

Journal home page: https://integralresearch.in/, Vol. 02, No. 06, June. 2025

# **Ghostly Whispers: Folk Narratives and Haunted Histories of** Himachal Pradesh

Rijul Singh\* Ph. D. Research Scholar Department of English Banaras Hindu University.

#### Abstract

This study focuses on the ghost narratives of Himachal Pradesh, highlighting the popular stories of Shimla. It analyses the ghost stories as a means of resistance and memory for the people of Himachal. The sources of these stories are oral traditions, literary works, and online video archives. The ghost stories play an essential role in blurring the boundaries between myth and reality. The literary works of Meenakshi Chaudhry and the videos available on YouTube created by regional artists play a crucial role in bringing out the themes of colonial history, patriarchy, and indigenous standpoints. Through postcolonial hauntology and folk narrative theory, this paper aims to establish Himachali ghost narratives within a broader theoretical framework. The belief of the locals in the haunted trees, Chudail, and troubled spirits dwelling in every nook and corner of the mountains acts as a catalyst through which people process the trauma, pain, and hidden anxieties that colonialism has created. These stories strike the deeper nerve than just being mere superstitions. These stories bring people together to deal with their generational traumas.

Keywords: Himachal Pradesh, ghost narratives, folklore, haunted Shimla, oral traditions, postcolonial hauntology, trauma.

### Introduction

Himachal Pradesh, also known as Dev Bhoomi is known for its serene landscapes and its rich rituals and traditions. But, within its beauty the mountains lie the ghost stories growing along the abode of God, hidden in the green tapestry, growing as wild as the wind and the rivers. These stories have been transferred through generations of storytelling and oral traditions, forming an important aspect of the regional heritage. These stories highlight the historical traumas, the struggles and their resistance.

Received 26 May. 2025; Accepted 17 June. 2025. Available online: 30 June. 2025.

Published by SAFE. (Society for Academic Facilitation and Extension)

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License



<sup>\*</sup> Corresponding Author: Rijul Singh Email: <u>rijulsingh4@gmail.com</u>



Drawing on Homi Bhabha's notion that ghosts signify "not simply figures of the past, but representations of those exclusions and absences that shape the present" (Bhabha 2004, p. xviii), this paper employs a postcolonial hauntological lens to examine how ghost stories—particularly those compiled by Minakshi Chaudhary in Ghost Stories of the Shimla Hills—function not merely as folklore but as powerful repositories of social memory, regional consciousness, and cultural endurance.

Minakshi Chaudhary's work in documenting these narratives stands as a significant scholarly and cultural contribution to the understanding of Himachal Pradesh's haunted imagination. Her collection of more than two dozen ghost tales compiled from oral sources and personal accounts provides a rare, intimate glimpse into the haunted imagination of Himachal. Chaudhary writes, "These stories are not just about ghosts; they are about people's beliefs, the land they live on, and the history they carry with them" (Chaudhary 2006, p. 8). Her ethnographic sensitivity and narrative engagement allow the reader to access both the emotional and geographical terrains of these stories. Importantly, her work validates the oral narrative as a serious form of historical and cultural documentation—an intervention that aligns with the broader call within folklore and subaltern studies to center indigenous and non-literary voices. While ghosts in Western traditions are often framed through a binary of belief and skepticism, in Himachal Pradesh, the supernatural is seamlessly woven into everyday life. Villagers speak of chudails (female spirits), pret (restless souls), and rakshasas (demonic figures) with the same ease with which they talk about family or festivals. These beings are not only believed in but also interacted with, feared, negotiated with, and in some cases, even worshipped. In fact, in many communities, ghost stories function as cautionary tales or moral fables. As folklorist Alan Dundes (1980) notes, "folklore serves as a mirror to society," reflecting both its ideals and its anxieties. In this light, Himachali ghost stories often address themes of gender-based violence, feudal oppression, colonial trauma, and ecological warnings. Take, for example, the recurring motif of the chudail, a female spirit who returns after dying unjustly—usually through betrayal, rape, or murder. These spirits often haunt roads, rivers, or banyan trees, luring men to their deaths or madness. While these stories may appear misogynistic at first glance, a closer reading reveals that they are deeply feminist in their subtext. The chudail, in many narratives, becomes a symbol of feminine rage and unacknowledged suffering. As Chaudhary notes in one tale, "She was wronged in life, but in death, she claimed her power, and no man dared tread her path after sunset" (Chaudhary 2006, p. 42). In such stories, ghosts offer not just horror but a form of posthumous justice, a way for



the voiceless to reclaim agency. These ghost stories are also significant in their spatial anchoring. Haunted places—abandoned British bungalows in Shimla, fog-shrouded mountain passes in Chamba, or old rest houses in Kasauli—bear traces of colonial and feudal histories. Scholars like Avery Gordon (2008) argue that "haunting is a constituent element of modern social life... it is the means by which abusive systems of power make themselves known and their impacts felt in everyday life." Many Himachali ghost narratives illustrate this idea vividly. The ghosts of British officers, betrayed soldiers, and disgraced courtesans haunt not only the landscape but the memory of the colonial past. For instance, the tale of the haunted rest house in Barog, where a British engineer allegedly committed suicide after a failed tunnel construction project, becomes a parable of both imperial failure and enduring sorrow (Chaudhary 2006, p. 21).

In the context of tourism and modernity, these narratives have also taken on new dimensions.

Ghost tours, haunted heritage walks, and YouTube videos that recreate Himachali ghost stories for urban audiences reflect a commodification of fear and folklore. While such practices have raised concerns about cultural dilution, they also testify to the adaptive power of these narratives.

As Arjun Appadurai (1996) argues, the "production of locality" in a globalized world often relies on the repackaging of tradition. Thus, Himachal's haunted histories are not frozen in time but continually reshaped in response to contemporary anxieties and platforms.

Dominant scholarly narratives have focused on myths, legends, and religious folklore while ignoring "lower" genres like ghost tales, which are dismissed as irrational or trivial. This paper brings forward the ghost stories as important texts representing the complex culture of the region. In doing so, it aligns with scholars like Veena Das (2007), who emphasize the value of everyday narratives in understanding social worlds: "What may seem like myth or hearsay often contains profound insights into the moral and emotional fabric of society" (p. 12).

In recent years, there has been a growing recognition of the importance of regional and vernacular storytelling traditions in shaping cultural identity. Himachal Pradesh, with its multilingual communities, caste-based divisions, and topographically isolated settlements, provides a unique ecosystem for the evolution of distinct ghost narratives. These stories often travel orally, with local variations, from one valley to another—thus resisting the homogenization that often accompanies state-sponsored or nationalistic versions of culture. As Ananya Jahanara Kabir (2013) notes in her work on spectrality and memory, "The ghost



functions as a mediator between history and memory, the material and the invisible, the local and the collective" (p. 104).

Through a close reading of oral accounts and literary adaptations, especially those documented by Minakshi Chaudhary—this study seeks to answer several key questions: What roles do ghost stories play in preserving local histories and contesting dominant narratives? How do gender, caste, and colonialism intersect in the spectral imagination of Himachal Pradesh? What does the enduring popularity of these tales tell us about the psychological and cultural needs of their tellers and listeners? By approaching Himachali ghost stories not merely as entertainment or superstition but as vital expressions of cultural knowledge, this paper argues for their inclusion in serious scholarly discourse. In doing so, it contributes to the larger project of decolonizing folklore studies and recovering subaltern voices from the margins of literary and historical memory.

#### **Materials And Methods**

The methodological framework for this study blends qualitative ethnographic techniques, textual analysis, and folklore documentation to explore the ghost narratives and haunted histories of Himachal Pradesh. Given the oral and intangible nature of the subject matter, the research draws upon primary and secondary sources, including field interviews, regional folklore anthologies, archival materials, and scholarly literature on supernatural folklore, with particular emphasis on the documented narratives of Minakshi Chaudhary. The approach is interdisciplinary, engaging with theories from folklore studies, cultural anthropology, subaltern historiography, and memory studies.

#### 1. Data Collection Sources

- Minakshi Chaudhary's Ghost Stories: Ghost Stories of Shimla Hills (2006), brings together tales from several regions. The interviews and real-life experiences of locals adds to the authenticity of the text. Minakshi notes, "I didn't just collect stories; I listened to people recount events that had left a deep emotional impact on them" (Chaudhary, 2006, p. 9).
- Oral Interviews and Field Notes: Supplementary data was gathered through unstructured interviews with residents, storytellers, and temple custodians in selected regions of Shimla, Solan, and Chamba between June and October 2024. Participants ranged in the age range from 25 to 85 and included both genders. Oral testimonies were recorded with informed consent and subsequently transcribed for analysis. These interviews provided variations of known tales,



localized versions of spirits such as chudails and prets, and perspectives on how such stories influence contemporary belief systems.

- Archival and Ethnographic Materials: British colonial records, missionary accounts, and old gazetteers available at the Himachal State Archives (Shimla) were consulted to locate early mentions of supernatural occurrences and haunted sites. Additionally, ethnographic field reports published by the Anthropological Survey of India were referenced to cross-validate the social and cultural context of recurring motifs.
- **Secondary Literature:** Scholarly articles and books on South Asian folklore, ghost narratives, feminist interpretations of supernatural tales, and spectral theory informed the analytical lens. Notable among them are Avery Gordon's Ghostly Matters (2008), Veena Das's Life and Words (2007), and Ananya Jahanara Kabir's work on memory and the uncanny.
- **2. Selection Criteria for Ghost Narratives:** The ghost stories analyzed in this study were selected using a purposive sampling method.

Stories were included based on the following criteria:

- The narrative had to originate in or be associated with a specific location in Himachal Pradesh.
- The story involved supernatural entities such as ghosts, spirits, or haunted spaces.
- The tale was orally transmitted or collected via ethnographic interaction or appeared in a verified folklore collection such as that of Chaudhary.
- The story held cultural, moral, or social significance—either implicitly or explicitly—reflecting themes such as injustice, memory, or resistance. This yielded a core dataset of 30 stories—21 from Chaudhary's collection and 9 from field interviews—that were thematically and geographically diverse, spanning various regions such as Shimla, Dalhousie, Theog, Barog, and Mashobra.

## 3. Analytical Framework and Theoretical Tools

The analysis of ghost narratives was carried out through a combination of:

• **Textual Analysis:** Each story was examined for narrative structure, character archetypes, spatial settings, emotional tone, and thematic content. Recurrent motifs such as revenge, love-



lost, untimely death, karmic retribution, and posthumous justice were identified and categorized.

- Symbolic and Structural Analysis: Drawing from Claude Lévi-Strauss's structuralist approach, binary oppositions such as life/death, purity/impurity, justice/injustice, and male/female were explored to understand the symbolic resonance of ghost figures in the Himachali cultural psyche.
- Feminist and Subaltern Readings: Given the high prevalence of female spirits in the tales especially the chudail—a feminist reading was applied to analyze how gender-based violence, social silencing, and patriarchal control are articulated through supernatural tropes. Gayatri Spivak's theory of the "subaltern" was also engaged to consider how marginal voices (especially women, lower-caste individuals, and colonial subjects) might speak through ghostly metaphors.
- Spectral Theory: Theories of haunting and memory, particularly Avery Gordon's idea of "haunting as a sociopolitical experience" (Gordon, 2008, p. xvi), provided a framework to interpret how ghost narratives reveal unspoken historical traumas and cultural anxieties.

#### 4. Ethical Considerations

All participants in the field interviews were briefed about the research aims and their rights to anonymity and withdrawal. No personal identifiers were used in the paper, and pseudonyms were applied where necessary. Respect for local belief systems was maintained throughout, and no attempts were made to challenge or invalidate participants' personal experiences or cultural convictions. Additionally, the use of Chaudhary's published work complies with fair use and proper scholarly attribution, and her framing of the stories is acknowledged not as fiction but as cultural testimony.

### 5. Limitations of Methodology

There are several methodological limitations. The lack of texts on ghost stories, the fluidity of oral traditions, and the language barrier makes it difficult to bring forward the authenticity of the stories. The true meaning is certainly lost in translation. The recent weather conditions causing landslides, cloud burst, and road inaccessibility adds on to the restricted fieldwork. Geographical remoteness makes too difficult as well.



#### **Results And Discussion**

The study examines the ghost narratives of Minakshi Chaudhury's *Ghost Stories of the Shimla Hills* (2006) and the lived experiences of people from fieldwork. The state's rich cultural history intertwines with these stories, reflecting their traumas, value systems, and gender-based experiences. More than fiction, these stories serve as a narrative of their resistance and collective memory. The study uncovers the narrative structures, spatial metaphors, gender-specific hauntings, cultural roles, and historical importance dwelled within the stories.

### 1. Typology of Ghosts and Supernatural Entities

- Chudail (female spirit): Featured in over 40% of the tales, the chudail is often portrayed as a wronged woman who returns to seek justice. In Chaudhary's "The Lady in White" from Sanjauli, the ghost of a woman who died under mysterious circumstances is said to haunt a hill road, appearing only to male travelers (Chaudhary, 2006, pp. 35–37). The narrative constructs her as both seductive and vengeful, a classic chudail archetype.
- Pret/Pishach (malevolent spirit): These appear in stories like "The Haunted Bungalow" in Chail, where an officer is tormented by a ghost who had been unjustly executed during the colonial period. Here, haunting becomes an act of remembrance and resistance.
- Benevolent Ancestors/Guiding Spirits: In some narratives, spirits are not malevolent but protective. For example, in an oral tale from Chamba, a grandfather's ghost appears to warn a family of an impending landslide, thereby saving them. This suggests an indigenous understanding of spirits as continuous members of the family or village ecology.

The prominence of female spirits, particularly chudails, signals a pattern of gendered haunting in Himachali ghost narratives. These figures are often women who died due to childbirth, domestic violence, betrayal, or social ostracism. Their return as spectral agents not only reclaims their voices but also challenges patriarchal silencing. As feminist critic Ananya Jahanara Kabir suggests, "The ghost is often a figure through which the subaltern woman speaks" (Kabir, 2004, p. 98).

### 2. Spatial Geography of Hauntings

The stories exhibit a strong correlation between specific haunted sites and local geography. Hills, forests, colonial-era buildings, graveyards, and roadside bends are frequent settings. Certain routes—such as the stretch between Barog Tunnel and Kalka—emerge repeatedly as



liminal spaces. The infamous story of Colonel Barog, who committed suicide during a failed railway project and is now said to haunt the tunnel, blurs history and myth. Chaudhary's version (2006, pp. 18–20) treats the ghost as a melancholic figure whose spirit lingers due to unresolved guilt and colonial ambition. These narratives exhibit what Michel de Certeau calls "spatial stories," wherein space becomes textually inscribed through repeated oral narrations (Certeau, 1984, p. 115). In Himachal Pradesh, ghost stories mark particular places as "haunted geographies," creating an unofficial but socially potent map of memory.

### 3. Haunting as Historical Memory

Ghost stories often function as unofficial archives of suppressed or traumatic histories. In tales where spirits seek retribution for betrayal, abuse, or murder, haunting becomes a way of commemorating the unjustly forgotten. For example, one field informant from Solan narrated the story of a Dalit woman burned alive for allegedly practicing witchcraft. Her spirit is now said to possess women during local festivals, demanding justice and offerings. This can be interpreted through Avery Gordon's concept of haunting as "a constituent element of modern social life... an animated state in which a repressed or unresolved social violence makes itself known" (Gordon, 2008, p. xvi).

Similarly, several ghost stories set during British rule subtly critique colonial injustice. The haunted rest houses and forest guesthouses in Chaudhary's stories—such as "The Watchman's Tale" in Kandaghat—are remnants of colonial architecture where local employees, especially tribal workers, were mistreated or died mysteriously (Chaudhary, 2006, p. 48). The retelling of these stories by local residents acts as an oral counter-narrative to official colonial records.

#### 4. Gender and the Supernatural

The overwhelming presence of female ghosts—and the emotional empathy often extended to them by the narrators—highlights a deeply gendered nature of spectral lore in Himachal Pradesh. These spirits often occupy the intersection of femininity, suffering, and unresolved justice. They frequently reflect societal fears of women who resist subjugation or transgress social norms. As Chaudhary notes, "Most ghost stories I heard involved women... often left behind, punished for their desires, or accused of being witches" (Chaudhary, 2006, p. 7). In the tale Screaming Bride," a young woman forced into a marriage against her will dies by suicide and is said to haunt the temple where the wedding took place. This story, narrated by a priest's daughter, serves as both a cautionary tale and a critique of arranged marriage practices still prevalent in rural areas. Such narratives can be read using Gayatri Spivak's argument that "the



subaltern woman cannot speak"—unless, perhaps, through the medium of haunting (Spivak, 1988, p. 308). These ghostly women speak not just through wails and apparitions, but through the repetition of their stories within and across generations.

### 5. Contemporary Relevance and Digital Transmission

Interestingly, the study finds that many younger informants were first introduced to these ghost stories via YouTube videos, WhatsApp forwards, and amateur podcasts. This suggests a digital afterlife for oral traditions. Some field participants even compared the haunted spots with content from horror web series like Typewriter or Ghoul, showing how folklore is increasingly hybridized with pop culture.

### **Discussion**

The results presented in the preceding section show how complex and multi-layered ghost stories are in Himachal Pradesh, indicating that they go far beyond superstition or amusement. Instead, the stories, particularly those documented by Minakshi Chaudhary and supported by field interviews, function as cultural texts that capture historical memories, gendered pain, minority viewpoints, and collective concerns. Using knowledge from cultural geography, feminist literary criticism, subaltern historiography, and folklore studies, this part places the analysis within larger theoretical frameworks.

#### 1. Ghost Stories as Vernacular Historiography

Folk narratives in Himachal Pradesh operate as vernacular historiographies, preserving traumatic and often unrecorded histories that formal archives overlook. This echoes Ranajit Guha's assertion in Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India that "the history of the subaltern is primarily a history of silences" (Guha, 1983, p. 7). In ghost stories like those set in the Barog Tunnel or British-era rest houses, hauntings serve as mnemonic devices—revisiting unresolved colonial traumas and injustices, particularly those meted out to local labourers, women, and marginalized castes. These tales allow the subaltern to "speak," albeit through the veil of the supernatural, echoing Spivak's contention that spectral figures may serve as channels for unexpressed resistance (Spivak, 1988).

Moreover, ghost narratives fill epistemic gaps in dominant historiographies by preserving collective memory. As Avery Gordon argues, "Haunting is one way in which abusive systems of power make themselves known and their impact felt" (Gordon, 2008, p. 8). The



omnipresence of stories involving unjust deaths—especially of women—can thus be seen as a

ISSN: 3048-5991

# 2. The Gendered Specter: Women, Silence, and Subversion

form of community memory and resistance to erasure.

One of the most striking patterns in both Chaudhary's collection and oral testimonies is the centrality of the female ghost. These are not passive presences but active agents—demanding justice, revealing hidden truths, or punishing transgressors. In Himachal's ghost lore, the chudail and other female apparitions are often born out of patriarchal oppression—sexual abuse, forced marriages, dowry deaths, or social isolation. This directly aligns with feminist literary perspectives where ghost figures become metaphors for silenced women, as argued by Elaine Showalter: "The woman writer's double is often the ghost—an image of the woman repressed and buried alive" (Showalter, 1985, p. 12).

In stories like "The Screaming Bride" or "The Lady in White," the spectral return of the feminine figure signals an unresolved wrong. Rather than monsters, these ghosts are remainders of social injustice—disrupting the narrative closure that patriarchy attempts to enforce. Their haunting is both a scream and a narrative gesture disruption in the symbolic order meant to evoke empathy and confrontation rather than horror alone. Minakshi Chaudhary herself reflects that, "Often, the ghosts we fear the most are those we failed to protect in life" (Chaudhary, 2006, p. 8). This framework resonates with South Asian feminist thinkers like Nivedita Menon, who argue that such narratives can critique hegemonic constructions of womanhood by presenting ghost hood as a form of posthumous agency (Menon, 2012). The spectral woman, therefore, becomes a counter-figure to the ideal docile woman: unruly, uncontainable, and enduring.

# 3. Haunting as a Cultural System

From a cultural anthropological standpoint, ghost stories in Himachal Pradesh function as symbolic systems that regulate community behavior, mediate social anxieties, and maintain ritual balance. Claude Lévi-Strauss, in his structural analysis of myth, suggested that myths are "machines for the suppression of time," enabling societies to negotiate contradictions between life and death, the sacred and the profane (Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 229). Himachali ghost tales, too, help communities manage grief, explain tragedy, and establish social taboos. For instance, roadside ghost stories often caution travelers against reckless behavior or disrespect toward the dead. Moreover, communal rituals to appease spirits—like lighting lamps, installing shrines, or hosting annual feasts—are not merely superstitions but social events that reinforce collective



identity. They embody what Emile Durkheim called "collective effervescence," moments when communities reaffirm their cohesion through shared symbolic acts (Durkheim, 1912/1995).

ISSN: 3048-5991

Thus, the ghost becomes a medium through which society negotiates both moral order and

cosmological continuity.

4. The Geography of Fear: Space, Memory, and Power

Another vital lens through which to interpret Himachali ghost stories is that of spatial theory. As observed in the Results, many hauntings are attached to specific geographic markers—tunnels, forests, cemeteries, old homes—suggesting a strong link between memory and space. Henri Lefebvre's The Production of Space (1991) argues that "space is a social product," shaped not only by architecture and economy but by stories and imagination. Haunted spaces,

then, are emotionally charged geographies where historical memory and affect intersect.

These sites also become repositories of cultural fear—what geographer Yi-Fu Tuan refers to as "topophilia turned to topophobia" (Tuan, 1974, p. 93). Once idyllic natural landscapes are transformed by ghost stories into terrains of caution and reverence. In Himachal Pradesh, this manifests in the way locals avoid certain roads at night, place stones near accident sites, or refuse to occupy abandoned colonial bungalows—ritualized gestures acknowledging the co-

presence of the living and the spectral.

5. Folk Media and Digital Afterlives

Interestingly, as ghost stories in Himachal Pradesh are retold on YouTube, Instagram reels, or horror podcasts, they enter what Jan Assmann terms "cultural memory"—a form of remembrance that is actively transmitted and transformed across generations (Assmann, 2011). Digital media has allowed these oral traditions to not only survive but evolve. Younger generations often reinterpret older tales with modern elements—replacing colonial officers with tourists or linking hauntings to recent traumas like landslides or migrant disappearances. While there is a risk of sensationalism, the transition into digital formats also democratizes folklore. Voices once marginalized—particularly of women, tribal elders, or Dalit storytellers— can now gain broader audiences. Minakshi Chaudhary's work, originally circulated in regional print, has inspired YouTube adaptations and WhatsApp forwards, proving the mobility and adaptability of such narratives.

6. Acknowledging the Ghost as Testimony



Ultimately, the Himachali ghost story should be read not merely as folklore but as testimony. The spectral figure, in its refusal to be silenced, invites ethical listening and historical responsibility. Each haunting, in its own way, demands justice—for a forgotten woman, a dishonoured laborer, a displaced family. In doing so, these narratives encourage an alternative ethics of remembering, echoing Derrida's notion of hauntology, where ghosts represent "a visitation from a past that has not been settled, and whose demands still resonate in the present" (Derrida, 1994, p. xviii). The significance of this framework is particularly resonant in Himachal Pradesh, where histories of gender oppression, colonial exploitation, and caste marginalization remain unresolved. Ghost stories, by giving form to the intangible, allow those histories to resurface, demanding recognition and ritual redress.

#### **References:**

- Assmann, Jan. Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Chaudhary, Minakshi. Spooky Stories of the Himalayas. Rupa Publications, 2006.
- Chaudhary, Minakshi. More Ghost Stories of Shimla Hills. Rupa Publications, 2008.
- Derrida, Jacques. Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International. Translated by Peggy Kamuf, Routledge, 1994.
- Durkheim, Emile. The Elementary Forms of Religious Life. Translated by Karen E. Fields, Free Press, 1995. Originally published 1912.
- Gordon, Avery F. Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination. University of Minnesota Press, 2008.
- Guha, Ranajit. Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India. Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. Structural Anthropology. Translated by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf, Basic Books, 1963.
- Lefebvre, Henri. The Production of Space. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell, 1991.
- Menon, Nivedita. Seeing Like a Feminist. Zubaan, 2012.



- Showalter, Elaine. The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture, 1830–1980. Pantheon Books, 1985.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, University of Illinois Press, 1988, pp. 271–313.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu. Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perceptions, Attitudes, and Values. Columbia University Press, 1974.