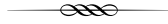


Chapter 15

Animal Extinction, Film and the Death Drive

Barbara Creed



A true underground kingdom ruled by death drive finds its natural place in the bowels of the subway, the Célinian equivalent of Dante's hell. Murder as underground lining of the unclean-thinking being.

—Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*

Faces of elephants, monkeys, pigs, lions, seals, ostriches, alligators and bears stare out of the frame at the viewer in Nicolas Philibert's remarkable documentary of the restoration of the Galerie de Zoologie in Paris. The camera places us in intimate contact with the inhabitants of this strange menagerie. Although glass, their 'animated' eyes endow their stilled bodies with life. These are the myriad of dead animals who have been killed, skinned, tanned, stuffed or mounted and brought back to life with glass eyes, make-up, fur patches and needle and thread in order to create a simulacra of life. Uncanny spectres, they haunt the imagination. Taxidermy, meaning 'arrangement of the skin', is a method used to record a life-like impression of a living creature or species, including those that are extinct and threatened. It is sometimes used to memorialize pets. In his acclaimed film, *Un animal, des animaux*, 1996 (animals, more animals), Nicolas Philibert explores what took place in 1994 during the refurbishment and re-opening of the Galerie de Zoologie of Le Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle (The French National Museum of Natural History), which had been closed since 1965. The museum's new design is no doubt intended

to allow spectators to walk amongst the exhibits, secure in the knowledge of the superiority and power of the human species over all others. What prompts humanity's need to control nature and to replace her vast kingdom of marvellous and endlessly diverse species with its own uncanny kingdom of the dead, preserved and taxidermied? The relationship between natural history museums and extinction has in recent years assumed a central place in demonstrations by the global-wide Extinction Rebellion movement. In April 2019, protesters took over the Natural History Museum in London and lay down beneath the vast hanging skeleton of the famous Blue Whale.

This chapter will discuss animal extinction in three animal documentaries directed by Nicolas Philibert in relation to the context of the human death drive, as presented in the psychoanalytic theories of Sabina Spielrein, Sigmund Freud and Julia Kristeva. The death drive has played a little understood role in the extinction of species through hunting, science, and the creation of natural history museums and zoos. The chapter will also consider the artistic practice of Australian artist Janet Laurence, who creates a very different testimony to death and extinction in her many exhibitions of the natural world. Both Philibert's and Laurence's films and installations represent extinction in the context of what has become known, in the Age of the Anthropocene, as 'ecological grief'. It will ask whether or not the human death drive has made the coming of the Anthropocene and the extinction of species inevitable – including the human. Finally, it will explore the connection between art, practices of extinction and personal revolt.

Established in 1635, the French National Museum of Natural History is now composed of over fourteen sites, encompassing three zoos, two museums, four scientific sites and three botanical gardens. The main museum is in Paris. Its aims are to create collections, conduct scientific research and educate the public. The Galerie de Zoologie was established in 1889 with over one million specimens. It is impossible to view Philibert's *Un animal, des animaux* without thinking of the operations of French colonialism that permitted the creation of such a vast empire of dead animals, fossils and plants, taken from so many countries. Filmed in Paris between 1991 and 1994, Philibert's film focuses on the meticulous repairing and restoring of the museum's immense collection. Over a three-year period, taxidermists restored over a thousand animals – mammals, birds, fish and reptiles. Philibert carefully organizes the way in which he films the animals. The opening scene is of various animals (zebras, a polar bear, a group of deer) being transported to their newly renovated home in an open van, so we see them clearly as they journey to their destination – almost as if they were alive and eagerly anticipating their arrival. There is almost something comical, perhaps surreal, about the moment.

As Adrian Danks¹ notes, Philibert's restaging does not follow the principles that informed the strict arrangement of specimens in the Grande Galerie de L'Evolution. Instead, Philibert focuses on individual animals taken from a mix of periods and countries – their faces and expressions preserved through taxidermy to create a sense of their individual uniqueness. His approach is informal, undermining a sense of colonial achievement, order, science and ceremony that underpins the patriarchal Symbolic order – the order that has brought into being what we now call 'civilization'. Throughout, Philibert frames the faces and the gazes of these animals as they are repaired and resurrected, as if they were also watching us; we are encouraged to exchange looks with them as if they were alive. Philibert does not take a position or reveal what he might think about taxidermy; he leaves this to the viewer. Philibert's documentary demonstrates how such a museum offers a way of staring death in the face, the death of non-human species, without having to experience death in the real. Confronting images of dead animals, reconstructed to appear as if they were alive, can also be a very distressing, even abject, experience.

Philibert's documentary is accompanied by a shorter film, *Dans la peau d'un blaireau*, 1994 (In a badger's skin), which shows in intimate detail a taxidermist preparing a badger for display. We see how a dead badger is skinned, stuffed and restored to look as if it were alive. Despite the brutality that drives the whole process of killing animals and restoring them to look lifelike, the film reveals each process in an objective and understated way. The horror of what has happened to the lifeless badger speaks for itself. The animal is simply an object, a thing to be eviscerated and manipulated in order to uphold the scientific and philosophical goals of the museum. The wild animal is, like nature, a life form that serves civilization in the latter's desire to separate itself out from the natural world. An institution of the patriarchal Symbolic world of law and language, natural history museums around the world, which are responsible for these macabre collections of the dead, exist alongside, but in opposition to, the world of nature, which operates according to its own laws, which are aligned with the body and the visible workings of the natural life–death cycle.

The natural history museum is a testament to what the Russian psychoanalyst, Sabina Spielrein, in 1912, named the death instinct, a concept developed later by Sigmund Freud into his theory of the death drive (*Todestrieb*).² Spielrein proposed her concept, which she related to reproduction, in a paper entitled 'Destruction as the Cause of Coming into Being'.³ Spielrein was one of the first women psychoanalysts and is known as a pioneer of the movement. Although largely forgotten, her remarkable achievements have been brought to the fore with the publication of her work, entitled *The Essential Writings of Sabina Spielrein: Pioneer of Psycho-*

analysis (2018). In *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920), Freud stated (in a now-famous footnote)⁴ that Spielrein's paper had inspired his thinking that led to his concept of the death drive. Spielrein conceptualized destructiveness as aiding the reproductive instinct rather than being an instinct per se. She proposed that the sex drive comprised both an instinct of destructiveness (with sadistic components) and one of transformation. According to Fátima Caropreso, Spielrein sees destruction as essential to the act of 'coming into being', which is complemented by a 'static' drive and a 'dynamic' drive. It is Spielrein's static drive that Freud develops in his theory of the death drive as one that subsumes the dynamic drive and the desire for 'resurrection' or transformation. It was Freud who developed the concept of the 'static' drive into what Caropreso describes as a 'purely negative drive' that seeks 'the annihilation of life'.⁵

In explaining his concept of the death drive in his 1920 essay 'Beyond the Pleasure Principle', Freud argued that there is a tendency in all organic forms of life to return to an inorganic state. He proposes the hypothesis '[t]hat all instincts tend towards the restoration of an earlier state of things'.⁶ He states that 'the aim of all life is death'.⁷ This drive is stronger than the instinct for pleasure. The death instinct can be turned inwards, leading to self-harm, or outwards, resulting in harm to others. It is expressed through a range of actions such as self-destructiveness, aggression and repetition compulsion; hence it is kept in check by the superego, but when it imposes itself too harshly on the ego, it can lead to a 'pure culture of the death drive'.⁸ In a subsequent essay, 'The Future of an Illusion' (1927), Freud connects the death drive to nature, which man views as the enemy of civilization and his own happiness. Man believes he must engage in a continuous war with nature in the face of her 'majestic, cruel and inexorable' powers such as earthquakes and floods, which destroy his achievements. Nature also mocks man because she is the cause of 'the painful riddle of death'.⁹

In a later essay, 'Civilization and Its Discontents' (1930), Freud explores the death drive in greater detail. Man believes control of nature will bring greater happiness, and this includes the extermination of 'wild and dangerous animals'.¹⁰ With the development of civilization, the totemic animal lost its sacred powers, which were transferred to other gods, and the animal became a thing to be hunted and killed. When turned outwards or 'diverted towards the external world', the death drive becomes 'an instinct of aggressiveness and destructiveness'.¹¹ Freud argued: 'It is clearly not easy for men to give up the satisfaction of the inclination to aggression. They do not feel comfortable without it'.¹² Man's aggressiveness towards nature and wild animals is an expression of his death drive turned outwards. Freud's conclusion is grim: 'Men have gained control over the forces of nature to

such an extent that with their help they would have no difficulty in exterminating one another to the last man'.¹³

Significantly, Freud does not appear to include women in this struggle against nature. Women he says are 'hostile' to civilization. Because the 'work of civilization has become increasingly the business of men',¹⁴ women are confined to the domestic arena. Here Freud is referring to what Jacques Lacan later theorized as the Symbolic order, the realm of law and language, by which civilization is organized and sustained. Freud does not refer to woman's relationship with nature. As I will discuss shortly, the Symbolic however locates woman, along with nature and the animal, outside the Symbolic. Importantly, Freud notes that despite everything, man is not happy; he does not enjoy civilization because of all that he must repress for civilization to function, such as his libido, bisexuality, natural aggression and his desires to inflict death on his enemies. According to Freud, given the degree of repression, 'may we not be justified in reaching the diagnosis that . . . some civilizations, or some epochs of civilization – possibly the whole of mankind – have become neurotic?'¹⁵

The death drive, which Freud argues 'can also be turned outwards', sheds light, I argue, on the unconscious drives and destructive forms of human behaviour that inform the very establishment of the natural history museum. Dedicated to scientific research, the museum is also a mausoleum designed to control all of nature and her myriad of species. The death drive helps to explain the countless acts of human aggression that have led to the deaths of so many animals; the compulsion to repeat (to kill, stuff and display one species after another); the display of dead bodies of animals as if they were alive, thus invoking dread associated with the uncanny; the overwhelming sense of stasis; and the prevailing atmosphere of melancholia in the museum, which arises from the unconscious feeling that no matter how many animals are killed it will never be enough to resolve the unconscious fear of one's own death. It is as if the human species has unconsciously displaced its own death drive onto all non-human species as a way of staving off knowledge of, or the advent of, its own death – for which, Freud argues, man blames nature. The mind, however, substitutes a new aim to explain the need for the mass slaughter of animals – such are the demands of science. Freud points to science and technology as evidence of man's greatest achievements, of his 'omnipotence and omniscience'.¹⁶

In *Powers of Horror*, Julia Kristeva draws on the concept of abjection to rework Freud's concept of the death drive. Kristeva offers yet another way of thinking about extinction, the role of the animal in nature and its significance for the civilized human world. Kristeva explores further Freud's argument that woman is hostile to civilization, because she is excluded. Kristeva asks what this might mean for woman. How is she excluded? Here

Kristeva proposes her theory of the abject to explain woman's marginalization.¹⁷ Kristeva's conclusion is that the Symbolic order actively excludes woman (she does not set herself apart in the way Freud describes) – that is, abjects woman – because of her association with procreation, the body, the animal and nature. Because she is unclean, she also becomes the object of male aggression and the death drive. It could be argued, as Klaus Theweleit does, that in extremely masculine and fascist cultures masculine identity is moulded by their dread and fear of women.¹⁸

Nature, which threatens to undermine culture, must be separated out from all that is civilized and male. Woman is associated with bodily fluids such as menstrual blood and breast milk, as well as her infant's excreta and vomit, which are regarded as unclean and abject (Freud also refers to the 'taboo on menstruation' and the disgust aroused by infant excreta and other strong bodily smells).¹⁹ By contrast, the clean and proper body of the Symbolic (that is the male body) is one that shows no sign of a debt to, or association with birth, nature or the animal: 'The abject confronts us, on the one hand, with those fragile states where man strays onto the territories of animal'.²⁰ The child must eventually learn to reject the abject mother and her world, as well as nature and the animal, in order to enter the paternal world of civilized behaviour and values – language, the law, culture and sociality.

The abject confronts us, on the other hand, and this time within our personal archaeology, with our earliest attempts to release the hold of *maternal* entity even before existing outside of her, thanks to the autonomy of language. It is a violent, clumsy breaking away, with the constant risk of falling back under the sway of a power as securing as it is stifling.²¹

Kristeva focuses on woman's exclusion from the Symbolic: 'The difficulty a mother has in acknowledging (or being acknowledged by) the symbolic realm – in other words, the problem she has with the phallus that her father or her husband stands for . . .'.²² As the child leaves this early period, he/she begins to acquire language and enter the paternal Symbolic, a monolithic uniform system that has clear boundaries, particularly between self and other – boundaries that are permanently threatened with collapse.

According to Clifford Davis, Kristeva's theory creates an abject form of the death instinct associated with the maternal: 'It could be seen as a rather horrifying intensification or transmutation of the Freudian concept of the death instinct . . . Significantly, it is the very act of exclusion by the super-ego that transforms the maternal object into the subversive, horrifying abject'.²³ In the context of this gender opposition, the death drive, when turned outwards, could be seen as directed towards those others defined by the Symbolic as representing the unclean and improper, such as women,

ethnic minorities, and the animal. These are the unclean and improper who must suffer in place of the clean and proper upright (male) subject of the Symbolic, who nonetheless unconsciously harbours a belief that he too is unclean, particularly given the abject nature of his birth; hence femininity and abjection are within, and undermine from within.

Kristeva argues that a journey into abjection can lead the subject to revolt.²⁴ 'In abjection, revolt is completely within being. Within the being of language. Contrary to hysteria, which brings about, ignores, or seduces the symbolic but does not produce it, the subject of abjection is eminently productive of culture.'²⁵ What this new or transformed culture may look like remains open to debate; the films discussed in this chapter, however, offer possibilities for thinking about change through their representations of nature and the animal. According to Davis, 'Kristeva identifies the monolithic patriarchal Symbolic with all cultural institutions'.²⁶ In my view, two of the most significant are the natural history museum and the zoological institution. From the perspective of the Symbolic, the function of these institutions is, I have argued, to assert mastery over nature and the animal (and by extension, woman) in order to curb the threat they offer to the proper functioning of the patriarchal Symbolic order of law and language.

Kristeva's theory of the operations of the death drive offers one way of understanding how the human death drive impacts woman, the natural world and its animals. It makes sense of practices such as big game hunting (murdering the threatening abject animal), taxidermy (replacing the animal's abject insides with clean, bloodless stuffing), classifying and naming the specimens (creating order from the abject chaos of nature), and placing captive animals behind the walls and bars of zoos (controlling nature) to live a bare and often torturous existence. The history of animal abuse in zoos and amusement parks is horrific. The shocking executions of captive and performing elephants, for instance, who killed their often-cruel trainers, attest to the sadistic cruelty of the human death drive when displaced onto animals. Chune, Topsy and Mary died by firing squad, electrocution and hanging, respectively, for killing their trainers when under extreme duress.²⁷

The third film in Philibert's cinematic investigation into human/animal relationships is set in the zoo of the Jardin des Plantes in Paris. *Nénette* (2010) is a documentary about a forty-year-old female orangutan, who was born in 1969 in the forests of Borneo, taken captive and dispatched to the menagerie of the Jardin des Plantes, where she arrived in 1972. She has spent all her adult life in captivity, along with other orangutans. Nénette has given birth to four offspring. In 2019, on her fiftieth birthday, she took up painting. She is a great favourite with zoo visitors, some of whom visit her daily. They know her by name and stand close to the glass wall as

they talk, whispering their secrets, while commenting on her life, as they might with any other close relative. She appears to listen intently to their confidences.

Since 2008, the Bornean orangutan, has been listed as critically endangered. Their population has shrunk by 60 per cent as a result of illegal hunting, demand from zoos for exhibits, the outlawed pet trade, and destruction of their habitat by the palm oil and rubber industries. Nénette may be among the last of her kind. She offers an example of a living creature, captured when her species were coming under threat of extinction, and still living as a captive animal in a land very distant from her home.

Philibert's style of filmmaking undermines anthropocentrism – he is focused not on the human but on the animal. His masterstroke, in constructing his documentary, is to show only Nénette on screen. As with *Un animal*, the subject of Philibert's *Nénette* is the animal herself. Her human visitors exist only as opaque reflections on the screen. We do, however, hear what they are saying; it is almost as if Nénette were their personal psychoanalyst. Nénette's visitors speak of Nénette's loneliness and of their own, of her yearning for home and of their own. One says: 'I think she's depressed'. She is shown alternatively eating yoghurt, covering herself with a blanket when she desires privacy, apparently listening intently to the words of her many visitors, even seeming to mimic their expressions from her side of the glass. Philibert says that the visitors come to have fun: 'But after half a minute here, they stop looking. Because they are struck by something more tragic. They start thinking about the situation of these animals in the wild and about what we are doing with our planet'.²⁸ One keeper says: 'All of us working in zoos share an inner sense of deep-seated guilt'.

In addition, Nénette offers a different threat – that of abjection. She is both included and excluded from the human domain. She is included as a captive, with seemingly endearing behaviours and alluring personality, while simultaneously excluded because of her abject animal appearance and potentially dangerous nature. Her visitors and keepers remark that she is 'enormous', with long red hair and sagging breasts, that she is dangerous, scary, fertile, menstrual, and has a strange pendulous sac hanging beneath her throat. A keeper says that she is 'sweet', but if the glass were to break 'it would be panic stations'. She lives on the border of two worlds, reminding us of our animal origins, our own bodies and our part in the evolutionary process. The spectator's encounter with Nénette and her abject bare existence in both the zoo and the cinema encourages revolt against the cruelty of the Symbolic.

Australian artist Janet Laurence, like Philibert, has worked with zoos and museum collections. In her 'Stilled Lives' exhibition (Melbourne Museum, Australia, 2000) she overturned museological principles to enable

the viewer to form their own interpretation of each specimen as a distinctive life form with its own history. Laurence was Australia's representative at the United Nations 'Artists 4 Climate' conference (Paris 2015), at which she focused international attention on the plight of Australia's Great Barrier Reef through her multimedia installation 'Deep Breathing (Resuscitation for the Reef)'. In her exhibition *After Eden* (2012), Laurence draws on the moving image to encourage the spectator to empathize with the plight of animals under the threat of extinction. Her installations evoke a strong sense of ecological grief, a concept akin to mourning. *After Eden* is also on the theme of habitat loss. Different works are organized as a series of tableaux, comprising projected images, with titles such as 'Abandoned', 'Traded', 'Extinction' and 'Anthropocene'. The lighting is very soft. There are video images of elephants, monkeys and tigers – all of which seem to be travelling through a dreamscape from another age. There are also stuffed animals such as a dingo and an owl, as well as jars of marsupials at the embryonic stage. Each tableau is established inside a net or gauze screen in the shape of a cylinder, which is suspended from above. These are constructed in such a way that spectators can walk into some of these hanging habitats or simply look through the latticed surface. The soft screens create an impression of entanglement, and a sense that all lives, human and animal, are interconnected. The various creatures are presented with empathy and deep respect. Laurence explains her motivation: 'I wanted each cellular structure with its semi-transparent veils/membrane to reveal specific components or particular stories in ways that allow the viewer to experience the spatial relationships and to create connections'.²⁹ She speaks of the relationship between narrative and loss. Laurence believes attitudes to the dingo in Australia as not unlike those that led to the extinction of the Tasmanian 'tiger', or thylacine, whose loss is now 'creating a myth of longing'. The artist's comments indicate the power of stories to generate emotions leading to the creation of new myths about loss and longing. This narrative power helps to explain why films about extinction are able to tap into emotions of empathy and of ecological grief. The moving images appear behind veils, projected onto walls flickering in the darkness, present yet absent, alive yet dead. There is something phantasmatic, even hallucinatory, about Laurence's reconstructed scenes of the dead and extinct animal. These films and exhibits cannot restore or even set out to restore the past; instead, they speak of irretrievable loss – a loss so profound it may inspire the individual spectator to revolt.

The idea of ecological grief refers to a profound sense of loss felt by many at the degradation of the Earth and the extinction of species. While we usually refer to the death of someone close to us as a loss, it is also possible to feel loss for the Earth and its species, which form a crucial

part of the human habitat – of the wider human home. In particular this loss affects how we think about the future. Films and exhibits, using the moving image, that explore human–animal relationships in the context of extinction have the power to expose the workings of the death drive, and to question a Symbolic order that seeks to abject woman, the animal and nature. Freud argues that man’s aggressive instinct works against civilization.

But man’s natural aggressive instinct, the hostility of each against all and of all against each, opposes this program of civilisation. . . . This struggle is what all life essentially consists of, and the evolution of civilisation may therefore be simply described as the struggle for life of the human species.³⁰

Drawing on Kristeva’s theory of abjection, I have argued that the death drive, as destructive of others, is not constitutive of all subjects, but rather of the subject whose identity is produced by a violent phallogocentric Symbolic order that is too harsh, that crushes those who do not conform. Those elements of the Symbolic, which do not respect the other, open the door to revolt. As Kristeva writes: ‘In abjection, revolt is completely within being’.

Given humankind’s long history of destructive behaviour, extinction is for many now the crucial issue. Cultural theorist Claire Colebrook, who has written extensively on the Anthropocene, sees the human as no longer a ‘rational animal’ but ‘instead something like a geological event’.³¹ ‘Literally, the concept of the Anthropocene is that of an irrevocable and inhuman humanity: man is that animal who has detached himself from his putative ecological animality and lived in such a way that his life is destructive of his milieu.’³² This observation reminds us of Freud’s lament about human destructiveness and the possible end of humanity. In discussing man’s invention of science and technology, Freud stated that ‘Man has, as it were, become a kind of prosthetic God’.³³ If so, then Freud might have noted that man’s major act of creation, as a ‘fake’ God, has been the disastrous advent of the Anthropocene and the mass extinction of species. But as Colebrook crucially points out, not all human beings are caught up with, or responsible for, the Anthropocene.

Just to take one example that is fairly obvious, it is probably the case that most indigenous forms of existence didn’t have the global reach of what called itself Western humanity . . . That’s the problem with saying all humans are involved, because of course they’re not. This is important, because in looking forward to the future, when we think about the end of *our* world, we have a really impoverished imagination about what other forms of human existence might be viable and which we shouldn’t necessarily depict with horror.³⁴

Those who lament the extinction of species, and understand the meaning of ecological grief, hope for a very different future – a future based on transformation of the Symbolic order inspired by an anti-anthropocentric ethic and informed by global movements such as Extinction Rebellion, as well as the transformative work of artists and individuals. It is only by looking directly at the tragic face of the consequences of the human death drive, as represented by contemporary filmmakers and artists, that it might become possible for the individual spectator to transform the experience of encountering abjection into revolt.

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Notes

1. Danks, 'The Raw and the Cooked'.
2. See de Lauretis, *Freud's Drive*, 93–95, in which she analyses Freud's theory of the death drive, in the context of sexuality, with reference to the great significance of Spielrein's original contribution and her lack of recognition in psychoanalytic circles. De Lauretis argues for the continuing relevance of the Freudian theory of the drives.
3. Spielrein, 'Destruction as the Cause'.
4. Freud, 'Beyond the Pleasure Principle', 269–339, fn 2.
5. Caropreso, 'The Death Drive', 418.
6. Freud, 'Beyond the Pleasure Principle', 310.
7. *Ibid.*, 311.
8. Freud, 'The Ego and the Id', 394.
9. Freud, 'The Future of an Illusion', 195.
10. Freud, 'Civilization and Its Discontents', 281.
11. *Ibid.*, 311.
12. *Ibid.*, 304–5.
13. *Ibid.*, 340.
14. *Ibid.*, 293.
15. *Ibid.*, 338.

16. Ibid., 280.
17. For a discussion of the nature of exclusion, see Creed, 'Kristeva and the Abject Stray'.
18. Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*.
19. Freud, 'Civilization and Its Discontents', 288–89, n1.
20. Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, 12.
21. Ibid., 13.
22. Ibid.
23. Davis, 'The Abject', 8.
24. Kristeva, *Intimate Revolt*. In *Powers of Horror*, Kristeva allows for individual revolt emerging from an encounter with the abject. In this new book, Kristeva extends this focus. She is particularly interested in the revolt of the individual rather than the group, because, as she argues, power that is constitutive of the Symbolic has become diffuse and is hence difficult for the group to revolt against.
25. Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, 45.
26. Davis, 'The Abject', 7.
27. For an account of the death of Chune, see Simons, *The Tiger that Swallowed the Boy*. See Leafé, 'The Town that Hanged an Elephant'. For a detailed discussion of the case of Topsy, see Creed, 'Animal Deaths on Screen', and Doane, *The Emergence of Cinematic Time*.
28. Shoard, 'Nicholas Philibert'.
29. Janet Laurence quoted in Merrillees, 'An Interview with Janet Laurence', 73.
30. Freud, 'Civilization and Its Discontents', 313–14.
31. Colebrook, 'Not Symbiosis', 187–88.
32. Ibid., 207.
33. Freud, 'Civilization and Its Discontents', 280.
34. Adkins, Parkins and Colebrook, 'Victorian Studies in the Anthropocene'.

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