references or to the facts of nature. Metaphors mean themselves. This recognition in turn leads one to contemplate the non-separability of facts and values. This is to say that facts always necessarily exist within an experiential hierarchy of value. Symbolism and the world are inextricably joined and the paradigm of embodiment situates the bodily perceptual capacity at the fulcrum of that join. This means that human creativity as a natural bodily capacity is emphasized at the expense of the much lauded ability of humankind to conventionalize and control experience. Human culture is both maintained and transformed in the enactment of symbolic forms which do not *correspond* or *represent* the world because they *are* the world. They *are* the world in the sense that consciousness is metaphorical, that our very being is always already metaphorical. And metaphor is always cognitive and bodily.

By interpreting Reich's ideas of character and therapy as a dialectic between cultural convention and invention, I hope to have shown that his notion of the primacy of the body over the mind does not imply any sort of crude biological determinism. For Reich, biology was experience. His privileging of the body over the mind, then, implies the privileging of the indeterminate creative aspects of human experience which he conceived of in terms of the

identity between energetic flow and the meaning of that flow in his metaphor of direct contact. I interpret Reich's privileging of body over mind, then, to indicate that he placed a concept of intuition over social convention. I also interpret Reich to equate intuition with instinct.

Reich's often criticized notion of the primacy of the body over the mind in the light of this dialectic between cultural *convention* and *invention* comes to appear to refer less to the determinacy of biology or instinct than to the indeterminate creative aspects of human experience modeled as the *bodily* and *perceptual* flow of *energetic* analogy.

From my point of view there is no stable (foundational) ground from which to assert that Reich's concept of universal energy is *only* metaphorical. Metaphor and energy are inextricably joined. We may speak of the energetics of meaning just as we may speak of the metaphor of energy. Certainly, in the terms of contemporary convention, the conceptions of bodily energetics and the social etiology of disease very often appear as *only* metaphorical. But this is so only because we make the a priori assumption that language and its referent are essentially distinct from each other. On the other hand, a great deal of information points towards the *pragmatic* aspects of the energetic model in healing (see Grossinger, 1987). This information does not take, naturally enough, the form of "proof." Rather, it takes the form of phenomenological description.

Because of the formal similarity between experience and language in the embodiment model of meaning, there is this same formal similarity between the dialectics of interpretation and the dialectics of energy. This means that the relationship between the interpretive project and its object perforce remains indeterminate in the sense that the relationship is itself a metaphoric frame and this frame is self referential.

This thesis itself is an expanded metaphor. It brings together Reich's model of the physical embodiment of character as an energetic system with an anthropological model of the embodiment of meaning in ideology. I have used a paradigm of embodiment to interpret Reich. This means that my interpretation both *controls* and is alternately *controlled by* Reich's

therapeutic model. The process of interpretation involves both the conventionalization of Reich's thought and its re-invention just as the anthropological model of meaning is conventionalized by Reich's work and re-invented by it. Just as culture and the individual symbolically invent each other, so also does the interpretive project model and its object.

Figure 11 below shows the overlapping nature of the dialectics of energy and the dialectics of meaning centered upon the concept of embodiment.

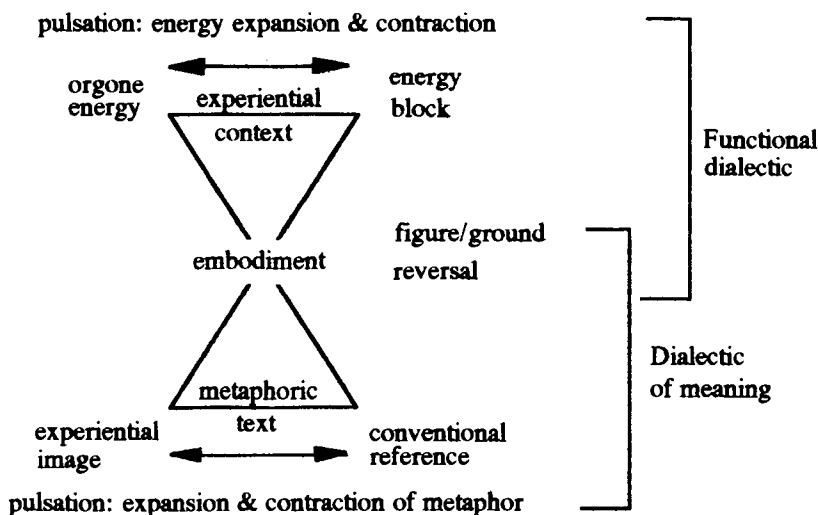


Figure 11 Interpretation: Energetics & Metaphor

The way Reich makes his meaning is the way anthropologists or anyone else makes their meaning. When the reciprocal dialectic of conventional symbol and human creativity (convention and invention) is masked by the antiseptic practices of positivist and dualist symbology, then the interpretive model is allowed to act as a control upon the "native" expression which is, as it were, upon the operating table. The dialectical process is blocked. Communication ceases between subject and object. Metaphorical or symbolic transformation is denied. The virus of control language spreads through the victim and, if we are to believe Reich, the plague of stagnation has overtaken us.

Does this mean that his ideas are true? Of course they are true! Of course they are not true! The problem concerns once again the instability of terminology. It all depends upon

which sort of truth one is speaking of. From the point of dis-embodied epistemology and within the Enlightenment stream of thought in general, Reich's ideas are simply not true because the objective world is at every point contaminated by subjective embodied experience. Not only that, his ideas are irrational at best and insane at worse, they are bad social history and unscientific. From this orientation, Reich's thought, along with Romantic thought, in general, involves an illusory "projection" of subjective imagery onto the real facts of the matter. Reich believed, on the other hand, that the split between body and mind, objectivity and subjectivity, was the cause of the major problems in contemporary western society. The split must be healed in order to promote the bodily and mental health of individuals, a healthy (moral) society and a healthy planet. Reich explicitly created his functional dialectics to get around such unsatisfactory attempts to solve the epistemological problem as the notion of the subjective projection of ideas. Reich certainly thought that there was such a thing as neurotic subjective projections, but there was no neutral universe upon which they were projected. Reich's universe was a unified world of non-neurotic subjectivity and non-neutral objectivity. Thus from Reich's orientation, and I think from the orientation of phenomenological theory itself, the notion of "subjective projections" is highly unstable.

From the point of view of an embodied epistemology and its implicit inclusion of moral hierarchy, Reich's image of the human body as a relational system of energies and meanings makes a great deal of sense. It is "true" in the existential sense that the essential structure of interrelationships is true to embodied experience. This truth is, however, a relative truth simply because embodied experience always includes an element of historically produced convention. Embodied experience is always historically and socially situated.

I would like to emphasize, however, that I do not attempt to make an "historical" argument for the factuality of Reich's work. My argument is an argument from the position of a theory of ideological embodiment and concerns the "logic" of the dialectical relationships between concepts which I take to have a specific & "essential" relationship to historical facts. It is not, however, an historical argument. Neither do I make the claim that Reich has

produced good social history. As I have pointed out, Reich himself was dissatisfied with his attempt. I do wish, however, to state what I think to be the nature of Reich's "truth."

That Reich's work has influenced the post-enlightenment world is pretty much established. His work also resonates with a great number of ideas which are becoming current in popular western culture generally, in the New Age movement, in holistic healing practice, in ecological politics and so on. This says nothing whatsoever about the "truth" of his ideas, however. For me, the "truth" of Reich's work lies in his apprehension of the phenomenological logic which underpins the historical development of "modern" cultural forms both good and bad, the historical development of neurosis and so on. This means that Reich's work and various ideas in Romantic thought, in general, including various ideas central to the Holistic health movement, involve the working out of an *embodied* epistemology rather than a disembodied one.

My fundamental assumption of the thesis is that an embodied phenomenology underlies all the symbolism of psychological, social and historical developments. This does not mean that, using my model of ideological unfolding which is derived from such a phenomenology, one can predict historical events in either their timing or their complexity. It does provide, however, a particular way to "grasp" the "essential" nature of the elements which go into the making of complex historical situations. Most especially, it provides a way to grasp the nature of myth-making whether this myth-making is that of scientific Enlightenment ideology with its built-in mechanisms for covering up the dialectic of invention¹⁰⁶ or that sort of myth-making which acknowledges the creative element in symbolic manipulation and therefore has a tendency to modulate the "facts" of reality to serve an overall transcendent aim.

Reich's contribution to the contemporary world involved bringing a very wide range of scientific facts, clinical observations and political concepts into the context of a

¹⁰⁶ I mean by this that conventional science tends to hide the fact that knowledge is a human creation behind the concept of the neutral "discovery" of facts. Science itself is itself extremely inventive in the sense that it lies behind the technological and electronic revolutions. What is hidden is the ideological dimension of technology.

phenomenology of the body. By doing so, his work participates in a long line of Romantic thought, itself continually in the process of transforming what I have called Non-Modern ideology. Reich's work is thus an historical manifestation and every one of his ideas can be related to other similar ideas either in the past or in developing contemporary cultural forms, e.g., the New Age movement or the holistic movement. These historically situated ideas can also be related to the social conditions which produced them. The sociologist Phillip Rieff (1987) does just this, as do a number of other authors including Michel Cattier (1971), Edward Mann (1989) and Cohen (1982.)

While acknowledging the historical lineage of Reich's work, my own interest, however, has been somewhat different. My intent has been to place Reich's work, and by extension aspects of New Age and Romantic thought, in the *context* of a theory of ideological embodiment rather than in the *context* of history. Reich's work and ideas are historical and so also are they phenomenological. As such, I have placed a particular historical manifestation (Reich's work) in the context of a non-historical system of dialectically interrelated ideal types. I have done so in order to understand how Reich went about the process of embodying historical and scientific facts in a very powerful, and I might say, creative mythological system. Of course, the phenomenological move in contemporary society which both Reich and myself participate in is itself historically situated. Phenomenology itself may certainly be explained as an historical manifestation and shown to be produced by certain social and historical factors. This is true enough. It is also true that social and historical forms and processes are invented and maintained by embodied human beings. In Reich's terminology, the movement of life is a "pulsation." From the point of view of an embodied epistemology, there is apparently some sort of rhythmic pulsation between bodies and history just as there is a pulsation between experience and texts.

I believe that Reich grasped the essentials of the phenomenological underpinnings of the development of psychological character as well as the historical transformation of social forms. He did not, thereby create a "sound" social history. Neither did he produce an array of

hard scientific facts. Rather, he created the elements of a synthetic myth for people to live by. He also created an ongoing therapeutic research program that seems well nigh inexhaustible. My own model of the phenomenological underpinnings of myth-making is derived from the American Anthropologist Roy Wagner's symbolic anthropology. It is ultimately self referential in the sense that all metaphor can only point to itself as a relationship between things. "Things," including the fact of history, are themselves always "metaphorical." In the world, considered from the embodied point of view, there is no such thing as a stable analytical world. There are only myths which sustain particular social relations and if we are to believe Reich, these myths are capable of creating illness just as they are capable of creating and maintaining health.

The force of my argument comes not from an interpretive framework which aims to demonstrate the meaning of Reich's work in historical context or the nature of the social factors which produced it. Rather, it stems from the *internal* consistency of an abstract model of the development of ideological forms which begins from the dialectical relationship between two fundamentally different sorts of representation and proceeds to a general theory of history as a form of ideological transformation. From this point of view, Reich's work, different anthropological paradigms and history, social or otherwise, are all forms of myth. The question does not concern their "truth" but rather their internal mythological structure, their relationship to each other and most particularly the process by which one is transformed into the other. In my model, the transformative process of ideological forms involves the figure/ground reversal between historical text and bodily experience and I have emphasized the role of bodily experience over history. I have done this in order to show the outline of what Reich himself did and also because I think, as Reich himself did, that the role of the human body has been neglected in the development of human knowledge in "modern" times.

At the core of Reich's image of the Romantic body is the metaphor of "flow." He conceives of flow as both natural *and* cultural, factual *and* value-laden. It is both energetic

and meaningful. Thus it is that over and over again he comes back to the same epistemological problem of the difficult and unstable relations between subject and object, mind and body, biology and morality, public and private language and ecstatic experience. Under attack for being too determinist on the one hand and too mystical on the other, Reich's writing became more and more aggressive and rhetorical. For Reich, the problem was not at all academic: it was crucial to the health of individuals, societies and even the planet. Not only did he feel he had to understand the functions of all living relationships, he also felt he had to formulate relevant social policy.

Reich's attempt to resolve the endemic tension in contemporary thought under the head of dialectical functionalism may thus be seen as a particular response to a general theoretical problem implicit in "Modern" thought. It also highlights some unresolved ambiguities in the anthropological discussion of "Modern" and "Non-Modern" representation, ideology and identity, particularly the status of the symbolism of non-ordinary somatic states of awareness.

But, how, then, should anthropology respond to this flux of categories and the growing awareness of the ways in which social habit conditions consciousness? For one thing, the ethnographer of the future may have to take more account of ethnocentric bias incorporated in the body as well as in the mind. Anthropology's own special methodology -- participant observation -- has, of course, already gone some distance down that road. Given the recognition of the importance of the textualized body and the culturally specific ways in which the textual body is deconstructed and re-constructed in ritual and therapy, the training of the "Post-Modern" ethnographer will perhaps move in the direction taken by some actor's training. Theatrical training -- particularly "voice" training -- is today very much influenced by a broad range of somatic and cognitive symbolism utilized in the manipulation of consciousness. Much of this symbolism and technique is derived from ethnographic literature especially that concerning ritual and therapeutic symbolism. The actor has, of course, one primary instrument for his or her expression -- the body. It would seem natural enough that

anthropology might have as much to learn about the body from actors as actors have to learn from anthropology.

But beyond the attempt to ameliorate ethnocentric bias, anthropology as a distinct discipline (along with all of the other differentiated disciplines) is faced with the growing need for the kind of interdisciplinary study which Reich's work exemplifies. Interdisciplinary study is the natural outcome of the embodiment paradigm. And if the embodiment paradigm unifies the mind and body at the level of experience, the interdisciplinary paradigm aims at the unification of the hard and soft sciences at the level of social knowledge. Knowledge is always to be found at the boundaries between things. Or to put it another way, the growth of knowledge (as metaphor) involves the dissolution of boundaries and their innovative re-creation in different ways. The interdisciplinary paradigm in its ideal form would not so much dissolve all boundaries between disciplines -- which seems hardly possible -- but create an environment wherein these boundaries would lose their rigidity and regain what Reich would call the mobility and flexibility of the living.

The reversible figure/ground gestalt of energy and meaning points towards a unitary understanding of the world, albeit a relativist one, predicated upon bodily being in the world. The body itself offers us on the one hand, the conventional world and our place in it and on the other, the creative possibility of remaking both self and world. The embodiment paradigm gives us a potential advance in the scientific modelling of gestalts and at the same time it makes room for the domain of non-ordinary bodily experience ("magical," transcendent, and/or creative) in the context of "Modern" convention. Self and world are spun out of the same web whose warp is participatory consciousness and whose woof is causal differentiation. From Reich's point of view, human creativity is at once made in the image of nature and of health.

There are, at present, only very few who, far from being frightened, submerge in their innermost Selves and create from the depth of their free-flowing contact with nature within and without; in higher, abstract mathematics no less than in poetry or music.

Are now these creative workers, artists, inventors, discoverers, composers, engineers, philosophers, social reformers, etc., exceptions from the rule of the average; or is the majority of the human species the exception in the sense that it deviated from the oneness with the natural orgone energy flow, whereas the few did not. On the answer of this question -- this is perfectly clear -- depends the basic answer to the misery of man. For, if the multitude represents the rule of the nature of things, and the few are the exceptions from the 'normal,' as so many want us to believe, then there is no hope of ever overcoming the split in the cultural setup, the wars which emerge from this split, the splitting of character structures, the hate and universal murder. Then, thus runs the conclusion, all the misery is a natural manifestation of the given, unalterable order of things.

If, on the other hand, *the majority is the exception from the general run of things*, and the few creators are in agreement with this general rule, then things would look better. It would become possible, by the most strenuous effort ever made in the history of man, to adjust the majority to the flow of natural processes. Then, if our exposition of the armoring blocking is correct, man could return home to nature; and what appears today as exceptional in a very few could become the rule for all (Reich, 1973a, p. 534, 535).

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Appendix A: The Four Stages of Reich's Work

Table 7 The Four Stages of Reich's Work

STAGES	HEALTH	ILLNESS	THERAPY
<p>1. PSYCHOLOGY (Sex Economy)</p>	<p>In the Reichian system, the natural body is self regulating. Health is naturally given and if the energies in the body (sexual and emotional) are allowed to flow freely they find their own balance. The infant is naturally expressive and if its natural inclinations are not blocked, it will grow into a healthy adult. Health is a matter of organismic potency and the motility of energies in the body. The character ideal is the "genital" character.</p>	<p>Reich concentrates on the "actual" neuroses -- those caused or at least maintained by contemporary practices. Unconscious repression is thought of as character itself rather than as merely a problem with character. Unconscious character attitudes block sexual feeling and defend the psyche from feelings which it has been taught are bad. Fear of the body and sexuality is at the root of many different psychic problems and also many physical diseases including cancer, ulcers and so on. Libidinal energy is blocked in the body and causes sexual stasis.</p>	<p>Reich develops what he calls Vegetotherapy (later, orgone therapy) and employs a number of techniques all designed to bring characterological attitudes, muscle tensions, breathing patterns and so on to conscious awareness. The armour is formed in various segmental rings which bind the energy of the head, the neck, the chest, the pelvis etcetera. Therapy is aimed at loosening the armour and freeing libidinal energies so that the sexual function can operate in a normal way. When it does, psychic and physical complaints along with negative character tendencies tend to disappear.</p>
<p>2. SOCIOLOGY (Marxist)</p>	<p>The healthy society is characterized by the free economic exchange (lack of class divisions & the accumulation of wealth, the means of production in the hands of an elite, etc., and the free expression of sexuality in the context of family and social life. Along with Engels, Reich believed that Matriarchal society was not economically oppressive and allowed for the free expression of sexual feelings. Reich sees Trobriand society (as explicated in the work of Malinowski) as sexually liberated, healthy and lacking neuroses and perversions.</p>	<p>The development of patriarchy, private property, the division of labour and the rise of the state and capitalism are intimately linked to moral patterns of sex denial. Patriarchal society and the patriarchal family is the main cause of the ruinous morality which distorts the natural expression of sexual feeling and which replicates the social relations of capitalism. Fascism is the expression of the compulsive blocked character structure. The character "modju" is anti-life. The emotional or psychic plague spreads over Europe. Illness is directly caused by society.</p>	<p>The Sex-Pol clinics in Germany which Reich began aimed at the education of the masses, particularly youth, with regard to sexual and mental hygiene, the relationship between morality, politics, violence, racism and so on. Reich saw the sexual revolution as parallel to the Marxist economic revolution and both as necessary for the liberation of the mass of people. Economic reform could not be implemented without sexual reform and the resultant modification of character structure.</p>

The Stages of Reich's Work continued

STAGES	HEALTH	ILLNESS	THERAPY
<p>3. SCIENTIFIC & other scientific studies: Weather control, atomic radiation, accumulators</p>	<p>Libidinal energy is bio-electrical energy which flows in the body. The four beat orgasm formula is : tension -> charge -> discharge -> relaxation. There is a build up of mechanical tension, and electrical potential in the body which is then discharged with the climax and followed by relaxation. Health is predicated upon the self regulated flow of bio-electrical (orgone) energy and the ability to completely discharge the build up of energy with orgasm. Reich discovers "bions" an intermediate life form and then orgone energy itself, the ubiquitous life energy common to all animate & inanimate life. It is a universal pre atomic energy. The orgasm formula is the life formula.</p>	<p>Illness occurs when there is a chronic characterological blockage of the flow of bio-electrical energy in the body. Blockage causes a stasis or stagnation of energy and the characteristic "dead" feeling and look of a sick person. Bodily feelings and sensations are dissociated. Body tissue deteriorates in areas where there is stasis and such diseases as cancer occur at precisely these points. With the notion of a universal pre atomic energy Reich saw that health and illness occurred in the whole of nature. Deserts were caused by a blockage of orgone energy in the atmosphere. Pollution or deadly orgone radiation (DOR) a result of the interaction between atomic radiation and orgone also caused problems.</p>	<p>Originally Reich relied on a mixture of character analysis and body armour analysis in order to loosen up both attitudes towards sexuality, bodily sensations and emotions and the actual chronic body tensions which blocked these feelings and sensations. Later on he developed a technology -- "orgone accumulators" which gathered or focused orgone so that the body could be irradiated. Reich was particularly interested in the cure of cancer. Reich's therapeutic techniques extend to the development of technologies for weather control via the manipulation of cosmic orgone energy. He is also interested in the control of atmospheric pollution and the combating of atomic radiation.</p>
<p>4. THEOLOGY</p>	<p>The healthy genital character is equated with Christ and orgone energy with God. Religious excitation is understood to actually be distorted sexual excitation. The truth of religion, then, is that ideas and perceptions of the spirit or the soul and so on are not "other," "mystical" or "supernatural" but the misapprehended stirrings of the biological core of a person. The body is sacred.</p>	<p>Illness and the pestilent character were equated with those who opposed Christ and who hate the idea of human freedom and knowledge. In the last years, Reich came to believe that illness and the wastage of the deserts was caused by UFO's. It is acknowledged by his supporters that Reich himself succumbed to the plague that he studied.</p>	<p>At the end of his life, Reich apparently gave up on really creating substantial change in the character structures of the mass. The only hope for humanity, in his eyes, lay with the infant. Only the child has not been destroyed by the mechanist-mystical dualism of contemporary life. After his death the Wilhelm Reich Infant Trust Fund is set up.</p>

Appendix B: Chronology of Reich's Life

- 1907 Wilhelm Reich born into a German farming family in Galicia.
- 1915 Mobilized in Austrian Army. Lieutenant at war's end.
- 1918 Enrolled in the Medicine Faculty at the University of Vienna.
- 1920 Became a member of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. Began to practice psychoanalysis.
- 1922 Received the title of Doctor of Medicine. Started a psychoanalytic practice. Became Freud's assistant at the psychoanalytic poly-clinic.
- 1924 Became director of the psychotherapy seminar at the polyclinic.
- 1927 Entered the Austrian Communist Party.
- 1928 Became vice director of the Psychoanalytic polyclinic. Opened the sexual hygienic centers.
- 1929 Traveled to USSR.
- 1930 Moved to Berlin; gave courses in the psychoanalytic clinic of Berlin and at the German communist Party's Worker's University.
- 1931 Opened Sexual Politics Association. Became an activist in German Communist Party.
- 1932 Relationship with the Communist Party leaders became strained.
- 1933 Nazis came to power forcing him to escape from Germany. Reich sought refuge first in Vienna then in Denmark. Open conflict with the International Psychoanalytic Association.
- 1934 Expelled from Psychoanalytic Association. Settled in Oslo, Norway.
- 1936 "Discovery" of bions.
- 1939 "Discovery" of cosmic orgone. Reich leaves for U.S.A.
- 1942 Foundation of Orgone Institute in New York. Bought land in Rangeley, Maine.
- 1954 Reich prosecuted by the Federal Food and Drug Administration. Found guilty in his absence. Disregarded the sentence.
- 1956 Second trial. Reich condemned to two years in jail.
- 1957 Died in Lewisburg Penitentiary. Age 60.

Appendix C: Glossary of Reichian Terminology

The Glossary is from *Vital Energy & Health*, (1989) p. 355

These terms are defined from "inside" Reichian work. Thus, for instance, the "discovery" of orgone energy is treated as a real discovery and "bions" are treated as real entities. The terms are defined in the way that a Reichian would use them regardless of how conventional science might regard their truth status.

Armour. See character armor, muscular armor.

Bions. Energy vesicles representing transitional stages between non-living and living substance. They constantly form in nature by a process of disintegration of inorganic and organic matter, which process it has been possible to reproduce experimentally. They are charged with orgone energy (q.v.) -- i.e., *Life Energy* -- and may develop into protozoa and bacteria.

Character. An individual's typical structure, his stereotype manner of acting and reacting. The organomic concept of character is functional and biological, and not a static, psychological or moralistic concept.

Character Armour. The sum total of typical character attitudes, which an individual develops as a blocking against his emotional excitations, resulting in rigidity of the body, lack of emotional contact, 'deadness.'

Functionally identical with the muscular armor.

Emotional Plague. The neurotic character in destructive action on the social scene.

Muscular Armour. The sum total of the muscular attitudes (chronic muscular spasms) which an individual develops as a block against the breakthrough of emotions and organ sensations -- in particular, anxiety, rage and sexual excitation.

Orgasm. The unitary involuntary *convulsion of the total organisms* at the acme of the genital embrace. this reflex, because of its *involuntary* character and the prevailing orgasm anxiety, is blocked in most humans of civilizations which suppress infantile and adolescent genitality.

Orgastic Potency. Essentially, *the capacity for complete surrender to the involuntary convulsion* of the organism and *complete discharge* of the excitation at the acme of the genital embrace. It is always lacking in neurotic individuals. It presupposes the presence or establishment of the genital character -- i.e., absence of a pathological character armor and Muscular armour. Orgastic potency is usually not distinguished from erective and ejaculative potency, both of which are only prerequisites or orgastic potency.

Orgone Energy. Primordial Cosmic Energy; universally present and demonstrable visually, thermically, electroscopically and by means of Geiger-Muller counters. In the living organism: *Bio-energy, Life Energy*. Discovered by Wilhelm Reich between 1936 and 1940.

Oranur denotes orgone energy in a state of excitation induced by nuclear energy. (DOR denotes Deadly OR energy.)

Organomic ("Energetic") Functionalism. The functional thought technique which guides clinical and experimental orgone research. The guiding principle is that of the *identity of variations in their* common functioning principle (CFP). This thought technique grew in the course of the study of human character formation and led to the discovery of the *functional* organismic and cosmic orgone energy, thereby proving itself to be the correct mirroring of both living and non-living basic natural processes.

Orgonomy. The natural science of the cosmic orgone energy.

Physical Orgone Therapy. Application of physical orgone energy concentrated in an orgone energy accumulator to increase the natural bioenergetic resistance of the organism against disease.

Sex-Economy. The body of knowledge within Orgonomy which deals with the economy of the biological (orgone) energy in the organism, with its *energy household*.

Appendix D: Scientific Development of Wilhelm Reich

(from *Vital Energy & Health* 1989)

Wilhelm Reich's basic scientific discoveries include the following: orgasm theory and technique of character analysis (1923-34); respiratory block and muscular armor (1928-34); sex-economic self-regulation of *primary* natural drives in their distinction from *secondary, perverted* drives (1928-34); The role of irrationalism and human sex economy in the origin of dictatorship of all political denominations (1930-34); the orgasm reflex (1934); the bio-electrical nature of sexuality and anxiety (1935-36); orgone-energy vesicles, bions (1936-39); origin of the cancer cell from bionously disintegrated animal tissue, and the organization of protozoa from bionously disintegrated moss and grass (1936-39); T-bacilli in sarcoma (1937); discovery of the bioenergy (orgone energy) in SAPA bions (1939), in the atmosphere (1940); invention of the orgone-energy accumulator (1940); and the orgone-energy field meter (1944); experimental orgone therapy of the cancer biopathy (1940-45); experimental investigation of primary biogenesis (Experiment XX, 1945); method of organomic functionalism (1945); emotional plague of man as a disease of the bioenergetic equilibrium (1947); organometric equations (1949-50); hypothesis of cosmic superimposition of two orgone energy streams as the basis of hurricanes and galaxy formation (1951); antinuclear radiation effects of orgone energy (The Oranur Experiment, First Report, 1947-51); discovery of DOR (deadly orgone energy) and identification of its properties, including a specific toxicity (DOR sickness) (1951-52); identification of Melanor, Orite, Brownite and Orene, and initial steps toward pre atomic chemistry (1951-54); use of 'reversed' organomic potential in removing DOR from the atmosphere in cloudbusting and weather control (1952-55); theory of desert formation in nature and in man (the emotional desert) and demonstration of reversibility (Orop Desert Ea and Medical DOR-Buster) (1954-55); theory of disease based on DOR accumulation in the tissues (1954-55); equations of gravity and anti-gravity (1950-57); development and practical application of social psychiatry (1951-57).

Appendix E: Summary of the Orgone Theory

by Dr. Charles R. Kelley, editor of the Reichian Journal *The Creative Process*:

1. Being mass free, orgone energy itself has no inertia or weight. This, it is noted, is one of the main reasons why it is difficult to measure with conventional techniques.

2. Present everywhere it fills all space, although in differing degrees or concentrations. It is even present in vacuums.

3. It is the medium for electromagnetic and gravitational activity. It is held to be the substratum of the most fundamental natural phenomena, the medium in which light moves and electromagnetic and gravitational fields exert force.

4. Orgone energy is in constant motion, and this can be observed under appropriate conditions. For instance, the bluish heat waves seen shimmering above wooded areas and mountains are said to be orgone energy movements. Its motion has at least two characteristics, a pulsation form -- that is, alternating expansion and contraction -- and a flow normally along a curving path.

5. It 'contradicts' the law of entropy. Orgone energy is attracted to concentrations of itself. Unlike heat or electricity, which manifests a direction of flow from higher to lower potential, orgone flows from low organotic potentials to higher. Thus, high concentrations of orgone energy attract orgone from their less orgone-concentrated surroundings. (An analogy is found in gravitation, where the larger bodies attract, or 'pull,' the smaller.) Non-entropic organotic processes, moreover, do not run their course mechanically, but are qualitatively entirely different from entropic processes.

6. *It forms units or entities which are the foci of creative activity.* These orgone energy units may be living or non-living. The living ones include bions, cells, plants and animals, and the nonliving include clouds, storms, planets, stars and galaxies. All of these orgone energy units have *certain* features in common. For instance, all are 'negatively entropic' in the sense mentioned above, so that they acquire energy from their environment and all have a 'life cycle' passing through birth, growth, maturity and decline.

7. Matter is created from orgone energy. Under appropriate conditions matter arises from mass-free orgone. These conditions are held to be neither rare nor unusual.

8. It is responsible for life. Orgone energy is the *lifé* energy and as such is responsible for the special characteristics which differentiate the living from the nonliving.

9. Separate streams of orgone energy may be attracted to each other and then superimpose. The superimposition function is held to be the fundamental form of the creative process. Thus, in free space, superimposing orgone-energy streams typically show the form of two streams of energy converging in a spiral. This is seen in spiral galaxies and also in the structure of hurricanes and other cyclonic storms. Celestial functions such as sunspot cycles, aurora borealis, hurricanes, tides and major weather phenomena are considered expressions of the interplay of two or more cosmic energy systems and also involve spiral forms of superimposition. In living nature, mating is a principal expression of superimposition: two separate streams of energy flow together and superimpose during the coital act.

10. It can be manipulated and controlled by orgone energy devices, the best-known being the accumulator Certain experiments indicate that the air temperature within the accumulator, and the body temperature of anyone sitting in it, rises, up to one degree centigrade, with variations depending upon the outside weather, the time of day and the sitter's character structure. Other evidence includes an increase in the impulse rate of the Geiger-Muller counter when exposed to orgone concentrations in an accumulator.

Appendix F: Glossary of Terms Concerning the Theory of Embodied Meaning

The following list of definitions is neither complete nor exhaustive. Its purpose is to provide a fairly concise network of the interrelated ideas which govern the anthropological model of symbolic meaning formation as an embodied process utilized in the thesis.

Analog image: The anthropologist Roy Wagner (1986) proposes a spectrum of metaphoric representation whose terminal points are the "analog image" and the "referential image." His other two names for these two types of representation are "frame metaphor" and "point metaphor." The analog image is that image primarily influenced by **perceptual consciousness** itself. Anthony Wildon (1972) contrasts the analog image to the digital image. In analog representation, there is a condition of resemblance between the representation and what it resembles. Another way of putting this is the analog image **participates** in that which it depicts. In digital representation, the relationship is arbitrary as in ordinary language. In general, "body language" is comprised of analog imagery. The smile, the tired tread, the laugh, crying, the angry voice are all examples of analog imagery. The **Romantic** concept of the direct relationship between language and things points towards the universality of the perceptual analog image. The so called "magical language" of correspondences and signatures also points in the same direction. The central concept of sympathetic magic is that of analog imagery. Reich's privileging of "direct contact" between the human body and its world is treated as a privileging of the analog or iconic image over arbitrary conventional language.

Body: In the present thesis, I am concerned with two bodies: the **natural body** and the **social body**. Reich models psychological "character" as either healthy (genital) or unhealthy (neurotic.) For Reich, in healthy character structure, the self regulatory capacity of the natural body if allowed to develop properly in the context of social life leads to healthy character structure. On the other hand, if this capacity is thwarted and authoritarian or patriarchal morality is imposed, this will create a social body characterized by neurosis and ill health.

Bodily potential: This term refers to the "potential" experiential and perceptual capacities of the human body. For example a central bodily potential is the capacity to learn language. If, however, this capacity is not culturally developed within a specific time frame the capacity is lost. Reich sees the self regulatory function of the individual body as a particular potential which most often in the context of "Modern" life is neglected. For Reich, it is the sexual capacity which is most often stunted and blocked.

Context: Context = the implicit background of a **figure/ground gestalt**. Any aspect of reality may be separated from its natural and/or social context. Anthropology, however, is primarily concerned with human behaviour in context. In the present thesis, context is considered as absolutely essential for the production and interpretation of meaning.

Control: The term "control" used in the context of the theory of **metaphor** as a **figure/ground** relationship usually refers to the foreground "figure" which is understood to control the meaning of the implicit background." Thus a concept of the utilitarian usage of the forest (as lumber) very often "controls" the perception or experience of the forest. To reverse the figure/ground relationship, it is also true to say that the more purely experiential aspects of being in the forest can also "control" the implicit background (of the equation forest =

lumber.) The control in this case is the control of the experience of the forest *as conventional symbol*, whereas in the former case, the control is of direct experience itself. The implicit background, however, whether conventional or experiential also "controls" the foreground figure in the sense that it sets the limits of the contextual ground which the figural foreground can draw upon. The general term "social control" denotes the conventional control of experience. Conversely, the notion of experiential control (which sounds odd to our ears) points towards the realm of the creative. This notion of "experiential control" is, of course, quite different from the notion of "biological determination."

Creativity: The term creativity is utilized in a sense more or less synonymous with the term **cultural invention**. The notion of human creativity is very often linked with the idea of the imagination (image-ination). In different ideological systems the locus of the imagination changes. In "Non-Modern" ideology in general, its locus is *outside* of the self; in medieval Christianity, the imagination appears as a function of God whose creativity is manifest as the work of nature. Enlightenment ideology transferred the power of the creative imagination to "man" (as distinct from both God and woman). Romantic ideology posits the creative imagination as a human capacity which spans the gap between God & man (and also, of course, between tradition and the "modern"). Reich proposes that the human imagination is essentially a bodily and sensual function rather than an intellectual one. The concept of **perceptual consciousness** in the context of the phenomenology of experience is seen as being in contact with the continual flux of possible meaningful relationships and thus with the imaginal capacity itself.

Culture: Culture is treated as a conventional symbolic system. As such, it comprises the overall symbolic context for various ideological streams of thought. This thesis treats the development of symbolic and ideological structure and thus culture itself as a dialectical process. Roy Wagner (1986) speaks of the "cultural dialectic" between two different metaphorical modes: the **analog image** and the **referential metaphor**. Phillip Rieff, for his part, sees culture as a dialectical interaction between a dominant moral paradigm and a therapeutic symbolism.

Cultural convention: Culture or cultural ideology is comprised of conventions. In the present thesis, there are several different levels of convention to be considered. The first level and the more general one, concerns conventional **representation** contrasted with un-conventional or experiential representation. Conventional representation involves the foreground **control** of the implicit background of **experience**. The arbitrariness of ordinary language fits the definition well. Cultural conventions were always formerly **cultural inventions**. This is simply to say that conventional symbolism is continually invented and changed in the light of experience. Cultural convention is produced in the **dialectic of convention**. At this level, complex conventional frames of meaning are produced by a processual conventionalization of contexts. Reich sees the cultural convention of rigid bodily posture in the "Modern" military as being detrimental to the happiness and creativity of human beings. As a conventional form, -- the metaphor brings together male potency with the mechanical efficiency of the machine -- bodily experience and perceptual consciousness are "controlled" by a cultural set of manners which are inculcated in the body often with a great deal of difficulty including violence. The other major aspect of ideological unfolding concerns the **dialectic of invention** whereby conventional forms are changed. At the next level up, however, there is the conventional (or

ideological) handling of the relationship between the conventional aspects of society and the creative aspects. The way in which this level of convention is handled leads to two different ideological orientations. In essence, I am concerned with the *convention* of **hierarchy** (and the dialectic itself) and *the convention* of non-hierarchical **dualism**. This distinction is that between the hierarchical split between the sacred macrocosm and the secular microcosm on the one hand and the denial of the sacred macrocosm in favour of the universality of the secular model of reality. In the present model, **sacred ideology** (i.e., **ritual reversal**) is understood as the *dialectical* handling of the relationship between cultural creativity and cultural convention. Secular ideology, on the other hand, is modelled as handling the relationship in a non-dialectical conventional way. From this it can be seen that there is a fundamental difference between the convention of the sacred and secular convention. In fact, "Non-Modern" sacred ideology is more closely aligned with the *dialectic of invention* than it is with ordinary convention. "Modern" ideology on the other hand is modelled as *doubly* conventional.

Cultural Invention: Cultural invention involves the creation of what will in time become **cultural convention**. As with cultural convention, cultural invention involves a **figure/ground** relationship. In this case, however, there is an inversion whereby **perceptual consciousness** itself -- that is to say the consciousness of the **flow** of resemblances is allowed to control the implicit background of cultural conventions. In the creative process, new relationships are established between conventional references. In Reichian therapeutics, the socially conventionalized body is loosened up thus bringing strong sensations of the streaming of pleasure in the body. These strong sensations of pleasure and the flow of emotions in the body are then allowed to control and condition the relationship of conventional parts. For instance, it becomes interesting to notice that while a stiff neck might be very useful in certain situations it does not do much for love making.

Dialectic: In the present thesis, the dialectic movement is treated as a processual alternation between foreground and background aspects of representation. The two aspects of representation involve **bodily experience** and **cultural convention**. The experiential domain is treated as **macrocosm** to the **microcosmic** cultural domain. But this does not mean that the macrocosmic dimension necessarily "controls" the microcosm. The macrocosmic elements of perceptual experience may control the microcosmic elements but in turn the microcosmic elements may control the macrocosm of experience. In the **dialectic of convention**, microcosmic cultural convention controls and conventionalizes the macrocosm of experience. In the **dialectic of invention**, macrocosmic bodily, perceptual and experiential processes control the flow of resemblances between conventional elements. (See **cultural convention** and **cultural invention**.)

Dialectic of Convention: See **Dialectic and Convention**.

Dialectic of Invention: See **Dialectic and Invention**.

Difference: To be contrasted with **resemblance**. Difference is the determining characteristic for the exclusive categorization of things. Referential and conventional metaphor are predicated upon difference and **individuation**. Difference and individuation involve the establishment of conventional boundaries between categories.

Dualism: To be contrasted with **hierarchy**. Both dualism and hierarchy are involved with the relationship between two entities. Dualism as a conceptual frame is concerned with exclusive boundaries between categories. Relationship is essentially causal. The concept of hierarchy utilized in the present thesis involves both an idea of exclusivity and an idea of the *relationship* between exclusive categories as one of **embodiment**. Any particular symbolic category is always in a relationship of part to whole. In embodiment theory, for instance, the **macrocosm** of perceptual consciousness (the unified plane of perception which gives the world to consciousness) embodies and contains the **microcosm**. As such, microcosmic interpretations (signs and symbols) can only be reductions and crystalizations of the larger perceptual image. In standard structuralist interpretation, the notion of hierarchy pertains to the paradigm of metaphorical substitutions which can serve the same function in a language statement. Causal relations, on the other hand, are modelled as the syntactic relations between the metaphoric elements (the syntagm.) **Enlightenment** disembodied **epistemology** emphasizes dualism and causal relations upon a single analytic and atomist plane. Romantic embodied epistemology emphasizes hierarchy and part to whole relations.

Embodiment: Embodiment in the context of phenomenological thought pertains directly to the human body in its world. This world is both social and natural. In turn the central concept of interest to us is the notion of **perceptual consciousness** which in relation to **cultural convention** characterizes the way the body has its being in its world. Embodiment theory, then, includes a theory of the relationship of the **macrocosm** of bodily perception to the **microcosm** of cultural convention. Perceptual bodily consciousness is the central characteristic of the **natural body** while the central characteristic of the **social body** is its conventional nature. The concept of embodiment implies a concept of an integrated whole with a material existence. Embodied existence also implies a holistic continuity between the embodied entity and its world. Embodied existence is **participatory existence**. Perceptual consciousness, as a central attribute of embodied being, is continuous with the world it presents to consciousness. The concept of embodiment may also be extended, as metaphor, to any number of situations in which a concept *embodies* certain other concepts, metaphors, ideas. See **Hierarchy**. Reich insisted upon the importance of the human body itself in the development of scientific understanding. He considered it crucial to open the whole of one's bodily sensibility to whatever problem was to hand. Later the insights so gained were to be tested in the light of objective methodology. The term embodiment, may also pertain to language, however. In this sense, language "embodies" meaning. Meaning can be embodied in different ways. Thus ideological meaning is embodied in **Romantic** or **Enlightenment** discourses.

Empirical medicine: English-Lueck places the empirical medical tradition in juxtaposition to the **rationalist medical tradition**. In essence, the distinction is between the treatment of the whole person in context and the treatment of a particular disease with a particular cause. In the empirical medical tradition, the person and the disease are fundamentally inseparable whereas in the rational medical tradition, the disease and the diseased person are separate. The empirical tradition is the fundamental influence on contemporary holistic medicine while the rationalist tradition conditions contemporary scientific medicine. Reich's work belongs to the empirical tradition. The empirical tradition is more "anthropological" in the sense that it gives

greater weight to the social factors of illness, to the ways in which symbolism influences the world and the **participatory** ethos.

Epistemology: In the thesis I am concerned with two different ways of knowing: **embodied epistemology** and **disembodied epistemology**. Embodied epistemology is concerned with that way of knowing which has at its center the experience of the living human body. Embodied epistemology is **participatory** in the sense that it acknowledges the reciprocal and dialectical relationship of both experience and convention in the construction of knowledge. The nature of the world is continually invented and maintained by participatory consciousness. The world is given to consciousness by the human body via the perceptual capacity and this perceptual capacity is in turn modulated by conventional symbolism both incorporated into the body and used as more or less fixed reference points in intellectual schemas. The way that the body is in the world influences the types of trope created and symbolic trope in turn influences the perceptual capacity. **Disembodied epistemology**, on the other hand, is concerned with a model of truth whereby a set of language references perfectly correspond to a similar set of *already existent* entities in the world. Disembodied epistemology is primarily concerned with what I have called **referential representation** while embodied epistemology is concerned with the relationship between the analog perceptual image and reference. Embodied epistemology is dialectical. Disembodied epistemology is analytical.

Everyday convention: To be contrasted with **sacred convention**. The function of everyday convention is fundamentally similar in all kinds of society. It is created in the context of the **dialectic of convention** wherein the unified perceptual field of consciousness is articulated. A given set of conventions may typify various social functions, i.e., a marriage or a funeral, and taken together they may define a particular **somatic mode of attention**. Enlightenment ideology does not acknowledge the hierarchy of sacred and profane and thus interpretative models strongly influenced by it tend to interpret sacred convention in the same way as any other sort of convention, i.e., as social control in the same mold as our own contemporary social control. This is to say that Enlightenment ideology emphasizes the social control function of human activity and nature tends to disappear into the background as a set up ultimately knowable causal relations. The ideology of the sacred, however, sees a great difference between ritual convention and everyday convention and thus these boundaries are very often very strongly marked as taboo.

Experience: The first and primary aspect of the embodiment paradigm. Experience = bodily experience = the context to be interpreted by convention. Experience is experience of the world and experience is essentially perceptual experience. The world and the perception of the world are experientially speaking identical. In the embodiment paradigm, the experiential domain as **bodily potential** is treated as macrocosm to the cultural microcosm. As representation, I use the terms **experiential image**, **perceptual image** and **analog image** as more or less interchangeable. Reich is himself interested in direct bodily experience, especially creative experience which he models upon the ecstasy of sexual orgasm. Experience, or the experiential image, exceeds referential language in the same way that a picture of a human face must always exceed its description in words. The analog image of experience is inexhaustible in a way in which more arbitrary language cannot be. Once one moves the written word into the domain of song, however, there is a strong shift towards the analog image and the inexhaustibility of connotation.

Fact: To be contrasted with **value**. Facts in the present thesis are treated as synonymous with (everyday) cultural conventions. A "fact" as such gains its authority from the system of other facts or cultural reference points which contextualizes it. In Enlightenment ideology, facts are considered to be free standing, as it were, and have a direct correspondence to events in the natural world. "Facts" are exclusive categories and are related by causal principles. In general, "facts" are discoverable by the use of a particular (scientific) **methodology**.

Figure/ground gestalt: Anthropology emphasizes that human behaviour is always in **context**. To place some aspect of behaviour or symbolism in its context is to look at it in terms of a **figure/ground gestalt**. The mobility of this figure/ground relationship is central to the present interpretation. Reich's work, seen from this perspective, begins with the gestalt characterized by a foreground cultural interdict (e.g., do not touch the genitals) and the implicit background of the bodily economy of sexual energy.

Figure/ground reversal: The **figure/ground** relationship, is reversible in the sense that either aspect of the gestalt may **control** the other. Whichever one *controls* meaning is understood to be the foreground control on the implicit background. (This of course does not at all mean that the implicit background does not *control* meaning also. But this control is of a different sort.) To refer to the example of Reich's initial gestalt directly above, Reich argues that when the cultural interdict controls the body, neurotic character is produced. On the other hand, when the natural bodily impulses are not squashed, but are allowed to organize cultural convention, then healthy character structure is produced. In this latter case, individuals are "self-regulated" rather than socially controlled.

Flow: The term is used in the context of the embodiment paradigm to indicate the multiplicity and mobility of the relationships of resemblance between metaphors. Bodily perception, then, is synonymous with the notion of the *flow of perception*. There is the "flow" of meaningful resemblances which come into consciousness at the level of bodily experience in the world and there is also the "flow" of meaningful resemblances which come into consciousness at the level of reading. Reich utilizes the term "flow" with primary reference to the "flow" of energies in the body. If there is no blockage of energy flow in the body, then, the body is in direct contact with reality, and the meaning of events is transparent to consciousness. It is a theme of this thesis to demonstrate the symmetry between the *flow* of meanings brought out in the anthropological model of symbolic unfolding and Reich's model of energetic *flow*. In the present symbolic model the "name" or conventional reference is treated as a stoppage of the *flow* of perceptual resemblance. Reich treats the inscription of particular sorts of cultural habit into the body as a blockage of the *flow* of energies in the body.

Habitus: This is the term used by Pierre Bourdieu to designate the **social body** as the locus of human experience. Reich's notion of "character structure" is essentially identical to the notion of the habitus.

Hierarchy: The present usage of the term is identical with the concept of "typology." In this sense, it does not refer to that type of hierarchy whereby a small part of the whole (i.e., an elite) controls the workings of the whole. Rather, the hierarchy is an hierarchy of **embodiment**. That which is higher encapsulates, includes and embodies that which is of a

lower order. There is very often a confusion between the notion of an "opposition" between terms and the notion of an hierarchical relation between terms. Bertrand Russell called this an error in "logical typing." From this vantage, it is not so useful to consider society and the environment as in opposition to each other. The environment is of a higher logical type than society and as such it is the *context* for social interaction. In the same way, society is the *context* for the human production of **meaning**. At this lower level (i.e., that of society), nature and culture are often perceived to be in opposition to each other. It is necessary, then, to note that this opposition occurs at the level of social symbolism itself not at the level of the empirical or experiential relation between nature and culture considered as a whole. **Hierarchy**, then, as used in the present thesis always involves a figure and a ground, a foreground element and its context. The primary image of hierarchy in embodiment theory is that of the relation between **macrocosmic experience** and **microcosmic reference**.

Part of the difficulty in understanding the relationship between oppositional or exclusive categories and hierarchical or embodied categories concerns the conflict between different ideological orientations in "Modern" life. In general, **Romantic and "Non-Modern" ideology** is hierarchical while a central aspect of "**Modern**" **Enlightenment ideology** involves the flattening out of this hierarchical arrangement. Reich's work is analyzed in terms of the relationship of the hierarchy of macrocosmic universal orgone ocean and microcosmic social life.

In the present interpretation there is an hierarchical structure to the unfolding of meaning in society. At root, meaning is formed as a metaphoric relationship. At the next level up, (the level of embodied meaning) the metaphoric relationship manifests in two different ways: the experiential image and the cultural convention. The one is the **figure/ground reversal** of the other. At the next level up (the level of rudimentary cultural activity) the **experiential image** expands into the **dialectic of invention** and the **conventional reference** expands into the **dialectic of convention**. At the next level up, (the level of complex cultural **ideology**) the dialectic of invention expands into the *dialectical relationship* between the initial dialectic of invention and convention and the dialectic of convention expands into the *conventional relationship* between the two dialectics.

Historical Reversal: This term is utilized by Roy Wagner (1986) as a companion term to **ritual reversal**. Whereas "Non-Modern" ideology is modelled as staging a dialectical linkage between cultural creativity and conventional life in the form of "ritual reversal," "Modern" (Enlightenment) ideology, by its blockage of this relationship, is seen as precipitating the historical enactment of this reversal.

Ideology: Ideology is considered as a social or cultural myth which organizes consciousness and behaviour within its realm of influence. Ideology or myth is interpreted as a system of widening symbolic frames of meaning which develop out of or "unfold" from a single metaphor. I use a model of ideal types of ideology derived from the facts of embodied consciousness. The **unfolding** of ideology is treated as an expansion of **metaphor** predicated upon **bodily experience** and **cultural convention**. The development of knowledge has two processes: the **dialectic of invention** and **convention**. The two fundamental (ideal) types of ideology develop from the handling of the relationship between the dialectic of invention and the dialectic of convention in a dialectical or conventional way. **Romantic ideology** and "**Non-Modern**" **ideology** are seen as manifestations of the dialectical handling of the relationship. The main mechanism or institution which embodies this relation is the **ritual of**

reversal. "Modern" ideology is interpreted as a system of complex interrelationships between dominant **Enlightenment ideology** and non-dominant **Romantic ideology**. Romantic ideology is treated as the secular *transform* of "Non-Modern" hierarchical and dialectical ideology. As such, it is itself dialectical. Enlightenment ideology is characterized by its *denial* of the dialectic and its establishment of a *conventional* relationship between the dialectic of convention and invention. Reich's work is analyzed as a manifestation of **Romantic ideology** in a subversive relationship to **Enlightenment ideology**. As such, Reich's work participates in the **Empirical medical tradition** which comprises part of the Romantic stream of thought in general and is in essence opposed to the ideology of the **Rationalist medical tradition** which has strong links to Enlightenment ideology and dominates contemporary scientific medicine. Reich's model of healthy genital ("primitive") character structure is pitted against the neurotic character structure of sexual denial.

Incorporated social memory: This is the term used by Paul Connerton (1989) to designate the way in which social memory, particularly in societies which have a "Non-Modern" ideology, is carried by the habitual patterns of the human body. Bodily incorporated practices in toto comprise what I have called the **social body**. An incorporated social memory is a **cultural convention** which has been integrated into bodily behaviour, posture, gesture, voice timbre and so on. A central aspect of Reich's work concerns the ways and the effects on health that certain sorts of incorporated memories (i.e., chronic tensions) have on psychic and physical health.

Individuation: Individuation is the process whereby one thing is symbolically differentiated from another. Difference is thus the determining criterion for exclusive categorization.

Instability of categories: In general, symbolic categories are considered stable when they have a commonly accepted reference in a semiotic system. To say a category is stable is to say that there is a stable relationship between a given symbol and that thing or event in the world which it refers to. A category is *unstable* when the relationship between it and the thing which it refers to in the world are variable. This is to say, the consciousness of **resemblance** comes to take priority over the consciousness of exclusive **difference**. In general parlance, as symbolism moves away from its more arbitrary and referential manifestations (emphasizing a single denotative meaning) and towards more metaphorical, analogical symbolism (emphasizing multiple connotative meanings), meaning becomes more and more unstable. From the point of view of **Enlightenment** or **disembodied epistemology**, this instability stems from "subjective" usage. From the point of view of **embodied epistemology**, the instability stems from the *universal* nature of the perceptual capacity and bodily being in the world when this comes into conflict with overly rigid, arbitrary or conventionalized representations. In general, then, creative activity or **cultural invention**, acts in some measure to destabilize already established **cultural conventions**. Disembodied epistemology seeks to *exclude* subjective aspects from consideration, while embodied epistemology seeks to bring subjective and objective symbolism into a *consistent patterned relationship*. The introduction of the sensual and perceptual aspect into the equation destabilizes the meanings produced in the context of disembodied epistemology.

A major area of instability in contemporary understanding involves the interpretation of **sacred convention**. From the Enlightenment point of view, sacred conventions are socially produced like any other sort. They are simply not rational; but superstitious, irrational and

subjective. From the point of view of Romantic and/or "Non-Modern" ideology, however, sacred conventions are not conventions like everyday conventions at all. Rather, they are "given" by the realm of the sacred itself. From the embodiment point of view, this "givenness" is treated as pertaining to the bodily perceptual capacity itself. Sacred conventions, insofar as they are functional, are conventions which are oriented towards invention and creativity not towards conventionality. They aim at the creative participation of the small with the large. One is reminded of the American poet Ezra Pounds' dictum that poetry is news that stays news.

Macrocosm: The macrocosm is treated as the macrocosm of **experience**. **Perceptual experience** and the world at large are continuous with one another and embody in the natural order of things the **microcosm** of the cultural world and its system of **references**. The macrocosm as it occurs in the context of "**Non-Modern**" ideology pertains particularly to the generally unseen realm of forces and powers which act as the original model for the microcosm of the social world. The general model of "Non-Modern" ideology is of a mirror-like relationship between the macrocosm and the microcosm. Because of the reversibility of the **figure/ground gestalt**, however, the microcosm plays the role of macrocosm to experience. This is to say in the **dialectic of invention**, experience controls the implicit symbolic background in the production of new trope.

Meaning: Meaning is understood to arise out of the relationship between the bodily experience of various aspects of the world and the cultural symbols for these aspects. "Meaning," at root is modelled as a **figure/ground gestalt** formed by **symbol** and **experience**. As such, "meaning" always points towards the system of **cultural conventions** utilized by a people and also towards the world of experience. The fundamental unit of meaning is modelled as **metaphor**.

Metaphor: Linguistic metaphor is generally understood to bring together a lesser known aspect with a greater known aspect to create a synthetic unit of meaning whereby the elements of the greater known situation are carried over into the lesser known. In the present case, the model of linguistic metaphor is carried over into all forms of representation, including the embodied representation of the world in consciousness. In this very general sense, metaphor is modelled as the fundamental **figure/ground** relationship between an **experiential image** and **cultural convention**. The experiential aspect of metaphor is treated as identical with the lesser known or the "inchoate" aspect¹⁰⁸ of metaphor, while the conventional aspect is treated as the same as the greater known aspect. The synthesis created by metaphor thus brings together and transcends its parts.

Two different types of metaphor are modelled, each the figure/ground reversal of the other: a) that type whereby the perceptual or experiential side **controls** the implicit conventional **context** and b) that type whereby the conventional cultural side of metaphor controls the implicit experiential context. The former type of metaphor (Wagner's **analog image**) is conditioned by the experiential dimension. Its central feature involves the relationship of **resemblance** between itself and that which is represented. The emphasis is upon the way in which the bodily perceptual capacity influences and molds symbolic **representation**. The analog image moves towards the universal end of the spectrum (universal

¹⁰⁸ The term the anthropologist James W. Fernandez (1986) uses.

in the sense that the perceptual image of a a rose is the perceptual image of a rose) whose other terminus is absolute relativity (relative in the sense that there are many different names for roses).

In the latter case of conventional metaphor, the central feature involves the more or less arbitrary relationship between the symbol and that which is symbolized. The emphasis is upon the way in which conventional cultural forms influence and mold representation. Referential metaphor thus moves towards the "relativist" end of the spectrum of metaphor. Also see: the **macrocosmic image** and **microcosmic reference**.

Method: The reference is to scientific method. In "Modern" ideology, the main features of scientific method are set of conventions which delimit the contextual ground of invention. Empirical experience is allowed to modify conventional knowledge but only in certain restricted ways. The whole of being (including subjectivity) is formally excluded from the method. In actual scientific method, however, all sorts of other factors such as intuition, dreams and so on are involved. This aspect of scientific invention, however, is not emphasized.

Microcosm: In the present thesis, the term "microcosm" in general refers to that which is embodied by something larger, i.e., the **macrocosm**. Thus "language" in general can be considered as a microcosm of the macrocosm of consciousness. The essential relation is, of course, of small to large. The most interesting element for us involves the idea that the microcosm is actually a miniature model of the macrocosm. There is, then, a **reversibility** between macrocosm and microcosm. The idea is apparently endemic in religious ideology: the microcosm of society is seen as a miniature of the macrocosm of the spiritual plane which comprises the original model. From the point of view of embodiment theory, "the world" as given to consciousness by the perceptual capacity of the body is macrocosm to the microcosm of cultural convention. As indicated below, cultural convention or the system of "names" involves a whole series of radical reductions of the experiential world. These reductions are, at least in everyday usage, conventional, referential and essentially utilitarian. The microcosm, in the **dialectic of invention**, embodies **macrocosmic experience**.

"Modern" Ideology: "Modern" ideology, as an ideal type, is modelled as the dialectical relationship between the dominant **Enlightenment** and the subversive **Romantic** streams of thought in contemporary "modern" industrial society. The dominant Enlightenment stream is governed by an ethos of objectivity and the image of secular life. The Romantic is treated as a secular transform of "**Non-Modern**" (sacred) ideology and thus acts in a subversive role to the ethos of progress, the ideal of rational intellect and notion of death as absolute.

Name: The concept of the "name" is used interchangeably with the notion of **referential** or arbitrary **metaphor**, or simply **cultural convention**. The inference is that the essence of conventional forms is the arbitrary (and thus relative) way in which a word or name comes to be linked to a much more complex thing or event. The conventional metaphor or "name," e.g., "Bill" involves a rather large reduction of the extremely complex image of a living person. The process of conventional reduction or "crystalization" of the **experiential image** can thus be seen in terms of this general process of nominalization. The conventional metaphor or name may also thus be recognized as the central element in the process of the

"objectivization" of experience. In the world of socially incorporated bodily symbolism, the "name" becomes the "habit."

Nature: In the present thesis, the concept of "Nature" appears in two essentially different forms: a) "Nature" as the vast encompassing experiential world and b) "nature" as the conventional representation of the natural world or parts of the natural world. In the former case, "Nature" is **macrocosm** to the **microcosm** of culture. In the latter case, "nature" is the microcosmic element **embodied** by the macrocosm of cultural convention.

Natural Body: The "natural body" is in the present thesis to be contrasted to the "social body." The "natural body" is, however, not treated as an objective biological or scientific entity, however. Rather, it is treated as that entity which gives the world of experience to consciousness. As such, the primary aspect of the "natural body" which is of interest is the perceptual capacity itself. The "natural body" thus acts as the medium of expression for the "social body." The "social body" is formed in a process whereby cultural conventions are, as it were, *written into* or *inscribed in* the body. The "natural body" and the perceptual capacity, however, are not simply the *raw material* for this inscription, however. Rather, there is a dialectical relationship between the inscription of cultural convention into the body and the molding of this inscription by the perceptual capacity itself. Just as it has become more and more obvious that communications mediums, i.e., print, photography and television, are not neutral but play a large part in the forming of the message conveyed in these mediums, the body itself, as medium of expression, is not at all neutral.

"Non-Modern" ideology: My typology has two fundamental types: one type is dialectical, the other analytical. "Non-Modern" ideology is dialectical. **Enlightenment ideology** is anomalous because being non-dialectical it departs from the historical norm. I follow Dumont (1986) in modelling "Non-Modern" ideology (as ideal type) as **dialectical** and **hierarchical**. The essential different between "Modern" and "Non-Modern" ideology in my typology concerns the concept of value. **Facts** and **values** are not separable as they are in Enlightenment ideology. "Non-Modern" ideology is modelled as the relationship between two domains: the sacred and the profane, macrocosm and microcosm. **Rituals of reversal** are designed to link the creative domain (the sacred) with the conventional domain of profane social life. Berger (1969) sees "Non-Modern" ideology in terms of the dialectical relation between cosmos and nomos. Reich's therapeutic is interpreted as a "Modern" ritual reversal. "Non-Modern" ideology, as an ideal type, is participatory, (see **participation**) context dependent and relational. Romantic ideology is of the same type. "Non-Modern" ideology as a general category *includes* Reich's notion of the "primitive" as well as the general category of the "Post-Modern" as a reversal of the power dimension in "Modern" ideology.

Obviation: This is the term used by the American anthropologist Roy Wagner to indicate the way in which a higher level of metaphor encapsulates, frames or embodies a lower level. It is the transitional element whereby **dialectical** relations **unfold**. In essence, it involves the idea that each new "thesis" or synthetic meaning which is brought into being incorporates within itself the controlling element (the thesis) of the previous dialectical triad (thesis -- antithesis -- synthesis). Let us take as an example, the dialectical triad of a) the social injunction for a child to "sit up straight" at the table, b) the contrary bodily desire to act in a great many other ways and c) the more or less successful production of the disciplined child's body. This initial

process involves a) the cognitive social symbol, b) an energetic body as medium and c) the bodily incorporation of the authoritative social symbol. Given the movement through the sequence: a) cognitive social symbol, b) bodily experiential image and c) bodily social symbol, the next position in the unfolding concerns the cognitive aspect of the experiential image. The question is: how does this initial incorporation of bodily symbolism affect subsequent mental processes. In the present model, this next level of unfolding is spoken of as "obviating" or exhausting the meaning of the initial social injunction "sit up straight." Of course, the model itself makes no judgment on this point. At issue is how various psychological systems model the relationship between such symbolism and intellectual processes. One may consider that here are the rudiments of a disciplined rational mind. Or, another may say that the obviation of the initial symbolism produces a split in mentation between conscious and unconscious aspects. Or, this fourth aspect in its obviation of the initial aspect may manifest as either a passive acquiescence or an intransigent hatred. In any case, the cognitive experience of being in the world is modelled as an "obviation" or "processual embodiment" of earlier experience. What is important here is the idea that the higher levels of metaphoric unfolding obviate and exhaust (include and embody) the lower levels. The notion is, really, that nothing is lost, whether energy or meaning in the unfolding of an ideological system whether it is the system which produces identity or whether it is the structure which guides political activity.

Participation: The relationship between the bodily perceptual capacity or simply **perceptual consciousness** and the world it perceives is characterized as "participatory." There is a continuity between the subject and the object. The plane of perceptual consciousness is thus considered as a unified "participatory" whole.

Perception: Perception is the perception of the flow of **resemblances** in the world and in language and between language and the world. Perception is always the perception of **meaning**. There is no other perception. As such, the perceptual capacity or perceptual consciousness is itself constituted as a relationship between itself and cultural metaphor or reference. Perception is itself metaphorical inasmuch as it is always comprised of these two elements. In the same way, metaphor is always perceptual.

Phenomenological reduction: The phenomenological reduction in Husserl's phenomenology pertains to the philosophical discipline whereby the social aspects of experience may be put aside or "bracketed" in order that the essence of experience may be discovered. This discipline aimed at the development of the articulation of the phenomenological truth of embodied being is characterized as the ability to engage in "mature contemplation" by Laughlin, McManus and d'Aquili (1992). These authors view Buddhist discourse as having a useful and highly developed phenomenological language descriptive of a wide variety of embodied states of consciousness.

"Primitive": The term "primitive" is used to refer to Reich's general understanding of the term. It appears in inverted commas throughout, except in quotations. His image of the "primitive" referred essentially to what he considered to be the "natural" unsullied and primary potential of human embodied consciousness. Reich saw "primitive" consciousness and social arrangements as standing in basically the same relationship to "Modern" consciousness and social arrangements as the healthy potential of the contemporary child

stands in relationship to the sick and distorted character structure of the average contemporary adult in western society.

Private world: The private world is psychological and interior as opposed to the social and exterior nature of the **public world**. Nonetheless, the private world is intimately related with the larger outside natural and public world via that **perceptual consciousness** which characterizes embodied being. The private world is created out of the dialectical interplay between perception and convention. The private world thus has both conventional and creative aspects; it also has both conscious and unconscious aspects.

Processual unfolding: This term is used to describe the developmental sequence whereby higher and higher metaphoric frames of meaning unfold from an initial metaphor. It is synonymous with the terms **symbolic unfolding**, or simply **unfolding**. The process is **dialectical** and **hierarchical**. Higher levels of metaphor frame or **obviate** lower levels. The present emphasis is upon the ways in which the disciplining of the body in seemingly small ways end up by strongly influencing character structure and world view.

Public world: The public world is the world of social life. The public world is guided and organized by ideological structures and myths. The public world is the world of convention, the world of socially organized roles, institutions and rituals. Nonetheless, the public world is intimately related to the **private world** as well as to the greater natural world via **perceptual consciousness**.

Rationalist medical tradition: To be contrasted with the **empirical tradition**. The rationalist tradition is interested in the specific etiology of specific diseases rather than the more general social and contextual understanding of illness as found in the empirical tradition.

Referential metaphor: Referential metaphor = **conventional reference** = arbitrary reference = **conventional sign** = conventional name = **name**. Wagner (1986) models the spectrum of metaphor as being between the **analog image** and conventional reference.

Representation: Re-representation is treated as in essence metaphorical. As such, the spectrum of **metaphor** runs from the **perceptual** or **analog image** (characterized by a relationship of resemblance) on one end of the scale to conventional reference (characterized by a relation of non-resemblance) at the other. The former characterizes "**Non-Modern**" ideological **representation** while the latter characterizes **Enlightenment** representation. Foucault (1970) typifies the distinction as that between the doctrine of signatures and magical correspondences and "**Modern**" "representation." This distinction is often made between "magical" language and scientific language. The distinction can also be drawn as that between an emphasis upon "oral" as opposed to "written" representation. As metaphor, all types of **representation** involve a figure/ground relationship between an **experiential** aspect and a **conventional** aspect.

Resemblance: The relationship of similarity or resemblance is the central characteristic of the **analog image**, **perceptual consciousness**, **participatory consciousness** and the realm of **experience** in general. It is to be contrasted with **difference** which typifies referential conventional symbolism.

Ritual reversal: In the context of "**Non-Modern**" ideology, rituals of reversal are treated as the social and *dialectical* convention whereby the cultural **dialectic of convention** and the cultural **dialectic of invention** are brought into relationship. Ritual reversal, as sacred convention, involves the ritual enactment of the dialectic of invention. As such, rituals of reversal are involved in the continual re-invention of the world and society. Rituals of reversal, as analog images of the natural world, aim at the magical **control** of the observable tendency for things to reverse themselves. I.e. all living things, die, healthy people become sick, single things become double, good crop conditions become bad and so forth. On the model of sympathetic magic, the social convention of ritual reversal aims to control otherwise uncontrollable conditions via the process of mimetic modelling of this natural tendency. Thus it is that in ritual reversals those with no real social power are given power, males are transformed into females, people into animals, spirits into humans, the dead into the living and vice versa. What this means, and this is the essence of ritual reversal, is that those energies and meanings which are restricted by cultural convention are periodically allowed to **flow**. In this way private experience is brought into direct contact with public convention and allowed to inform it.

Romantic ideology: Romantic ideology is treated as a secular transform of "**Non-Modern**" ideology. As such it is **hierarchical** and **dialectical**. In the present thesis, "Modern" ideology in general is thought of as dual, comprised of the Romantic and **Enlightenment** streams of thought. It plays the role of subversive to dominant Enlightenment **ideology** in the context of the contemporary scene. It is strongly linked to the notion of the creative imagination, creative literary and artistic activity, ideals of the transcendent whether aesthetic or religious. It is linked to the sensuous, the bodily, the experiential, the sacred and the emotional. Insofar as the Romantic stream of thought is coextensive with a phenomenological language of embodiment, it acts to destabilize the categories of Enlightenment thought. See **instability of categories**.

Sacred convention: Social convention, at least in the context of "**Non-Modern**" and/or **Romantic** ideology is dual. Sacred convention represents the **macrocosmic world** while **everyday convention** stands in the place of the **microcosm** of social life. Because of the hierarchical and dialectical nature of both "**Non-Modern**" ideology and embodiment theory, the dimension of the sacred is theoretically closely linked to **perceptual consciousness** itself. The sacred is macrocosm to the microcosm of **conventional social life** in the same way as the unified field of **perceptual consciousness** is macrocosm to the microcosm of conventional social life. In this way, cultural creativity and the social symbolism of the sacred may be re-interpreted in the light of embodiment theory. Although not in so many words and not with reference to embodiment theory or phenomenology, this is the approach taken to Reich's understanding of God as a mis-recognition of the movement of orgone energy in the body.

Self: The self or identity is treated as an ideological construction which in the process of development unfolds from the dialectical interaction between bodily experience and social convention. Two types of identity figure prominently in this thesis: that sort which is linked to **participatory consciousness** and the sort linked to **causal consciousness**. The former is linked with **Romantic** and "**Non-Modern**" ideology, the latter with **modern (Enlightenment) ideology**. In terms of the present thesis, "participatory" consciousness is closely linked to the

perceptual capacity of the body itself. In **embodiment** theory, bodily perception is always participatory. This is to say that there is a **flow of resemblances** upon the unified plane of perceptual consciousness. The contemporary character structure as individual self or ego is very often characterized as having a split between conscious and unconscious thought, mind and body. Reich equates the self or identity with character structure and all of these with bodily structures which control subsequent thought patterns.

Somatic mode of attention: Thomas J. Csordas (1993) uses this term to refer to the socially elaborated ways of attending to the body and with the body which organize and objectify the unified field of perception (**perceptual consciousness**). A somatic mode of attention, then, is a way of talking about the **social body** as a set of behavioural patterns which organize consciousness. Bourdieu's notion of the **habitus** can thus be considered to be made up of the total complex of somatic modes of attention.

Social Constructivism: Essentially the American sociological offshoot of the European phenomenological and existential philosophical tradition. Its most famous proponents on this side of the Atlantic are Berger and Luckman (1966). The American anthropologist Roy Wagner is a more recent proponent of the phenomenological tradition. His theory is, I believe, more radical and also more balanced than Berger and Luckman's because it emphasizes the aspect of **cultural invention**, as well as social construction. The present model emphasizes the fact that social and/or cultural aspects of **representation** are present in all facets of lived experience. It also emphasizes that the natural capacities of the human body coextensive with the natural world at large are also present in all facets of experience.

Social body: The social body = the conventional body = the textual body = the body objectivized = Reich's concept of character structure. See **natural body**.

Social convention: See **Cultural convention**.

Symbol: The term is used in the same way as **representation**. There is no other sort of representation other than symbolic representation. Symbolic representation is modeled as **metaphor**. Metaphor is modeled as a spectrum whose terminal points are: the perceptual image and conventional reference.

Symbolic unfolding: See **Unfolding**.

Text: The terminology of text and textuality refers to the **conventional** aspects of **representation**. As such it points to the cohesive system of meanings whose reference is primarily to the more general semiotic system. When the textual **metaphor** is carried over into the consideration of **embodiment** theory, the **natural body** becomes the medium for the inscription of social text. The **social body**, then, is synonymous with the "textual body." The body, considered as text, emphasizes the way in which cultural conventions are written into and **incorporated** by the body in manners, postures, gesture and habit. From the embodiment point of view, I am also interested in the ways that the bodily perceptual capacity influences the textualization of the body as well as the ways in which this textualization influences consciousness and social interaction. Reich's concept of "bodily armour" is thus one aspect of the more general textualization of the body.

Unfolding: The concept of "unfolding" implies the movement from the small to the large. The movement is treated as **dialectical**, involving the processual synthesis of symbolic opposites. **Ideology**, or an ideological system is analyzed as a system of **metaphors** which unfold from each other. The "opposites" in the present case, however, are not truly opposites, for they are treated as **figure/ground** relationships. The two aspects of dialectical unfolding central to the present thesis are: a) **perceptual experience** and **cultural convention**.

Appendix G: Symbolic Construction

The following formulation of "symbolic construction" is from the well known sociologist Peter L. Berger's book *The Sacred Canopy* (1967).

Society is a dialectic phenomenon in that it is a human product, and nothing but a human product, that yet continuously acts back upon its producer. Society is a product of man. It has no other being except that which is bestowed upon it by human activity and consciousness. There can be no social reality apart from man. Yet it may also be stated that man is a product of society. Every individual biography is an episode within the history of society, which both precedes and survives it. Society was there before the individual was born and it will be there after he has died. What is more, it is within society, and as a result of social processes, that the individual becomes a person, that he attains and holds onto an identity, and that he carries out the various projects that constitute his life. Man cannot exist apart from society. The two statements, that society is the product of man and that man is the product of society, are not contradictory. They rather reflect the inherently dialectic character of the societal phenomenon. Only if this character is recognized will society be understood in terms that are adequate to its empirical reality (p. 4).

From this orientation, society is a *dialectical* phenomenon whereby the "individual" and "society" produce each other. An individual is always introduced into the context of social life but social life must also always be introduced into the context of biological and mental life. The individual and society always appear as a figure/ground gestalt. The individual only has meaning against the ground of cultural convention just as cultural convention only has meaning in relationship to the experience of individuals in society. There is a mutual exchange between individual and society whereby society molds the individuals within it and those individuals in turn mold the nature of that society. As a dialectical exchange, there is a reversible interaction whereby society conventionalizes or textualizes the meaning of experience and in turn the behaviour of individuals and groups create and recreate conventional symbolism and interaction.

Within this general paradigm of the mutual construction of society and individual, it is clear enough that a medical paradigm of neurosis and healing such as Reich's is a social construction and also that it participates in the construction (or invention¹⁰⁹) of individual

¹⁰⁹ Owen Barfield in his *History in English Words* (1953) tells us that during the seventeenth century "all art continued to be regarded as imitation, of which, however, there were two kinds -- the imitation of other arts and the imitation of Nature herself. The second kind, by analogy from picture-dealing, was called *original*, and the

selves and cultural forms. The well known medical anthropologist Arthur Kleinman (1980) depicts the general relations concerning the social construction of medical knowledge in the following diagram.

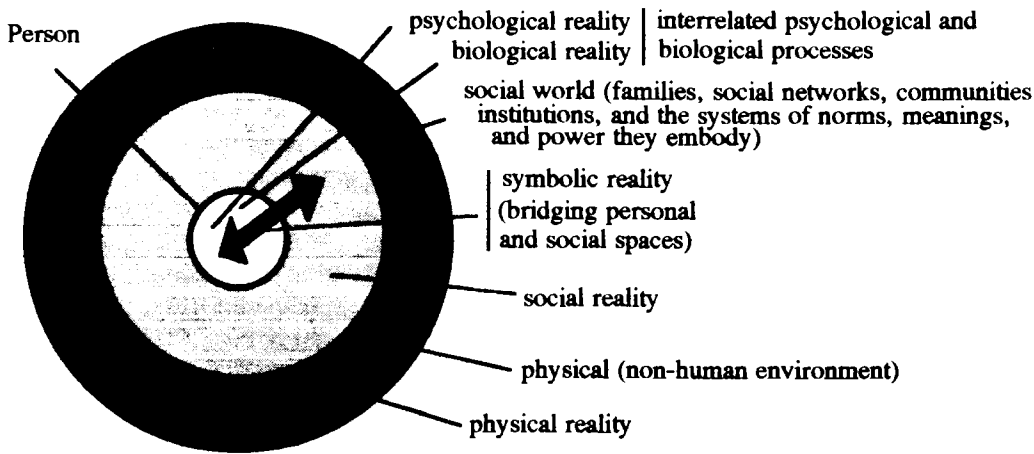


Figure 12 Arthur Kleinman's Model of the Symbolic Construction of Reality

In Kleinman's model, symbolic reality bridges personal and social spaces. However, as he notes, the person is constituted as an interrelation of psychological and biological processes.¹¹⁰ The dialectic between the conventions of society and individual bodily consciousness takes place at these two levels, the level of internal processes within the body and at the level of external processes within society. In either case, there is a figure/ground gestalt: at the level of the individual, consciousness is formed in the dialectic between social symbolism and the perceptual capacity: at the level of social interaction, meaningful

faculty which achieved it was named *invention* (Latin, 'invenire', 'to find'), a word implying that something had been found in Nature which had not *yet* been imitated by man" (p. 201). This is the way the term is used in the present interpretation. As such, the dialectic consists of two types of "imitation" -- the imitation of conventional cultural symbolism and the imitation of nature (implying inventive and non-conventional figurative usage). The dialectic, then, may be formulated, as Wagner has done, as a dialectic between conventional and inventional (non-conventional) figuration.

¹¹⁰ It should be noted that the symbolism of Kleinman's diagram involves a hierarchy of embodiment: the domain of the person (psychological and biological) is embodied or encapsulated in the domain of social life, while the domain of social life is itself encapsulated or embodied in the domain of physical reality and the non-human environment. In general terms, the individual is embodied by society and society is embodied by nature. However, there is a difficulty and this difficulty is endemic to the consideration of the human body, for biological reality at the core of the person is also part of the physical reality of the person and part of nature in general. The individual body, then, while being encapsulated or embodied by social life also encapsulates or embodies social life. There is an inherent instability in the symbolic relationship between bodies, persons, society and nature.

relationship is formed in the dialectic between the already dialectically constituted individual perceptual consciousness and the already constituted social symbolic.

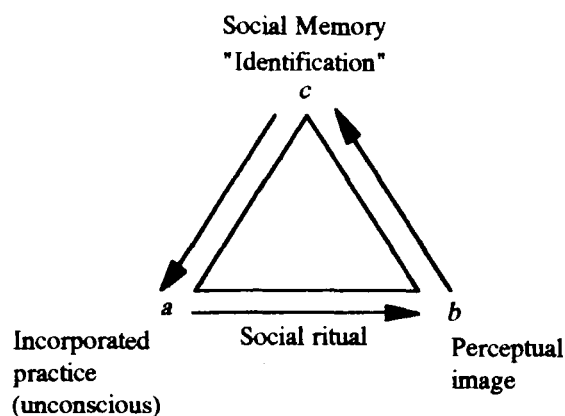
Appendix H: Two Bodies: Natural & Social

Marcel Mauss, in his essay on the techniques of the body (1938) proposed that we have two bodies, a biological body and a social body, the latter intimately tied up with the sense of self. The biological body is taken up, as it were, and reconstituted within any given system of cultural categories; in the process both the limits and the possibilities of the body-self are established and maintained as it circulates within the cultural system. Mary Douglas (1966) points to the importance of the cultural conception of the boundaries of the body and the ways in which the symbolism of the body tends to condition broader cultural understanding. Also, as Edmund Leach (1976) has pointed out, in order to accomplish a clear categorical distinction between one symbolic entity and another there is always a repression of the ambiguous continuity at their symbolic border. From this general point of view, we may, then, distinguish between the "natural body" as a structure of perceptual and actual possibilities (both mental and physical) and the "social" or "symbolic" body.

Paul Connerton in *How Societies Remember* (1989) investigates the ways in which the natural body is conditioned at the level of *direct* interaction as well as verbal and non-verbal symbolic interaction. In his discussion of social memory Connerton distinguishes between two fundamentally different social practices: "incorporating" practices and "inscribed practices." Incorporating practices involve the body directly and include such practices as smiling, a handshake, or any of the thousands of culturally specific postures appropriate to gender roles, social situations, rank, age or race and so on. Inscribed practices on the other hand include all of the modern storage devices such as print, electronic media, photographs and so forth. With incorporating practices, social memory is, as it were, sedimented in the body. This distinction is essentially that which I have made between the textuality of "conventional" language and "bodily text."¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Incorporated bodily practices in order to function properly must paradoxically involve a diminution of actual conscious attention paid to them. One cannot walk, ride a bicycle or play a musical instrument if one thinks about every move that one must make. The very nature of incorporated habits then is that they discourage reflection upon that nature. Comparing this sort of social sedimentation in the body to "inscribed practices" Connerton notes that with the latter there is in the very writing the recognition of "a will to be remembered" while incorporating practices "are largely traceless and that, as such, they are incapable of providing a means by which any evidence of a will to be remembered can be 'left behind'" (p. 102). This, he asserts is why we today tend to privilege inscribed practices of social memory over incorporated practices. Incorporated practices, precisely because they

Figure 13 The Bodily Incorporation of Social Memory



The Marxist sociologist and theoretician Pierre Bourdieu (1977) utilizes a concept of the social body which he calls the "habitus" defined as a system of dispositions. He says that "The word *disposition* seems particularly suited to express what is covered by the concept

of habitus . . . It expresses first the *result of an organizing action*, with a meaning close to that of words such as structure; it also designates a *way of being, a habitual state* (especially of the body) and, in particular, a *predisposition, tendency, propensity, or, inclination*" (p. 214 Note).¹¹²

Klaus Theweleit (1987), in his book on male sexual fantasies characterizes the experienced body or "habitus" in the "Modern" era as the "soldier body." He argues that it is, in effect, the male model for the "Modern" autonomous individual "man." The "range of expression" emphasized by Bourdieu is in the "Modern" character ideal sharply circumscribed by the discipline of the soldier. He also points out that the subjugation of women was part of the very process of developing the "Modern" "male" character ideal.

generally remain outside of consciousness, however, constitute a very powerful cultural memory passed on in non-cognitive ways.

¹¹² Bourdieu tells us: "If all societies and, significantly, all the 'totalitarian institutions', in Goffman's phrase, that seek to produce a new man through a process of 'deculturation' and 'reculturation' set such store on the seemingly most insignificant details of *dress, bearing, physical and verbal manners*, the reason is that, treating the body as a memory, they entrust to it in abbreviated and practical, i.e. mnemonic, form the fundamental principles of the arbitrary content of the culture. The principles embodied in this way are placed beyond the grasp of consciousness, and hence cannot be touched by voluntary, deliberate transformation, cannot even be made explicit; nothing seems more ineffable, more incommunicable, more inimitable, and, therefore, more precious, than the values given body, *made* body by the transubstantiation achieved by the hidden persuasion of an implicit pedagogy, capable of instilling a whole cosmology, an ethic, a metaphysic, a political philosophy, through injunctions as insignificant as 'stand up straight' or 'don't hold your knife in your left hand' (p. 95)."

The psychologist and researcher into consciousness Robert E. Ornstein (1972) sees the socialized body as a filter or "data-reduction system".¹¹³ As he notes, personal consciousness

seems to have been evolved for the primary purpose of ensuring individual biological survival, for which active manipulation of discrete objects, sensitivity to forces which may pose a threat, separation of oneself from others, are very useful. We first *select* the sensory modalities of personal consciousness from the mass of information reaching us. This is done in a multilevel process of filtration, for the most part sorting out survival-related stimuli. We are then able to *construct* a stable consciousness from the filtered input.

(p. 33)

The textualization of the body, then, from the point of view of embodiment theory involves the conditioning, limiting, and training of the perceptual consciousness of the natural body.¹¹⁴ Text acts as limit upon experience. But also, it must be noted, although I have not gone into this here, experience must also act as limit upon textuality. The limit of experience upon textuality, however, acts to *expand* symbolic meaning simply because the experiential body as perceptual consciousness is continuous with the world.

¹¹³ In their work *Brain, Symbol & Experience*, Charles D. Laughlin, Jr., John McManus and Eugene G. d-Aquili treat this idea of "data-reduction" in terms of the neural and physiological aspects of what they call neural entraining or conditioning.

¹¹⁴ With regard to the different ways experience is conventionalized, Arthur and Joan Kleinman (1985) speak of the organization of bodily distress in two fundamentally different ways in "non-modern" contexts and in "modern" western society. In the former, distress tends to be "somatized" whereas in the west we more commonly "psychologize." The Kleinman's point to the cultural organization of not only normative behaviour but also the expression of distress. This expression of distress is likely to be heavily influenced by the set of therapeutic conventions which are part of the overall cultural symbolism.

Appendix I: Embodiment & Metaphor

In the theory of the metaphor, there is the triune relationship between the lesser known term, the better known term and the metaphor or linguistic trope which unites and transcends them. In the context of embodiment theory, however, formation of metaphor involves the relationship between a more or less inchoate *perception* of meaning (which adheres to the lesser known term) and a better known symbolic context. Metaphor is the embodiment of meaning just as the human body encapsulates or embodies the meaningful image in consciousness.

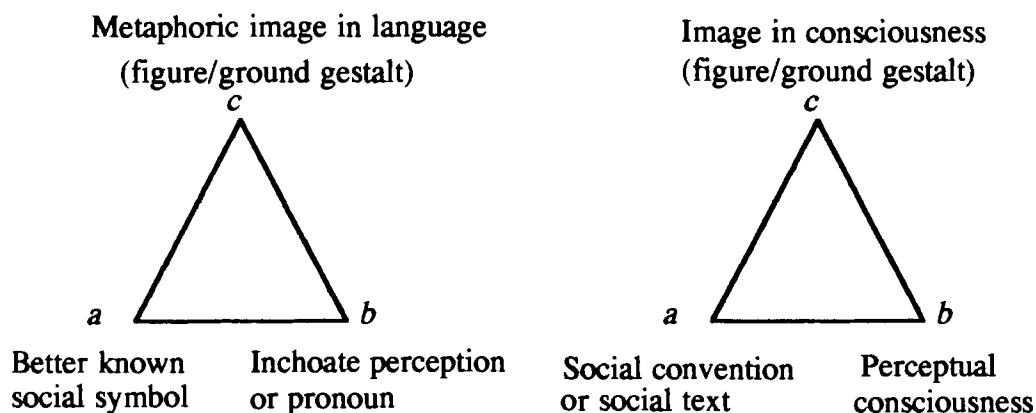


Figure 14 Dialectical Model Of Metaphor & Embodied Experience

Thus the two models are in effect interchangeable. They mirror each other. In both cases there is a dialectical interaction between *perception* and the *conventionalization of perception* to create a third transcendent -- the one an external metaphor, the other an internal image.

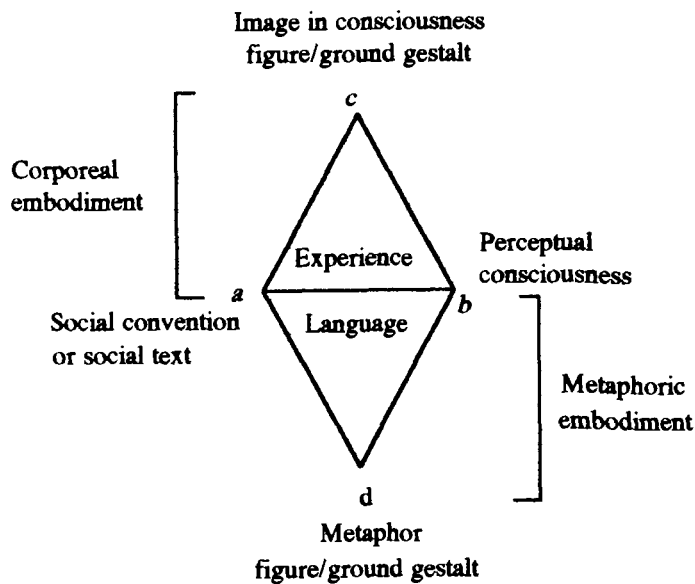
Just as the nature of embodiment involves a figure/ground relation between a perceptual flow of experience and a stoppage of that flow so also social symbol or text involves a figure/ground gestalt. In this case, it involves the perceptual flow of analogy in language and the stoppage of that flow. In the former case, the stoppage involves the organization of behaviour in terms of manners, habits and so on. In the latter it involves the organization of meaning in terms of a set of conventional reference points or names.

The experiential image in consciousness involves the corporeal embodiment of the perception of the relationship between some "thing" and a social sign. So also does the

meaningful linguistic symbol (metaphor) embody a perception of the relation between a relatively unknown sign and a better known sign. In both cases, then, the relationship which gives us the experiential image and the metaphoric trope is between a bodily *perception* (which is always a perception of something) and a symbol (which is also always the perception of a relation between itself and something else.)

We have then an image of language and of embodiment as a pulsation between the poles of meaning modeled as contraction and expansion. In language the poles are *name* or *conventional reference* and the *analog* or *perceptual* image or more simply the metaphor. In the body, the poles involve *manner* or *habit* and the expansion of habit or manner into behavioural sequences and ultimately in character. In both cases the dialectic may be seen to involve a recurrent pulsation.

Figure 15 The Flow of Energy and Meaning: Embodiment and Metaphor



Appendix J: Ideology & the Self

The central difference between the two ideal types of ideological orientation derived from the facts of embodied consciousness centers upon the different way in which they handle the *relationship* between cultural creativity and the conventional aspects of social life.¹¹⁵ The two ways of managing the dialectic boil down to whether the *dialectic of invention* controls the relationship or whether the *dialectic of convention* controls it.¹¹⁶ In the former case, ideology is hierarchical and dialectical. Conventional life is organized as a reciprocal and dialectical relationship between the microcosmic and macrocosmic domains. Alternately, in the second case, there is the denial of the hierarchical and dialectical relationship of experience and convention. In this case, the hierarchy of cosmos and nomos¹¹⁷ is flattened out into a single horizontal plane of atomistic particles. Self expression replaces self-transcendence and the dialectical relation between convention and invention is acted out historically instead of ritually.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Louis Dumont (1986) has characterized the difference between "modern" and "non-modern" ideology in terms of their differing orientation towards value. He proposes the distinction between the hierarchical value structure and unitary plane analysis. It is, I think, less confusing to think in terms of embodiment than in terms of hierarchy simply because we so often see our own society in terms of bureaucratic power hierarchies.

Embodiment emphasizes figure and ground relations, modes of attention in their contexts. There is, in fact, a tension between the concept of embodiment and hierarchy and this tension is mirrored in the relations between "hierarchical" power bureaucracies and the fledgling environmental movement. The former operate essentially via a flow of power downward and outward in the establishment of control. Environmental thought does not simply reverse this process but rather aims at an understanding of the interactive network of entities in a living landscape.

¹¹⁶ Wagner (1986) tells us that: "Either the dialectic can be used consciously to mediate the conventional forms, or the articulation of conventionalized contexts into a conscious unity can be used to mediate the dialectic. Each of these modes corresponds to a particular kind of cultural continuity, to a particular conception of self, society, and world, and to a particular set of problems that confront (and motivate) the inventors. Dialectical thought and action addresses itself consciously to the mechanics of *differentiation* against a background of similarity; collectivizing or rationalist approaches emphasize integration and the element of similarity against a background of differences. Since the dialectic embodies the means of cultural change and continuity, cultures that use the dialectic to mediate their conventional forms will maintain an inherent stability of a kind that is inaccessible to those that mediate the dialectic through conventional forms (p. 116).

He goes on to say that: "Cultures that mediate the conventional dialectically make differentiation (including the qualities of paradox, contradiction, and reciprocal interaction) the basis of their thought and action. They play out the dialectical and motivational contradictions consciously in their management of roles, rituals, and situations, and thus continually reconstitute the conventional. Cultures that mediate the dialectic through the conventional, on the other hand, pattern their thought and action on a model of consistent, rational, and systematic articulation, stressing the avoidance of paradox and contradiction. Drawing upon a familiar Freudian idiom, we might say that they 'repress' the dialectic, though in so doing they come to embody it in their own histories -- they are 'used' by it (ibid)."

¹¹⁷ Peter Berger (1967) uses the dichotomy between cosmos and nomos in the same way as one uses the terms macrocosm and microcosm.

¹¹⁸ Again, these two types of ideological structures may be roughly correlated with Piagetian psychology. The former, Piaget ascribes to the reciprocal and essentially democratic peer group relation, while the latter is ascribed

In their overview of the cross cultural variability of the subject, Shweder and Bourne make the distinction between "primitive" "participatory" consciousness and "Modern" "causal" consciousness, as between "concrete," "context-dependent" and "relational" processes and "abstract," "context independent" and "private" processes. In doing so, they concur with Durkheim and Mauss that the "Non-Modern" character ideal is that of the *social* subject whose identity is predicated upon social relationship, while the "Modern" character ideal is that of the *private* morally autonomous individual. The individual-social relationship is, in their terms, "egocentric contractual" on the one hand, and on the other "sociocentric organic" (p. 193).¹¹⁹

As Stanley Tambiah (1990) notes, however, these two types of consciousness, although historically associated with "Non-Modern" and "Modern" ideology are in fact

to the non-reciprocal essentially authoritarian relation which very often in contemporary society characterizes the child-adult relation.

¹¹⁹ Shweder and Bourne elaborate the relations between context, holism and the metaphoric linkage of the human organism to the natural and the social worlds in the following way: "The concept of the context-dependent person . . . is one expression of a broader sociocentric organic view of the relationship of the individual to society which in turn is an aspect of the holistic world view adopted by many cultures. The holistic model, the sociocentric premise, and the organic metaphor focus one's attention on the context-dependent relationship of part to part and part to whole; the holist, convinced that objects and events are necessarily altered by the relations into which they enter, is theoretically primed to contextualize objects and events, and theoretically disinclined to appraise things in vacuo, in the abstract (p. 193)."

The anthropologist Stanley Tambiah (1990) in his discussion of the relations between magic, religion and science, makes a similar distinction between *participatory* and *causal* consciousness. I give his summary of the primary distinctions between the two modes in the following table. The language of *participation* is dialectical, holistic and embodied, that of *causality* is atomistic, fragmentary and non-dialectical.

<i>Causality</i>	<i>Participation</i>
<p>Ego against the world. Egocentricity. Atomistic individualism. The language of distancing and neutrality of action and reaction. The paradigm of evolution in space and time. Instrumental action that changes matter and the causal efficacy of technical acts. The successive fragmentation of phenomena, and their atomization, in the construction of scientific knowledge. The language of 'dimensional' classification (Piaget). Science and experimentation. The doctrine of 'representation' (Foucault. "Explanation" (Wittgenstein). "Natural scientific objectification and explanation of events" (K. Apel).</p>	<p>Ego/person with the world, a product of the world. Sociocentrism. The language of solidarity, unity, holism, and continuity in space and time. Expressive action that is manifest through conventional intersubjective understandings, the telling of myths and the enactment of rituals. The performative efficacy of communicative acts. Pattern recognition, and the totalization of phenomena. The sense of encompassing cosmic oneness. The language of 'complexive' classification (Piaget) dictated by contiguity relations and the logic of interaction. The doctrine of 'resemblance' (Foucault).</p>

"Causality" & "Participation"

(This chart is from Tambiah 1990, p. 109)

existentially available modes. The dialectical model of reality creation I use suggests that the two modes together form a figure-ground gestalt. "Participatory" consciousness is that self-consciousness which seeks to transcend itself whether as a participant in society or in the broader spectrum of the natural world. In the most general way, identity does not see itself as separate but seeks to participate in the flux of the perceptual flow of images which comprise the world. Participatory consciousness is predicated upon the dialectical mediation of oppositions. On the other hand, "causal" consciousness is that consciousness which seeks to differentiate itself from others and from the objective external world. This type of consciousness is based upon and emphasizes the boundaries of discrete categories. The central relationship between categories is not dialectical mediation or transcendence, rather it is that of the causal relation.

Consciousness within an ideological system always involves both participatory and causal elements. It is a question of which is emphasized and brought into the foreground and which acts as the background (and often unconscious) context. The Romantic and Enlightenment streams of thought are taken to typify the emphasis upon participatory, hierarchical consciousness and ideology on the one hand and causal, analytical consciousness and ideology on the other.

Appendix K: The Nature of Perceptual Consciousness

The nature of "perceptual consciousness" which binds together the body and its world is at the core or the paradigm of embodiment. This question pertains to two aspects of embodied experience. It pertains in the first case to the body as medium of expression for social symbolism. Bodily potential, as the field of expressions, is articulated by social interaction. In the second case, I am concerned with the ways in which the body informs social symbolic expression and thus the conscious control of social contexts. The experiential body as symbolic medium and as the controlling agent in social contexts is bound up in this idea of "perceptual consciousness." The body is context for social symbolism and it is also the fundamental mold from which this symbolism is made. As context, perceptual consciousness is formed and controlled by society, as agent, perceptual consciousness is essentially creative consciousness. "Perceptual consciousness" is thus the symbol of that bodily vortex through which consciousness is culturally molded and through which cultural forms are created.

The exploration of the *universality* of the perceptual relationship between body and world has been approached in a number of different ways. I mention the semiotic or linguistic orientation which is recently exerting a strong influence on anthropology and John Blacking's anthropology of the body. Blacking's anthropology of the body has fundamental similarities with the experiential approach of such anthropologists as Victor Turner.

From the semiotic orientation, we get the analysis of what appear to be non-arbitrary symbolic forms, i.e. the "iconic" image, which is conditioned by a relation of experiential or perceptual *resemblance* to its referent, the "indexical" sign which has a strong causal linkage to its referent, the *textural* as opposed to the formal aspects of meaning and so on.

The philosopher Suzanne Langer (1982) speaks of the different relationship of "natural signs" and "symbols" to their objects. For Langer "A [natural] sign indicates the existence -- past, present, or future -- of a thing, event, or condition. Wet streets are a sign that it has rained. A pattering on the roof is a sign that it is raining . . . A smell of smoke signifies the presence of fire. A scar is a sign of a past accident" (p. 57). Thus:

A natural sign is a part of a greater event, or of a complex condition, and to an experienced observer it signifies the rest of that situation of which it is a notable feature" (p. 57). A sign is more or less inextricably linked to its object in the world. On the other hand, symbols are more detached from their object in the world. "Symbols are not proxy for their objects, but are *vehicles for the conception of objects*" (p. 61)."

She goes on to say that "In talking *about* things we have conceptions of them, not the things themselves; and *it is the conceptions, not the things, that symbols directly 'mean'* (p. 61). Roy Wagner 1986) makes a similar observation:

There are two ways in which names, as symbols, can be considered. We can consider them as 'codings,' or points of reference, merely representing the things named, or we can consider them in terms of the relation between the symbol and the thing symbolized. In the first instance naming becomes matter of contrasts and grouping among the names themselves: a microcosm of symbols is deployed to code or represent the world of reference. The world of phenomena is self-evident and apart. In the second instance naming becomes a matter of analogy: symbol and symbolized belong to a single relation, a construction within a larger world, or macrocosm (p. 14).

The linguistic work of Lakoff and Johnson is concerned with the ways in which the experiential body acts as a "template" for conventional metaphor. The American semiologist Pearce makes the analytic distinction between signs which are *motivated* by their referent in the world and those that are not. Roy Wagner, (cited above) whose model of symbolic analysis this thesis is most indebted to, gives the dialectic relation between the perceptual *analog image* and collective *conventional reference*.

Reich, himself, proposes an economy of emotional energy which involves the dialectical interaction between the *flow* of this energy in a natural pulsating rhythm and the blockage of this flow by the conventional *armouring* of the body. The present thesis aims to place Reich's dialectics of energy in the context of embodiment theory and dialectics of cultural creativity.

Another recent investigator in the symbolics of the body, Keesing (1993) examines evidence which points away from the textualist and relativist stance in the social sciences

and¹²⁰ and towards the existence of "experiential universals" which he thinks may "constrain variation and ground local cultural constructions in underlying commonalities." In terms of Csordas' formulation above, Keesing is interested in the ways that embodied "perceptual consciousness" gives form to the conventionalized mode of attention. Reversing the Foucaultian dictum, he notes that "the experienced body may powerfully inscribe itself in and on cultural symbols" (p. 3). He is interested, then, in the bodily experience as the contextual control on social inscription.

The point, however, is not to tout universalism against relativism. The question for Keesing, as for us, is not whether bodily experience is dramatically shaped in different ways in different cultures. The evidence is overwhelming that it is. The question concerns the nature of certain "universals" which may underlie these relative forms (p. 8).¹²¹ In the present use of the paradigm of embodiment, however, it is important to keep in mind that it is not a question of the *determination* of language and metaphor by universal forms. Rather it is a question of the dialectical interplay between a *universal* perceptual process which interacts with the relative forms of convention.

In his discussion of the cognitive linguistics of Lakoff and Johnson, he notes that these authors seek what is in effect the common embodied subtext of language "in modes of image-based thinking" and the "functional constraints of communication" (p. 9).¹²² Keesing also discusses Johnson's (1987) "image-schemas" which are models based upon bodily experience of movement in space which underlie more abstract metaphorical constructions. Such a schema is that of "balance" which is learned by the body and which does not simply involve

¹²⁰ Keesing cites Foucault's concern with the "inscription of power on the body," the feminist concern with "gendered bodies" and the Geertzian tradition of culturally constructed bodies which all "challenge and reject any suggestions of universals or essential biological natures" (p. 2, 3).

¹²¹ It is obvious enough and yet I think it should be noted, that to ask this question, and to propose the transcendence of the relativist/universalist dichotomy, Keesing must pursue a model of "levels," a model of parts and wholes. In fact, in terms of logical categories, although not in so many words, Keesing proposes that the category named "universal bodily nature" must *contain* the category named "relative diversity of bodily forms." What is more, the former category is not unknowable as the relativist position tacitly assumes. In this sense, then, while Keesing pursues the inscription of embodied experience on textuality he also sees embodied experience as the transcendent context within which textuality operates.

¹²² Keesing draws primarily on the work by Lakoff and Johnson (*Metaphors We Live By* 1980) and Johnson's *The Body in the Mind* (1987) as exemplifying and developing the philosophical foundation for cognitive linguistics.

the learning of a set of abstract rules or concepts. It is, as Johnson asserts, "something we do" (p. 10).¹²³ Keesing also notes that "force dynamics" seem to condition linguistic imagery in universal ways so that "the experience of the pressures of pushing and pulling" are universally utilized to "conceptualize abstract relationships of causation, modality ('can' and 'must') etc.) and other modes of agency." (p. 16)¹²⁴ In general Keesing concurs with Lakoff and Johnson's theoretical concept that "the body serves as a kind of conceptual template, in every language, through which directionality, movement, shape, and orientation are ordered and social, physical and logical relationships and processes are represented" (p. 16).¹²⁵

The above work is extremely interesting and throws light upon the ways in which the perceptual flow of embodied consciousness inflects metaphoric usage. As such it is useful in the understanding of "Non-Modern" thought in general and in the case at hand, Reich's metaphors of core and periphery, the streaming or outward flowing of energy and the blocks

¹²³ Keesing notes the two primary aspects of the image schema of balance, that of "sidedness," (our left and right handedness which reflects "the asymmetric laterality of our brains") and "centeredness" which is more highly developed in "mystical philosophies and non-Western cultural traditions." He cites Margaret Rodman as holding that this "centeredness provides conceptual models for state-of-being orientations and balanced harmony, relatively undeveloped in Western thought (p. 10). It could perhaps be noted that centeredness, as such, *includes* sidedness inasmuch as the centre must balance the periphery. On the other hand, sidedness, while recognizing that something must be between the two sides, tends to *exclude* the centre which in fact joins both sides in its interest in the alternation between the two sides. In the former case of centeredness we are dealing with a whole which has parts which need to be balanced. In the latter we are dealing with parts which must continually seek to discover themselves within a whole.

¹²⁴ Reich's imagery of energy dynamics and pressure outwards from the centre to the periphery are of this nature. Reich emphasizes laterality in the split in his central diagram representing the unity of dualistic categories while emphasizing a balanced centeredness with the single line and the core. He illustrates the image-schema of "paths" in space with his lines. These paths involve the outward "expression" from the core to the periphery. This expansion causes a pressure at the periphery. Holding back is a metaphor based on hands and thus on laterality. The periphery is precisely the skin but left and right handedness and the limbs in general also pertains to the periphery. To hold something back is initially to hold something in one's hand in such a way that it is like one's "back." The back of one's body is exactly that which cannot be seen or is not available when one "faces" another person. "To hold back" is the negation or reversal of "to give." The transitive form of the verb to give, involves a great many meanings, the first of which in Webster's is "to turn over the possession or control of to someone without cost or exchange; to hand over as a gift. Also we have "to surrender; yield; concede; as, I'll give you that point, and to utter, emit, or produce . . . as a noun we have "capacity to give way; quality of yielding under pressure. and also "a tendency to be springy; resiliency." To hold back, is not to give; it is to be rigid and not springy. To hold back is not to "express" and because expression involves movement, to not express is to be still. Holding back, however, is not ordinary stillness, it is stillness which resists a pressure, the pressure from inside to express. Thus holding back becomes a chronic inability to express, a chronic tension in the muscles which holds back and holds "down."

¹²⁵ Reich's language of emotions centered in the belly or at least their being held back in the belly region conforms with the general practice of locating emotions both viscerally and in central organs, usually the belly or heart

which "hold back." However, this work does not address directly the experience of the dialectical interaction between what it takes as the "natural" and universal aspects of experience and the conventionalization of these bodily aspects themselves.

The cognitive linguistics of such writers as Lakoff and Johnson and indeed the embodiment paradigm, in general, tends to confirm the Romantic and even the "magical" view of language -- or at least a certain sort of language -- as being in some way primordially inseparable from its referent in the world.

The question still remains, however, concerning the nature of the relationship between this special aspect of language and the conventional and relatively arbitrary aspect. Wilhelm Reich, himself, argues strongly for a particular somatic mode of attention which is in direct "contact" with the true nature of reality. This mode of contact guarantees what he calls the "functional identity" of a perception and its meaning. Perception and meaning are transparent. The one shines through the other.

As opposed to the linguistic approach in his program for an anthropology of the body Blacking (1977)¹²⁶ proposes a number of naturally emergent qualities and universal states, i.e. the language capacity itself. Arguing against an overly cultural determinist view, Blacking holds that

human behaviour and action are only in part a function of culture, and there are no grounds for supposing that at some point in history the development of culture, reason, language, or technological expertise release *homo sapiens* from the constraints, forces and proclivities imposed by the characteristics of his species and by the evolutionary process that brought the species into being (p. 3).

He goes on to note that "techniques of the body are not entirely learnt *from* others so much as discovered through others. The cognitive consensus that makes both the social and

¹²⁶ Blacking (1977) outlines a number of investigative assumptions for an anthropology of the body. Foremost among these is the fact that as bodily organisms we have a shared common repertoire of somatic states (including altered states) founded upon the human sensory and communication apparatus which is the basic condition for social interaction. He argues, in agreement with such anthropologists as Victor Turner, that these common states engender a sense of "fellow-feeling" and a general co-operative attitude towards others. In addition, we all have common capabilities with regard to cognition and the ability to learn. These common cognitive capabilities, however, may have a maturational schedule and if not developed in the context of culture at the proper time, they may atrophy just as language does. He emphasizes that non verbal forms of interaction are of fundamental importance. He also asserts the phenomenological notion that the mind cannot be separated from the body. Rather it is best regarded as continuous with the emotional life, as an extension of "feeling."

socio-physical bodies possible is not always fully perceived or cognized. Many things happen to us for which society has no labels" (p. 4). Blacking asserts that because the body is not "infinitely malleable" there is a tension between the forces and proclivities of the natural body and the education and training of the body. He notes the tension between the *natural* and the *socialized* body and the tension between the affective functioning of the biological organism and its incorporated social structures and training. Certainly Reich would agree that neurotic ideas, behaviours, and feelings are motivated by the tension between the inner biological core and the outer armour and also that the resulting tension between the individual and society *motivates* a person to seek therapy.

Blacking also suggests that some somatic states have certain qualities that "command attention, expand consciousness, and actually suggest their own interpretation" (p. 6). The most dramatic of such "transparent" somatic states are trance and ecstasy and he suggests that it is possible that "people may be 'surprised by joy' and receive divine grace in all its fullness without any of the theological preparation and explanation that is generally considered necessary for the experience to be defined as such." There is no doubt that transcendental somatic states and what Blacking calls "experiences of bodily resonance, or true fellow-feeling" are highly prized throughout the world. (p. 7).