

From *The Good Wife* to *Hot Mom!*: An Ideological Analysis of American and Chinese Motherhood on TV

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Abstract: This paper employs an ideological analysis to explore the ideas, norms, and practices of motherhood as portrayed in two popular TV series: *The Good Wife* and *Hot Mom!*, produced in America and China, respectively. *Hot Mom!* situates Chinese mothers in the context of the ever-growing expectations assumed by China's rising middle class. In contrast, American-style motherhood in *The Good Wife* speaks to the "having it all" fantasy of the "supermom" by acknowledging women's personal success as well as their dedication to motherhood. By analyzing motherhood myths portrayed in the two series, the author finds that popular portrayals of the Chinese motherhood emphasize three aspects: 1) compromising efforts by young mothers in their families, 2) the increasingly higher standards for young mothers, and 3) less emphasis on a mother's personal success. Despite cultural differences, however, both series place women in a position where they still have to be rescued by men, and their value is at least partially derived from the attention they receive from men.

Keywords: Motherhood, TV series, ideological analysis, myth, heroine

1. Introduction

In the American TV series *The Good Wife*, which has aired on CBS for six seasons from 2009 to 2015, audiences were introduced to a charming wife and mother named Alicia Florrick (Julianna Margulies), who was forced to go back to work as a litigator to support her family after her husband's prostitution scandal. As a successful legal drama, *The Good Wife* collected five Emmy Awards and one Golden Globe, and by 2016, it had been renewed for a seventh season. In 2013, the Chinese TV series *Hot Mom!* became a hit immediately after it began airing (2013 Chinese TV Series Semi-Annual Observation, 2013). Unlike the older Alicia in *The Good Wife*, *Hot Mom!*'s Xia Bing (Sun Li) gets married and unexpectedly becomes a mother at 26. The life transition she goes through speaks to the difficulty faced by many in the single-child generation in China who were born after 1978 and have begun having kids, a transition that includes balancing work and family, handling marriage crises, and adapting to evolving ideas of motherhood in China.

Media images are ideological, meaning that they do not simply reflect some objective reality. Rather, they "re-present" specific cultural values, beliefs, and attitudes (Croteau & Hoynes, 2014). This paper explores the content of both *The Good Wife* and *Hot Mom!* to compare their ideological constructions of motherhood as well as their depictions of the typical expectations for motherhood in their respective social and cultural settings.

Given the unique historical and social circumstances in which they find themselves, Chinese

women have begun to embrace unprecedented job opportunities and financial independence (Wang & Buzzanell, 2007). However, this study argues that TV series such as *Hot Mom!* still portray the Chinese concept of motherhood with traditional expectations and that they tend to undervalue the success of women who have children, no matter how successful they may be as independent individuals.

In contrast to *Hot Mom!*, *The Good Wife* portrays Alicia as both an ideal worker and a perfect mother. She is the “supermom,” the woman who has accomplished the “having it all” fantasy to the point that her motherhood responsibilities are valued as much as her success, attractiveness, and work ethic. However, according to Douglas and Michaels (2004), “intensive mothering” is the fulcrum of the “new momism,” which is defined by “a set of ideals, norms, and practices, most frequently and powerfully represented in the media, that seem on the surface to celebrate motherhood, but which in reality promulgate standards of perfection that are beyond your reach” (pp. 4-5). Using their ideological critique, this study further argues that *The Good Wife*’s intensive version of American motherhood is a version that is in fact impossible for ordinary women to attain.

2. Ideology, Ideological Analysis, and Motherhood Myths

According to Hall (1996), “[i]deology refers to mental frameworks, such as concepts, languages, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation, which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, figure out, define, [and] render intelligible the way the society works,” and cultural studies scholars have the task of examining these ideologies to uncover the genesis and evolution of social ideas (Hall, 1996, p. 26). A rich site for such ideological analyses is media texts, wherein scholars examine “what messages these images send about the nature of the world, how it operates, and how it should be” (Croteau & Hoynes, 2014, p. 153). In so doing, media analyses can make visible “how [ideas] are constructed, how they change over time, and when they are being challenged” (Croteau & Hoynes, 2014, p. 155).

In defining what is “normal” or accepted in a society, ideologies and ideological texts are concerned with power. Early Marxists therefore believed that ideology was inherently negative, “a powerful mechanism of social control whereby members of the ruling class imposed their worldview, which represented their interests, on the members of subordinate classes” (Croteau & Hoynes, 2014, p. 157). Indeed, power can be and is wielded through ideology, and not just by means of force. Gramsci (2001) articulated this by further examining the conceptual evolution of ideology from a “science of ideas” born of sensations to a “system of ideas” that naturalizes hegemony (p. 45). This research therefore implements an ideological analysis to reveal the socially constructed ideas, norms, and practices of motherhood as rooted in social customs and expectations and that are addressed in American and Chinese TV series.

Myths, for their part, are not so far removed from ideology, for as Barthes noted, “bourgeois ideology lies at the very heart of myth in modern society” (Strinati, 1995, p. 117). A myth is a communication system; it has a message to disseminate, and it does so through specific discourse to mask the bourgeois ideology by making it appear natural and unquestionable (Strinati, 1995, p. 112). In one example, Barthes used mythology to study a photo of seventy women novelists and found in the connotation that the women were identified by the number

of children they had, indicating that the role of women as mothers appeared to be primary and inevitable, even when they work as novelists (Barthes, 1973; Strinati, 1995). In Barthes' words, this myth of "the eternal statute of womanhood" recognizes women's self-confidence and talented work, but assures that "they will remain no less available for motherhood by nature" (Barthes, 1973, pp. 56-57).

Not only womanhood, but motherhood is also ideological. Bourdieu (1990) brought up the concept of *habitus*, referring to habitualized social tendencies which crystalize in individuals in the form of dispositions that influence and guide their thoughts, feelings, and actions (p. 53). The myth of motherhood is *habitus* in that society's views on women as mothers as well as motherhood's larger role in society have become naturalized, or the way things should be as opposed to being "the product of obedience to rules" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53). As Abbey and O'Reilly (1998) specifically state, motherhood is a patriarchal myth that takes women as the ultimate caregivers who are biologically destined to be mothers and nurturers. In patriarchal societies such as America and China, then, analyzing popular media representations of motherhood ideologies will reveal the socio-cultural and historical myths in which the media operate and allow us to study the very structures of those societies.

3. *The Good Wife* and American-Style Motherhood

Alicia Florrick in *The Good Wife* was inspired by Silda Spitzer, the ex-wife of former New York governor Eliot Spitzer (Nussbaum, 2012, March 5). After her husband is arrested in relation to a prostitution scandal and resigns from office, 40-something Alicia returns to work to support her family. They move from their upscale suburban community to a high-rise apartment and she gets a job as a junior associate at Lockhart Gardner, a Chicago-based law firm. Will Gardner, Alicia's old friend from college and one of the partners in the firm, hires Alicia in her time of need and navigates her success.

Transforming from a typical upper middle class suburban housewife to a working mom raising two kids, Alicia embraces her challenging new life and works her way up in a highly competitive climate. Indeed, she is portrayed throughout the series as a heroine and "a moral person in a godless universe" (Nussbaum, 2014, October 13), and she is positively rewarded for her autonomy, independence, and strong work ethic. As Faris (2012, April 24) describes this characterization, Alicia's aggressive working attitude corresponded to the spirit that society was trying to stimulate beginning in 2007-2008 following the economic recession. On one hand, therefore, Alicia fulfills the role of the ideal worker in that she has a work-first attitude and is not at all interested in any sort of leisure activity. To that end, she does not socialize with friends nor have time for hobbies. Alicia therefore embodies the existential terror and the prevailing rhetoric of economic austerity that mark the current climate of global economic insecurity, a climate in which "all desire, interest and satisfaction is subsumed to work" (Faris, 2012, April 24).

On the other hand, Alicia also personifies the supermom – a woman who can simultaneously work full-time while still being a perfect mother at home. In a study on the relationship between media exposure and ideal motherhood as communicated by contemporary media, Chae (2015) found that heavy exposure to "celebrity moms" via the Internet by working mothers reinforced

their endorsement of intensive mothering and fostered feelings of competitiveness and social comparison. When applied to *The Good Wife*, the portrayal of Alicia as a successful person communicates ideal motherhood in a way that encourages audiences to compare themselves with others in a competitive framework.

Overall, then, the success of *The Good Wife* hinged upon the economic recession and established a role model with whom working moms can identify, therefore successfully reinforcing intensive mothering, which Chae (2015) argues is the dominant motherhood ideology in contemporary U.S. society.

4. *Hot Mom!* and Chinese-Style Motherhood

A typical young Chinese mother on TV often faces three major challenges: a husband who is having an affair, a domineering and manipulative mother-in-law, and a child who demands her constant attention. In addition to these, she must also struggle to balance her work and her personal life. *Hot Mom!* tells the story of an average, young, urban Chinese woman who transitions from being the only child in her family to becoming a wife and mother. Sun Li, the lead actress, became famous for 2012's top-rated TV show in China – *Empresses in the Palace*. In *Hot Mom!*, she plays Xia Bing as a fashionable, self-centered, and strong-minded young woman, not unlike many other only-children of her generation in China.

As the story progresses, Xia Bing struggles to fulfill the role of being a mother, especially after having been spoiled for years as an only child herself. She therefore often appears vulnerable and helpless as the series and her journey progress. For example, her marriage is on the edge of falling apart because of her disappointment with her husband, particularly his career failure. To support him, she sacrifices her own career to stay at home and take care of their child. Her sacrifice, however, goes unappreciated by her husband, causing even further frustration for Xia Bing. The story ends as Xia Bing completes her transformation from the selfish only-child in her family to a caring mother and supportive wife, and she ultimately saves her marriage through sacrifice and by using the maturity and tolerance that she learned along the way.

The vulnerability and self-doubt that Xia Bing experiences in her marriage are typical for this generation of young Chinese mothers who were the only child in their families. According to Wang (2012), such young people are more individualistic and care more about the environment and individuals' well-being, but they are struggling to find their own identity. This frustration and powerlessness that Xia Bing feels as a mother who has her own career and ambitions eventually leads to an identity crisis and aforementioned sacrifice.

Mills (1959) wrote that to have the sociological imagination is to be aware of and think outside of a daily life that is characterized by routinization and social control and to grasp the relationship between individuals and society (p. 5). Yet, looking both at *Hot Mom!* and Chinese society, young mothers lack this awareness. Xia Bing is portrayed as part of China's new middle class that has been growing exponentially over the past 20 years. Many young people like Xia Bing are part of "the Chinese Dream," which include a moderately well-off society and a harmonious, civilized, and beautiful China (Kuhn, 2013, June 4).

However, young mothers also find it hard to adapt to their new roles once they have

families of their own, in part because they are saddled with responsibilities and expectations that were not there 20 years ago, and these expectations appear more and more unrealistic. A widely-circulated post across Chinese social networks, for example, elaborated on the duties of a typical, urban, Chinese mom: a cook, a baker, a tour guide, a photographer, an event-planner, an English teacher, a Math Olympiad coach, a bread-winner, and a knowledgeable consumer all at the same time. In Chinese TV series, meeting or partially meeting these expectations is assumed of young Chinese mothers.

Despite the unrealistic nature of the above expectations, though, China's motherhood ideology and its associated social pressures are being internalized by women. Falling behind on these expectations means falling out of the specific roles that are socially and culturally constructed for them, which explains why some women use the above expectations as a sort of checklist with which to prove their motherhood qualifications. To explain with Mills' (1959) theory, these women are "falsely conscious of their social positions" because of a lack of social imagination (p. 5). Given their decent education, high expectations for themselves, and potential to become successful in their own careers, young Chinese mothers may believe they are upwardly mobile and self-reliant, but they are still beholden to expectations rooted in China's traditional motherhood ideology.

As society continues to transform, the still-growing middle class faces even more challenges that many of their parents did not have to face: skyrocketing housing prices, urbanization, the growth of private enterprises, distrust in authority, marriage infidelity, and escalating family tensions. Media representations of younger generation mothers in such a social and cultural setting seem to reinforce China's demanding ideology of traditional motherhood, which makes for rich texts for ideological analyses.

5. Similarities and Differences Between Two Motherhood Ideologies

To further articulate the difference in motherhood ideologies between *The Good Wife* and *Hot Mom!*, this paper examines three myths of motherhood that are common components of motherhood ideologies and that are depicted in both shows in similar and dissimilar ways: motherhood and personal happiness, motherhood and personal success, and motherhood and the myth of a savior.

5.1. Motherhood and Women's Personal Happiness

Traditionally, Chinese culture is high context, collectivistic, and has large power distance (Hall, 1976; Hofstede, 1980). Under the dominant influence of Confucianism, family communication emphasizes filial piety (孝) and is therefore oriented around conformity (Wu, 1996). Recent research, however, is beginning to show that Chinese family communication patterns are actually more conversation-oriented than conformity-oriented (Zhang, 2007). Given the long history of over-emphasis on obedience and filial piety, Chinese women often find themselves vulnerable in a marriage, especially when there are conflicts between themselves and their extended family. The dominant social structure demands that women sacrifice more in the marriage so that their husbands can triumph in their careers, so women are constantly told to

settle for what they have in their existing marriage. *Hot Mom!* does little to challenge this social norm, suggesting instead that women should find whatever value in their family they can, and that having a family is always preferable to not having one. Even if they face an unfaithful husband, women should accept it and move on, because divorced women are not valued by society.

In contrast, *The Good Wife* does not focus so much on the struggle between work and life, nor does it depict happiness to be Alicia's primary pursuit. She is a content housewife for 13 years before she is forced to step up and make use of her law degree as a litigator. For a long time after her husband's scandal, she does choose to settle for her current marriage, but her decision to not seek a divorce is simply because the marriage is an asset too valuable to abandon (Nussbaum, 2014, October 13).

The plot points that map out Alicia's story are written in such a way that they are inevitable choices, including coming back to the workforce, settling for her marriage, and even running for the office of State Attorney. As such, the audience does not know how happy or unhappy she is (almost as if happiness is not even her concern) except during the affair she has with Will. Her pursuit of personal happiness has instead been replaced by responsibilities. On one hand, this explains her characterization as a tough, open-minded, reliable, and reasonable woman. On the other hand, it means that her value as a woman is not determined by her marriage.

5.2. Motherhood and Women's Personal Success

The most surprising hit Chinese TV show of 2013 was arguably the reality show *Where Are We Going Dad?*, made by Hunan TV. In the show, Chinese celebrity fathers embarked on journeys across China with their children, usually between 4 and 6 years old. Although clumsy in the beginning, the dads progressively became more capable as caregivers in front of the cameras. With an average of more than 600 million viewers each week, the show soon initiated nationwide discussion on children's education and the problem of fathers who are absent from their children's childhood (Wong, 2013, December 20).

Most celebrity fathers claimed in the show that they were never involved with chores at home. They did not do housework, nor did they spend enough time with their children. However, few people were truly shocked by this admission because raising kids is still considered to be women's job. In fact, the underlying assumptions for a Chinese mom in *Hot Mom!* undercut the expectation for a Chinese mother to achieve personal success like her husband. Rather, it appears that for a Chinese mother to become successful personally, she must make sacrifices in family life to increase the stability of her marriage.

Xia Bing's story was written on the foundation that working women have in fact been the majority in contemporary Chinese society since the 1950s. Even at executive positions, women outdo men in the areas of "computer operation," "written English," and "time invested in study," according to the Chinese Women Chamber of Commerce (Wang & Buzzanell, 2007). Unlike America, where women succeed with a neutral identity that obscures gender, Chinese women have more choices in gender roles than their western counterparts (Wang & Buzzanell, 2007). As Wang and Buzzanell (2007) claim, while a masculine approach still dominates the workplace, Chinese society may be more lenient to women's way of work.

However, in recent years, there has been a trend for women to return home to take care of their children after giving birth. Thus, women still find themselves to be the primary caregivers even after many years of so-called women's liberation in contemporary Chinese society. As depicted in *Hot Mom!*, Xia Bing's trajectory shows how career opportunities can be offset by the pull of traditional gender roles in the home. As Chinese society develops and expectations for motherhood increase, more women are faced with the strong possibility of returning home to be caregivers rather than staying in the paid workforce.

The second shift has been a persistent topic of concern in America in the latter half of the 20th century for working women with children, with the general assumption being that it is the primary responsibility of women to do both housekeeping and child-raising (Hochschild & Machung, 2012). In *The Good Wife*, Alicia is portrayed as capable of these dual responsibilities, embodying the myth of "having it all" of contemporary intensive motherhood. She triumphs in her workplace using a masculine work style, marked most notably by aggression and persistence. Feminists have questioned whether superwomen like this actually exist and whether following the work style set by men is healthy (Marsden, 1992), but this image does correspond to the call for women to stop defining themselves by their husbands' successes.

Alicia's depiction, however, must be weighed against the historical construction of American-style motherhood, which shows that women tend to lower their goals or drop out of the workforce altogether as their life progresses (Marsden, 1992). Summers' (2005) controversial argument for this tendency was that women were more likely to quit the paid workforce because they were less prepared for intense, high-powered work compared with their male peers. This argument was criticized for using biological differences to mask social sexism. Indeed, ideological analysis reveals that such gender expectations are historically rooted in social norms, not simply biology.

According to Wang and Buzzanell (2007), people in contemporary society struggle with meeting the expectations of the ideal worker because they have caregiving responsibilities, and this pressure is mostly felt by women rather than men. Alicia's experience speaks to the struggle of many working mothers who are returning to the work force after having kids, arranging childcare with extended family, and bonding with their children (Wang & Buzzanell, 2007). *The Good Wife* is therefore a meaningful text in that it does foreground a professional working mom while acting as a rich site to examine the American motherhood ideology.

5.3. The Myth of the Savior

Radway's (1984) research on suburban, middle class women in America found that they read romance novels to "identify with a heroine who receives all the attention and care of an extraordinary man" (p. 65). This characterization may hold true for women on TV as well, for no matter how strong a TV heroine may be, the underlying myth is that she still needs a man to save and protect her at critical times. This mythical savior, who is also an admirer most of the time, has a strong presence throughout *The Good Wife*.

Alicia is shown to be an incredibly strong woman, but she is still marked by apparent weaknesses of needing security, intimacy, and someone with whom to share her happiness and fear. She is therefore watched over by two saviors: Will Gardner, her former flame from

college, and Peter Florrick, her husband. Both are helpful and resourceful, and both are in love with her. For example, following her husband's scandal, Will swoops in and offers her the job that will save her family, thus imbuing her with the strength on which her character – and the entire series by extension – is based. Without Will and his past romance with Alicia, the show might not have been as successful with female audiences who identify with the heroine and are attracted to the show's savior fantasy.

Chinese TV moms are no exception to the myth of the savior. In *Hot Mom!*, Xia Bing's former boyfriend Bao Shuai returns home after studying abroad and wants to re-connect with her. Xia Bing is married to Yuan Bao, but it is Bao Shuai who often saves her from trouble while her husband turns out to be more of a troublemaker. Both Bao Shuai in *Hot Mom!* and his counterpart Will in *The Good Wife* are savior archetypes that satisfy the women's needs for appreciation, which they were not able to receive from their own spouses.

The myth of savior is an attraction for women who wish to identify themselves with the heroine, speaking to the traditional view in which a woman's value is reflected in the man who appreciates her. From the perspective of feminist critics, a heroine in romance literature is only "superficially independent," and she is indeed "deeply dependent and incapable of action herself" (Radway, 1984, p. 58). In this regard, romance literature is quite contradictory, for if the heroine in such novels is truly "unusual, special, bright, and self-reliant," how is it that she becomes the victim of circumstance as described in the books (p. 58)? Applying this same criticism to the shows under analysis, both Will and Bao Shuai's roles become suspect because their presence only weakens Alicia and Xia Bing's charm as self-reliant individuals.

6. Chinese Family Dramas and Women's Reality

The Chinese TV industry has remained prosperous in the past two decades thanks to a heavy investment in developing new TV series. According to the Chinese State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film, and Television (SARFT), 17,703 episodes of TV series were made in the year 2012 in China, making China the top TV producer in the world (SARFT, n.d.). Financially, the profitability of TV series increased by 29% in 2012 compared with 2008, generating 9.8 billion yuan (about \$1.5 billion) (Deloitte, 2013). In 2013, the number of episodes decreased by 2,000, but the overall production is still sizable (2013 Chinese TV Series Semi-Annual Observation, 2013).

A significant number of family dramas that have aired on TV in the past ten years have presented a wealth of content to examine regarding current social expectations of Chinese mothers. Successful shows such as *Shuang Mian Jiao* ("Double Sided Tape," 2007), *The Great Time for the Daughter-in-Law* (2009), and *Hot Mom!* (2013) occupied TV screens across the country. This wave of popular family dramas raised questions about family ethics, motherhood, and marriage, all contextualized by a drastic social change – the rise of China's middle class. The common theme of these series centers on urban women, their marriages, children, caring for the elderly, and family conflicts.

The phenomenal rise of the Chinese family drama was supported by the rise of a group of talented women writers, which found its success rooted in an audience made up particularly of young mothers eager to be recognized yet simultaneously confused about their identity. The

number of well-known, A-list women Chinese screenwriters can be counted on one hand: Wang Hailing (王海鸰), Yan Geling (嚴歌苓), Wang Wanping (王宛平), Liu Liu (六六), and Chen Tong (陳彤). One of these women, Liu Liu, has become a symbol for achieving the Chinese Dream. Because of her accomplishment, she was offered residency in Shanghai, which allows for better education and healthcare compared to smaller cities in the center of the country. Living in a mega city such as Shanghai is part of the Chinese Dream for many young Chinese people. However, for those who cannot afford this dream on their own, sharing an apartment with several others in a compact community is one of the very few options they have.

Despite the growing social recognition of TV producers and writers, family dramas are not at all considered high art, yet today's Chinese audience has more choices when it comes to consuming them *en masse*. Streaming websites at their disposal include Tudou, Letv, and Youku, where TV dramas are categorized by genres and countries. Korean and American dramas, for example, both attract large local audiences for whom Chinese dramas must also compete. Generally, audiences for American dramas are considered to be better educated and are often residents of metropolitan areas (Zhou, 2011). Korean dramas are typically popular among women who fantasize about perfect love, while Chinese family dramas instead portray the more realistic aspects of family life. Overall, Chinese family dramas offer familiar images that women can identify with in real life, while foreign dramas offer the more idealistic images about which they dream, and these competing images are likely to remain in contrast with one another as China remains a net importer of television dramas from the rest of East Asia (Chua, 2012).

Despite the contempt over watching family dramas in China, they are among the most popular genres across all streaming sites. Yet, they are not likely to generate any profits overseas when compared with the potential of palace dramas and martial arts dramas, relegating them to the still sizeable domestic market of 1.3 billion people. With such an audience base, producers are not worried about the distribution of family dramas. For Chinese women, the significance of watching Chinese family dramas is twofold. First, it is a time-consuming activity that allows the audience to temporarily escape from reality. Second, even as a getaway from reality, such dramas still realistically emphasize responsibilities, family conflicts, and ethics.

7. Conclusion

By comparing *The Good Wife* and *Hot Mom!*, this paper elucidated both the differences and commonalities regarding motherhood myths in the U.S. and China. It finds that China's rising middle class still subscribes to traditional values for women and therefore limits women's family and career choices once they become mothers. Xia Bing in *Hot Mom!* is a typical young mother who internalizes and identifies with Chinese values and social expectations for mothers. As previously stated, TV series do not accurately reflect reality, and audiences do not expect such an accurate reflection. Rather, *Hot Mom!*, as a popular representative of Chinese family dramas, dictates and strengthens the socially accepted standards of perfect moms as contextualized by the Chinese Dream.

Meanwhile, American-style motherhood, according to *The Good Wife*, values women who succeed at intensive mothering as well as a demanding career. The ideal motherhood is situated

in a society that values independence but still reinforces the patriarchal structure of the society by portraying that structure as ahistorical and therefore normal. This intensive motherhood imposes high standards on ordinary people who must strive to live up to it, but for all their efforts, the solution to their problem is inevitably another man in their life – a savior.

Future research should continue to address the problems of motherhood ideologies as ordinary people around the world continue to try to live up to the expectations set by the dominant discourse. Ideological analyses reveal that particular sets of ideas come to dominate social thinking at specific historical junctures (Hall, 1996), but more research should be done to reveal the social consequences of motherhood ideologies when applied to ordinary people, not just TV show characters. Chae's (2015) research, for example, shows that the more that mothers who work outside the home are exposed to "celebrity mom discourse," the more they engage in competitive behavior and social comparisons with others. This implies that the very moms under analysis in this study do more than entertain audiences with their struggles and successes; they are role models that audiences emulate, making it vital to place them and the ideologies they represent in socio-cultural and historical contexts.

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