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Invisible No More: The State of Transgender Service Members in the U.S. Military

Patrick Flink*

ABSTRACT. Military culture and policies have changed significantly over the years when it comes to the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) community. Until recently, there had been policies in place that prevented or restricted military service for gay and transgender individuals. These policies have shifted in recent times, allowing individuals from the LGBTQ community to serve openly as long as they are capable of meeting job-specific standards similar to all other service members. The purpose of this paper is to present a brief history of policies pertaining to the transgender community, and how those policies once restricted or limited, military service. These limitations acted as forced accommodations, disallowing transgender service members to fully serve in the military. Policies now allow for the inclusion of transgender individuals to serve openly in the United States military.

Keywords: transgender; military; veterans; law; disability; gender

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Introduction

It is estimated that there are 1.4 million transgender adults in the United States (Reisner & Hughto, 2019). As of 2020, the transgender military population consisted of an estimated 15,000 active-duty members (Manuel, 2020). Within the past few decades, the military has become increasingly diverse (Coppola, 2021). Populations such as women have become increasing in all components of the military. Openly gay and lesbian service members have also been on the rise. The inclusion of transgender service members, until recently, was still a topic of debate (Coppola, 2021). It is difficult to accurately assess the number of transgender individuals in the military due to the lack of rigorous research regarding this population, both inside and outside of the military (Coppola, 2021; Gereben-Schaefer et al., 2016). While efforts have been made to investigate the transgender military population, some difficulties exist. For example, some transgender service members may be unwilling, or fearful, of reporting their gender identity. These fears are founded on not only political and legislative debates, but also on challenges associated with cultural awareness and acceptance of the transgender population within the military. Military culture has long been a male-dominated, masculine community, one that history has shown to be often close-minded to both non-male and non-straight individuals. This traditional mindset has made it challenging for transgender service members to serve comfortably and openly without fear of reprisal.

The transgender community is one of the most marginalized populations in society, both inside and outside of the military (Blosnich et al., 2016). This marginalization exists because many people, including family members, healthcare providers, and society, lack an understanding of gender and transgender identities (Reisner & Hughto, 2019). While the transgender community continues to face discrimination, marginalization, and barriers in all aspects of life, there have been improvements in society regarding this often-misunderstood population (Manuel, 2020). Perceptions regarding the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) community have improved in recent times (Alford & Lee, 2016). Despite such positive shifts in perceptions, the LGBTQ community continues to face challenges in society that affect their daily lives. More specifically, transgender individuals often face increased barriers to work, education, and social inclusion. Transgender individuals have been given a sexual minority status among the public, they experience discrimination, and are often victimized (Alford & Lee, 2016). Furthermore, military service may increase the risk of violence and discrimination against transgender individuals due to long-held beliefs and practices of what it means to serve (Beckman et al., 2018).

There is a wealth of literature pertaining to the LGBTQ community; however, there is little research pertaining to transgender service members specifically (Alford & Lee, 2016; Coppola, 2021). Within the military, the pri-

mary focus of research has been on the policies affecting service members who are gay or lesbian. It is important to investigate minority populations, such as that of transgender service members, to better understand the challenges and contexts that shape their experiences. Research can also help shed light on some of the misconceptions that surround transgender service members. For example, some research suggests that service members experience higher health disparities than their civilian counterparts (Blosnich et al., 2016). For those military service members with historically marginalized identities, such as that of being transgender, these health disparities increase (Blosnich et al., 2016).

Purpose

Debates concerning transgender service members have historically focused on whether they should be allowed to serve in the military. Being transgender has often been associated with homosexuality within the military, both of which have been contentious subjects in military policy-making debates (Coppola, 2021). For today's transgender service members who are on active duty, there historically existed several restrictions placed upon them and their service. These restrictions limited various aspects of their service, including their ability to deploy. Because the military imposed these restrictions on this group, it was inferred that these service members were seen as having a disability, one that inhibited their ability to serve and perform their duties fully, like other, non-disabled service members. These restrictions acted as forced accommodations, preventing transgender service members from willingly participating in all aspects of military service, including the honored opportunity of deploying overseas and representing their country. There was a need to explore the history, context, and reasons behind why the military treated transgenderism as a disability. Imposing a disability status on individuals based upon their gender identity both inherently, and unfairly, limits the scope of job duties they can perform. Unlike the rest of society, the military viewed being transgender as a disability. Thus, the question to be answered in this paper is: how was being transgender viewed and treated as a disability historically within the United States military? In support of the purpose of this paper, a history of military policy pertaining to the gay/lesbian and transgender community is presented. It is important to note that identity-first language is used throughout the current research available regarding the transgender service member population. Thus, for the sake of consistency, identity-first language, rather than person-first language, is used within this article.

Research Methodology

Research for this review was conducted using a variety of online databases, including: APA PsycInfo, APA PsycArticles, ERIC, and Education Source. A variety of search terms and combinations of search terms were used in the data collection process from the online databases. The search terms included: "gender," "gender identity," "transgender," "transgender military," "transgender military United States," "transgender service members," "transgender military law," "transgender military policies," and other combinations of the aforementioned terms. Data were also gathered from a variety of governmental sites, including: govtrack.us, defense.mil, defense.gov, and dod.defense.gov. Additional sites such as rand.org and Washington Headquarters Services were also used to gather data.

Literature Review

Gender Identity

It is necessary to first explore gender and gender identity to understand how being transgender is viewed by society, the military, and transgender individuals themselves. Military views regarding the transgender community have changed over time, and those changes should be explored to understand what the future may hold. *Gender*, a socially constructed concept, comprises a set of rules and social roles of what it means to be male or female (Zamani, 2017). Different cultures may have varying views on what it means to be male or female, and while gender roles in the United States have changed in modern times, they still can be quite limiting to those individuals whose identities are not strictly male or female (Zamani, 2017). Gender as seen through a social lens, with its ideas of maleness and femaleness, can be unwelcoming to those who do not fit into these two limiting categories (Zamani, 2017).

As with many things in the world, with time, research, and understanding, definitions evolve to be more representative of people and identities. Moving away from more traditional and equally restrictive concepts, the idea of gender identity has come into use. *Gender identity* "comprises a spectrum of how individuals identify that is multidimensional and not linear, but rather a continuum of maleness, femaleness, and gender identities not bounded by the twofold of male or female" (Zamani, 2017: 91). Gender identity allows individuals to identify in terms that fit how they feel, rather than how society says they should feel. One's gender identity is one of a multitude of identities that help people see themselves in relation to the world around them. As Coppola (2021: 2027) stated, gender identity is a person's "internal and individual experience of gender." For some individuals, understanding their gender identity is something that does not come easily. As Quintanar et al. (2019: 52) stated, "the attainment of gender identity is a complex process,

that, ultimately, guarantees the psychological well-being of the individual beyond the realm of personal identity and sexuality." For many marginalized groups, the ability to identify oneself on one's own terms aids in promoting a collective identity within their chosen communities (Zamani, 2017: 91). Establishing one's gender identity is an "intricate process [which] includes physical, psychological, social, emotional, and, for some people, spiritual domains" (Quintanar et al., 2019: 52).

Transgender Identity

The term *transgender* refers to an individual whose gender identity does not coincide with their biological sex assigned at birth (Coon et al., 2018; Blosnich et al., 2016; Gereben-Schaefer et al., 2016: x; Sutherland, 2022). While not common to everyone, some transgender individuals experience *gender dysphoria (GD)*, a diagnosis for individuals who experience mental distress due to the lack of harmony between their assigned gender and their gender identity (Folaron & Lovasz, 2016). It is important to note that simply because an individual is transgender, she or he may not necessarily experience GD (Gereben-Schaefer et al., 2016).

The current Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5) replaced the previous diagnosis *gender identity disorder* with GD. With the use of gender identity disorder, the focus was on the pathology of the diagnosis, rather than the disorder itself (Folaron & Lovasz, 2016). Thus, the diagnostic term GD allows for a focus on the dysphoria, rather than the pathology (Folaron & Lovasx, 2016). GD has a far more positive connotation than the previously used gender identity disorder. For those who experience GD, medical interventions may be necessary (Gereben-Schaefer et al., 2016). Individuals who are transgender cannot be clumped together as one homogenous group – they may share similar experiences but may also approach life differently. Not all individuals will seek out medical care or intervention services, and it should not be assumed that all individuals who are transgender have transitioned or will want to transition – each person has her or his own unique medical and mental health needs (Elders et al., 2014; Gereben-Schaefer et al., 2016).

Transgender individuals may often identify themselves in one of two ways: as binary or non-binary. Binary transgender individuals identify as the opposite of the sex they were assigned at birth. They can be referred to as *trans men* or *trans women* (Bradford & Syed, 2019). In terms of *non-binary* identification, Reisner & Hughto (2019: 2) offer the following definition, stating that those who are *non-binary* are: "transgender people who have a gender identity that does not align with their sex assigned at birth and who identify outside of the traditional female-male gender binary, such as genderqueer, genderfluid, or gender nonconforming.

In other words, non-binary transgender individuals identify as neither strictly male nor strictly female – they may identify as being *genderfluid* or

genderqueer (Bradford & Syed, 2019). Genderfluid refers to someone who identifies as not having a fixed gender while genderqueer denotes those "who typically do not desire to medically affirm their gender" (Reisner & Hughto, 2019: 3).

Transgender identity has been a contentious topic over the years, one that has equally been underrepresented in research. Johnson (2016) argued that *transnormativity*, the concept that transgender identity can be normalized and legitimized as with cisnormativity, exists on a spectrum. Unlike *cisnormativity* (the idea that all people are only cisgender, meaning that men at birth should be men, while women should be women), transnormativity argues for the normalization and legitimacy of transgender identities (Bradford & Syed, 2019). Transgender individuals who identify within the binary framework of male or female, and who undergo medical transition, are more likely to have their identities accepted (Johnson 2016). Conversely, individuals who identify as non-binary, genderqueer, or genderfluid may find difficulty in having their identities legitimized by others (Johnson, 2016). There are people who doubt the legitimacy of the identities held by transgender individuals (Bradford & Syed, 2019). This spectrum of transnormativity brings with it questions of social and group acceptance.

The transgender community is a highly marginalized population in the United States, and experiences of being stigmatized and discriminated against can have detrimental health effects (Blosnich et al., 2016; Sutherland, 2022). Discrimination and stigma can permeate all aspects of someone's life. When looking at the transgender community specifically, there are some challenges unique to this group of people. *Cisgender* people, those whose gender identity corresponds with their sex assigned at birth, have an advantage in life over transgender individuals. "Cisgender people accrue privilege by virtue of having alignment with normalized notions of gender identity and the concept of cisprivilege acknowledges the benefits resulting from cisgender identity" (Zamani, 2017: 92). *Cisprivilege* "affords preferential treatment and opportunities to those who identify inside the male/female gender binary" (Zamani, 2017: 92). Some transgender individuals may experience increased barriers to employment and housing as compared to the general population, leading to unemployment and homelessness (Stolzenberg & Hughes, 2017). Harassment, victimization, discrimination, and isolation are common experiences for many transgender individuals (Sutherland, 2022).

Mental health issues are also a significant concern within the transgender community. It is estimated that 39% of transgender individuals have a mental health disorder, with 79% of individuals having a lifetime disorder (Folaron & Lovasz, 2016). The primary cause of mortality within the transgender community is that of suicide, with the highest being those who transitioned from male to female (Folaron & Lovasz, 2016). There has been an increase in initial and long-term mental health support for transitioning individuals.

Clinical interventions historically tried to force transgender individuals into conforming into traditional, binary models of gender, that of male or female (Quintanar et al., 2019). This binary model is one that is built from outdated cultural norms of what is deemed acceptable by the general population. Advances in research and knowledge have helped illuminate the medical and mental health needs of the transgender community; however, despite such improvements in research, Bradford and Syed (2019) argue that transgender identities have not had the level of rigorous research that other identities, such as race, ethnicity, sexuality, and religion have had. Bradford and Syed (2019) further argue that there is a need for further research into transgender identities given both the level of marginalization experienced by this population, as well as the developments in social justice in recent years.

Some individuals choose to medically transition, while others may choose only to socially transition. Medical transition may involve hormonal treatment or gender reassignment surgery, while social transition involves assuming the roles of another gender. For those who choose to medically transition, transgender individuals face the added costs of healthcare related to hormonal treatments, counseling, and or gender confirmation procedures (Stolzenberg & Hughes, 2017). While not all transgender individuals elect to change their physical bodies, there are still additional healthcare costs. Some transgender individuals may seek specialists who are familiar with the transgender community and their unique needs – this may add additional healthcare costs. Thus, the transgender community may struggle more with medically-related financial strain than the general population (Stolzenberg & Hughes. 2017). Some transgender individuals seek gender-affirming interventions that may help achieve harmony between their gender identity and their physical appearance and function (Coon et al., 2018). Some gender-affirming interventions include hormone therapy, facial contouring, and breast and genital surgical procedures, to name a few (Coon et al., 2018).

Transgender Service Members

It is estimated that there are between 8,800–15,500 transgender individuals serving on active duty in the United States military (Elders et al., 2015; Embser, 2020; Folaron & Lovasz, 2016; Manuel, 2020). There are about 135,000 veterans who are transgender as well (Elders et al., 2015). Other estimates state that approximately 6,600 transgender individuals serve on active duty, and roughly 4,100 individuals serving in the military reserves (Congressional Digest, 2017; Embser, 2020). Yet, some research puts the number of transgender individuals at between 1,320–6,630 for active duty and 1,510 in the reserves (Gereben-Schaefer et al., 2016). The RAND Corporation cautions that estimates regarding the number of individuals who are transgender in the military may be inaccurate (Gereben-Schaefer et al., 2016). As of yet, there has not been rigorous, conclusive research conducted regarding this population (Gereben-Schaefer et al., 2016). Data gathered from the 2016

RAND report comes from self-reported samples which limits the potential accuracy of these estimates. This uncertainty in numbers may also be due to individuals' fear of disclosing their identities within an organization that may not be fully welcoming, especially given the recent military policy debates.

Legislation and Transgender Service Members

There has been a turbulent history regarding the transgender community and legal policies, both inside and outside of the military. Regarding military policies, traditional attitudes and perceptions pertaining to the LGBTQ population had been prohibitive and exclusive. Transgender Americans wanting to enlist in the military had faced numerous barriers over the years (Manuel, 2020). Policies pertaining to transgender military personnel have been tumultuous in recent times. There have been various legal and political approaches to LGBTQ community with respect to the military. It is important to understand that policies restricting homosexuality tend to significantly marginalize individuals within those communities (Alford & Lee, 2016). Such marginalization can have detrimental effects on people, and thus their service. It has not been until recently that the transgender community has received support and much needed attention regarding their legal rights.

In 1993 President Clinton enacted the Don't Ask, Don't Tell (DADT) policy within the military (Alford & Lee, 2016; Manuel, 2020). The DADT policy prevented military leaders from asking service members about their sexual orientation. This policy appeared to imply that homosexuality was acceptable within the military; however, in reality the policy still prohibited homosexual behavior among service members by forcing those who were gay or lesbian to be silent, and *not tell* (Alford & Lee, 2016; Manuel, 2020). As part of the DADT, transgender individuals were prohibited from serving in the military (Alford & Lee, 2016). Homosexuality and homosexual acts were perceived as detrimental to military service (Alford & Lee, 2016). Homosexuality was perceived as a less masculine trait, and thus would cause issues related to military readiness, hindering the ability for cohesion in the unit, or so it was believed. The policy was enacted to protect service members from discrimination and mistreatment; however, this policy did not offer protections outright. The implementation of DADT also had several unintended consequences. For homosexual service members, there was a persistent fear of being found out, or being discovered for not being heterosexual. This persistent fear of being discovered had negative psychological effects on many homosexual service members. While the DADT policy was aimed at addressing the issue of homosexuality in the military, there were still gaps to be filled.

In 2008, in a survey conducted by the Transgender American Veterans Association, it was found that 20% of transgender service members stated that their gender identity had been questioned while they were in the service (Beckman et al., 2018). Under DADT, service members could be released

from duty if they were LGBTQ. The DADT policy prohibited people from inquiring about service members' sexuality, but despite that restriction, incidents still occurred. Such encounters often left transgender service members fearful that they would be discharged (Beckman et al., 2018). As Beckman et al. (2018) stated, transgender service members had to endure hiding their true identity and endure the stigma that came with being transgender.

In 2010, the DADT Repeal Act (Alford & Lee, 2016) was signed by President Obama, preventing LGBTQ service members from being discharged based upon their sexual orientation or identity (Manuel, 2020). This piece of legislation had significant effects on transgender service members. Previously, LGBTQ service members had to hide in fear of being discovered and thus discharged from the service. Now, members could serve openly without fear of reprisal. It had been discovered that those who serve openly are less likely to experience negative effects of their sexuality as compared to before DADT and having to hide. Per current policy, "transgender service members may serve openly, and they can no longer be discharged or otherwise separated from the military solely for being transgender individuals" (U.S. Department of Defense, 2018, para. 2). In a follow-up report in 2012, the Palm Center reported no negative impact on military service or readiness because of the DADT Repeal Act (Manuel, 2020).

In August 2017, views appeared to shift dramatically, and President Donald Trump issued a statement saying that he was going to implement a ban on transgender military service members (Congressional Digest, 2017; Coon et al., 2018; Coppola, 2021; Manuel, 2020). The ban would eliminate the recruitment of transgender individuals and prevent the Department of Defense from providing medical services to transgender service members currently serving active duty (Congressional Digest, 2017; Coppola, 2021). This would-be ban would have placed transgender service members in a precarious position, both medically speaking, and within their military communities. President Trump sent several messages to the public via social media, stating his plans on banning transgender service members (Coppola, 2021; *Harvard Law Review*, 2018). The President's messages indicated that transgender individuals would not be allowed to serve in the military in any capacity (Coppola, 2021; *Harvard Law Review*, 2018). Opponents to the ban stated that such policies would be unconstitutional. The language and approach used to ban transgender military service members read as discrimination against all transgender individuals, military, and non-military. President Trump stated that such a ban would be beneficial because allowing transgender individuals to serve in the military presents undue pressure for the Department of Defense in providing costly medical care (Congressional Digest, 2017). Other studies reported that such claims were unfounded and medical costs would not have as significant an impact as stated by the President (Congressional Digest, 2017; Gereben-Shaefer et al., 2016).

Despite a momentary change in direction regarding military policies, views would shift back to supporting the transgender community. Previously, openly transgender individuals were not eligible for military service (*Harvard Law Review*, 2018). That policy changed under Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter, who issued Directive-Type Memorandum (DTM) 16-005 which immediately allowed openly transgender individuals to serve and continue to serve in the military (Embser, 2020; *Harvard Law Review*, 2018; Manuel, 2020). This new policy also outlined procedures for service members who wanted to transition while serving, medical care for current and future transgender service members, and procedures for unit commanders to ensure proper treatment and care (Embser, 2020). More importantly, this new policy provided a peach of mind for those transgender individuals currently serving in the military. Per policy, transgender service members could not be removed from military service based solely upon their gender identity (Embser, 2020). The policy was as result of research and investigation that transgender individuals were allowed to continue their service. Secretary Carter cited a RAND Corporation study which discovered that allowing transgender individuals to serve would have no significant impact on costs or military readiness (*Harvard Law Review*, 2018; Manuel, 2020).

Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter, at a Pentagon press briefing in 2016, explained both the policy changes regarding transgender service members as well as the rationale behind the changes. Secretary Carter provided three reasons to support the policy changes. First, he declared that "the Defense Department and the military need to avail ourselves of all talent possible in order to remain what we are now, the finest fighting force the world has ever known" (Carter, 2016). As Carter stated, there should not be barriers unrelated to someone's ability to serve that impede their recruitment or retention. The second reason put forth by Carter was that "We have transgender service members serving in uniform today" and experience no negative effects as an institution (2016). Carter stated that military commanders are put into a "difficult and unfair position" due to unclear policies regarding transgender service members. The military has a responsibility to both the transgender military community as well as their commanders. Finally, Carter stated that the policy changes were needed as a "matter of principle," and that "Americans who want to serve and can meet our standards should be afforded the opportunity to compete to do so" (2016).

On February 7, 2019, bill H. R. 1032 was introduced to Congress. H. R. 1032 is entitled, *to provide for the retention and service of transgender individuals in the Armed Forces* (GovTrack.us, 2019a). The bill provides protection for the military community, including protections against being involuntarily separated or denied re-enlistment based upon one's gender identity. The bill stipulates that service members are still required to meet military standards for service, but are protected from undue, discriminatory

practices. The bill includes a definition of gender identity, further adding clarification to the protection of transgender service members (GovTrack.us, 2019a). The introduction of this law does not guarantee that it will be passed, but it does provide some assurance that the transgender community has advocates that are willing to fight for equal rights.

With the passing of H. R. 2500 in 2019, new protections were implemented to prevent the discrimination of military service members based upon their gender identity. The passing of this H. R. 2500 set a tone for military standards, as well as the standard of equality. Section 651a of H. R. 2500 outlines two areas of protection, one regarding standards of eligibility for service and equality of treatment in service. Regarding the former, the amendment states:

> Any qualifications established or applied for eligibility for service in an armed force shall take into account only the ability of an individual to meet gender-neutral occupational standards for military service generally and the military occupational specialty concerned in particular, and may not include any criteria relating to the race, color, national origin, religion, or sex (including gender identity or sexual orientation) of an individual (GovTrack.us, 2019b: 326).

The amendment further clarifies protections for military service members in regard to the equality of treatment while serving:

> Any personnel policy developed or implemented by the Department of Defense with respect to members of the armed forces shall ensure equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed forces, without regard to race, color, national origin, religion, and sex (including gender identity and sexual orientation) (GovTrack.us, 2019b: 326).

On March 12, 2019, the US Department of Defense issued a directive-type memorandum (DTM)-19-004, which updated current policies pertaining to transgender individuals in the military. With this new memorandum, transgender individuals were no longer banned from joining or continuing military service; however, there were some stipulations. Transgender individuals seeking to join the military, and who experienced GD, must be certified by a physician as being stable for at least 18 months (Norquist, 2019). Transgender individuals who have undergone medical transition may be disqualified unless they have completed all the necessary medical procedures, including any post-transition hormone therapy, and have been stable for at least 18 months with no functional limitations (Norquist, 2019).

The Department of Defense Instruction (DoDI) 1300.28 provides guidance regarding transgender service members who transition while serving. Service members who seek medical services related to transitioning must have

approval from a military medical provider stating that the treatment is necessary (Department of Defense, 2016). The DoDI states that transition medical services will be evaluated and provided for service members within the same manner as all other medical services (DoD, 2016). Transgender service members, both before and after medical treatment, must still meet military standards of physical and mental health readiness. Finally, once a service member has completed her or his transition, and a medical provider certifies the completion, the service member's gender will be changed accordingly within their military records (DoD, 2016).

Transgender individuals were previously viewed as having a mental illness, but that has now been proven incorrect (Manuel, 2020). While some individuals experience mental health issues, being transgender is now seen as an identity rather than an illness. Thus, because being transgender is no longer categorized as a mental illness, transgender service members should no longer be subjected to policies that pertain to potentially being discharged due to them being transgender (Manuel, 2020). Under military policies, service members with mental illnesses could be classified as having a disability, and thus discharged:

> A service member will be considered 'unfit' when the evidence sufficiently establishes that the member, due to disability, is unable to reasonably perform duties of his or her office, grade, rank, or rating. A service member may also be considered unfit when: the member's disability presents a decided medical risk to the member's health or to the welfare or safety of other members; or the member's disability imposes unreasonable requirements on the military to maintain or protect the member (Horton, 2018: 22).

Discussion

Throughout various periods in the history of the United States, different groups of people have been oppressed, denied equal rights, and pushed to the margins of society. People have been left behind, told they cannot vote, denied their basic human rights, and even enslaved. Some of these past oppressions continue to affect certain groups today. Like these marginalized populations, the transgender community has faced its own set of challenges. With the discussions concerning their ability to serve in the military, and in what capacity, the transgender community continues to experience marginalization. Rather than repeat past transgressions, there is a need to move forward with dignity, respect, and appreciation when it comes to equality and human rights. The United States stands for equality, diversity, and opportunity. People from all over the world flock to the United States because they believe in the American dream, the idea of being afforded a fair and equal chance at creating a life of their own, free from physical and mental oppres-

sion. As a country that claims to be one of, if not *the*, greatest countries in the world, the United States exemplifies its ideals through changing and adopting policies that are consistent with a more diverse, global population.

There is an urgency to explore and understand how to best support transgender service members. The support of this group of people will be built upon research and empirical data. There needs to be a concerted effort into developing research programs that are designed at gathering reliable data on transgender service members. Research should be conducted in the following areas: a) investigate and implement the necessary medical infrastructure to support transgender service members; b) investigate and implement the necessary mental health infrastructure to support transgender service members; and c) investigate the various logistical elements needed in order to support the inclusion of transgender service members into all aspects of military life, including overseas duty, special duty, and deployment.

There are unique healthcare needs that the transgender community may have. Currently transgender service members go outside of the military healthcare system to get service (Carter, 2016). Secretary Carter stated that the military made a promise to take care of these service members, and so it should. Some opponents to providing medical treatment and transition services cite the costs associated with such endeavors. However, research conducted in 2016 by RAND tells a different story. It is important to remember that not all individuals who are transgender will want to receive medical treatment or transition services. RAND estimates that less than 1% of the transgender population in the military will seek medical services (Gereben-Schaefer et al., 2016). If the data are correct, then, of all military members who are transgender, a low estimate of 29 members and a high estimate of 129 members, will annually seek treatment (Gereben-Schaefer et al., 2016).

Transgender service members may also have specialized mental healthcare needs. For those individuals who require mental health services, the military will have to recruit and train medical professionals who are equipped to serve this population. Because of the estimated low number of transgender service members, the military will have to investigate how to best provide mental health services. Remote locations may prove challenging for some military branches, and thus there is a need for research into the logistical elements of providing mental health services domestically and abroad.

There is also a need for research geared toward understanding the logistical elements of having transgender service members on active duty. It is vital to understand how to best serve them, how to deal with concerns of deployment, ship life, overseas stationing, integration, cultural awareness, and medical and mental health availability. Many lessons can be learned from foreign militaries that allow transgender service members to openly serve (Manuel, 2020). As previously mentioned, currently 18 countries allow transgender military service. Within these foreign militaries, service members

who transition to a different gender assume the role of the target gender, and things such as housing, berthing, and uniforms match with the member's preferred identity (Gereben-Schaefer et al., 2016). Because less than 1% of the transgender military population is estimated to seek medical treatment, the impact on military readiness is minimal (Gereben-Schaefer et al., 2016; Manuel, 2020). Regarding military deployment, there are several possibilities related to providing care for transgender service members. Telemedicine, for example, can help individuals access appropriate medical and mental health-care in remote locations, and at an affordable cost to the military (Gereben-Schaefer et al., 2016).

The United States has shown itself capable of making significant progress with equal rights – it was time to recognize the rights of yet another marginalized and misunderstood population. Shifting the focus toward research and understanding will allow investigators and policy makers to make informed decisions on how to best support transgender service members. There are many arguments against allowing transgender individuals to serve in the military; however, these arguments stand on shaky ground and are built from personal beliefs, outdated traditions, and incomplete or missing data. The 2016 RAND report is a foundation from which future research should be built upon. It is now known that the medical costs for transgender service members is minimal when compared with the rest of the military population, that there is no effect on troop readiness and moral, and that other countries have successfully allowed transgender individuals to openly serve, all support a positive future for this population.

Conclusions and Implications

Transgender service members continue to exist as a marginalized population within the United States, and within the military. While improvements in public policy and military policy have enhanced the lives and status of transgender service members and veterans, these groups of people continue to face challenges and obstacle that impact their daily lives. Transgender individuals are often a misunderstood population among the public. When transgender individuals participate in the military, their experiences are further complicated. This is due to not only the public's misperceptions of this group, but the legal and cultural history of the LGBT military community, as well as traditional values pertaining to masculinity within the military. Outdated, traditional ideologies of the military being a masculine community, in combination with ideas of homosexuality detracting from masculinity, are two obstacles that persist today for the transgender service members. While current policies have shifted in favor of transgender individuals, there are still people who are not as informed nor as welcoming as others (Alford & Lee, 2016). The history of exclusionary policies regarding LGBT service

members continues to negatively affect service members (Alford & Lee, 2016). It is clear that there are challenges with supporting transgender service members; however, these challenges are not insurmountable.

As the largest employer in the United States, the military has the potential to set the example of hiring and retaining diverse groups of people (Coppola, 2021). Private and public organizations throughout the country can learn from practices conducted by the military. Diversity is an asset rather than a liability. People will continue to fight for equality and justice for the transgender military community, and support for these individuals comes in a variety of formats. Numerous organizations exist that provide outreach, publications, legal advice, counseling services, and a variety of other community-based services. Organizations such as *SPART*A: Service Members. Partners. Allies for Respect and Tolerance for All*, *Transgender American Veterans Association (TAVA)*, and the *Modern Military Association of America*, to name a few, offer a variety of services, often free of charge. Many of these organizations work from donations. Other organizations such as the *American Civil Liberties Union*, the *Transgender Law Center*, and the *Transgender Legal Defense & Education Fund* focus strictly on the legal aspects of transgender rights. Despite the challenges that the transgender military community faces, there are numerous organizations and individuals that advocate and continue to fight for equality. As Secretary of Defense Carter (2016) said: "Our mission is to defend this country and we don't want barriers unrelated to a person's qualifications to serve preventing us from recruiting or retaining the soldier, sailor, airman, or Marine who can best accomplish the mission."

The United States has an opportunity to not only honor the human rights of transgender individuals who desire to serve their country, but to demonstrate to the world that the military is built upon the representative diversity of its people. Service members represent their country both domestically and abroad. Allowing willing, dedicated, and talented individuals to serve in the military, regardless of their identity, demonstrates a commitment to American ideals of freedom. Acceptance and appreciation further are exemplified through the inclusion of people from all walks of life, including those from the transgender community.

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Compliance with ethical standards

This article does not contain any studies with human participants or animals performed by the author. Extracting and inspecting publicly accessible files (scholarly sources) as evidence, before the research began no institutional ethics approval was required.

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Self-Reported Attitudes and Beliefs of Deviant Behavior: Hypermasculinity Explains Differences of Fraternity/Sorority Communities and Fraternity and Non-Fraternity Involved Men

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ABSTRACT. Limited literature exists examining differences in self-reported deviant attitudes and beliefs based on gender norms and Greek affiliation. The current study explored such differences at a rural Midwestern university, utilizing hypermasculinity research to guide survey questions and analysis. Forty-eight statements were analyzed in five clusters to include manipulation, disregard for authority, hazing, lack of remorse, and risk-taking. The results produced consistent findings that male students endorse more negative deviant attitudes and beliefs than female students. However, findings on Greek life endorsement were mixed but generally did not support predictions or previous literature. The results are important at a time when fraternities are criticized for deviant behaviors such as hazing, sexual assault, and binge drinking as the current study found many results which contradict such views. Practical implications are discussed.

Keywords: fraternity communities; deviance; hypermasculinity; gender norms

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Introduction

> Sometimes lurid, sometimes ludicrous, and often tragic, accidents and crimes at college fraternities are increasingly being made public in civil lawsuits (Flanagan, 2014: 72).

Many undergraduate institutions have participating fraternity/sorority communities. Fraternity/sorority communities have approximately 9.3 million living alumni and 800,000 undergraduate members at approximately 12,000 chapters (National Panhellenic Conference, 2018; North American Interfraternity Conference, 2018). As Flanagan states above, public attention to fraternity life has shifted blame away from universities, resulting in parental involvement, lengthy investigations, and "human wreckage" (2014: 72). The release of *Animal House* (Landis et al., 1978) created a roaring return of fraternity life and a gendered stereotype of the common member – one engaged in hard drug usage, hypersexualized behaviors, and tolerance for delinquent behavior (Flanagan, 2014; Smith, 2015). These stereotypes, and others, suggest individuals involved in fraternity communities are more likely to develop and share common views and opinions. Some argue the behaviors of fraternity members are based on the ideals of masculinity – "physical prowess, athleticism, sexual virility, and aggression" (Smith, 2015: 62). It should be noted that, historically, most Greek affiliations consist of predominately white students and leaders, which results in a "white" masculinity. The behaviors expected of sorority women include adherence to rules of conduct such as having their hair and nails done, wearing certain brands of clothing, maintaining an "acceptable" media presence (Robbins, 2005), and striving for thinness (Allison & Park, 2004). Traditional gender norms continue to guide the suggested behaviors of sorority women.

To some extent, the media has been successful in creating a negative image of fraternity/sorority communities, specifically, fraternities (Smith, 2015). In March of 2012, *Rolling Stone* published an account of fraternity life at Dartmouth College as one filled with hazing and binge-drinking rituals (Reitman, 2012; Smith, 2015). Two years later, Flanagan (2014) wrote an article in *The Atlantic* entitled "The Dark Power of Fraternities." Shortly thereafter, Andrew Lohse, the Dartmouth student featured in the *Rolling Stone* article, released his own memoir, *Confessions of an Ivy League Frat Boy* – further shedding light on the tribal "stupidity" of young men (Lohse, 2014), and again, generally, young white men. Some colleges and universities have responded, and in extreme cases, shut-down Greek opportunities at their colleges/universities – mostly in response to bad publicly, and not necessarily indicative of problematic behaviors at their college/university. Some have banned Greek affiliations while others are attempting to regulate and change behaviors caught by the public's attention, including excessive substance use, cheating, and even sexual assault. With the continued spotlight on fraternity

communities, this article is timely and important in examining self-reported attitudes and behaviors of both sorority and fraternity students, as well as non-Greek students, to better understand the accuracies or mistruths as presented by mainstream media outlets. The proceeding literature review will summarize the most commonly cited fraternity/sorority community behaviors with a foundational focus on hypermasculinity, as prescribed societal norms influence behavior.

Literature Review

> They are drunken, promiscuous, academically disengaged lovers of pornography, sports, and video games who rape women, physically assault each other, vandalize buildings on campus, and dangerously risk their lives pledging sexist, racially exclusive, homophobic fraternities (Harris & Harper, 2014: 703).

Harris and Harper's (2010) work, while specific to fraternity life, suggests the need for swift and far-reaching changes to fraternity/sorority communities. Yet, as the introduction would suggest, extreme, isolated incidents, coupled with romanticized media attention, may create an unjustified moral panic (Smith, 2015). This fear encourages national response and knee-jerk decisions such as closing chapters (Flanagan, 2014; Smith, 2015). Others argue masculinity, or the culture surrounding hypermasculinity, must first shift to then seek changes on a smaller scale. Kimmel and Messner (2007) identify masculinity as one's performed social identity prescribed by mainstream social norms defined by cultural expectations. Hypermasculinity asserts men must resist femininity (Brannon, 1976) by engaging in an exaggerated traditional male role – including acting tough, independent, aggressive, and placing much value on competitiveness (Burk et al., 2004). Additionally, in some status-seeking positions, it is important for men to be sensation-seekers, dominating control over others, and at times, displaying acts of violence (Burk et al., 2004). Those who violate the social norms are subjected to ridicule, alienation, and violence (Kimmel & Messner, 2007). For women, acceptance and compliance with traditional gender norms, especially within sorority-life, is strongly encouraged.

Greek life affiliates usually have higher social status on campus and therefore possess more power and prestige, especially since most Greek-life affiliations consist of white members (Chang, 2014). Stereotypical gender attitudes – beliefs about women, support of male heterosexual violence towards women, and opposition to women's rights and leadership, are supported more by fraternity members than sorority or non-Greek-life members (Robinson et al., 2004). While ideas surrounding hypermasculinity encourage, and even support, the notion that boys and men are privileged to destructive and deviant behavior, the literature surrounding gender normative behaviors

for girls and women, including sorority-affiliated young women, is quite the contrary. In fact, a plethora of studies can be located on "sorority behavior" but from a different angle – one focused on their bodies, sexuality and risky sexual behaviors, and issues surrounding food and eating disorders. Basow et al. (2007) uncovered heightened levels of body objectification and social pressure amongst sorority women. Franklin (2016) found that sorority members may engage in risk-taking behaviors, but generally as a product of increased socialization and trust of fraternity men.

The current literature review aligns with a self-constructed scale measuring self-reported deviant attitudes and beliefs. Five themes were identified through use of deviant attitudes and beliefs surveys and overall findings from previous Greek studies. This review uses Kimmel and Messner's (2007) work on masculinity studies to further interpret what is known about gender differences in men and women's behaviors. Yet, more specifically, self-reported behaviors of Greek members and non-Greek members, when comparing between sororities and fraternities, as fraternities are likely influenced by broader cultural expectations of adhering to behaviors supportive of hypermasculinity.

Manipulation

The researchers did not uncover studies directly measuring manipulation as a variable of interest within Greek-letter fraternities/sororities. However, studies have indirectly assessed manipulative behavior resulting in this sub-theme measuring varying aspects of manipulative behavior. As one example, studies have investigated the relationship of alcohol usage, Greek life involvement, and sexual assaults. Some findings suggest fraternity members use alcohol to coerce and gain control over women with the intent of engaging in sexual relations (Foubert et al., 2006) while sorority members are willing to engage in excessive drinking to socialize with fraternities (Scott-Sheldon et al., 2016). Greek life affiliation has also been shown to be correlated to drugging victimization (Lasky et al., 2017). As research finds men and women hold different attitudes towards power and social dominance (Pratto et al., 1994), mainstream gender norms may partially explain why fraternity members are more likely to endorse the above behaviors than sorority members.

Fraternities are often stereotyped as participating in various forms of misconduct. Some question whether the exclusive, secretive culture of fraternity membership encourages cheating among members as some studies have found a correlation with academic dishonesty and fraternity membership (McCabe & Bowers, 1996; McCabe & Trevino, 1997). Specific to attitudes about cheating, non-fraternity students were more likely to agree that reporting someone for cheating was worse than cheating itself (Eberhardt et al., 2003). Yet, research also documents that cheating amongst both fraternity and sorority groups is higher than among non-Greek groups (McCabe & Bowers, 2009).

The ability to deceive and cheat the system is more acceptable than manipulating the system itself.

Disregard for Authority

Previous studies investigated individual factors explaining possible differences in Greek life and non-Greek life involvement. In many instances, these factors may be broadly housed under the umbrella term of "disregard for authority." This section outlines such behaviors, including specific law violations (e.g., underaged drinking) and broader disrespect for control mechanisms preventing serious behavior (e.g., hazing-related deaths). Some studies suggest these behaviors are best explained through manhood and men's hypermasculine behavior as a demonstration of social and cultural conceptions (Wells et al., 2014). At the institutional-level, and in-line with gendered behaviors and responses, sorority women are often more likely to be penalized and monitored for their deviant behaviors than fraternity men (Paquette, 2016).

Research is replete with studies on substance-use behaviors amongst fraternity organizations. Greek affiliates, and especially fraternity members, are said to drink alcohol more often and in greater quantities than other college students (Routon & Walker, 2016b). Even after controlling for prior drinking habits and other extraneous variables, several studies continue to find a causal relationship with fraternity membership and increased alcohol consumption (see DeSimone, 2007; DeSimone, 2010). More specifically, Routon & Walker (2014) found fraternity members were about 14% more likely to drink beer "frequently" than non-members while the effect for sorority members was slightly smaller at 9%. Fraternities and sororities report engaging in partying behaviors more frequently than non-members (1.9 hours and 1.1 hours respectively) (Routon & Walker, 2016b). Fraternity members are known for engaging in overall party culture – partaking in behaviors not considered socially normative outside the party context (e.g., dancing on tables, public nudity) as a way to express their commitment to the group (Weiss, 2013). To increase presence and socialization, sorority members regularly attend fraternity parties and engage in excessive drinking (Franklin, 2016).

Some have questioned fraternity members being difficult to control as they do not feel threatened by unpleasant consequences (Park & Parisi, 2019). Some universities lack the authority to govern Greek life affairs because they operate on private property (Flanagan, 2014; Hechinger, 2017). Local law enforcement must then respond to underaged drinking or out-of-control fraternity partying and other male gendered behavioral displays. Yet, many fraternity brothers feel invincible due to their reservoir of powerful alumni in the fields of business, politics, and legal fields. Therefore, there is little incentive to show respect for authority (Parks & Parisi, 2019) as Greek life in the U.S., alongside their institutional systems, "possess and perpetuate structural and cultural power on campus" (Jozkowski & Wiersma-Mosley, 2017: 2).

Hazing

The first hazing statute was passed in 1874 by the United States Congress (Act of June 23) to prevent such acts at the Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland. Since then, 44 additional states have passed anti-hazing laws (Parks et al., 2015). Still, hazing continues to plague universities throughout the country. According to Bauer et al. (2015), hazing scandals in higher education institutions are a continuous issue. Hazing is generally only discussed in the public domain when something goes wrong (Cokley et al., 2001) although hazing practices vary depending on group. For example, hazing may include personal servitude, sexual humiliation, or binge drinking (Cimino, 2013; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009). Studies again point towards gender norms explaining hazing instances being more prevalent within fraternities than sororities. According to McCready (2020: 531), "The gender norm climates embedded in and perpetuated by men's college fraternities may affect members' endorsement of hazing mentalities, but members' support of hazing beliefs may vary from fraternity to fraternity."

After studying hazing throughout higher education institutions from around the world, Bauer et al. (2015) found hazing is generally depicted as a deviant behavior; yet a behavior that appears to be a norm – at times, a gendered norm for boys and men. This normative process is said to occur as newcomers integrate into a unified group (Cimino, 2013). This integration process may be described as practices of initiation. The initiation practices will likely support the function of the promoting group – further reinforcing attitudes, status hierarchies, as well as cognitive, behavioral, and affective social dependency (Dias & Sá, 2012; Keating et al., 2005). In one study, when presented with a hypothetical hazing situation, 84% of participants said they would choose to haze at least a little (Cimino, 2013). Again, the culture surrounding hazing may support this as a rite of passage (Bauer et al., 2015), further encouraging deviant behavior, especially for young men proving their masculinity.

Lack of Remorse

As previously indicated, masculinity norms may explain differences between fraternity and sorority member behavior and lack of remorse for said behaviors. Studies have shown men are more likely than women to engage in aggression and violence against others (Rich et al., 2015) including sexual assaults (Biddix, 2016; Harris & Schmalz, 2016). Schwartz & DeKeseredy (1997) found that homogeneous groups such as fraternities, learn to degrade and objectify women as sexual conquests, and as such, their coercive and manipulative nature bolsters their reputation. Foubert et al. (2006) reviewed previous studies and concluded many show Greek men are more likely than non-Greek men to coerce sexual behavior or use alcohol as a mechanism to engage in sexual activity. Similar findings within sorority groups do not exist.

Greek culture has sometimes been referred to as perpetuating femininity, masculinity, heteronormativity, misogyny, and hypermasculinity (Radina, 2017).

In addition to a focus on sexualization, studies also question the ethical development of fraternity members (Astin, 1993). At times, fraternities lack sensitivity to valued traditions and cultures of others (e.g., Jamaican-me-crazy party) (Whipple, 1998). Their insensitivity to diversity and inclusion of others, or lack thereof, leaves room for skepticism of remorse for such actions. Similar findings have been noted when studying fraternity members' views on sexual orientation. Specifically, studies find that homosexuality is a direct threat to the norms of hypermasculinity (Capraro, 2000; Hesp & Brooks, 2009). Rhoad's (1995) ethnographic fraternity research found gay men were viewed as inferior, stemming from hypermasculine culture characterized by the fraternity environment.

Risk-taking

At times, fraternity involvement is referred to as a "young man's gateway to manhood" (Parks & Parisi, 2019: 2). In general, people do not seek out opportunities to jeopardize their well-being. However, men may behave in unhealthy ways as they adopt the expectations associated with hegemonic masculinity (Courtenay, 2000). Within Greek-life, brothers are promised a wild and fun experience filled with risk-taking adventures. As one example, heavy drinking has the potential to endanger one's health but also provides a prime opportunity to exhibit one's manliness and willingness to take risks (Hinote & Webber, 2012). Flanagan (2014) wrote about one fraternity member presenting at the university hospital's emergency room with what appeared to be a sexual assault; however, the damaged rectum was due to pumping wine into it through an enema hose with friends (Flanagan, 2014). When including samples of both fraternity and sorority members compared to non-Greek peers, Greek-affiliates consume higher quantities of alcohol, drink more often, and have more negative alcohol-related issues.

In addition to risky drinking behaviors, the research is also rich in identifying risky behaviors such as encouragement of hazing (Kimmel, 2008), violence (DeSantis, 2007). One possible explanation may be the socialization process that indoctrinates Greek members into a culture that rewards risk-taking behavior (Scott-Sheldon et al., 2016). Additionally, risky sexual behavior, a component to masculinity and sexual prowess, may result in emotional distress, STIs, and pregnancy, to name a few (Sawatzke, 2010). Other risk-taking behaviors (e.g., academic misconduct and hazing) have already been outlined more thoroughly.

Current Study

Modern fraternities and sororities exist as some of the oldest organizations in North America (Whipple & Sullivan, 1998). Higher education scholars are scrutinizing the need for fraternity communities as some research questions

whether membership gains outweigh the costs (Weschler et al., 2009). Some studies focus on beliefs about alcohol/drug usage, hazing, and academic misconduct (see Bauer et al., 2015; Martin et al., 2012; McCabe & Bowers, 2009; Routon & Walker, 2014; Sidani et al., 2013). However, minimal literature exists examining the broad range of overall deviant attitudes surrounding fraternity communities; specifically, even fewer have assessed differences between fraternity and sorority groups, as literature demonstrates different personality development for girls and boys (see Feingold, 1994; Roberts et al., 2001; Van den Akker et al., 2014).

This paper recognizes the influence of gender roles, including hypermasculinity, on Greek life membership attitudes and beliefs. The current study sought to expand knowledge in this area. Thus, perceptions held by students involved in fraternity communities were compared with sorority members. To further assess the influence Greek life membership may have on deviant beliefs, sorority women and fraternity men were compared with non-Greek involved men and women in the domains of manipulation, disregard for authority, hazing, lack of remorse, and risk-taking – each assessing deviant attitudes, beliefs, and actual behaviors. With this in mind, the following hypothesis guided the study: 1) Fraternity involved men would endorse more negative, overall attitudes and beliefs, in all five clusters, compared to sorority women; and 2) Fraternity involved men would endorse more negative, overall attitudes and beliefs, in all five clusters, compared to non-fraternity involved men.

Method

Sample

Participants were recruited from a four-year public university located in the rural Midwest. To recruit non-Greek life members, faculty in the departments of Sociology, Criminal Justice, Psychology, and Interdisciplinary Studies were asked to allow their students to participate in the project. One of the researchers was an active fraternity member with an ongoing relationship with all Greek affiliations on campus. This member/researcher accompanied the primary researcher to meet with representatives from each of the campus fraternity/sorority communities to garner their support – 237 members coming from 13 different fraternities/sororities participated.

In total, 120 fraternity/sorority students and 188 non-fraternity/sorority students were surveyed during the Fall 2015 academic semester. Demographic comparisons between fraternity/sorority students and non-fraternity/sorority students can be viewed on Table 1. Overall, demographic information was consistent with the student body at the time of the sample. Ages ranged from 18 to 41 with a mean age of 20.18 which was consistent with the average age of a traditional undergraduate student (21.2 years-of-age).

Table 1 Demographic comparison between fraternity/sorority and non-fraternity/sorority students

	Fraternity/Sorority	Non-Fraternity/Sorority
Age	20.19	20.18
Gender		
Male	89	82
Female	66	70
Ethnicity		
White/Caucasian	132	113
Hispanic/Latino	9	22
Black/African American	2	10
Native America/Alaskan Native	4	1
Other	8	6
Classification		
Freshman	28	56
Sophomore	37	38
Junior	43	40
Senior	47	18

Note: Means are reported for ages, n is reported for all other variables

Materials and Procedures

Due to the lack of comprehensive survey instruments, the current study used a self-constructed 48-item Likert scale questionnaire to assess the personality characteristics of undergraduate students (Appendix A). Using a Likert scale, students were asked to report to what degree (ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree) they endorsed each of the 48 statements. The attitude/ belief statements were clustered into the domains of manipulation, disregard for authority, hazing, lack of remorse, and risk-taking to serve as dependent variables.

Results

First, Cronbach's alpha was determined to analyze the reliability of the five self-constructed clusters (manipulation, disregard for authority, hazing, lack of remorse, and risk-taking) based on the 48 statements. The manipulation subscale consisted of nine items (α=.73); the disregard for authority subscale consisted of fourteen items (α=.74); the hazing subscale consisted of five items (α=.90); the lack of remorse subscale consisted of nine items (α=.63); and the risk-taking subscale consisted of eight items (α=.63).

MANOVA

A one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed to test each of the hypotheses using the gender and fraternity/sorority involvement group (fraternity males, sorority females, non-fraternity males, non-sorority females) as the independent variable and each of the five clusters (manipulation, disregard for authority, hazing, lack of remorse, and risk taking) as dependent variables. For the overall MANOVA, all five multi-

variate tests were statistically significant, $F(4, 815) = 9.76$, $p = .000$; Wilks $\Lambda = .63$, partial $\eta^2 = .14$. A series of post-hoc analyses were performed to examine individual mean differences across all four groups on each of the five clusters. Mean scores for fraternity males indicated significantly greater amounts of manipulation than both sorority females (p=.007) and non-sorority females on the manipulation cluster (p=.000). Additionally, non-fraternity males scored significantly different than non-sorority females (p=.001), such that non-fraternity males indicated greater deviance than non-sorority females. Sorority females indicated significantly less manipulation than non-sorority females (p=.007). However, no significant difference was found between fraternity males and non-fraternity males (p=.634) on the manipulation cluster.

On the hazing cluster, mean scores for fraternity males were found to be significantly higher than sorority females (p=.000) and non-sorority females (p=.000), such that fraternity males indicated greater acceptance of hazing than their female counterparts. Additionally, non-fraternity males indicated significantly greater acceptance of hazing than non-sorority females. (p=.016). Sorority females indicated significantly less acceptance of hazing than non-sorority females (p=.000). However, no significant difference was found between fraternity males and non-fraternity males (p=.069) on the hazing cluster.

Mean scores for fraternity males were found to be significantly greater than sorority females (p=.000) and non-sorority females (p=.000) on the risk-taking cluster, such that fraternity males indicated greater acceptance of risk-taking than their female counterparts. Additionally, non-fraternity males indicated significantly greater acceptance of risk-taking than non-sorority females (p=.000). Sorority females indicated significantly less risk-taking acceptance compared to non-sorority females. However, no significant difference was found between fraternity males and non-fraternity males (p=.920) on the risk-taking cluster.

Fraternity males indicated significantly greater acceptance of disregard for authority when compared to both sorority females (p=.000). Sorority females were also found to be significantly less accepting of disregard for authority than non-sorority females (p=.019). No significant differences were revealed on the disregard for authority cluster between fraternity males and non-fraternity males (p=.995), nor between fraternity males and non-fraternity females (p=.175).

Finally, fraternity males were found to be significantly more accepting of lack of remorse than sorority females (p=.000) and non-sorority females (p=.000). Additionally, non-fraternity males scored significantly different than non-sorority females (p=.000), such that non-fraternity males indicated greater acceptance of lack of remorse than their non-sorority counterparts. No significant finding was revealed between sorority females and non-sorority females

(p=.141) nor between fraternity males and non-fraternity males (p=.108) on the lack of remorse cluster.

Discussion

> We need to be diligent in addressing issues of hazing, sexual assault, and racial intolerance in all aspects of college life – fraternities and sororities included…If you ask the majority of students, they want their fraternity and sorority experience to be the most positive one it can be for themselves and their brothers and sisters (Hibel, 2019: 1).

The current study sought to better understand possible differences in self-reported deviant attitudes and beliefs held by fraternity communities compared to sororities and non-fraternity/sorority life students. The study utilized the masculinity work by Kimmel and Messner (2007) to further understand differences between men and women participants. Findings from the current study revealed some inconsistencies with previous literature, with mixed support for the hypotheses.

The first hypothesis suggested fraternity students would endorse more negative attitudes and beliefs compared to sorority students. This finding was mixed but was generally supported across the five clusters. Fraternity students indicated the highest levels of accepted deviance, and were found to score significantly higher than sorority females across each of the clusters. This finding is consistent with hypermasculinity literature and men's need to amplify their stereotypical masculine behaviors in the presence of others (Radina, 2017; Smith, 2015). However, fraternity students did not differ from non-fraternity students.

Limitations

Statements were generated from a self-constructed survey and lack previous support on validity and reliability measures. In the current form, only three of five clusters reached acceptable reliability measures. We encourage future scholars to take additional steps to increase psychometric properties (e.g., eliminating items) to increase reliability of some scales. Next, the scale did not include attitudes toward women or sexual assault. Future research should strive to examine fraternity community, and non-fraternity involved men's attitudes toward women, as well as assessing views on sexual assault held on college campuses. These views, as well as others included in the current study, are likely to vary by university culture, as previous literature suggests this plays a role in shaping individual views (Harris & Harper, 2010). The current project compared views of fraternity communities to non-fraternity

students at only one institution, and while consist with most Greek organizations, a predominately white university. Future studies should examine and compare views on deviant behavior across various college campuses and multiple pledge chapters. Additionally, we must consider the possible influence our recruitment project had with one researcher being Greek-involved and having an already established relationship with this body.

Although not addressed within the current study, some previous literature has found less openness to student diversity due to isolating environments among fraternity students (Schultz, 2011) while others (Routon & Walker, 2016a) have found this to be a reported strength. The current study took place at a rural Midwestern campus that has no fraternities or sororities specific to minority groups and is mostly a white campus. Future literature should examine views on diversity – specifically the LGBTQIA+ community – and racial diversity among fraternity communities as some studies suggest more closed-minded views from fraternity community members (see Edwards, 2009; Rhoads, 1995).

Implications for Practice

At a time when some universities and colleges are limiting or dismantling fraternity/sorority communities, the current findings are important and suggest rethinking university responses. Specific interventions and policies should be put in place, informed by evidence and local findings. Ideally, prevention tactics, in addition to responses to existing issues, should be employed.

Future scholars, those employed within student affairs, and/or Greek life oversight positions should consider the impact of hypermasculinity when creating and measuring local attitudes and beliefs. This is consistent with both current and previous findings. These individuals should consider the best fit for measuring deviant attitudes, including a focus on gender norms specific to each location, and possibly creating their own survey to capture local culture. For example, gender norms vary in rural and urban locations – rural locations tend to harbor more traditional values and beliefs (see Terry, 2020). Yet, regardless of location, programs targeting young men across university-life such as the Campus Men's Action Network (Jana's Campaign, 2014) or Coaching Boys into Men (Coaching Boys into Men, 2018) can be effective programs for cultural change.

Continued assessment and evaluation at the university-level is essential in gaining an accurate understanding of behaviors within fraternity/sorority communities and efficacy of existing interventions. Previous literature asserts universities should target first-year students to reduce negative perceptions related to fraternity/sorority communities (Danielson et al., 2001) although ongoing prevention work is key. Some scholars suggest postponing recruitment into fraternity/sorority communities until second semester of freshman

year or one's sophomore year to reduce susceptibility to peer influence (Turner et al., 2000). Yet, research shows dangerous drinking steadily increases among fraternity communities throughout the first three years of college – leaving room to question postponing membership and/or targeting only first-year students (see Turner et al., 2000). Yet, if these organizations are discouraged or even barred, students may be prevented from benefiting from positive initiatives (e.g., leadership skill-building). Literature supports current fraternity communities are continuing in their commitment to service and community work (Routon & Walker, 2014; Schultz, 2011) and opportunities to take leadership roles and speak publicly (Routon & Walker, 2016a).

In an era where many colleges and universities are reporting decreases in enrollment, colleges/universities could begin their research by reviewing their fraternity community retention and graduation rates. Studies have consistently found involvement in fraternity communities have a higher reported desire to graduate on time as well as pursue graduate education (Routon & Walker, 2014). Additionally, many studies have shown powerful influential American leaders such as United States presidents, congressional leaders, and Supreme Court justices to be previously associated with fraternities (Konnikova, 2014; Smith, 2015). The current findings encourage a universal view on all student behavior – an awareness that deviant behavior is not limited to fraternity communities; and in fact, these organizations have the potential to instill leadership skill development helping to mold world-ready leaders.


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This article does not contain any studies with human participants or animals performed by the authors. Extracting and inspecting publicly accessible files (scholarly sources) as evidence, before the research began no institutional ethics approval was required.

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Appendix A

Manipulation:
1, 2, 3, 6, 7,8,10, 26, 27
1: In some situations, it is better to lie if it will cause less problems than telling the truth.
2: It is not an issue to cheat or use assignments from other students.
3: Altering information and/or reports is ok as long as the overall message is the same.
6: It is crucial to learn who one should listen to and who can be ignored.
7: It is okay to use others if they are using you.
8: In some situations, one has to play on the emotions to get results.
10: When one has leverage in a negation, they should use it to their full advantage.
26: I actively look for loopholes.
27: Most people do not want the truth, they want a cleaner version of the truth.

Disregard for Authority:
4, 5, 21, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33,34, 37, 45, 46, 47, 48
4: It is ok to bend policies as long as things stay under control.
5: I would be nervous to go before a hearing board*.

21: All legitimate authority is a joke.
29: It is wrong for underage individuals to drink*.
30: I would not associate with someone if I knew they were underage and drinking*.
31: It is wrong for anyone to use any illicit substance*.
32: I would not associate with someone if I knew they used illicit substances*.
33: It would be easy to find someone to purchase alcohol*.
34: It would be easy to find someone selling illicit drugs.
37: It is ok to miss class to hang out with friends.
45: More than one of my friends has been arrested.
46: More than one of my close relatives has been arrested.
47: It is ok to lie, cheat, or steal as long as it is for the greater good.
48: People who engage in criminal behavior should be incarcerated*.

Hazing:
9, 14, 18, 19, 20
9: Minor abuse of seniority or other rank is to be expected.
14: Slight hazing is not a big deal.
18: If I could get away with it, and there was not lasting harm I would haze someone.
19: If I could get away with it and there was lasting harm I would haze.
20: It is all in good fun to threaten others who you have authority over.

Lack of Remorse:
11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 22, 23, 24, 25, 35, 38
11: It bothers me when I say things that hurt others*.
12: Some people are too sensitive.
13: It is annoying when what I say while under the influence is brought up to me later.
16: I get into heated physical confrontations.
17: I often threaten others.
22: I enjoy community service*.
23: To be successful sometimes you have to put your emotions aside.
24: I do not feel quilt.
25: Stress is overcome quickly.
35: Most people are inherently good*.
38: It would be wrong to take anything worth around $5 from a friend/associate*.

Risk-Taking:
15, 28, 36, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44
15: I get into heated verbal arguments.
28: I have been 100% honest in this survey*.
36: If my parents knew about all of my overall academic performance, they would be pleased*.
39: It would be wrong to take something worth $5 from a stranger*.
40: I have a good relationship with my mother*.
41: I have a good relationship with my father*.
42: I would do something dangerous if someone dared me to.
43: I have done the opposite of what someone told me to just to make them mad.
44: I like to see how much I can get away with.

Note: * Reverse scoring.

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Gendered Innovations: Enhancing Excellence in Science & Technology

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ABSTRACT. How can we harness the creative power of sex, gender, and intersectional analysis for discovery and innovation? As a historian of science, I founded Gendered Innovations in 2009. Today it is a global enterprise. This paper discusses what gendered innovations is, how it works, its methods and case studies. Gendered Innovations was developed through interdisciplinary collaborations involving over 225 experts from across the United States, Europe, Canada, and Asia. Major funders include the European Commission, the U.S. National Science Foundation, and Stanford University. For late-breaking news on research in this area, join the Gendered Innovations listserv.

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1. Introduction

This paper explores Gendered Innovations.[1] Gendered Innovations was produced through a large international collaboration involving the European Commission, the U.S. National Science Foundation, and Stanford University. We've now expanded into South Africa, Latin America, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan. Since 2009, Gendered Innovations has brought together 225 basic scientists, engineers, and gender experts in a series of workshops. New policies have been implemented across the European Union, Canada, and the United States.[2] We've also expanded into Silicon Valley with a series of Tech Roundtables for industry leaders, such as Google, Facebook, and the like.

Innovations is about integrating sex, gender, and intersectional analysis into the design of research. The operative question is: How can we harness the creative power of sex, gender, and intersectional analysis for discovery? Does this approach add valuable dimensions to research? Does it take research in new directions?

First a bit of background. Governments and universities in the U.S. and Western Europe have taken three strategic approaches to gender equality over the past several decades:

1. "Fix the Numbers" focuses on increasing the numbers of women and underrepresented groups in science and engineering. This is about participants—it's about creating gender balanced research teams. It's about hiring more women at universities.

2. "Fix the Institutions" promotes gender equality in careers through structural change in research organizations. This is about reforming universities and research institutions so that everyone's career can flourish. It's about parental leave; it's about work/life balance.

3. "Fix the Knowledge" or "gendered innovations" stimulates excellence in science and technology by integrating sex, gender, and intersectional analysis into research. The goal is to promote scientific excellence, environmental sustainability, and social equity.[3]

This short paper focuses on the third strategic approach—fixing the knowledge. It's the newest area, and the most important for the future of science, innovation and human knowledge.[4] This is what Gendered Innovations is all about.

We distinguish these three "fixes" analytically, but, for the gender experts in the audience, let me emphasize that, in reality, they work together. Although many people try to fix the numbers first, we will not fix the numbers unless we also fix the knowledge. Let me give one example of the link between "who" does science and "what" science is created—there are a number of these examples, but I give the latest here. Currently, women file only 13% of patents in the U.S. Rem Koning at Harvard's Business School shows that if all biomedical patents filed between 1976 and 2010 had been

produced equally by men and women, there would be some 6500 more female-focused biomedical inventions—leading to biotechnologies that would benefit women.[5] I'm on the board of a FemTech start up right now—which is extremely interesting.

Now that I have set the stage, let's dive into some examples of sex, gender, and intersectional analysis in research.

2. Doing Research Wrong Costs Lives and Money

This is the best known example—and one you may already know. Recently, ten drugs were recently withdrawn from the U.S. market because of life-threatening health effects; eight of these posed greater threats for women.[6] Not only did these drugs cost billions of dollars to develop—but when they fail, they cause death and human suffering. We can't afford to get it wrong.

Or take the case of osteoporosis—the disease that thins the bones as people age. Because osteoporosis is considered primarily a women's disease, diagnoses and treatments for men have lagged. Yet after a certain age of about 75, men account for nearly a third of osteoporosis-related hip fractures. Tragically, when men break their hips, they tend to die. We don't know why. Analyzing the interaction between sex and gender in osteoporosis research has developed new diagnostics for men, and the search for better treatments is underway.[7]

3. Doing Research Right Saves Lives and Money

It is crucially important to get the research right from the beginning.[8] This is the goal of Gendered Innovations. This project: 1) develops state-of-the-art methods of sex, gender, and intersectional analysis; and 2) provides case studies to illustrate how gender analysis leads to discovery and innovation. I will give some quick version of a few case studies here. You can find forty case studies on the Gendered Innovations website.

But first, what do we mean by the terms "sex" and "gender"? Sex and gender are distinct terms and must be used correctly. Sex is about biological characteristics—height, weight, genes, hormones[9]; gender, by contrast, is about cultural attitudes and behaviors.[10]

A lot of us think of sex and gender in binary terms: male/female; man/woman. And gender is moving quickly beyond just men and women. A A 2022 Pew Research Center survey found that 1.6% of U.S. adults are transgender or nonbinary. Among young adults, under 30, it's much higher at 5%.[11] And we know that numerous countries now recognize a third gender category on official documents, such as birth certificates, driving licenses, and passports. These include Argentina, Australia, Canada, Colombia,

Denmark, Germany, India, Malta, Nepal, New Zealand, and Pakistan, among others, as well as many U.S. states.[12]

For our first in-depth example, I would like to discuss social robots. And believe me—the robots are coming!

A Stanford lab is promising a robot that can clean up the kitchen.[13] If a robot can clean up the kitchen, I'm ordering one right away! But there are many questions here: how can we best design robots that can collaborate with humans and, importantly, work for everyone across all of society? Key questions are: What social characteristics robots should embody—if any! For example, should robots be gendered? If the robot is a nursing robot, should it be gendered female to match user expectations? We must remember that globally 90 % of nurses are women.[14] If the robot meets user expectations, will the patient be more compliant? Will the patient be more likely to take the medicine or do the exercise the robot recommends? And what genders a robot?

It is important to remember that robots are designed in a world alive with gender norms, gender identities, and gender relations. Gender norms—in the workplace, in family culture, in institutional policies, in global culture—are those spoken *and* unspoken cultural *attitudes* that influence our behaviors.[15] Humans—whether as designers designing the robots or users using the robots—tend to gender machines (because, in human culture, gender remains a primary social category). Many specialists in human/robot interaction argue that the human tendency to project human social cues—including gender—onto artificial intelligences may help users engage more effectively with robots.[16]

But there is a danger here. As soon as users gender a machine, stereotypes follow. The danger is that gendering robots may reinforce gender inequalities by embodying current stereotypes. Designing hardware, i.e., robots, toward current stereotypes may amplify these stereotypes into the future.

The challenge for designers is: 1) to understand how gender becomes embodied in robots; 2) to design robots that promote social equality.



What genders a robot[17]? How would you read this robot[18]? Pepper (image left) was produced by French designers for the Japanese company, SoftBank—it's now being taken off the market, but is still well known.

Name: The name Pepper is fairly non-gendered in English. But, of course, Pepper is the female assistant to Tony Stark in the Iron Man franchise—so in that context, Pepper is

highly gendered. Despite the name, Softbank calls the robot "he."

Anatomy: Pepper's anatomy somewhat confusing. With the absence of hair, it looks boyish, but the clinched waist and skirt-like legs seem feminine, although I can think of many traditional men in Japan who wear long robes.

Voice: Voices are full of cultural information. Pitch of a voice indicates whether it is a male, female, or child. A choice of voice for a robot may be domain specific. Users in one experiment were more accepting of a male-voiced robot in a security role in airports or shopping malls, and a female-voiced robot in a health care role. You can immediately see how this reinforces stereotypes. Pepper's voice is childish—as are many assistive technologies. A childish voice is perceived as non-threatening.

One innovation of note is "Q," the first genderless AI voice. Q was developed in Denmark in 2019.[19] The database powering the voice was constructed by combining strands of gender-fluid humans' speech to reach a genderless range that is difficult for humans to categorize as either female or male.

And what about color? Social critics point out that most robots are white (plastic, to be sure)—and many have blue eyes—which can be problematic from an ethnic point of view. This is important because these robots are being used internationally.[20] It would be very easy to choose an eye color outside the human palette. Pepper's eyes change color with function.

Interestingly, we found one robot that can be customized for skin tone. Milo is a lighter-skin toned robot designed for learners with autism spectrum disorder, and Carver is a darker-skin toned robot with the same function. I used to criticize Milo's creators for making only boy-like robots. But the company has recently released also Vedo, a lighter-skin toned girl, and Jemi, a darker-skin toned girl.[21] Even though autism affects four times as many boys as girls, it is important to offer a teaching robot for the millions of girls suffering from the disorder.

So, again, the challenge to roboticists is to understand how gender is embodied in robots—and, importantly, design robots to promote social equity. Designers need to create a virtuous circle where robots embody sociocultural norms that promote equity. This can lead users to rethink sociocultural norms and potentially change cultural norms. The goal is to produce robots that promote social equity.[22] One solution would be to keep robots in "robot space"—and not overlay human notions of gender onto these machines.

Gendered Innovations released Intersectional Design Cards in 2022.[23] Our cards define 12 factors important for intersectional design. These are:

- Age
- Disabilities
- Educational Background

- Ethnicity
- Family Configuration
- Gender
- Geographic Location
- Race
- Sex
- Sexuality
- Social and Economic Status (SES)
- Sustainability

One point to make is that which factors to include differ by culture. These 12 factors are important in a U.S. context, and you in Romania will want to ignore some and add others to make them useful to you. We can add even more factors. For example, handedness—are you righthanded, lefthanded, ambidextrous? We might also consider language or religious cultures, etc. Another important point to make is that researchers cannot look at all these factors—and need to choose the most relevant to their particular research project. The important point is that their choice of factors should result from a defined process—and should not rely on unconscious defaults.

Let me give one last example—from marine science. In 2020, Gendered Innovations published a new method for understanding sex in marine organism. There are simultaneous hermaphrodites, sequential hermaphrodites, protandric hermaphrodites, and protogynous hermaphrodites, also females, and males. Marine organisms are evolutionarily imaginative when it comes to sex! And, I should note, that we use the term hermaphrodite for animals and plants, and intersex for humans.

Global warming is hurting marine organisms—a concern for all of us today. And, importantly, whether we are talking about fish, mollusks, crustaceans, or other marine organisms, responses to global warming can vary by sex. Males can react differently than females, for example. In an excellent article, "Does sex really matter?," Rob Ellis et al. reviewed the state of sex analysis for marine science in 2017 and found that, over the past decade, only 4% of studies analyze sex. This is a missed opportunity.[24]

Why is this important? For species reliant on temperature for sex determination, such as turtles, rapid global warming poses a risk to sex ratios and the stability of populations. As you probably learned in elementary school, the sex of a turtle depends on the temperature. If the climate is warmer, eggs hatch as females; if the climate is cooler, they hatch as males. An important study found that turtle sex ratios respond dramatically to global warming. In Australia, turtles born in warmer northern Great Barrier Reef, for instance, became 99% female, while cooler southern sites they remained a more natural 68% female. Such changes in sex balance can lead to population collapse. If a population is 99% female, it is hard for it to reproduce.[25]

Analyzing sex-based responses to climate change enables better modeling of demographic change among marine organisms and downstream impacts on humans. Effective ocean management and mitigation of climate change impacts depend on understanding organism and ecosystem responses to anthropogenic and environmental change.[26]

Designing sex, gender, and intersectional analysis into research is one crucial component contributing to world-class science and technology. If you would like updates on gendered innovations, you can join our listserv.[27] I send new academic articles in this domain approximately once a month.

4. Conclusions

Let me conclude by asking how can we promote sex, gender, and intersectional analysis in research? Policy is one driver of innovation and can incentivize scientists and engineers to integrate intersectional analysis into their research. Here we need to look at the three pillars of science infrastructure.

First, national funding agencies can ask applicants to integrate sex and/or gender analysis into the design of research—or to justify that it is not relevant. Numerous funding agencies have done this, including the European Commission and the German Research Foundation (DFG). If Romania does not have such a policy, Gendered Innovations has published a roadmap for effective implementation.[28]

Second, peer-reviewed journals can require sophisticated intersectional analysis when selecting papers for publication. Many journals have adopted policies for sex & gender analysis—and you can find a listing of these policies with links on the Gendered Innovations website.[29]

Third, universities can integrate this knowledge and methodology across the curriculum. Exciting new developments at Harvard University include embedding social analysis into technical computer science core technical courses—in a program called Embedded EthiCS.[30] This can be done across the natural sciences and engineering, as it is done across many social sciences and humanities.

There is much work to be done! Researchers need to learn sophisticated methods of intersection analysis. Universities need to incorporate these methods into their curricula. Funding agencies need to incentivize integrating social factors into technical research. As I hope I've begun to show, intersectional research can spark creativity by offering new perspectives, posing new questions, and opening new areas to research.

Together we can help create the world of tomorrow—we can create science and technology that works for everyone across the whole of society. The ultimate goal of gendered innovations is to create excellent, inclusive, and environmentally sustainable science and technology worldwide.

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Quality of Education in a Safe Space: The Role of Feminist Pedagogy is Empowering Learners

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ABSTRACT. This paper explores the quality of interaction in the classroom environment forming a person-centred pedagogy where individuals become a learning community empowered by applying their social and cultural backgrounds. The research promoted the importance of providing a 'safe space' for learning, where empowerment and recognition of their community are promoted. Undoing previous learning from both the teacher and student needs to be revised as new ways of learning and thinking are embraced. This needs to be steered by the student and communicated to all stakeholders. The methods used in this research were four modes of case study data collection including simultaneous semi-structured interviews, observations, and participatory activities to ensure that students' diverse abilities, interests, and preferences could be collated. This research enabled a community of students and scholars with varying degrees of experience and different perspectives to work together and share experiences on the premise that empowerment within the creative learning space is the 'glue' that provides 'energy, capacity and potential' in the learning community. The findings are investigated through the reflective lenses of Brookfield (1995) identifying the different perspectives that form the concept of person-centred pedagogy. Finding that safe space where difficult and challenging views and perceptions can be shared and embraced with a view to progression of thought and co-construction of ideas. Empowering students with the shared knowledge to adapt and embrace within practice. The importance of a knowledgeable practitioner has been directly linked to better outcomes for the sector (Siraj Blatchford and Silva 2002).

Keywords: feminist pedagogy; safe space; human connection; oppressed empowerment

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Introduction

This paper explores quality from a vision of person-centred pedagogy built on Shrewsbury's theory of feminist pedagogy, in other words, a classroom environment where teachers and students act as subjects rather than objects, a learning community that is empowered by applying their social action (Shrewsbury, 1987). It highlights the importance of providing a 'safe space' for students to engage in learning, where, as a result, the students scaffold from their own experiences to create empowerment and recognition of their community (Boostrom, 1998). It is based on the premise that empowerment within the creative learning space is the 'glue' that provides 'energy, capacity and potential' in the learning community (Shrewsbury 1987: 8).

Ludlow (2004) highlights that in a safe space classroom, educators might strive for an environment that examines the effects of power and privilege on our classroom surroundings. hooks (1994) reminds us that we are preparing students to participate in and understand life experiences that are varied and not always without controversy. This paper suggests that teachers and students need to be open to learning, sharing, and understanding in a person-centred approach. There will also be a degree of 'pain' when undoing previous learning and adapting new ways of thinking and knowing (Curzer, 2012)

The modern journey of the university student in the 21st century is now dedicated to the employability of the postgraduate practitioner. This is ultimately steered by the requirements in the field communicated by relevant stakeholders, including employers, parents, students as consumers and, to a degree, academic practitioners. This paper discusses person-centred pedagogy as the recognition of the power implications of traditional methods and focuses on the potential of empowerment rather than domination. Empowerment enables the individual to 'act and change' conditions for the whole population (Lane, 1983). Building on feminist pedagogy and incorporating the student voice as the consumer, a person-centred approach has begun to evolve. This entails listening to the student's voice to support them in finding a way to understand and apply theoretical and practical perspectives in current social culture.

Review of Literature

A person-centred approach has evolved from bringing together a number of previously existing theoretical perspectives. These include taxonomy, Vygotyskian pedagogy, attention to learning, safe spaces, relational pedagogy, ecological systems, microgenics, and pedagogic mediation. The following infographic demonstrates how each approach is connected and builds on the development of relationships in the classroom.

The paper will consider the concept of pedagogy and how this is theorised in the classroom. The paper will then progress to discuss forming a person-centred approach through the reflective model from Brookfield (1995), using the existing theory identified below, forming different perspectives of the same person-centred pedagogy.

When shaping how experiences are interpreted through life and becoming a researcher, in some ways, it could be described we are prisoners of our own developing values, beliefs and personal biases. However, by employing our own interpretive filters the researcher can become aware of more of their own interpretive filters, regardless of how strongly they may believe that they have an accurate sense of self (Brookfield, 1998). There is a need to find certain lenses that give us an alternative image of who we are and what we do in order to become critically introspective. Brookfield (1995) suggests we have four lenses that help us to negotiate through research interpretation. By looking at what is noticed through these lenses, we become aware of flawed or deficient components of our assumptions and presumptions that require additional analysis and research. The infographic below demonstrates how Brookfield's lens interprets the range of theories that addressed pedagogy.

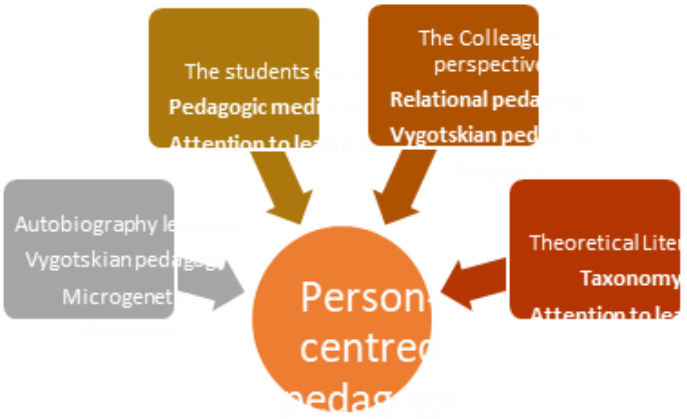


Figure 1 Adapted from Bronfenbrenner (unpublished, Lenses to Theory)

Elements of Person-centred Pedagogy

Pedagogy is a term used to describe techniques and strategies that are inter-active between the teacher/practitioner and the student, (Siraj-Blatchford et al., 2002). Moyles et al. (2002) clarified the complex phenomenon under-pinned by principles acquired through training and from professional experiences and personal understandings and further represents a common core of values and objectives. Academic disciplines and research inform

practice throughout the education sector, for example, a teacher/practitioner of young students will need to understand child development, they may reference cognitive development research and their experience of the success of the child-directed play.

Teaching is an emotional process and can have meaningful lasting effects on those involved. Emotions also play a fundamental role in our practice, by influencing our application, behaviour attitudes and thinking. Hargreaves (1998, 2001) discusses how we influence others through our emotions and behaviours. Through pedagogy students' and teachers' emotions, can be engaged with the relationship between them and the subject matter. An example could be reading a story or a poem.

Pedagogical approaches could be viewed from behaviourism, constructivism, social constructivism, and liberationist perspectives. A behaviourist pedagogy advocates the use of direct instruction, from pedagogical research by Thorndike (1911), Pavlov (1927) and Skinner (1957). Perceiving the teacher/practitioner as the authority figure where knowledge should be delivered in a curriculum where each subject is taught individually. Constructivism is based on the pedagogical research of Piaget (1896 to 1980) who wrote extensively about 'schemas. A constructivist approach may follow a Montessori (1870 to 1952) or Steiner (1861 to 1925) method. Social constructivism pedagogy is a blend of two priorities: teacher-guided, and student-centred. Vygotsky (1896-1934) building on the work of Piaget (1896 to 1980), identified social constructivism, he maintained that learning was a collaborative process between student and teacher/practitioner. He created the concept of Zone of proximal development (ZPD) where a more knowledgeable other (MKO) can support the learner with dialogue and collaborative support. Liberationism is a critical pedagogy, where the teacher wishes to maximise autonomy, Freire (1921-1997) followed a liberationist approach, identifying the student's voice and democracy at the centre where the teacher/practitioner is learning and discovering the subjects and topics alongside the student.

Supporting students to be co-constructors in their own learning using a Vygotskian pedagogy and a microgenic strategy a reciprocal relationship can be established between the student and teacher as the student struggles to understand the task and the teacher develops an understanding of the student's thinking. The concept of ZPD has strong implications for education. Multiple means of representation will ensure that a curriculum framework is flexible and challenging for all students, this is confirmed by many leading researchers in the field. An example of this is similar to Vygotsky's (1978) ZPD, in which a teacher uses scaffolding and builds on what a student already knows and can do and the teacher or peer guides the student to the next level.

Voutsina et al. (2019) researched the gradual changes in the strategies that students use when they solve tasks, they used qualitative studies using a microgenetic design with task-based interviews to collate and analyse changes that occur in students' verbal interactions when solving tasks. The students' verbal interactions were analysed through the lens of the theory of shifts of attention, they worked closely with students to observe the gradual changes made over a short period. Microgenetic methods are used to observe change over time, the strategies students use and how this enhances their learning and cognitive development further (Granott & Parziale, 2002).

Looking at pedagogy as cooperative learning, Lyndon et al. (2019) identifies Pedagogic Mediation as firstly developed by the Studenthood Association, Portugal (Formosinho and Oliveira-Formosinho, 2008; Oliveira-Formosinho and Formosinho, 2012b) to provide a link between context-based teacher education and practice. Pedagogic Mediation is part of the wider democratic spaces which is central to students, parents and practitioners working together to develop lasting change. Pedagogic Mediation in its nature promotes democracy which is a core value in early childhood (Lyndon et al., 2019). The elements of listening, reflection, mutual respect, empowerment have a lasting impact on individuals this enables the transformative space to be inclusive, safe, motivational, transparent and innovative.

From the tutor, teacher or college perspective the relational pedagogy approach focuses on the relationships within pedagogy itself, enabling students to become partners in education (MacNeill and Silcox, 2006). Palmer (1998) saw teaching as an entanglement of 'beings', the teachers, the students and the subject and he explores what it means to be a teacher within these relationships. Palmer argues for a relational pedagogy in which embodied teaching is guided by listening for and to the subject. Papatheodorou et al. (2009) also confirmed the importance of the core principles of Relational pedagogy. They discuss the underpinning principles from the Reggio Emilia preschools and the Tè Whariki curriculum in New Zealand, emphasising the importance of tools like attending, unpacking, and reconstructing relationships to encourage students to become autonomous, reflective and critical.

An ecological system view of education suggests it is necessary to observe interactions at multilevel contexts and examine changes over time at all levels (Xu & Filler, 2008) As Landsberg, Kruger and Nel (2005:9) remind us, the challenge of the education system is to understand the complexity of the influences, interactions and interrelationships between the individual learner and the multiple other systems connected to the learner. Bronfen-brenner's exosystemic theory (1989), as a conceptual tool, views the learner as existing within a complex ecological context that consists of systems within and on the periphery of the family that could influence the

learner's development. Mahlo (2013) highlighted the importance of integrating individual and contextual processes and examining interrelations among these systems.

Hattie (2008) shares the passion, the thrill and absorption of being a teacher or a learner, the sensations of being involved and obtaining real understanding, it can be infectious, it infuses many differences. He explains that it takes more than content and engagement to make a difference, it requires a love of the content, a love of the information, and a demonstration that the teacher is learning about the students, sometimes there is a need for overlearning, spiralling up and down the continuum, building working relationships. Hamre and Pianta (2001) suggest that classrooms with interactions that are exciting and spontaneous support higher levels of learning. Hattie (2008) argues that knowledge building is thinking of criticisms, moving from surface to deeper understanding, and moving to a constructed understanding where they are finding alternatives, problem-solving and advancing students' use of mastery tools.

Boostrom discusses (1998) 'Safe Spaces' and how learning is not just a risk of change, but it means surrendering those previous perceptions, and previous ways of learning, for some individuals this may not always be entirely safe. Boostrom describes four elements of 'safe space'.

(1) an isolated student comes to stand for all students,
(2) the physical space of the classroom comes to stand for social connectedness,
(3) the 'safe space' is characterized as 'comfortable',
(4) students in 'safe spaces are said to do better work'.

A safe space is where you feel comfortable discussing your biases and disciplines you may not understand. Where you can share your views and not feel intimidated, where you feel protected and are not going to be ridiculed afterwards. hooks (1994) reminds us that we are preparing students to participate in and understand life experiences that are varied and not always safe; thus, we empower students when we encourage them to share their voices in an atmosphere of safe risk. Teachers and students need to be open to learning, sharing, and understanding there will be a degree of 'pain' when undoing previous learning and adapting new ways of thinking and knowing.

It is key to understand the links of how theoretical perspectives impact teaching. Bloom (1974) suggests that a time-restricted model of education should be measured against a predetermined set of criteria to assess learning before progression is agreed upon (Cone and Lipsky 2018). However, this mastery model has a continual progression that acknowledges the importance of the human connection element of learning that is more prevalent in the taxonomy presented by Fink (2003). Finks observes learning as a holistic

and continual upwards spiral of a life-changing experience that empowers and encourages students to act on their learning outside of the classroom.

Lemov (2014) and Doherty-Sneddon (2003, 2005, 2012) discuss how behaviours and reactions to students' responses to learning, Lemov discusses how to support students' by the styles of questioning the teacher can use, he gives examples of how the teacher gives feedback and reinforcement, he discusses teacher's behaviours, attitudes, gestures and expressions and how students use this before they gain the answer to indicate whether they are correct or not. Like Doherty-Sneddon, he discusses the subtle behaviours teachers use like nodding and expressions which are used by the student for proxies for attention. This information is important for teachers to be aware of and to adapt their language and behaviour to support engagement rather than disengaged students.

Methodology

Phenomenological case study approach

The methodological approach to this research is a phenomenological case study. The 'malleable guide' or 'bridge' (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2011), connecting paradigms, ontological, and epistemological positions to the research design and methods, seek to uncover and describe the 'essence' of individuals' experiences (Petty, Thomson and Stew, 2012; Creswell, 2003), and aims to "…illuminate the general by looking at the particular" (Denscombe, 2010: 53).

There is much debate around the identity of case studies and it is important for a researcher to choose the most appropriate design and understand the terminology to describe it accurately. There have been various attempts to classify the case study design (Blaxter et al., 2010) cite Yin's classification of case studies as varying over different dimensions; for example, there could be one or multiple causes, and the purpose of the study could be explanatory, descriptive or exploratory. Coolican (2014) suggests the importance of the time frame, and the length of time the research is carried out. Stake (1995) identified case studies as being intrinsic, instrumental, or collective, they can be holistic, interpretive and empathetic.

The participants in the research were self-selected nursery managers, owners and practitioners either on their university journey or part-time lecturers who work directly with children. The ethical code from Bera (Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research, 2018) was followed to ensure all participants were protected throughout the process. Researchers must recognise they are in a position of power or authority in relation to participants and must acknowledge the steps taken to reduce the power differential. The concept of reflexivity is important in this paper. The researchers are conscious that, as a part of the focus, this could impact the

outcomes, consequently demonstrating a bias. This has also been recognised by Cohen et al. (2000) who suggests the dual role of the researcher within action research.

The research design includes various methods and data sources (Petty, Thomson and Stew, 2012; Salkind, 2010; Creswell, 2007), enabling triangulation (Salkind, 2010) and using an ethnographic approach to investigate the nature of communication between students, and tutors. Multiple modes of case study data collection were gained to engage students' interest, and motivation and facilitate student empowerment in the process. The simultaneous use of semi-structured interviews, observations, feedback and participatory activities did ensure that students' diverse abilities, interests, and preferences were acknowledged.

As Moustakas (1994) shares that this mode of research did enable the researcher to capture and describe the perceived realities within a certain context. This enables the researcher to demonstrate the experience and perspective of the participants, the tutors, and most importantly the students providing details of their everyday experiences (Patton, 2002). The 'essence and the underlying structure of a phenomenon' (Merriam, 2009: 23) is fused with a range of methods to demonstrate how the intricate relationships and experiences provide rich and holistic accounts of the practice and relationships adults have with the student and the student has with the adults.

Findings

In recognition of the intricacies of student-centred pedagogy from their perspectives, the paper's objective was to extract the thoughts and voices of students and teachers at varying stages of their education, through personal reflection on their moments within their learning journey. The paper shows the interaction between individual voices and corporate ideology by offering novel insights into the knowledge, beliefs, and practices. The paper's success depends on how their voices were valued. The paper indicates how obtaining early childhood educators' thoughts might contribute to current discussions regarding person-centred pedagogy.

The technique is a key component of this paper since it directly influences definitions of person-centred pedagogy. This paper engages with the thoughts of early years practitioners. Researchers who wish to understand practitioners' thoughts during their learning journey are increasingly using the word 'voice' (Moyles et al., 2002; Nias, 1989).

Key abstracts have been taken from field work that forms part of a wider project and analysed reflecting on each individual case study then later in this paper we examine deeper the case studies as part of person-centred pedagogy.

Case study One - student observation

Michelle an experienced practitioner studying at post graduate level, begins to read the story with the Children, she uses a range of tones and pitch and makes the story interesting, Michelle encourages children to join in and recall the actions for the story, Michelle pauses appropriately for children to shout out different sounds and follow the story. Michelle uses facial expressions and verbal sounds to demonstrate her emotions and feelings about the story as she reads. Michelle picks up speed and uses louder sounds to generate attention and support children joining in. She stops and asks each child what they think should happen or would happen for each page, sounds like ahhhhhhh ahooooooo are expressed by the group. The children put their hands to their face, what is it? Each child calls out 'an owl' Michelle provides positive reinforcement there are several hand actions, repetitive sounds, rhyming sounds, open questions, individual children ask to have a closer look at the book and Michelle supports this but ensures that all children can see the book at the same time.

Case Study Two - student feedback

The students on their second unit, level four at university, were concerned when the tutor asked to see their work, 'get your laptops out and show me your work so far' she asked, no one moved, they looked at each other, miss... we have written our work out in our books, the teacher asked why they are 'doubling the work, 'how can I help you if I cannot see your work on the computer?' We prefer to write it out first and then type it up. The students had developed a practice that was detrimental to their success, by hand-writing their work, they would miss the deadline or put themselves under pressure to complete and hand in their work on time. The teacher and students had to work together to undo previous learning and habits and take on new ways of thinking and behaving.

Case study Three - classroom discussion

Aline was a year 6 student who was working towards her assessment and struggled to grasp the context of some calculations, Aline had a birthday party within the next month, so the teacher gave her a project to design and cost her own birthday party, and the venue the theme and the guests, even down to the cost of the cake and ensuring there was enough food and activities for the 12 friends she was inviting. Aline was really excited about this; she planned her party with all the relevant calculations and was finally rewarded by having the party.

Case Study Four - Interview with a lecturer

Rachel is a lecturer who is discussing the importance of discussing personal bias and how this is impacted in the setting. She owns her own setting and lectures on the BA(Hons) Early Childhood Learning and Development at University

"We are all on a journey and that journey is fluid"

"With my students it is important to provide an open and safe space for them to discuss their thoughts and challenge or be challenged"

"It is important to make it real and not tokenistic"

"Real conversations need to be addressed and sometimes that is uncomfortable but if facilitated well it can empower students"

"Theoretical perspectives are also important, to help students unpick the underpinning beliefs of our biases"

Discussion

Introduction

John Dewey (2003: 78) suggested 'we do not learn from experience', but rather, 'we learn from reflecting on experience'. The concept of reflective practice underpins practitioners' understanding, challenging, examining, and critically reflecting on their own learning and practice. Supporting the view that practitioners should create their own contextually aware theories of practice. This section, using the infographic (figure 1) will examine the case studies through the lenses of Brookfield (1995) and interpret the findings that form person-centred pedagogy.

The autobiographical lens is based on self-reflection where we look at ourselves through an introspective lens. This will involve a process of recognising your own values, biases and beliefs and how that impacts your view of the world, therefore, in danger of acting as an obscurer to an unbiased interpretation if not acknowledged. The student's lens or learners' lens is the building of conversations in the classroom that involve challenging assumptions or confirming actions or ideas. The power relationship will become transactional and balanced with high levels of listening and an open mind as key features. The colleague's lens is engaging in the peer review process when practitioners or teachers on an equal platform observe each other and reflect using their own autobiographical lens to interpret the learning. Through a different personal lens, this can highlight differences or similarities between methodologies, learning opportunities and idiosyncratic practices. Providing innovative solutions to any difficulties but equally sharing excellent practice. The final lens is the Theoretical lens focusing on the underpinning theoretical perspectives that support personal pedagogy. Teachers and practitioners that engage in scholarly practice such as writing, research and presenting on the academic circuit begin to understand their

profession on a deeper level and demonstrate the complex relationship between education and politics.

Autobiographical

Vygotsky's ZPD is a particular way of conceptualising the relationship between learning and development (Bodrova & Leong, 1996). Scaffolding within the ZPD allows a student to participate at a higher level (Wood, Bruner, & Ross, 1976). During scaffolding, the learning opportunity has not changed, but what the teacher initially does is made easier with support and guidance for example, in case study one the student encourages the children and then pauses while they recall sounds and words. Steadily, the level of guidance and assistance decreases as the student takes more responsibility for the completion of the activity. Bandura (1997) and Pajares (1996) discuss the student's self-efficacy and how this may determine how much perseverance, energy, and effort the student will use when faced with adversity for example, in the case study two students were anxious at first but then embraced the change. Bandura also highlighted the relationship and emotions of the teacher can have an impact on the student's performance too, the positive interactions will develop trust and social competence (Bandura, 1997).

Voutsina et al. (2019) found change was gradual and students continued to use the less efficient ways of solving tasks, they adopted new strategies and assessed if these were more efficient than the previous strategies. They found that students tried a range of strategies to solve the task even when they were not successful. They also found that students' rate of learning developed through using a variety of strategies. Similarly, in case study two the students moved away from using paper and adapted to a more effective tool. Overlapping Wave Theory (Siegler, 1996, in Didau, 2016) discusses how students think in a variety of ways, these ways compete against each other over a prolonged period and cognitive development occurs gradually like the waves across the sand or rocks.

Therefore, a gradual and constructive approach to learning follows a differentiated contingent approach. Student-initiated provides an opportunity to get to know and understand the students holistically. Parents and students often seek extra support because of specific issues around their learning and through understanding and addressing these, the tutor can scaffold or structure their learning and overall experience. The relationship developed through regular contact and an over-concentrated period will have a significant influence on the student's development. In his research Siegler (2000) discussed how students develop problem-solving skills and extensive occurrence of variability between stages of development, leaving behind inefficient strategies to illustrate this he clarified how students several strategies and ways of thinking rather than focusing on one strategy. These

strategies coexist over long periods rather than short periods, this develops into more advanced and refined approaches and ways of thinking as they develop their cognitive skills. Siegler (2000) continued to discuss five dimensions of learning in the overlapping wave theory of learning, highlighting how students acquire strategies, make mental models and use observation to problem-solve with the support of verbal instruction. He identified their mapping strategies where they link previous learning to new learning and use this to generalise.

Thirdly he discusses how students begin to use advanced approaches and decrease their dependency on the previous strategies they relied on. Siegler (2000) also continued to support the notion that students refine their skills, make adapt their developmental processes and increase their bank of experiences. Finally, Siegler highlights those executive cognitive strategies increase and develop the student's precision and repertoire of strategies. Biddulph & Carr (1999/2000) and Siegler (2000) deliberate how the staircase metaphor has been used to describe cognitive development and neglected the variability that occurs during and between the stages of development, which they clarify is a more effective perspective. Highlighting the internal variabilities that occur in terms of decoding and comprehending different contexts, lifestyles and backgrounds.

Golombek and Johnson (2016) confirm the importance of responding to teachable moments and how this creates a potential developmental moment for the teacher too. They confirm Vygotsky's beliefs that learning, and behaviours are regulated by our community and how this becomes internalised, resulting in higher processing of information, over time this knowledge is transforming, developing and demonstrates that the dialogue with students is essential (Golombek and Johnson 2016). This is clearly demonstrated in case study four where the real conversations between Rachel and students is giving scope for uncomfortable conversations that address challenging topics but in turn empower knowledge.

Student eyes

As the research is built on the student voice all three case studies are relatable to this lens in some way or another. Within Pedagogical mediation, students, educators and parents discuss and participate in meaning-making and decision-making, again derived from both Freire (1996) and Vygotsky's (1978) concepts, mediation is an interaction to empower learning. Within the learning environment, pedagogical transformation can take place with an ethical commitment to student learning, where power is collaborative, respectful and supports agency. For example, Aline in case study three, where learning is collaborative, similar to the approaches described by both Hattie (2008) and Lemov (2014), interactions can focus on specific pedagogical areas within the learning environment. Moving towards a

collaborative transformation of pedagogic practice similar to that seen in case study four.

Therefore, attention to learning is essential for sequencing, and problem-solving, in contrast, information that is not attended to is not processed or used again. Firth, Rivers, & Boyle (2019) highlight that students who are exposed to continuous block learning may switch off and become bored and lose attention, whereas if subjects are engaging and creatively delivered students are engaged and paid more attention.

Colleagues

Noddings (1984, 1992) expressed how care was a deep-rooted trait, she identified how each party contributes through a connection using two dimensions: engrossment and motivational displacement (Noddings, 1984). The term engrossment describes the teacher/practitioner's sensitivity, openness, responsibility, susceptibility, and empathetic attitude. She believed caring relationships were the foundation for successful pedagogical activities. Following a caring relationship, the student will see the teachings as cooperative and engaging, Noddings continued to clarify the importance of dialogue with the student and how individual preferences, strengths and needs are communicated, Noddings, finally, clarified that as we acquire knowledge about our students' needs and realize how much more than the standard curriculum is needed, we are inspired to increase our competence (Noddings, 1999). Brownlee (2004) confirms this by clarifying and validating the student as the one with knowledge, contextualising learning as well as supporting a constructivist approach by demonstrating meaning-making rather than knowledge-making.

Page (2017) researched practitioners around her concept of 'professional love' to try to understand the intimacies that arise for practitioners within day-care settings. She found 95% felt that showing affection to the student in their care is an important part of early years practice. Participants explained their feelings in depth using words such as 'care' and 'kindness' or being 'available' and paying 'attention' to the student. As seen in case study one children working with Michelle were shown professional love which is also seen in Aline in case study three.

In relation to Bronfenbrenner's theory, the two-way 'process bi-directional influences' (Bronfenbrenner, 1979: 218) within the microsystem have specific influences on a student as a result of actions and behaviours of others. This in turn, directly and indirectly, affects the individual. Relating to case study four where Rachel discusses the fluidity of the learning journey. Palmer (1998: 116) expresses the entanglement we have between the teacher, the student, and the subject, believing the focus should be subject focussed and modelled on a '...community of truth...'. Palmer (1998: 10)

shows that 'good teaching cannot be reduced to technique; good teaching comes from the identity and integrity of the teacher'.

Marsh (2012) clarified that students enjoyed lessons where teachers were less serious and more confident to use memorable activities for the understanding of concepts. Appreciating teachers who seized the teachable moments with humour. Hattie (2008) views teachers as activators, deliberate change agents and directors of learning, they are not didactic, the activity is busy and, there is no passive learning. Lemov (2014) discuss a 'not opt out' practice for students. Constructive teachers help a student acquire learning with their peers again demonstrated in case study one and four with Rachel and Michelle both working with their groups co-constructing the learning. Building constructions of understanding, the physical, subjective, and the world of ideas is parallel with the surface knowledge. Thinking of strategies for the subjective/cognitive world and the way students construct knowledge as a reality for themselves.

Boostrom tells the story of the teacher whose student needed a safe space to help him engage in learning, other students as a result, started to modify their learning spaces and she identified the improvement of their work, she identified that all students needed a safe space, empowerment and recognition. In case study three Aline plans her own birthday party building on her own personal interests to make it real to the student. Ludlow (2004) highlights that in a safe space classroom, we might strive for an environment that examines the effects of power and privilege in our classroom environment. The goal is to empower students by encouraging them.

Theoretical Literature

This idea of connecting ideas, relationships and routine moves away from the competency-based education (CBE) models of mastery and more towards the student-centred approach of feminist pedagogy creating a meaningful and relevant learning experience (Lipsky and Cone, 2018). When students can move from idea to idea and relate and elaborate on these, then they are regulating and monitoring their journey they are teachers of their learning. When students become their own teachers, they begin the self-regulatory, self-monitoring, self-assessment, self-valuing, and self-teaching, this enables them to alter the direction of learning by consciously managing multiple opportunities for surface and deep learning.

The knowledge built from the classroom represents the 'how' and the practice knowledge the 'what' according to Fink's taxonomy (2003) this is the first of five critical components to a significant learning experience this demonstrates a 'doing with' approach that empowers the students recognising valuing and building on predetermined knowledge. In comparison, the mastery model of Bloom's taxonomy (1974) requires a systematic review of

progress throughout the learning process linking closely with desired outcomes. This reflects a 'doing to' approach as outlined in Freire (1983: 77) where he criticises the banking model of education suggesting submissive and passive learning where students are 'empty vessels, raw materials, and sponges' and as educators, knowledge is our gift bestowed on them.

According to Hanania & Smith (2010), attention is the process of selecting information and minimising or filtering other irrelevant information or stimulation. It is essential for learning and plays a key role in memory and retention acquisitions. Triesman (1967) identifies that filtering information is being processed at different degrees, deeper and surface attention is being analysed for certain properties, including sounds, syllable patterns, grammatical structure and meaning. Attention and working memory are part of the higher-order cognitive skills, they follow a developmental trajectory whereby the student develops skills as they attend to more activities. Our cognitive architecture has limitations, we can only remember so many things at once, we build schema to help us remember things, and we learn strategies to help us deal with and remember things. It is a practice that matters, engagement to overlearn the key aspects, requires full concentration, and this practice leads to better control and higher understanding. The deliberate practice focuses on the target performance, reduces errors and gains mastery of the project.

Conclusion

This research highlighted the importance of a safe space for students to engage in their learning, where Boostrom (1998) clarifies students scaffold their own learning and experiences through their own community. The relationships can develop where each is equally open to the influence of ideology and the reconstruction of feelings and experiences. Therefore, the intersubjective social-emotional elements of pedagogy can develop through mutual agency specifically in a shared safe space that allows both parties to participate in interactions and exchanges without power or hierarchical behaviours.

Scaffolding is provided for those students that need extra support to understand, unlearn to relearn to then apply new concepts to practice. Returning to the student's safe space and supporting them to make links between the information, habits and practice they already know to embed the new information they need to develop for survival in academia. To assimilate the information students will move to practice and integrate it in their day-to-day practice. Empowering students to take responsibility not only for their own learning but also that of their peers, developing critical thinking and problem-solving skills (Gorur-Atabas, 2017).

According to bell hooks (2003), there is no better setting than the classroom for inviting students to examine, confront, and adapt bias, beliefs and values. Asserting everyone's right to self-determination and self-actualization, especially for those who are viewed as 'other' or 'different,' can be done by showing true respect and care for all. Education is the practice of freedom and hopes when students get past the pain of feeling excluded or different in a classroom to experience the strength of recognition and respect and to be fully present in a setting where all voices are valued (hooks, 2003: 103). This procedure necessitates acknowledging the humanising experience. Palmer (1993) calls it the 'intimacy that does not annihilate difference'. Therefore the quality of the space should enable growth, connection and empowerment. The power of this community will ensure that academia and practice will entwine and as a result future proof skills for employability.

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Fostering the Gender Spectrum Inclusion in English Language Teacher Education

María Amor Barros-del Río*

ABSTRACT. The inclusion of gender in language teacher education and the EFL classroom has been a matter of concern for decades, with a marked interest in sexuality and queer pedagogies in more recent times. This demonstrates an interest in the relationship between language, sexuality and education, and more specifically, in enlarging the gender spectrum within language teacher education. This proposal combines a participatory design model for classroom intervention with a practical and interactive digital tool so that both educators and student teachers can address the inclusion of gender spectrum in their teaching practice.

Keywords: gender spectrum; language teacher education; EFL; classroom intervention; teaching practice; sexuality and queer pedagogies

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Gender is a performative category produced via cultural acts, including language (Butler, 1990). The English language has become a lingua franca for intercultural communication (Sifakis, 2014). Considering that gender equality is a matter of social change and justice that needs to be addressed in education (Aikman et al., 2011; Norton and Toohey, 2011), we conclude that English language teacher education is an appropriate context to advocate for gender inclusion and transformative action with an effective impact in the long term both on practitioners and learners.

The inclusion of gender in language teacher education and the EFL classroom has been a matter of concern for decades. More than a decade ago, Pavlenko and Piller (2008) detected that "gender shapes interactions in the classroom" (61), but also that there is a general gender imbalance in curriculum, a matter much related to the persistence of language textbook stereotypes. In this sense, feminist critical discourse analysis unveils the diverse forms of social inequality through language use and production (Lazar, 2014).

More recently, scholars have shown a marked interest in sexuality and queer pedagogies (Whitlock, 2010; Álvarez-Bernardo et al., 2013; Yoshihara, 2016; Paiz, 2018; Pakuła, 2021). For instance, Pawelczyk, Pakuła and Sunderland have detected "power as being produced, reproduced, challenged and resisted in the EFL classroom in connection with the construction of gender and sexuality" (2014: 49), and they propose the implementation of critical pedagogies and queer pedagogies as helpful means for empowering all students by addressing their various identities. This profusion of research demonstrates an academic interest in the relationship between language, sexuality and education, and more specifically, in enlarging the gender spectrum within language teacher education, because according to Ballester Benito (2016), when teachers are silent about sexism or LGBTQ+ issues, they transmit that it is acceptable to dismiss these individuals from real life interactions. In this sense, most studies place the focus on students and how their learning a language encompasses invisibilisation of minorities or compliance with sexist linguistic uses. Added to this, they usually focus on particular experiences and deal separately with pedagogical approaches, material creation and classroom interventions.

To overcome this situation, this article focuses on the training of 21st century language teachers, a field that demands the implementation of reflective and critical attitudes so that prospective teachers become active agents of change (Barros-del Río, 2019). Departing from a learner-centred pedagogical approach, a participatory design model is be tailored, so that classroom interventions combine quantitative (pre-test and post-test) and qualitative (interviews/writing) methodologies.

It is advisable to start any educational intervention passing a Likert scale (quantitative) survey, both pre- and post-intervention, with questions related to gender vs. sex, the gender binary, the gender spectrum (beliefs, attitudes)

and their relation with language teaching and teacher education. This step is necessary to assess the context, orientate the contents of the action, and appraise expected and actual outcomes.

After that, we suggest the groups are exposed to at least four sessions in order to raise awareness of sex/gender inclusion/exclusion in the English language, and in the way language is usually taught. For this purpose, a renewed syllabus needs to be designed following the three categories proposed by Hawkins and Norton (2009), i.e., Critical Awareness, as a 'way in which power relations are constructed and function in society' (33); Critical Self-Reflection, for 'teacher-learners to critically reflect on their own identities and positioning in society' (34); and Critical Pedagogical Relations, that would 'encourage teacher-learners to consider ways in which their own teaching can enhance opportunities for language learners in their classrooms' (35). These three approaches ensure an integrative view of the gender spectrum ranging from personal, societal challenge detection to learners empowerment.

The nature of these interventions is empirical and embedded with a critical and reflective approach for transformative purposes. As one of the goals is to assess the current situation of gender/sex spectrum inclusion in language teacher education, no particular selection among participants needs to be made. Gender vs. sex, gender binary vs. gender spectrum, and the defence of basic human rights are key constructs to be displayed and contested during the classroom interventions, with a particular attention to stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination, on the one hand, and diversity, difference and inequality on the other hand.

Regarding methodology, the classroom interventions should follow a participatory design model in order to engage participants in discussions around the mentioned topics. For this purpose, Dialogic Gatherings are an optimal tool. Dialogic Gatherings are a successful educational action based on the reading and discussion of books and academic works, which leads to a dialogic construction of knowledge among participants (Barros-del Rio et al. 2021). Hence, the four sessions relate to four selected readings that tackle essential and progressive contents for the gender spectrum inclusion in the teaching practices. These are herein related in their corresponding order: First, Dragowski's (2021) article on gender because it includes identities and presentations that fall outside of the traditional gender spectrum. Second, Davis & & Skilton-Sylvester's (2004) article on the relation between gender and pedagogy, because it offers a historical overview, explores current trends, and suggests future directions of gender research and pedagogical approaches that inform TESOL. Third, O'Loughlin's (2001) article on the TESOL classroom as an important site for the production and regulation of gender. Fourth, Nelson's (2009) chapter entitled "Engaging with Gay and Lesbian Themes", where she provides an overview of general issues to do

with the inclusion and exclusion of lesbian/gay subject matter in language curricula and classroom conversations. These four readings illuminate actual gender dynamics and false assumptions, as well as personal and collective reflections on attitudes, pedagogies and contents required for the gender spectrum inclusion in the TESOL field. Then, using the discourse analysis method (Talja 1999), complementary data should be gathered from the participants' writings (qualitative) to assess the students' interpretative practices of gender inclusion in teaching. These sessions seek to reinforce ethical principles and positive attitudes towards gender diversity, to promote a critical attitude towards discrimination and inequality in language education, and to strengthen student teachers and educator's capacity to plan inclusive educational practices.

Parallel tests and interviews may be passed among language educators to gather their reflections too. The combination of quantitative and qualitative results provide an integral and cross-country picture of student teachers' and educators attitudes and believes towards the gender spectrum inclusion in language education, with a special attention to one of the challenges detected by research: 'the differences in cross-cultural understandings of gender' (Pavlenko and Piller, 2008: 66). After a thorough analysis of data collected, reports may guide the guidelines of the following steps to take.

Because globalization has changed the way people interact, technology has become the norm in educational contexts, and a factor even more relevant in pandemic contexts. Geographical, social and cultural barriers can be overcome through the use of Information and Communications Technology (hereinafter ICT), which contribute to promoting the development of intercultural skills and fluency in communication. ICT also facilitates fluent communication among all members involved, enhancing collaboration and critical feedback among student teachers. ICT can be used to build an online community where students can collaborate and develop new pedagogies, learning from their peers' experiences and receiving critical feedback on the part of their supervisors. For these reasons, an interactive digital handbook would be our chosen means to include transformative contents, best practices and pedagogical strategies to foster gender/sexual inclusion in language teacher education. It would tackle a variety of scenarios and language level, each one including instructional materials and activities, participatory pedagogical approaches, and classroom intervention models.

This handbook would be available online and disseminated widely so that it becomes a widely used tool to foster a comprehensive and inclusive approach to the gender/sex spectrum in language teacher education.

Finally, this proposal combines close work with student teachers and practitioners in a collaborative and dialogic process, using participatory design model, discourse analysis method and data collection to create an

inclusive and dynamic tool that can be easily implemented. A digital and interactive handbook, created from a critical and international approach, may offer compelling opportunities for a fairer and more inclusive language teacher education.

There is still a long way to go for inclusive vocabulary, gender identities or sexual orientations inclusion in English language teacher education. Our present, and our future needs teachers who are prepared to combat sexism and homophobia. The educational intervention herein presented is a viable example of how to achieve a more inclusive teaching practice in the language field.

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Female Republican Prisoners during the "Troubles" 1968–1998 in Northern Ireland: The Women's War

Renée Tosser*

In memory of Annmarie McWilliams,
(1957–2022)
Her soul radiated brightness

ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper is to examine the imprisonment of female republicans[1] in Armagh prison during the "Troubles" in Northern Ireland. It sheds light on their living conditions and strip searches which were carried out on a regular basis. It also considers the issues raised by the republican women's family obligations and highlights how incarceration impacted their lives after imprisonment. It analyses the consequences of incarceration in their lives. This study is particularly illustrated by the testimony of a priest, Raymond Murray, chaplain at Armagh prison, who was present daily with the women and who recounted the events he witnessed. It is also based on out-of-print documents and journals, as well as interviews with former activists. The imprisonment of republican prisoners highlights the political situation in Northern Ireland at the time of the "Troubles" and on the role that women played, both in prison and in their neighbourhoods in everyday life.

Keywords: Northern Ireland; resistance; female imprisonment; strip searches; human rights; oppression

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Figure 1 "Women in Struggle", Republican Museum, Conway Mill, Belfast. Work of art by Raymond Watson: "Irish women have always been at the forefront of the struggle for Irish freedom. This monument is dedicated to all those women" http://www.irishartworld.com/. Raymond Watson was a political prisoner in the H. Blocks. (Photograph: Renée Tosser, July 2010, by kind permission of the artist and the museum.)

> "It is an uncomfortable fact, and unfair, that the four-year-protest for political status by republican women in Armagh gaol has long been overshadowed by the literature and focus on the same protest in the H-Blocks, largely because there ten men died on hunger strike in 1981."
> Gerry Adams, Sile Darragh's book launch "John Lennon's dead", Belfast, 05-08-2011.

Introduction

Thirty years after the 1981 hunger strikes in Long Kesh, Northern Ireland men's prison, Gerry Adams, the President of Sinn Féin, paid tribute to Sile Darragh, a female republican who wrote a book about her time in prison. To account for what women went through during the 'Troubles' serves two aims: do justice to the part played by women during a period of conflict, and shed light on a tense and violent part of history. But to deal with the events which unfolded in Northern Ireland between 1968 and 1998 brings us to tackle controversial and thorny subjects. The legitimacy of the republican movement's actions is frequently questioned. For the IRA's detractors, the paramilitary group was just a terrorist group that waged an unjustifiable war in its country. As Ian McBride develops in an article devoted to the 1998 peace process and the difficulty to deal with the past in that province of the United Kingdom, no consensus was ever reached on the causes of the conflict so that there is no official interpretation of them. In much the same way, the period of what is called "The Troubles" is "variously interpreted as an ethnic conflict, an anti-colonial war, or a struggle between democracy and terrorism" (McBride, 2017: 1). As the researcher demonstrates, opposing interpretations of the conflict account for the "communal divisions" which pervade in the country, fuelling a climate of mistrust. Among the reasons which justify such a divisive debate is the question of the "legitimacy of the IRA's campaign" (Mc Bride, 2017: 4) and the violence used by the republican movement. The Provisional IRA which came into being in 1969, claims it was born in order to protect its community against sectarian attacks by extremist members of the other community. Former republican activists will also point out that they were also fighting 800 years of British occupation, a speech very frequently heard in their ranks.

In 2014, Northern Ireland's political leaders agreed to establish an Oral History Archive on the conflict in which academics would be involved in producing "a factual historical timeline and statistical analysis of the Troubles" (Mc Bride, 2017: 12). It was thus assumed that in order to obtain truth and reconciliation, both oral history and archival research would be instrumental (Mc Bride, 2017: 22). It is worth noting how complex the undertaking is. Fiona McCann clearly articulates the complexity of the issue and points out how, as Barbara Harlow notes, prison literature is "necessarily partisan and polemical" (McCann, 2017: 2). Besides, the way republicanism is viewed is also sensitive, which has been underlined by L. Ryan and M. Ward: "The dominant view within the academy that (in the past), research that was not critical of republicanism" was suspect[2] (McCann, 2017: 3). Finally, let us clarify the difficulty of producing oral history. The collection of speech, whether spontaneous or solicited, is not an academic type of interview that requires a consent form, which is inevitably difficult to obtain in a country like Northern Ireland. I have spent every summer in Belfast for

over fifteen years and go to the meetings, debates and workshops that are organised as part of the "Festival of the People" (Feile an Phobail[3]) every year in early August. This has given me the opportunity to engage with many of the former actors in the conflict, very rarely managing to have their consent for a formal, recorded interview. American academic Karen McElrath (Mc Elrath, 2000) gives a good account of this difficulty, to which is added the absence of amnesty for former prisoners, making them wary. Ultimately, the content of the exchanges is also obviously sensitive. It is not easy to talk to a foreigner about intimate body searches that many people want to forget, in particular women,[4] especially as they are often felt to have been institutionalised sexual violence.[5]

The purpose of this paper is precisely to give a voice to a few unheard women who agreed to be recorded and very well expressed feelings that are often brought up in former prisoners' associations and discussions; and also a former priest, Monsignor Raymond Murray, who visited the female prisoners of Armagh every day for years during the hunger strike and the "dirty protest" in the 1980s. I spoke with the latter on several occasions and he agreed to meet me and answer my questions whenever I asked him to. He repeatedly lamented the absence of academics during these years of conflict. It was undoubtedly essential to hear this leading witness who wrote extensively about the events he witnessed, published the testimony of victims and sought to influence the debates and decisions of the prison authorities in particular.

This paper will first present the background to a conflict rooted in the past before focusing on republican activism and imprisonment. It will then consider the specificity of feminine strip searches in Armagh prison and the resistance action female prisoners carried out during their detention, which will lead to an awareness of the part played by women in the Catholic community of Northern Ireland. The impact of detention will be considered.

The Historical Background: The Context of an Old Conflict

The 12th century Anglo-Norman invasion was the starting point of the English conquest of Ireland which was completed by Queen Elizabeth I in the 16th century. That conquest was followed by the colonisation of Ulster and massive confiscations of land the two following centuries. What came to be known as the "Irish Question"[6] refers very broadly to the problems arising from the conflicting relations between Ireland and Great Britain,and not to what was modestly called the "Troubles", a real war that officially lasted from 1968 to 1998. We can consider that the end of the 15th century marked a turning point and the beginning of a new era of English political domination: Following the appointment of Sir Edward Poynings as Lord Deputy, all laws passed by Parliament would henceforth bear the seal of the

King of England This domination intensified from the Tudor reign onwards, which meant colonisation in the modern sense of the word, with the political, economic, social and cultural takeover of Ireland[7], and the conflict becoming confessional in character. The North of the island, Ulster, proved to be the most combative in its struggle against the English occupiers. Pockets of resistance were concentrated there (Brennan 1991: 11). This resistance was defeated in 1603 and the North of the country was soon settled by a Protestant population. Such a strategy of conquest saw the Irish population dispossessed of almost all their land. In response to the Catholic uprisings in 1641, Oliver Cromwell implemented a fierce repressive policy, followed by a massive settlement of Protestants from England and Scotland in the North East of the island in particular. By the end of the century, the native Irish had only 5% of the country's land. The Northern Ireland question is therefore rooted in the history of the country, due to this mass arrival of Calvinists in the early 17th century.

The impact of the cultural shock that this influx of foreigners represented should be emphasised: a rural, decentralised world was suddenly occupied by a population of industrial and urban workers, professing a different faith. As a result of the Penal Laws of 1690, the Irish were deprived of the right to own even a horse. This legislation was designed to impoverish them, prevent them from speaking their language, practising their religion, exercising any power in the legal or military sphere. The aim was to neutralise Catholics in the public sphere while ensuring power and wealth for what was called the Protestant Ascendancy (Brennan, 1991: 11). The combination of these reasons, and any refusal to assimilate being evident from the outset, had the effect of deeply entrenching resentment against the English, particularly in the North of the island. John Darby refers to the settlers' "beleaguered" mentality and the sense of mutual distrust that arose, which he concludes, is the source of the Northern Ireland conflict. Studying its context, John Darby underlines the fact that, within Ireland itself, Ulster has always been apart, starting with the resistance it put up against the English settlement (Darby, 1983: 14). The impact caused by the presence of the settlers is highlighted by the author, for it reflects an early resentment of the Irish towards the English particularly in that part of the country. The establishment of a Protestant population in Ulster was accompanied by the displacement of indigenous people who were confined to the boggy regions. The early plantation of Ulster, which represented a culture alien to Ulster, actually sowed the seeds of the modern Troubles in Northern Ireland as John Darby analyses, and does account for them[8].

It would be inaccurate to oversimplify the issue of the Irish Question and consider it in a binary vision that would oppose the Protestants of British stock, and the Catholics of Irish stock. Ireland had a very strong nationalist movement, Protestant in the 18th century, then Catholic in the following

century[9]. It was indeed "enlightened" English-speaking intellectuals who initiated a movement for the Irish language and culture during the 18th century, in order to keep the country's cultural heritage alive. This preservation work served to cement the nationalist cause. The 19th century saw the gradual emergence of the Catholic majority as a political power in Ireland. The first half of the century was dominated by the struggle for Catholic emancipation and the second half by the independence and land reform campaigns of the 1880s. The two movements merged into a broad independence movement for Home Rule. 19th century Ireland was thus deeply politicised. It should be noted however that during the same century, reverence for testimonies of the past became all-important and fuelled a veritable cultural nationalism.

The strength of the nationalist movement was such that it seems to have been the priority in Ireland, at that time in particular. The part played by women in this powerful movement is to be underlined as it is remarkable: trade unionists, linguists, warriors, theorists, writers, artists, Irish women were involved body and soul in the Irish cause. Despite the plurality of their opinions and commitments, many women showed their willingness to influence the country's decisions through their common involvement in the campaign for women's suffrage. It is also surprising to note that long before the partition of the island, which saw women's rights largely curtailed in the southern part of the island, particularly due to the 1937 Constitution that limited their role to the domestic sphere, many women activists did not marry and were financially independent. Rosamund Jacob (1888-1960), Helena Molony (1883-1967), Mary Galway (1864-1928), Kathleen Lynn (1874-1955) and Louie Bennett (1870-1956) for example, were fully involved, each in their own way, in the cause of Ireland. They were all extremely active. Catholic or Protestant (Mary Galway, Hanna Sheehy Skeffington (1877-1946) and Helena Molony came from Catholic families), they engaged in union and political struggle with passion: Mary Galway, a pioneer in the union struggle, was the first woman to serve as a full-time unionist; Kathleen Lynn, a medical doctor despite the opposition of her family who disowned her, and a general practitioner for Sinn Féin, accomplished considerable work in the medical field with her research and the creation of St Ultan's, a children's hospital; Hanna Skeffington, an ardent nationalist and member of Sinn Féin, was a particularly combative activist, as was Helena Molony, a friend and partner of Maud Gonne in Inghinidhe na hÉireann, a movement to which Rosamond Jacob, another feminist and writer, also belonged. Margaret Cousins (1878-1954) is particularly representative of another aspect of these women, because she had an internationalist vision of the human condition, a vision that characterized almost all of them: concerned with the destiny of Ireland, they also often

travelled in America, Russia and throughout Europe. Maud Gonne is a representative illustration of involvement at home and abroad.

The Gaelic League in particular attracted to its fold some quite brilliant and remarkable female personalities, such as the artist Alice Milligan who defined herself as a "radical nationalist" (Morris 2013: 152). The cultural association mobilized a significant number of women across the country to keep the Irish language alive and to foster a distinctively Irish spirit. Thus, many anonymous women have worked considerably for their country, showing their willingness to resist in their own way to the British presence in their island. Emily M. Weddal was one of those little-known members of the Gaelic League whose commitment was described by Iosold NI Dheirg (NI Dheirg 1995), a historian working at the Dublin Language Institute. Emily established a branch of the League in Dooagh and then had an Irish language school built at her own expense in Achill. This school breathed life into the island and even promoted the economic development of this remote part of Ireland. Emily M. Weddal was one of many women who developed the community aspect of Ireland where men and women worked side by side (Tosser 2000).

Let us also underline how wives, daughters or sisters of well-known activists regularly took an important part in these cultural or political actions, as for example Anna Parnell, sister of Charles Steward Parnell, (leader of the Home Rule league) who accomplished considerable work with her brother and during the latter's incarceration[10].

Women also took up arms during the Great Irish Revolution of 1916, as Margaret Ward points out: "The failed insurrection of 1916, as Irish suffragist Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington recognised, was unique in being the only instance in history where men fighting for freedom voluntarily included women" (Ward 1996: 2). The historian notes how the classic representation of Countess Markiewicz, proudly brandishing her revolver, was in fact typical of this period and she notes that some women were recognized as exceptional snipers, like Eilis ni Chorra (Ward 1995) or Margaret Skinnider.

Female members of the Irish Citizen army were armed during the uprising, as were members of Cumann na mBan. The role of women activists as messengers during this pivotal moment in Irish history was simply crucial, as Margaret Ward underlines. Several women played an important role during the uprising, travelling around the country to relay important messages. James Connolly's daughter, Nora Connolly, was the first to fill this role, preceding Mayor Perolz in Cork, or Eily O'Hanrahan in Enniscorthy, as well as Nancy Wise Power & others in Dundalk, Tralee & Waterford, in order to mobilize the armed forces of the countryside. Proof of their participation in the armed struggle, the women accompanied the men to surrender their weapons during the surrender (Ward, 1995).

The fact that many women placed the national question before the cause of women is fundamentally indicative of their selflessness, and of a broad vision of the struggle they intended to wage in their country. Rosemary Cullen Owens's portrait Louie Bennett fits well with this description of the committed trade unionist who was, according to the author, above all nationalist: "Many of the women who entered the political arena post 1916 did so from a nationalist, not a feminist, perspective (Cullens Owens, 2001: 28)". We understand well how, following the partition of the island, the northern part of the island made these struggles still relevant in the province of the United Kingdom located in the land of Ireland. As we will see, this partition exacerbated identity issues and tensions in the north that were supposedly settled in the south with the 1916 revolution.

In 1916, a group of insurgents attempted to seize power and proclaimed the Republic. The 1916 uprising was a military failure, but a symbolic success. Indeed, the severity of the punishment of the main insurgents, almost all of whom were put to death, outraged the population. The movement for Independence which had already begun in 1886, in the form of a Home Rule project, was rejected by Ulster with all its might. At the end of the First World War in 1918, the year of the victory of the Sinn Féin (meaning "We ourselves") movement, the country became bogged down in a war of "Independence" that seemed hopeless for the British government and particularly difficult to control because of its clandestine nature.[11] The guerrilla warfare waged by the I.R.A., the newly formed Irish Republican Army, undermined the British forces, who increased the creation of special forces, the Blacks and Tans and the Auxiliaries, to break the Irish independence movement. Overwhelmed by the military and civil resistance of the republicans and a real civil war that moved the English and international public opinion, the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, proposed the partition of the island within the framework of Home Rule with two separate parliaments, one in Dublin, for twenty-six counties, the other in Belfast for six of the nine counties of Ulster: this was the Government of Ireland Act of 23 December 1920 which was followed by the Treaty of London in 1921. Nevertheless, opposition to Home Rule was so strong among Unionists that it led to the formation of an armed movement in 1912, the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), which proved to be a valuable support for the strengthening of Protestant supremacy.

As early as 1920, the privileges of the Protestants were thus ensured thanks to a demographic division that was supposed to guarantee them the majority. The entire province then had 900,000 Protestants, compared to 700,000 Catholics. With three of its counties removed, the Protestant majority would be more comfortable, at two-thirds.[12] With Pierre Joannon, we can consider that the partition of Ireland was a *fait accompli*, but did not create it, since it existed in people's minds before it was drawn on a map

(Joannon 2008: 508). It endorsed the assurance that the Catholic majority would be in the minority in this province of the United Kingdom, while the Protestant majority was in the minority in the rest of the island[13]. Michael Pool argued that the relationship between demographic characteristics and the most violent forms of ethnic conflict are linked (Poole, 1983: 152). It shows how the partition of the island was seen as a threat by the Unionists. This feeling of powerlessness was particularly acute at the height of the Troubles in 1972 (Poole, 1983: 157). The partition of Ireland was born out of the refusal of a section of the population to embrace Irish nationalism (Brennan, 1991: 13-4). The separation of the island marked the failure of assimilation between the two communities.

When the country was partitioned, Northern Ireland was ruled exclusively by the leaders of the Ulster Unionist Party for fifty years and the Orange Order played a prominent role. In the mid-1930s, all contact with the Catholic population was discouraged; a boycott of this community was even advocated: the openly sectarian UPL (Unionist Protestant League) campaigned for real apartheid (Brewer 1998). The exaltation of Orangemen maintained exclusion through festivities, the famous Orange marches, which aimed at excluding the other community. This exaltation sustained the pogroms—violent attacks on the Catholic minority that preceded the formation of the Loyalist UVF (Ulster Volunteer Force) in 1966[14] and UDA (Ulster Defence Association) in 1971 —, not to mention the actions of the police special forces (Rolston, 1987). The Catholic minority has always lived in a climate of terror, especially in certain areas of Belfast. The impression of permanent insecurity was all the stronger because of the collusion between the army, the police and the loyalist formations, which explains the climate of suspicion towards the forces of order in the republican districts. In 1966, the country experienced an upsurge in sectarian attacks on Catholics. Many Protestants feared losing their remaining advantages as traditional employment sources dried up. The situation became much worse in that period when the Irish Volunteer Force launched a series of attacks on Catholic homes, schools and shops. In the years that followed, tensions rose steadily until the summer of 1969. It then intensified further and led to a serious crisis within the I.R.A., some of whose members, who were then in the minority, deplored the inaction of their movement to provide concrete help to its population. The split in the organisation led to the birth of the Provisional IRA. The primary aim of this new formation was the protection of the civilian population, although it was not to limit its action to that. Prior to this date, the I.R.A. had moved towards a Marxist movement without being involved in organised armed struggle. It had ceased its armed struggle in the early 1960s due to the failure of its last campaign between 1956-1962, which thus signified the end of its militarily active campaign[15].

The Provisional IRA, which marked the rebirth of the republican movement, played a key role in the Troubles. In a country where the Catholic minority was in danger in its own neighbourhoods, the republican paramilitary group ensuring its protection thus took on a predominant role in this community, acting as regulators of all conflicts, even family ones, granting itself the roles of mediators, judges and executioners, governing the life of the Catholics. Women played an important role at once just after the formation of the Volunteers in 1913, and within the Provisional IRA when it was formed (see figure 3). During the 1960s, the civil rights movement, which began to campaign for a more equitable access to political power, social provision and cultural recognition, was violently repressed. The situation quickly deteriorated, especially during the summer months with Protestant marches throughout the region, including through or past Catholic areas. The period of the Orange marches from Easter to the end of the summer is often cited as having triggered the desire to join the Provisional IRA, as it generated a lot of violence and fear among the Catholic community in Northern Ireland[16]. In 1969, the British government sent in troops to enforce order and the situation became dramatic. What is called the Troubles is not a religious conflict, it is a political one. The Troubles especially cover the period from the end of the sixties until the 1998 Good Friday or Belfast Agreement. According to George Boyce, the hostility of the Irish people towards England was the prime mover of Irish nationalism (Boyce, 1995: 215). Combined with a powerful ethnic identity, as we have observed, this hostility fuelled the clandestine republican resistance. The tradition of hunger strikes particularly well accounts for such determination and extremism, as we shall see now.

A Republican Movement Rooted in a Culture of Resistance

We have been able to underline that the cultural aspect of Irish nationalism was essential. It allows us to account for the power of the republican movement and also its characteristics. There is an original attitude in cultural nationalism, characterised by what could be called a "quest for sense'" or, at least, the justification of a cause. As John Hutchinson demonstrates, cultural nationalism is the first stage preceding actions and/or policy positions which, in a way, it fosters (Hutchinson, 1987: 9). The case of 1916 insurgent Patrick Pearse is very instructive in this regard. He believed that cultural nationalism would save the country's soul and he joined the Gaelic League at a very young age in which he committed himself body and soul, later founding a school to implement his ideas and promote the love of Christian values. Then, under the influence of personalities such as Robert Emmet, Wolf Tone and John Mitchell, he produced more inflamed political writings, especially inspired by Thomas Davis. From that moment, Patrick Pearse turned to

mysticism, an inclination already detectable in his attitude towards religion, which developed as a political philosophy requiring final sacrifice for the sacred cause: Ireland's liberty. The cultural activist thus turned to political nationalism as the revolutionary's quote shows: 'Ireland a prisoner shall never be at peace', a phrase which can be seen in a mural in Ardoyne, Belfast. But the fact remains that before advocating taking up arms, the man of letters wanted to de-anglicize Ireland using only peaceful means, alongside Douglas Hyde and Eoin McNeill who founded the linguistic movement in 1893 (Tosser, 2000).

It is interesting to note that early on, the republican prisoners worked to make their past known, in order to better justify their struggle. Republican activists transformed their places of detention into places of learning. During their captivity, the prisoners taught themselves the language, literature, history, mythology and traditional songs of Ireland (Mac Ionnrachtaigh, 2013). This knowledge truly cemented their commitment, which they felt was even more legitimate. It is therefore hardly surprising to note that republicans also coloured their struggles and means of resistance to make them typically Irish. The tradition of the hunger strike should probably be seen in the paradigm of a demand for justice which dates back to before the Christian era. George Sweeney argues that hunger striking as a method of protest can be traced to a time when oral legal codes, the Brehon Laws, were in force. The historian recalls that the notion of arbitration was the basis of those Laws (Sweeney, 2004: 371) and he also indicates that within that context, "self-help was the only means to enforce a claim or right a wrong" (Sweeney, 1993:2). The purpose was to seek redress through fasting against one's accused close to the offender's home in order to draw attention to the alleged wrongdoer as well, a deliberate tactic "employed by the powerless against the powerful" (Sweeney, 1993: 2). It was usually successful. Let us observe how, in this non-violent and silent power struggle, the responsibility of the alleged perpetrator had to be heavy and visible. The striker put the wrongdoer face to face with his responsibilities for eternity. The establishment of Christianity did not put an end to that tradition. Fasting remained in force even if it evolved into a daytime conventionalised ritual and it was then given an extra flavour because of its Christ-like character when the country was Christianised in the fifth century[17].

The tactic of hunger striking was widely used by the republicans, showing their determination, the strength of their commitment, and their ability to stick together very strongly. The figures are impressive, as George Sweeney indicates: "In October 1923, more than 8000 political prisoners, opposed to the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty, went on hunger strike: Between 1913 and 1923, fifty hunger strikes were organised, involving both male and female prisoners in this form of political confrontation" (Sweeney, 1993: 3). The republican notion of sacrifice was particularly evident in the 1916

revolution. The insurgents, aware that their attempted uprising was doomed to failure, were also prepared to die for Ireland, as their final writings (Mac Lochlainn, 2005) among others, make clear. It is therefore hardly surprising to see such an impulse of sacrificial struggle a few years later, when for many of them, the partition of the island was synonymous with treason. Determined to fight against the very principle of their detention, they also aimed at protesting against the British authorities. It is clear how the tradition of protest was particularly suited to the historical and political context of the period. The hunger strike was also a way of drawing the attention of the rest of the world. Terence McSwiney's death on 25 October 1920 after 74 days on hunger strike struck international support (Sweeney, 1993: 10), and his declaration became a slogan for many activists: "It is not those who can inflict the most but those who can endure the most who will prevail."

David Matthew Doyle shows that this strength of republican commitment explains why the use of the death penalty was definitively crushed on the eve of the Second World War in order to avoid a martyr culture in Northern Ireland (Doyle, 2015). We can imagine, however, that the absence of the possibility of capital punishment deprived the authorities of an invaluable means of pressure that was liable to have serious consequences for republicans. Imprisonment would likely be toughened. A few dates corroborate this view of the prison situation for republican prisoners shortly after the Troubles began: firstly 1971, when internment without trial had been introduced, the number of incarcerations therefore increased quite considerably, and cases of beatings were reported as we will see; secondly 1976, when the status of political prisoners was withdrawn for newly admitted prisoners; 1978, when the no-wash or dirty protest began and lastly 1980 and 1981, when prisoners resorted to hunger strikes. The year 1976 was a turning point as it signalled a hardening of the attitude of the British authorities in prison, and the beginning of a period of great violence that would culminate in hunger strikes a few years later, in 1981 especially. As David Beresford analyses:

> Criminalization was a denial of a belief held dear by Republican Ireland—that husbands, wives, boyfriends, girlfriends, parents, grand-parents and great grandparents who had suffered and died for Irish independence had done so in the high cause of patriotism. And so it was that on September 16, 1976, when a squabble started between warders and a prisoner being admitted to Her Majesty's Prison Maze, the ghosts of an ancient cause were looking over the shoulder of the convicted man. (Beresford, 1987: 16)

Having refused to wear the prison uniform Ciaran Nugent was put in a cell without clothes, so he used his blanket to cover himself, thus becoming the first 'blanket man'. The "blanket protest" marked the beginning of a period when some hundreds of prisoners had to face "cold, isolation and violence", as Bill Rolston and Laurence McKeown analyse (Rolston / McKeown, 2017: 271). The situation deteriorated further as a result of the conditions in which the prisoners had access to the toilet. The literature of writings and interviews conducted over the last thirty years describe the same mechanism of escalation in the processes of resistance and repression. This same pattern occurred in Armagh Women's Prison, as we shall see. Begona Aretxaga who also worked on the basis of interviews she conducted herself, described how "physiological necessities such as food and excretory functions became a focus of humiliating practices" (Aretxaga, 1995: 126) which resulted in the dirty protest two years later in Long Kesh in 1978 (Beresford, 1987: 17). The prisoners' decisions were collective, and considered. As shocking as it may seem, the dirty protest must be seen in the context of a refusal to accept the policy of "normalisation" or "criminalisation." Since leaving the cells to go to the toilet was abusive, prisoners would no longer leave their cells and dispose of the contents of their chamber pots directly in them. This was a radical and seemingly barbaric step which may seem difficult to understand, even if the mechanism, the sequence of events, makes it possible to grasp how these extreme actions came about. The simple fact that this mode of protest existed remains a subject of controversy.

Whatever the reasons for the protest, they show how appalling the situation was for these prisoners, leading to a cycle of repression: the "history of political imprisonment and internment in the North is that of institutionalised punishment by the authorities and collective resistance by prisoners" write Linda Moore and Phil Scraton (Moore / Scraton, 2010: 6). The strength of this resistance is noteworthy: "carceral violence has been used against political prisoners all over the world, including Ireland, yet there is no other case in which prisoners resisted with something like the dirt protest" writes Begona Aretxaga (Aretxaga, 1995: 125). The republicans went a step further by resorting to a hunger strike to obtain better prison conditions. It is likely that Bobby Sands, who was the first republican to stop eating on 1 March 1981, knew that he would not survive, hence the decision to enter this ultimate resistance movement one by one. The aim of this protest was to make it long-lasting, therefore activists should not die at the same time. This means that this strike system where individuals, not groups, take action decided together, was based on the determination of each member of the group. It rested on their personal commitment and the very strong ties that existed between them. Bill Rolston and Laurence McKeown examined the mechanisms of this resistance and consider how "homo-sociality—male fraternity without homosexual desire—was fashioned in the

prison system.'" They demonstrate that "the interplay between it and political solidarity enabled the prisoners not simply to endure the individual pains of imprisonment but to mount a sustained resistance in the face of an often brutal regime" (Rolston / McKeown, 2017: 265). Remarking that a sense of solidarity already existed before the detention, the two researchers show how increased solidarity was the strategic response to prison violence (Rolston / McKeown, 2017: 275), a process which involved repression of their emotions and harshness towards themselves and they conclude: "Homosociality, […] an alternative form of masculine hegemony built on surviving rather than administering violence, and a shared ideology saw prison resistance not as a hiatus but as another front in the struggle" (Rolston / McKeown, 2017: 282). Taking the risk of dying imprisoned in such horrendous conditions did correspond to the historical hunger strike as it existed in medieval Ireland, seeking to bring to light the injustice and dishonour that could befall their tormentors. The dirty protest made visible the conditions of life of republican prisoners in prison.

The hunger strike by three republican women in Armagh prison is much less well known than the first hunger strike by male activists in 1980. However, three female republicans (Mairead Farrell, Margaret Mairead and Mary Doyle Nugent) stopped eating on 1 December 1980 following the first strike in Long Kesh on 27 October. Mary Doyle recalls how Cardinal O Fiaich came to see them, alerted of their situation by the prison chaplain, and she writes: "Fr Murray was a brilliant chaplain, and there were times when I don't know what we would have done without him." (Morrison Danny ed., 2006: 27). Father Raymond Murray, who was ordained priest in 1962 and appointed curate in Armagh in 1967, devoted his life to his parish. The man, who is very critical of paramilitary groups, describes a country living in fear in the seventies, when even lawyers did not want to get involved (Interview, July 2015). Together with Fr Denis Faul, he wrote numerous books and booklets and travelled the world to bear witness to what he considered violations of human rights in Northern Ireland prisons particularly from 1971, when he himself noted cases of torture on republican prisoners, as we will see. The testimonies of the churchmen are invaluable as they regularly saw the conditions in which the prisoners lived. Cardinal Tomas O Fiaich, the Catholic primate of Ireland, openly criticized the inflexibility of the British government after visiting the republican prisoners of Long Kesh in 1978. He wrote that the conditions of incarceration of the prisoners were inhumane and voiced concerns about beatings and ill treatments (Aretxaga 1995: 134). As for Father Murray, he was a vigilant witness to the women prisoners of Armagh he visited every day. He also revealed facts and conditions of detention so difficult that they could have inspired doubt among the detractors of the republican movement. His daily presence and the collection of women's voices that he was able to make, offers us a

picture of the situation of women incarcerated in Armagh prison during the most critical period for republican prisoners.



Figure 2 Mural representing hunger strikes in Long Kesh and Armagh, by the Bogside artists, Derry. Photograph: Renée Tosser, July 2009.

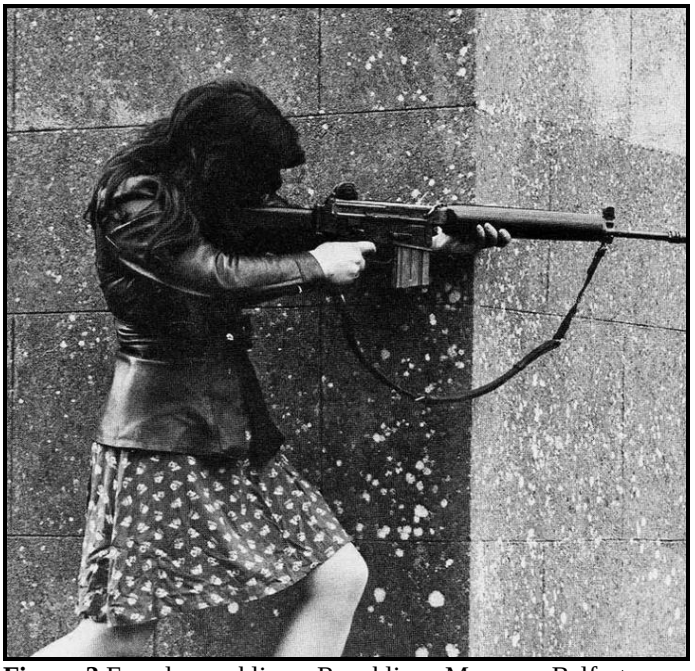
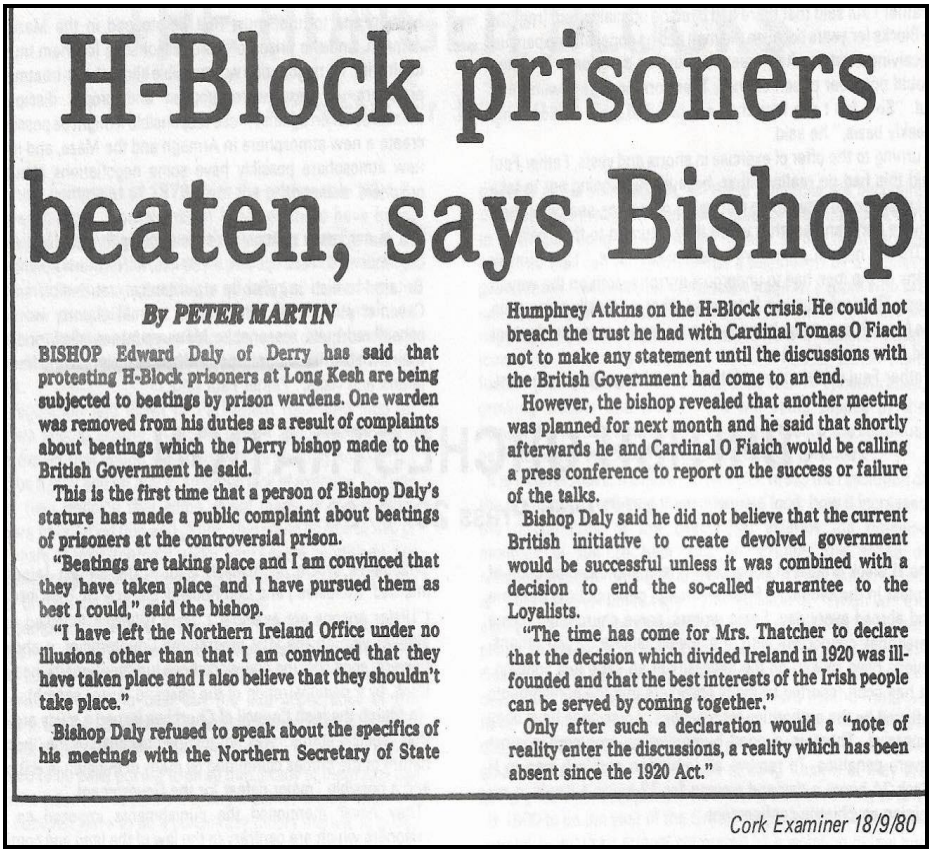


Figure 3 Female republican, Republican Museum, Belfast. By kind permission.

Republican Female Imprisonment and Protests in Armagh.
The Testimony of Fr Raymond Murray, Chaplain of Armagh Prison

Armagh Prison opened in 1782 and originally held both males and females but eventually became the main female jail in the North of Ireland until Maghaberry was opened in 1986. The place Father Raymond Murray described as dark and "in a poor condition" (Murray, *Hard Times* 1998: 90) emerged as the key battleground for female republicans held in captivity. The priest stresses the importance of the date of 1971, which was when he states that he was able to see for himself the marks left by torture during the interrogations. He openly denounced the brutality and ill treatment in some police stations and in the two major interrogation centres of Castlereagh, Belfast, as well as in Armagh: "December 1971 marked a watershed in my life. Political prisoners who had been ill-treated and tortured in Hollywood Palace Barracks and Girdwood Park Barracks. I saw the horrific marks on their bodies" (Raymond Murray *State Violence* 1998: 7). These events led him—and Father Denis Faul—to campaign in order to make known what he was witnessing. To Fr Raymond Murray, the prisoners were severely tortured before being sent to prison, as the Armagh parish curate testifies in a book devoted to the prison for women: "I saw myself the many bruises and injuries on the prisoners' bodies that had been inflicted on them during interrogation procedures" (Raymond Murray, Interview 2015). Fr Raymond Murray and Fr Denis Faul were not the only clergymen to denounce this state of affairs: in an article published by the *Cork Examiner* on 18 September 1980, Bishop Daly reported similar incidents in Long Kesh prison and the article stated: "This is the first time that a person of Bishop Daly's stature has made a public complaint about beatings of prisoners at the controversial prison" (Murray / Faul, 1980: 50) (Figure 4).



H-Block prisoners beaten, says Bishop

By PETER MARTIN

BISHOP Edward Daly of Derry has said that protesting H-Block prisoners at Long Kesh are being subjected to beatings by prison wardens. One warden was removed from his duties as a result of complaints about beatings which the Derry bishop made to the British Government he said.

This is the first time that a person of Bishop Daly's stature has made a public complaint about beatings of prisoners at the controversial prison.

"Beatings are taking place and I am convinced that they have taken place and I have pursued them as best I could," said the bishop.

"I have left the Northern Ireland Office under no illusions other than that I am convinced that they have taken place and I also believe that they shouldn't take place."

Bishop Daly refused to speak about the specifics of his meetings with the Northern Secretary of State Humphrey Atkins on the H-Block crisis. He could not breach the trust he had with Cardinal Tomas O Fiach not to make any statement until the discussions with the British Government had come to an end.

However, the bishop revealed that another meeting was planned for next month and he said that shortly afterwards he and Cardinal O Fiaich would be calling a press conference to report on the success or failure of the talks.

Bishop Daly said he did not believe that the current British initiative to create devolved government would be successful unless it was combined with a decision to end the so-called guarantee to the Loyalists.

"The time has come for Mrs. Thatcher to declare that the decision which divided Ireland in 1920 was ill-founded and that the best interests of the Irish people can be served by coming together."

Only after such a declaration would a "note of reality enter the discussions, a reality which has been absent since the 1920 Act."

Cork Examiner 18/9/80

Figure 4 Article published by Cork Examiner in 1980, source: Murray / Faul 1980: 50). By kind permission.

Like the men in the H-Blocks, the women in Armagh Prison convicted after 1 March 1976 were also told they would not be given special category status. It meant their status as political prisoners was no longer recognized, and they would be considered ordinary prisoners. They joined the protest of the men's political prisoners in 1977. Unlike men, women were allowed to keep their civilian clothes but lost what were considered rights or privileges, in particular the possibility of leaving their cells. The document that Fr Raymond Murray published jointly with Father Faul, on the identity of the prisoners, and the duration of their incarceration in particular, gives us some valuable clues: the youth of these women is noteworthy as is the length of their personal commitment. These very young girls had been in protest, in other words, living in confinement in their cells for at least a year, some for three years (Figure 5).



Protesters in "A" Wing Armagh Prison, March 1980

NAMES	* Age when charged in Brackets. AGES*	AREA	SENTENCE	HOW LONG ON PROTEST
Briege Ann McCaughley	(17) 20	Andersonstown	10 years	2 years
Mairead Nugent	(17) 20	Andersonstown	12 years	2 years 6 months
Mairead Farrell	(19) 23	Andersonstown	14 years	2 years 6 months
Rose McAllister	(39) 41	Ardoyne	2 years	1 year 10 months
Maria McClenaghan	(22) 24	Ardoyne	5 years	2 years
Patricia McGarry	(17) 20	Ardoyne	10 years	2 years
Katrina Pettigrew	(17) 22	Ballymurphy	8 years	1 year 4 months
Eileen McConville	(21) 22	Ballymurphy	2 years	18 months
Ann-Marie Quinn	(17) 20	Ballymurphy	12 years	2 years 10 months
Rosie Nolan	(21) 23	Ballymurphy	10 years	1 year
Christine Beattie	(19) 21	Bone	12 years	1 year 3 months
Janet Murphy	(24) 26	Bone	5 years	1 year 3 months
Eilis O'Connor	(19) 22	Bone	5 years	2 years 10 months
Marie Donerty	(18) 21	Derry	4 years	2 years 6 months
Sadie McGilloway	(21) 23	Derry	8 years	1 year
Pauline McLaughlin	(19) 23	Derry	D. Sec. of State	2 years
Bernie O'Boyle	(20) 24	Derry	15 years	2 years 5 months
Lynn O'Connell	(21) 23	Derry	8 years	1 year
Ann Bateson	(20) 23	S/Derry	Life	2 years 5 months
Dolores O'Neill	(22) 25	S/Derry	Life	2 years 5 months
Patricia Craig	(17) 20	Downpatrick	7 years	1 year 3 months
Mary Doyle	(21) 24	Greencastle/Bel.	8 years	1 year 3 months
Maureen Gibson	(19) 22	Kashmir, Bel.	3 years	2 years 6 months
Sinead Moore	(18) 22	Lenadoon	10 years	2 years 6 months
Ellen McGuigan	(23) 25	Lenadoon	16 years	1 year
Teresa McEvoy	(22) 24	Markets	5 years	1 year 3 months
Shirley Devlin	(17) 20	Newington	4 years	2 years 9 months
Peggy Friel	(19) 22	New Lodge	6 years	3 years 1 month
Eileen Morgan	(18) 22	Newry	14 years	3 years 3 months
Rosie Callaghan	(17) 20	Short Strand	5 years	2 years
Sile Darragh	(18) 22	Short Strand	5 years	3 years
Briege Brownlee	(18) 20	St. James.	8 years	1 year 4 months

Figure 5 Article published by Cork Examiner in 1980 (source: Murray / Faul 1980: 54). By kind permission.

The priest indicated that because of the long sentences, ranging from five years to life imprisonment, and the confined nature of imprisonment due to continual lock-up in their cell, many female prisoners contracted illnesses, several suffering from anorexia nervosa (Murray, Interview 2015). A lack of decent food and medical neglect were already pointed out by the churchman in 1978: headaches, fainting spells, failing eyesight, skin rashes and dental problems to name but a few. The course of events which led to the dirty protest in Armagh had a different origin from the one in Long Kesh. It followed a search in Armagh Prison on 7 February 1980 during a period of

great tension in the Province and in the men's prison. After that date, the situation became much worse and the no-wash (also called "dirty" protest) began in Armagh.

On February 7 1980, all cells were searched in an unusual and violent way. The purpose of the search was to look for black clothing, considered subversive as similar to that worn by Cumann na mBan members, the women's branch of the IRA,[18] sometimes worn by the women during their incarceration since 1972 (Murray / Faul, 1980: 53). All the accounts dealing with the event tell about a visit paid by the governor accompanied by armed prison officers wearing helmets and gloves who brutally searched cells, in front of prisoners—which was normally not the rule, to avoid confrontation. They removed and turned furniture upside down, tore up letters, grabbed women, kicked and punched them[19.] No specific incident was put forward to justify what happened on that day, which marked the beginning of a dreadful situation. At the end of February 7, all personal items had been taken including photographs, and women were all given a prolonged body search. Locked up for the rest of the day until the next morning, the women were allowed to get out the following day only. The events of that day, and those that followed, caused the movement to harden, but the circumstances that accompanied it left their mark on the churchmen who wrote in 1980:

> The beating of women by men is revolting to decent human and Christian feelings and is associated with the primitive animal feeling of uncivilised or drunken or perverted human beings. To deliberately organise a large group to beat a group of helpless women would appear to be an action of peculiar heinousness; to do this on women who are imprisoned and helpless is worse; to misrepresent the truth about it is worse still and to punish further the unfortunate women who have been beaten severely and indecently is the worst of all. (Murray / Faul, 1980: 52).

A former prisoner explains how the situation then escalated dramatically:

> We took our chamber pots with us, but when we asked the screws to open (the toilets) they told us we were only out for exercise, nothing else. There's no toilet and no washbasins in the cell, so we were puzzled about this. Again, we asked the screws to open up the toilets and again they refused. And so, we wondered what the hell we were going to do. The obvious thing was to get rid of it and pour it through the windows or the spy-holes. (Fairweather / McDonough / McFadyean, 1984: 220).

All the testimonies attest to the same impasse: the impossibility for the prisoners to have access to the toilet and washing facilities. They were asked to use their chamber pots in the cells instead, but were then refused the possibility of emptying them so that they had no alternative: the no-wash

protest thus began. According to Mairead Farrell, who was one of three republican women to go on hunger strike at the end of that year, Father Murray was not allowed to meet the inmates on that day, however, Cardinal O'Fiaich managed to visit them. The clergymen had the possibility of seeing the prisoners very regularly during their detention. "They have been forced into a dirt strike, no slopping out" wrote Fr Denis Faul, "to a great extent the prisoners were forced into their present situation. Beatings continued for a few days. Part of the punishment was to starve them. Food was cold and they received little of it. Punishments are severe and alienation has grown" (Murray / Faul, 1980: 52-3) (Figure 6).

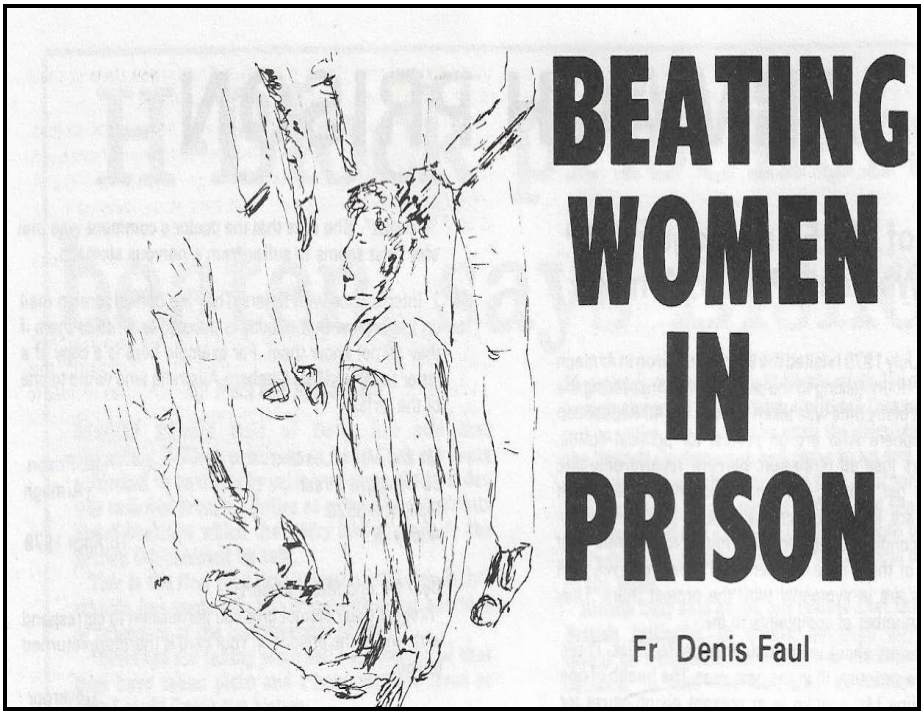


Figure 6 Article illustration, (source: Murray / Faul 1980: 52). By kind permission.

Mairead Farrell's account enables us to know that the female prisoners were not beaten before the no-wash protest:

> Before the no-wash, relationships between screws and girls were bearable, there were minor incidents but beatings did not exist. Now there has been a major change, if a girl takes too long to collect her meal or stops to speak through a door to a comrade, she will be dragged to her cell by a number of female screws. After such episodes the girls involved end up charged with assaulting screws (…) 'we are continually subjected to a tirade of abuse, screaming and bawling at us' (Murray / Faul, 1980: 57).

The issue of regular insults is a recurring theme in the accounts of the prisoners, and also of the inhabitants of Catholic neighbourhoods. The sexual nature of the insults was apparently frequent. The threat of harm to the family circle also seems to have been a regular practice. Mary McGuigan's testimony collected by Father Murray illustrates these aspects well. The fifty-one-year-old woman was charged with taking part in a parade after being interrogated for several days:

> I took a lot of verbal abuse. I was questioned mostly by a young woman about the Easter Parade. The woman's talk was absolutely filthy, I never heard talk like it from anyone. She threatened to bash me against the wall and said she hoped I would live to go to the morgue to identify a member of my family in bits and pieces. Fr Faul came in for a lot of abuse. She said his day will come, too. She called me all the whores (…) She said I would end up rotting in Armagh among the piss and dirt but she said this would suit me as I was dirt anyway. Degraded me a lot. (Murray / Faul, 1980: 19)

Fr Murray insists that women were generally very religious, and that these repeated insults to them or their mothers (Murray / Faul 1980: 31 and Murray Interview, 2015) were very damaging to their mental health. In such conditions of constant pressure, women's periods became highly stressful and humiliating experience, as Alexandra recounts in 2013:

> So, I was arrested and interrogated in Castlereigh. I had my period, you had to go to the toilet with a soldier. I was stained, I was wearing jeans (…) I had asked for sanitary towels, and they refused to get me them, so what I had done was I took off my jeans and pants and washed them and put them back on but actually it was the worst thing to do because when I came back and sat down, I made the situation worse: Your trousers are wet. It was awful. So, the second time I went to the toilets, when I realised what I had done, I thought, oh, God, so I tried to use loads of toilet paper. And I stopped drinking anything, and I did not eat anything because I wanted to make this stop (Alexandra, interview, 2013).

Mairead Farrell wrote that 'the sanitary towels (were) thrown into them without wrapping' which is confirmed by Rose's account of the no-wash protest: "Even when you took your periods you had nothing clean to change into. When you asked for sanitary towels they threw them into the cell. They were rationed, like everything else" (Fairweather / McDonough / McFadyean, 1984: 221). In a testimony written by Mairead Farrell on the prisoners' living conditions in March 1980, six weeks after the cells search, and published by Fr Murray and Fr Faul in that year, the prisoner indicated

that they "were not permitted paper bags or such like, so that they (sanitary towels) lie in the dirt until used, (and they have) nowhere to dispose of them when used," which led the women to display their menstrual blood on the walls.

Begona Aretxaga explores how, she posits, the female body was "politicized" and "colonized" in Armagh prison. Underlining the similarity of imprisonment in the H-Blocks and Armagh prison, she remarks that the handling and beatings were accompanied by exposure of the bodies of women who would also be the objects of sexual remarks. Therefore, "the soul", she argues, "not the body" was the target of disciplinary power in Northern Ireland (Aretxaga 97: 130). Whatever the debate on the symbolical value of their protest, the Armagh women used their bodies as political weapons with tremendous determination, in the same way as the male prisoners did. By showing off their feminine suffering objectified by their menstrual blood, they made the no-wash protest look even more dirty and repulsive to warders, reversing the roles of executioner and victim. However, as symbol and weapon, the female "dirty protest" must have involved appalling anguish. The discomfort brought about by periods in such conditions made femininity degrading and bestial.

Republican activist Brendan McFarlane argues that the two protest movements had the same origin (Lyons, 1996: 119) but we can see that this development in the no-wash protest movement introduced gender difference into prison life in Northern Ireland. We can agree with Linda Moore and Phil Scraton that the prison authorities' treatment of women's intimate hygiene was a way of controlling them. The researchers point out that reactions of disgust followed. The women had "transgressed codes of feminine propriety," to resume Corcoran's expression, contrary to the "blanket men" who had shown endurance (Scraton & Moore, 2010: 5). In an article entitled "Menstruation as a weapon of war", Azrini Walidin studies how the women's bodies were used as "weapons of war." Does this mean that these extreme actions were the result of a strategic calculation on the part of the activists? It seems unlikely. Women wanted to show their endurance in putting up with what the authorities were doing to them. However, it is possible that by making their cells even more repulsive, the women knew that they were creating a barrier between themselves and their jailers, thus protecting them, as Mairead Farrell's remark may suggest: "The female screws who work on the wing are supplied with special overalls, boots and gloves and masks. At the beginning the masks weren't put to much use, but now it's seldom a screw is seen without them" (Murray / Faul, 1980: 57). Ironically, some women prisoners used hygienic towels to help them cope with the stench of the cells (McCafferty, 1981: 15). Remarking that bodies thus became "targets of repression and weapons of resistance," women actually took control of the prison as Laura Lyons demonstrates: "The

prisoners appropriate the means of containment and point directly at the way in which the system that has incarcerated them is both morally and literally "full of shit" (Lyons, 1996: 122). The expression is trivial, but the analysis is convincing. The behaviour of these women was in keeping with the Irish republican tradition of pushing the jailers to the limits that they themselves had set. The no-wash protest showed how appalling the living conditions of the prisoners were, especially for women, and how the latter were prepared to go beyond the boundaries of what was bearable, in order to be even more resilient. By putting up with the unbearable, activists were also reversing notions of fault and guilt: "I look round the cell at the way I'm forced to live - I know who the real criminals are", wrote Mairead Fairrell (Murray / Faul, 1980: 58) (Figure 7).



Figure 7 Photograph of Mairead Farrell in her cell (source: Murray / Faul, 1980: 56) By kind permission.

Whatever the purpose of these war actions within the prisons, the republican movement still inscribed its struggle in the resistance despite the horrific conditions of detention that Mairead Farrell relates in 1980:

> The stench of urine and excrement clings to the cells and our bodies. No longer can we empty the pots of urine and excrement out the windows, as the male screws have boarded them up. Little light or air penetrates the thick boarding. The electric light has to be kept on constantly in the cells, the other option is to sit in the dark. Regardless of day or night, the cells are dark. Now we can't see out the windows, our only view in the walls of excreta. (Murray / Faul, 1980: 55)

Some of the details are terribly disturbing, such as the description of the hundreds of flies on the walls (McCafferty, 1981: 15; D'Arcy, 1981: 73), the pestilential smells and the physical reactions of disgust they may have inspired (Darragh, 2011: 68). It is not surprising to read that such living conditions caused gynaecological problems of an infectious nature as reported by M. D'Arcy (D'Arcy: 80-1). In the midst of this gruelling daily life, the attitude of the prison guards seems to have been rooted in a permanent power struggle. Mairead Farrell indicates how "most of (the prisoners) empty our chambers on the wing when going to exercise, for if not, you only return to find the pot and its contents kicked around the floor of the cell" (p. 55). Similar scenarios have been described by Sile Darragh (Darragh, 2011: 78). Mairead Farrell also pointed out that: "At night they sometimes hose down the wing and the hose is pressed up to the doors spraying jets of water on us", and she added: "Every day conditions worsen, and every day the screws continue their harassment, six weeks have gone, our comrades in H Blocks, with one blanket have suffered it for years. How much longer will it continue?" (Murray / Faul, 1980: 57).

Mary Doyle who took part in the hunger strike together with Mairead Farrell (and Margaret (Mairead) Nugent in that year, delivered a similar account of the prison officers' attitude: "The screws were abusive, particularly during cell searches. […] During the summer of 1980, the question was repeatedly asked: what's next? It was sort of inevitable that the only other avenue we had was to hunger strike" (Morrison 2006: 25). The prisoners in Long Kesh went on hunger strike on 27 October. The women in Armagh made their own decision to join the movement on 1 December. Mary Doyle explained that the guards always left food available for the strikers at all times:

> (Usually) The cell was never without food. Jail food is notoriously rotten and cold but all of a sudden, the plates were overflowing with steaming hot chips that smelt so appetising. A screw would

> say, 'those chips have been counted, so we'll know if you're eating' […] They were so petty (Morrison 2006: 26).

The hunger strike ended after nineteen days together with the hunger strike in Long Kesh and did not resume a year later in 1981 in Armagh. In spite of the death of ten men in Long Kesh, the situation deteriorated even more a short time after that period when strip searches started in Armagh, a practise which the churchmen widely documented, allowing us to have a fairly accurate idea of the events of the time. In that war of pressure, and escalation of punishment, strip searches became common from 1982 onwards, that is to say about one year after the end of the second hunger strike in Long Kesh. To Fr Raymond Murray, the mental suffering reached a climax when the prisoners were stripped searched, the most degrading experience of all and he wrote:

> The stripping naked of the women in Armagh, now the pain plank of Mr Nicholas Scott's prison policy, was introduced on 9 November 1982, shortly after a delegation from 'Help the Prisoners' organisation, met Lord Gowrie. […] The answer was the stripping of women in Armagh and two years of intense agony and strife, tension and alienation, such as the prison never before experienced. […] the mental suffering of women, most of the Catholic and Irish, fits into the alienation context (Murray, *Hard Times*, 1998: 107-08).

Strip Searches in Armagh Prison

According to the NCCL (National Council for Civil Liberties) which led an inquiry into the strip searching of women remand prisoners at Armagh Prison between 1982 and 1985, when the searches were first introduced, they were carried out as a matter of routine, which meant that every political prisoner leaving the prison for whatever reason would be strip searched. The report provides a detailed account of the procedure: "You are told to strip naked. You are always in view of prison staff who usually number about six (but sometimes as many as 15). When you are naked, your body is inspected front and rear." The report is very specific: "it is like a cattle market" and "menstruating women are ordered to remove their tampons or pads. If a prisoner refuses, their sanitary protection is forcibly removed and inspected" (NNCL, 1986: 13). The groups campaigning against strip-searching suggest that it was brutal, inhuman and very degrading.

Fr. Denis Faul's account bears witness to the same brutality, remarking that women with long hair were ordered to gather their hair in their hands and hold it on top of their heads which made the 'entire sordid affair look like a slave trade market' (Faul, 1983: 8). He equally reported allegations of assaults, injuries and offensive procedures. The churchman mentioned cases

of women being searched in front of male warders—one searched nineteen times in eleven days although she was constantly locked up in a prison van (Faul, 1983: 3). The two clergymen both insisted on the fact that pregnant women were not spared at all: "A woman in an advanced state of pregnancy was forced to strip twice inside fourteen hours. Needless to say there was no medical supervision in that case, there is no medical supervision in any of the searches" (Faul, 1983: 8). Fr Faul underlined how women deeply resented the strip searches and he observed:

> Those who have protested have been forcibly strip-searched and have suffered injuries. […] Some have been stripped naked and visually examined 120 times. […] I asked (one prison authority member) if he would like his daughter was stripped naked and had her genitals and anus examined by a stranger, he replied that he would not mind (Faul, 1983: 6).

Fr. Faul and Fr. Raymond Murray insisted on the immorality of such practices. Fr. Faul remarked that "there was not the same visual examination of the female private parts in English or Scottish prisons" (Faul, 1983: 7). He added that under the innocent title of "Reception Searches", the Northern Ireland Office brought into force a procedure which was designed to humiliate and degrade prisoners. Strip searches were by no means necessary, he wrote, besides he added, warders never found anything women would have attempted to hide. According to Mickey Cooper, "In the whole time that strip searches were enforced as a sustained policy the only items found were a phial of perfume, a £5 note, one letter and some medical tablet" (Cooper 201: 85). Concerning the justification for such strip searches, the priest pointed out that they were carried out before and after court hearings, when the prisoners had never been alone, and that the same procedures were applied before and after funerals: "Imagine being stripped naked a few hours after burying your father?" (Murray, interview, 2015). The latter notes that an academic study supports this view:

> Dr Susan Kramer's study which was published in the *British Medical Journal*, indicates that 'between 11 November 1982 and 1 March 1983 a total of 722 strip searches were carried out in Armagh on an average of 40 women, most of whom were long term prisoners and never left the prison (Murray, State Violence 1998: 109).

To the priest, strip searching was "an end to dialogue", an unnecessary and widely practised procedure that was provocative, "a customary face in the face to our community" (Murray, State Violence, 1998: 108). To the former prisoners, strip searching was an attack on sexuality which was felt as a tool to humiliate the prisoners: "They are always attacking your sexuality in order to degrade you, to humiliate you and in order to beat you" (Pickering

2002: 177). The same point is made regarding searches by British forces in public spaces. Having to open one's coat and having one's body felt by a soldier is described in quite strong terms: "These little humiliations are designed to make you feel rotten" (McCafferty, 1981: 74). Women prisoners' accounts often link life in their quarters to the imprisonment that followed, even though the detention was a particularly degrading experience.

After Imprisonment and Outside Armagh

Female republican prisoners' testimonies don't reveal self-pity but extreme sadness and concern for their families or cellmates, as can be read in "In the Footsteps of Anne", published in 2011. It is a big collection of interviews done by and about female ex-prisoners. The title was chosen by Eileen Hickey[20] who began the process of collating the stories of women ex POWs (Prisoners of War) until her death. Resiliency is the first outstanding concept which clearly pervades the accounts. The suppression of emotions women dealt with was clearly experienced by male and female republican prisoners alike. Prisoners showed toughness in the face of their warders in Armagh like in Long Kesh: "We could not show any emotion in front of the screws, we never let our guard down", writes Sile Darragh, who accurately accounts for women's sense of duty but also repression of feelings:

> At times, I was overcome with anger so raw that I had to clench my teeth to keep from screaming. At times I watched women so overwrought with anger and frustration that their only outlets were tears. We were like dangerous caged animals and the screws, not surprisingly, kept their distance (Darragh, 2012: 137).

The women imprisoned in Armagh Prison, equally adopted a "mask of toughness", to use Bill Rolston's and Laurence McKeown's phrase, leading them to suppress their emotions, to the point of masculinising their behaviour:

> You become very 'manlike' in your speech and the way you react to things. The way I saw I was, if I kept my softness, my femininity so to speak, I'd be seen as a sign of weakness. Therefore, I had to suppress my emotions […] Crying to me became a form of weakness so I didn't cry when anything affected me (Fairweather / McDonough / McFaydyean, 1984: 225).[21]

This anaesthesia of feelings is combined with a desire to mask the difficulty of detention: Journalist N. McCafferty reports how the women did their best to conceal their misery in front of their families in order to spare them:

> The protesting prisoners spend a total of six hours a year with their families. You should have seen the efforts made to look their best before a relative arrived. It's wonderful what you can achieve in a cell full of shit and blood. You'd do yourself up, using sweat to clean your face […] take your cleanest dirty shirt off the bed, maybe even a wee jacket you had hung on the wall and only used on that one visit a month (McCafferty, 1981: 15).

The stories of ex-prisoners do not tell much of their lives as wives or lovers or partners, nor do they expose anything about their lives as women as they were merged into one group and did not exist as individuals. More specifically, attention to other prisoners took precedence over attention to their own persons: "You always found that someone else was going through something far worse than what you were going through yourself, you always come across the idea that you are bad, but no, you are not" (Alexandra, Interview, 2013). Yet women prisoners very much suffered as mothers. Some gave birth in prison, others had young children who did not recognise their mothers when they visited them in jail as Nell MacCafferty reports: "At the age of six weeks, she (Jean Hamilton) sent the child out to her parents. She now sees her children once a month for half an hour. Neither of them recognises her mother" (McCafferty, 1981: 39). The consequences of imprisonment during pregnancy and childbirth in captivity are discussed by Sile Darragh who tackles the impact of maternal estrangement on young children. The consequence was even greater when women prisoners were involved in protests, as their time in captivity was extended:

> Three women gave birth while on the protest. Bernadette O'Boyle from Derry had a baby girl, Brenda Murphy from Ballymurphy had a girl, and Jeannie Hamill from Ardoyne had a boy. All three were allowed to keep their babies in the prison for a short time but then had to hand them over to family members and saw them for half an hour every four weeks after that. They missed some of the most important milestones of their babies' years. In all cases, as time went on, the children found it hard to relate to their mothers: they tended to view their aunts or grandmothers as their parent. If these women had not stayed on the protest, they would have been released after having served half of their sentences. (Darragh, 2011: 22)

Female prisoners suffered enormously because they knew their own parents and family would be worried. Fr Murray indicated that for every person interned, thirty people were affected, of which women must have been aware (Murray interview, 2015). Female prisoners' concern for their families also impacted their decisions, which may have caused guilt. Mary Doyle eventually renounced going on hunger strike again in 1981, one year after the first one: "Then I began to think about it more and more. You don't

realise what you're putting your family through, and I decided I couldn't put my family through it again" (Morrison, 2006: 28).

The feeling of guilt certainly exemplifies the mental imprisonment women experienced during imprisonment and after it, whether they were actively involved in the republican movement or not: "My internment had a devastating effect on my family. I was in constant worry", Annmarie said. "You miss your family; you are worried about your family. My mother suffered a lot, too. She used to visit us almost every day. It was hard for her, all the travelling, she was always sick" (Annmarie, interview, 2013). Alexandra (fictitious name) voices the same concern:

> So of course, you think about that – parents coming to see you and having a car crash. I also had two little brothers so my mum had to come back on time to mind them so I was worried she would not arrive on time as it's quite a distance from Belfast to Armagh. You knew you put pressure on them (Alexandra, 2013).

The only girl in a family of ten children, Annmarie also confides how she regretted not having been able to help her mother while in prison. Worse still, she added never having been able to overcome her father's death when she was in Armagh: "It had a terrible impact on me because I had spent and lost two years in jail. I had all that resentment because of the two years I was away." Annmarie's account very well shows how imprisonment proved even worse after the event and for a long time:

> It was a very strange feeling, (when I got out of jail). I was a teenager at the time I was interned and everything was new, there were new people. It was like a different sort of street. […] There is a lot of emotional trauma that happened over the years in my life as a woman. Sometimes, something reminds me of a bad memory, a sound, a smell. Bad news. They affected me in a big big way. When you heard the jingle of the keys in the middle of the night because you knew that it would be for bad news, as the cells were never opened at night. […] After my mother's death, especially in the last 14 years, a lot of emotional baggage came back to me, and it held me back (Annmarie, interview, 2013).

The mental suffering mentioned by the priest seems to be confirmed by the testimonies, like Alexandra's: "Myself I no longer have nightmares but I used to have some. I remember one, me, walking in a cubicle and I could see dead bodies of friends hanging upon a wall" (Alexandra, 2013). Journalist Nell McCafferty reports a testimony in the same vein: "I was depressed when I got out of jail. I spent a lot of time after that in my mother's home or my own, feeling disjointed" (McCafferty, 1981: 50).

It is striking that there is similar guilt after imprisonment towards relatives, especially children. Alexandra whose house was constantly raided

because she was a member of a republican family dwells on how frustrated she felt not having been able to protect her children enough. She was not politically involved and was imprisoned without trial for a few years, which prevented her from finding a job after jail because, she says: "I was in Armagh jail where I spent 3 years but there was no trial, there were no charges, I was just interned. I wasn't convicted of anything". She recalls how as an ex prisoner, she was perpetually harassed and threatened:

> We were constantly harassed by the Brits, we were constantly arrested, our house raided, you just got no peace. They just tortured you, so we decided to go south because one of the times they came, they arrested the three of us, my husband and my daughter who was only a year old. They came at 2 or 3 a.m., put us in a Saracen, I was protesting I had a baby, but we were taken to barracks. My arms were all black and blue because they took photos of her and I had put my arm to protect my daughter (Alexandra, Interview, 2013).

Alexandra's account is of particular interest as it well illustrates the part played by nationalist (Catholic) women in everyday life. Her testimony reflects her constant concern to protect her family during a period of constant military presence, it shows the suffering caused by her inability to spare her children:

> You feel so sorry for your children who get pulled out at 3 o'clock in the morning. They just kicked in the door in, their faces black with their rifles. I remember one day they came after Christmas, on Boxing Day. My son had been offered a train and my daughter had been offered a fancy dress and they just broke them. They broke the toys on purpose. That day was a terrible experience. Also, they took all our photos, our two children when they were young, we never got them back; they took all of our children when they were wee babies. […] I still have scars about what the British have done.

Alexandra describes well some of the situations where it was difficult to properly take care of her family and how she feared the repercussions of certain stressful events for them:

> At another day, I remember, my daughter, it was her first day at secondary school, and they were laughing at her and saying to her: "Don't go to school, you don't need it" and they refused to let me out to take her to school, so I said, "do what you want, take what you want, I don't care but my daughter will go to school" and finally I managed to take her to school but when I came back, the whole place was in a mess.

Alexandra's testimony does correspond to Sharon Pickering's analysis of the political situation of Northern Ireland during the years of conflict, more precisely about the way women coped with the policing of the Troubles (Pickering 2002: 1)[22]. Sharon Pickering conducted a research based on a hundred interviews and studied how women have waged many struggles "which brought them into repeated contact with the forces of the state" (Pickering 2002: 5) and she remarks: "Women's political activity is often not for their rights as individual women, but as part of a class and a community who suffer collectively" (Pickering 2002: 9). Her reflection matches the picture painted by Eileen Fairweather, Roisin McDonough and Melanie McFadyean of life in Northern Ireland's Catholic neighbourhoods as they report on the constant and intimidating police presence. The omnipresence of women at all times, "as ever, the women outside, and the women in Armagh" (Fairweather, McDonagh / McFaydyean 1984: 101) left them permanently exposed in many ways, having to both protect their families and manage the day-to-day while playing their part to support the republican movement. For example, by leaving their doors open at all times during the Troubles, women facilitated the activists' escape, which was instrumental, and they took risks to save lives:

> 'Without that woman to open that door, […] I could have been killed' says one man called Paddy. With open doors during gun battles, the IRA could come rushing through and out the back. The British chasing them came running through, minutes later, raging with anger, and the women went on serving the tea to their children and coping with some big sergeant with a gun shoved up to her nose, and him backed up by a patrol. (McCafferty, 1981: 52)

Nell McCarfferty reports how, in a nutshell, women kept things going while protecting republicans. They used sheets and blankets and climbed on top of Saracen tanks to cover the gun slits. They picketed to support prisoners, sometimes blocking the traffic, sitting down and singing. They used their bodies as shields during confrontations and they also did their best to maintain an impression of normality in completely extraordinary circumstances. By doing so, they were brought into repeated contact with the forces of the state. A provisional (member of provisional IRA) confides: "Women are brave. They're the ones who are on the spot, and they don't budge. […] Those women never realised how brave they were. They never knew how the area could not have survived, literally, without them" (McCafferty, 1981: 52). The Bogside artists dedicated a mural to the part played by women in everyday life (Figure 8). It is entitled "The Bernadette Mural". The painting not only focuses on the female activist but also celebrates women using dustbins for warning of invading army or police. A

female ex-prisoner posited that the women were "the backbone" (Alexandra, 2011) of Irish republican resistance in Northern Ireland.

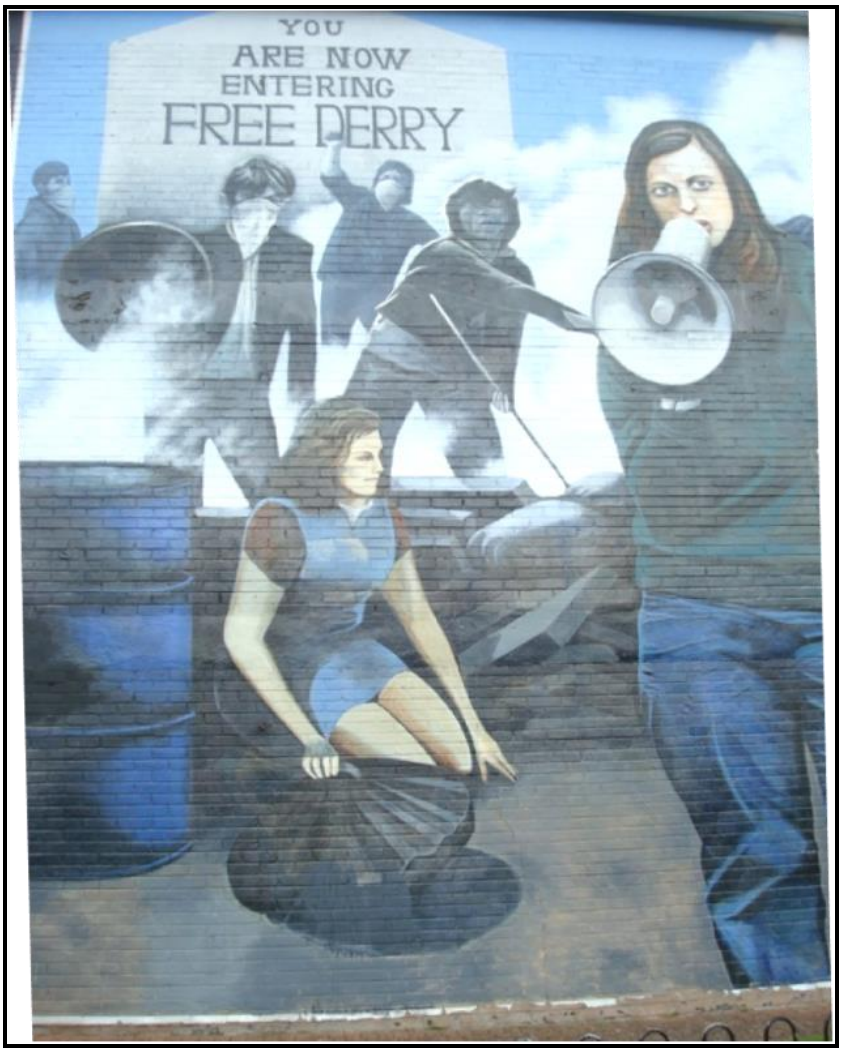


Figure 8 The Bernadette Mural, The Bogside artists, Derry/LDerry). (Bernadette Devlin was elected to Westminster for Mid-Ulster on April 1969). Photograph: Renée Tosser, July 2010

Republicans' families, wives or partners were especially affected by police raids, which frequently happened in the early morning, around 3 or 4 o'clock. Any man or woman could be arrested for a "screening operation" and be kept in detention for interrogation. It was a general practice carried out mostly by the British Army to gather information on local communities. Sile Darragh indicates that "the army and RUC would

attempt to blackmail, bribe or coerce the vulnerable into becoming informers, as well as interrogating people they suspected of being involved in or supportive of Republican activities" (Darragh, 2011: 11). The young people were threatened and ill-treated[24]. Such practices can account for the very early political commitment of young inhabitants in nationalist areas, which also explains why prominent members said they were just ordinary people who could not but get involved, as Sile Darragh wrote (Darragh, 2011: 17). Back home after years of living in extreme conditions in prison, women had to look after their families while coping with the aftermath of imprisonment in extreme conditions. Because of the permanent climate of insecurity, and also because of the frequency of arrests, some women have also hidden their time in prison from their children, again, for the purpose of sparing them. A visit in Armagh prison organised by an association of former Republican prisoners in 2010 enabled some daughters of former prisoners to find out their mothers' political past as Eibhlin Glenholmes recounts:

> One daughter told me that her mother, a former internee, had called her into the kitchen the week before and asked her if she would like to go on the visit to Armagh. She'd said yes and asked her mother if she had ever visited the jail before. Her mother told her no, she hadn't visited – she had been in it as a political prisoner. The young woman was aware of and proud of the years her father had spent in prison but she was totally flummoxed by the news that her mother had also been in jail. I was also confused but later in the day I heard a similar tale from a former prisoner. She explained that she was very young when she went to jail, had married her husband shortly after her release, and had started a family and then her husband went to prison. She felt that the children would worry about her being taken back to jail, so she never told them. (Glenholme, 2010)

The imprisonment was obviously repressed by former prisoners, which does not detract from the suffering it caused as Sile Darragh's following quote clearly shows: "Twenty years later, reading back the coms, I cried again. Once more, I was that young woman of 23 sitting in a cell in Armagh prison, reliving the terrible memories of a terrible period of my life" (Darragh, 2011: 123).

Conclusion

This paper has sought to uncover consistent evidence of the brutality of the Northern Ireland prison system and to demonstrate that women were both morally and physically abused. Is it even possible to assess how much these women have been weakened and what their lives as women have been like

after imprisonment? Periods would be a constant reminder of awful days long after imprisonment. The invasion of the bodily intimacy of these women examined internally and repeatedly must have left indelible marks.

To Raymond Murray, "the political failures have ensured the prison failures. The great symbol of all this, he added, the contempt of government for the human person, is the stripping naked of the girl prisoners" (Murray; Hard Times: 87).

The issue of feminism often emerges in academic articles, but it does not appear to have been a priority for these women. Martina Anderson, in response to a question on this point at a conference during West Belfast Festival in 2011, simply stated that "at the time, the priority was survival". Sile Darragh articulates the question as follows:

> Most members of women's movements argued that the issue of Armagh was not an issue for them, that we were part of a male-dominated organisation and therefore accepted the position of women in society as second-class. We argued that nowhere were women struggling harder for women's rights than in Armagh and how could we possibly have women's rights recognised in the absence of human and national rights? (Darragh, 2011: 88-9).

The trauma of imprisonment undoubtedly remains a priority, hence the importance of the collection of testimony, which should be pursued.


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This article does not contain any studies with human participants or animals performed by the author. Extracting and inspecting publicly accessible files (scholarly sources) as evidence, before the research began no institutional ethics approval was required.

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NOTES

1. In a Northern Ireland context, the term republican is taken to imply that the person gives tacit or actual support to the use of physical force by paramilitary groups with republican aims: https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/othelem/glossary.htm#R

2. Here Fiona McCann quotes Louise Ryan and Margaret Ward.

3. This West Belfast-based festival called "Féile an Phobail" (the Festival of the People) organises artistic, cultural and political conferences and discussions every year at the beginning of August.

4. Fiona McCann reports on this in her article: "Strip searches were often experienced as a form of sexual assault," (F. McCann, 2017: 1).

5. This view is consistent with the tenor of the exchanges I observed. Strip searches were clearly named by a former prisoner as "rapes" (Ciaran Interview, 2014).

6. The "Irish question" refers in a very general way to all the problems arising from the conflictual relations between Ireland and Great Britain: La « question d'Irlande» désigne de façon très générale « l'ensemble des problèmes issus des relations conflictuelles entre l'Irlande et la Grande-Bretagne ainsi que leurs conséquences directes ou indirectes sur le développement intérieur de l'île dont la « question d'Irlande du Nord » est emblématique », Jennifer Heurley, *De la Question d'Irlande à la Question d'Irlande du Nord*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2003, p. 7.

7. Colonisation was political with the Poyning Act, economic (English and Scottish settlers took over the best land, reducing the native Irish to farmers or sharecroppers), social and cultural: Catholicism was barely tolerated, so the Anglican Church was perceived by the Irish as the religion of the coloniser.

8. "The deep resentment of the native Irish towards the planters, and the distrustful siege mentality of the planters towards the Irish, is the root of the Ulster problem': John Darby, *Northern Ireland : The Background to the Conflict*, Belfast: p. 15.

9. Two identities had actually existed from the late 16th century: The Gaels and the Anglo-Irish. It was indeed among the "enlightened" English-speaking class of intellectuals that for example, a movement toward the promotion of the Irish language was born in the 18th century. A nationalism of place can thus be detected before the 19th century when Irish nationalism would adopt its own features and spark the 1916 revolution. The interest in the past originated in a powerful ethnic identity as well as in the coexistence of two religions—catholic and protestant—which, combined, gave rise to a national Irish identity in that century.

10. See Groves, Patricia. Petticoat Rebellion (The Anna Parnell Story), Cork: Mercier Press, 2009.

11. Sinn Féin is the political arm of the republican movement. See Brian Feeney, Sinn Féin, *A Hundred Turbulent Years*, Dublin: The O'Brien Press, 2002.

12. C.C. Craig, brother of the first Prime Minister, explained it well in the House of Commons: "If we had a nine-county parliament, with sixty-four members, the Unionist majority would be about three or four: but in a six-county parliament, with fifty-two members, the Unionist majority would be about ten." John Darby, *The Background to the Conflict*. p. 20.

13. It should be noted that British sovereignty was nevertheless affirmed by section 75 of the 1920 "Devolution Act".

14. The UVF is also the name of a violent loyalist paramilitary movement formed in 1966, in principle unrelated to the former. It became famous for its assassinations of IRA members and Catholics.

15. Tim Pat Coogan, The IRA, Fontana Paperbacks, pp 460-81; Agnès Maillot, IRA, Presse Universitaires de Caen. Both authors point out that before the PIRA (Provisional IRA) was born, the movement had almost no weapons and was not very popular with the population, as the graffiti visible at the time, IRA = I Ran Away, makes clear. The good reception given to the British troops in 1969 attests to the lack of activity of the republican movement at that time.

16. See, for example, the testimony of Sile Darragh (*John Lennon's Dead*, p.16) or the book "*Only the Rivers Run Free* (p 191). The context of the Orange marches is frequently referred to, having regularly resulted in violence during the Easter period in late summer.

17. In Ireland, "fasting and self-sacrifice in general began to have a special value in the development of Irish-Christian traditions, more particularly so if it was linked to or offered up to God in unison with the suffering and self-sacrifice of Christ", Sweeney, George, "*Irish Hunger Strikes and the Cult of Self-Sacrifice*" p. 3.

18. See for example Dieter Reinish article: "Cumann na mBan and Women in Irish Republican Paramilitary Organisations, 1969-1986".

19. See the following accounts: Darragh, Sile. '*John's Lennon's Dead'*, Fairweather, Eileen, Roisin McDonagh and Melanie McFadyean. *Only The Rivers Run Free, Northern Ireland: The women's war*, McCafferty, Nell. *The Armagh Women*, D'Arcy Margaretta, '*Tell them Everything'* London: Pluto Press, 1981.

20. Eileen Hickey was inspired by republican Anne Devlin who was imprisoned and tortured in Kilmainham Gaol. See Finegan, John. *Anne Devlin, Patriot and Heroine*. Dublin: Elo Publications, (1968), 1992

21. The loss of femininity that is caused by what is experienced as harassment by the jailers is felt to be necessary, as the only way to survive in Armagh prison, as Maureeen explains: "You lose your femininity completely, you become very hard in your attitudes, your speech, in every way, because you have to, in order to survive in jail" (D'Arcy 1981: 53).

22. See for example the following book of interviews which describes numerous raids: Fairweather, Eileen, Roisin McDonagh and Melanie McFadyean. *Only The Rivers Run Free*, 1984.

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