INSTITUTE OF
INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES
IN HUMANITIES
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Addleton
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NEW YORK



Journal of Research in Gender Studies

Volume 2(1) • 2012

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE CONTEMPORARY SCIENCE ASSOCIATION • NEW YORK

Journal of Research in Gender Studies

VOLUME 2(1) • 2012

ADDLETON ACADEMIC PUBLISHERS • NEW YORK

Journal of Research in Gender Studies
An international peer-reviewed academic journal
Volume 2 / Number 1 / 2012
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Journal of Research in Gender Studies is published twice a year (July and December) by Addleton Academic Publishers, 30-18 50th Street, Woodside, New York, 11377. All papers in this journal have undergone editorial screening and anonymous double-blind peer-review. ISSN 2164-0262**,** OCLC Number: 780797930

Acceptance Rate (2011): 27.66%

Journal ranking: **A** on a seven-point scale (A+, A, B+, B, C+, C, D).

Addleton Academic Publishers is an imprint of RIOTS, New York.

Addleton journals include reviews of books published by Cambridge University Press.

Please direct subscription, contributions, back-issue requests, and address changes to editors@addletonacademicpublishers.com

Produced in the United States of America

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Journal of Research in Gender Studies publishes research papers, review papers, conference papers, short communications, and book reviews.

JournalPrep
English Editing and Academic Peer Review

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Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 2(1), 2012, pp. 11–27, ISSN 2164-0262

Ambivalence sexuelle et identité juridique à travers les âges

ARNAUD PATURET
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ABSTRACT. The consideration of *bisexuation*, as a biological phenomenon, was variable in law history. At first, the hermaphrodite was considered a prodigy in antiquity before to be inserted in a legal system modeled on binary classification which was strictly organized around masculinity and femininity. Roman jurists and after them the medieval canonists refuted the proven existence of both male and female sexes in one body. With very few exceptions, this orientation persisted in the Ancien Régime, during which this physiological particularity was analyzed as deviant sexual practices and, as a consequence, condemnable. The study of several trials against hermaphrodites shows the social embarrassment caused by sexual ambivalent. This strange physiognomy was enough to suggest he was a criminal. Nowadays, French legal system is fortunately milder but it remains shaped around a unique and defined sex as stated in the person's birth certificate. Therefore it fails to recognize the concept of third gender.

Keywords: hermaphroditism, deviance, identity, law, history

« À l'origine du corps hermaphrodite était une dualité réelle ou rêvée, une blessure ou un idéal. Combien de temps l'écriture et les beaux-arts, les lois et les rituels, mirent-ils pour donner à la fusion ou à la confusion des deux sexes en une même créature leurs primitifs visages ». Ce passage extrait de l'avant-propos de l'ouvrage de P. Graille[1] induit combien les constructions sociétales et intellectuelles de toutes sortes peinent à intégrer l'être bisexué. Dans ses travaux sur les fondements de la hiérarchie entre les sexes, l'anthropologue F. Héritier[2] a mis en évidence la « valence différentielle des sexes » et indique avant tout que les structures de la parenté reposent sur des inventions culturelles fondées sur un constat banal : il existe seulement deux sexes dont la conjonction est nécessaire pour engendrer. La parturition demeure elle-même à l'origine d'autres jeux d'opposition au sein de la famille et c'est finalement tout un univers social qui s'organise autour de la

séparation stricte du mâle et de la femelle. Il faut alors convenir que la notion d'hermaphrodisme transcende cette différence sexuée fondamentale en s'opposant à la fois au masculin et au féminin pour représenter une sorte de genre neutre, un « entre-deux » inclassable qui n'aurait pas sa place.[3] Aussi, je me propose d'analyser l'approche du phénomène biologique de la bisexuation par un de ces systèmes qui recomposent le monde en imposant aux hommes une autorégulation basée sur le respect mutuel de règles communes, à savoir le droit. Il convient de rappeler que le rôle des normes juridiques est essentiel en ce qu'elles autorisent, entérinent ou prohibent les comportements humains et produisent ainsi une trame institutionnelle dans laquelle la vie et l'identité s'inscrivent. Par leur publicité, elles interfèrent inévitablement avec les deux grands axes identitaires, celui résultant de la définition de soi[4] élaborée par l'individu mais aussi celui découlant de l'axe relationnel, c'est-à-dire des rapports réciproques d'identification par rapport aux identités des autres membres du groupe.[5] Le point d'ancrage chronologique de cet exposé qui nous mènera jusqu'aux modèles juridiques contemporains sera l'époque romaine classique, moment où le droit s'érige pour la première fois, sous la plume de grands jurisconsultes, en un domaine scientifique autonome intégrant diverses catégories conceptuelles en matière de sujet et d'objet.

I

Parmi toutes les défectuosités physiques observées par les Romains, les anomalies sexuelles occupaient une place spécifique. L'individu au sexe incertain fut longtemps considéré comme un prodige vecteur d'un avertissement divin qu'il fallait éliminer. L'étude des seize cas d'hermaphrodisme présents dans la littérature latine montre que le traitement habituel infligé à ces marginaux jusque vers la fin de l'époque républicaine consistait en une expulsion opérée sans violence vers le milieu aquatique[6]. Avec l'avènement du Haut-Empire, l'appréhension s'efface et cède la place à une forme de tolérance envers la différence physiologique[7] qui ne tardera pas à se convertir en fascination. Et il semblerait déjà qu'à l'époque de Pline l'Ancien (23–79 avt. J. C.), les individus au sexe indéterminé étaient déjà appréciés comme objets de « délices »,[8] dans la mesure où les mœurs autorisaient les rapports sexuels entre hommes en complément de l'hétérosexualité. Au plan esthétique, les hermaphrodites ont même pu faire l'objet de représentations artistiques, à partir de la réalisation en bronze du sculpteur grec Polycles,[9] laquelle sera imitée par les artistes Romains de l'empire. La copie la plus connue fut façonnée au IIème s. n. è., restaurée par David Larique au XVIIème s. lorsqu'elle intégra la collection Borghèse avant d'être rachetée par Napoléon 1er et exposée au Louvre. Bien qu'acceptés au regard de leur anormalité corporelle, les ambivalents sexuels n'en étaient pas moins mal

considérés en raison de leur propension à la luxure.[10] C'était notamment le cas de Favorinus, un sophiste de l'époque de Trajan (règne 98–117 n. è.) que son biographe Philostrate dépeint comme un individu incapable de résister à la débauche. Il faut attendre l'époque sévérienne (192–235 n. è.) pour que le jurisconsulte Ulpien aborde la question de l'identité sexuelle de l'ambivalent : « il se demande : à qui doit être assimilé l'hermaphrodite? J'incline à croire qu'il doit faire partie du sexe qui prévaut en lui ».[11] Ce court passage connaîtra une postérité remarquable dans bon nombre d'argumentations juridiques postérieures. D'abord, l'*hermaphroditus* y est considéré comme un homme, un sujet de droit à part entière comme l'indique l'emploi du datif singulier *cui*. Ensuite, dans un souci de pragmatisme, Ulpien propose implicitement de prendre appui sur des schémas biologiques existants, à l'évidence le mâle ou la femelle comme le suggère l'emploi du verbe *comparare*. Ce terme concentre tout le problème identitaire posé par l'*hermaphroditus*, perçu comme un individu en marge des catégories sociales et juridiques existantes. Cette créature bisexuée remettait en cause la différenciation fondamentale entre l'homme et la femme, laquelle était globalement placée dans un lien de dépendance et de subordination, ainsi que les jeux comportementaux très stricts qui en découlaient. Le premier se caractérise par son rôle actif et la seconde par son attitude passive. D'où l'assimilation à l'androgyne, au sens d'intermédiaire sexué, à la fois de l'homosexuel passif et également de l'homosexuelle qui se comporterait en homme. Pour faire court, le mâle adulte est avant tout un *paterfamilias* et un guerrier tandis que la femme est une mère dans le cadre marital.[12] Le renoncement à ces codes impliquait pour le contrevenant le risque de se retrouver situé à l'autre bord : la *mulier* refusant le mariage échappe à sa condition tandis que le combattant pusillanime désavoue sa virilité. De cette échelle binaire découlaient des canons plastiques et vestimentaires. La beauté masculine s'appréhendait différemment de celle de la femme[13] tant et si bien que l'homme ne devait pas, à l'inverse de cette dernière, prendre un soin excessif de son corps[14] ou utiliser des habits féminins pour se vêtir[15] car sa tenue symbolisait la *virilitas* tandis que celle de la femme évoquait la *materfamilias*. Le travestissement n'est donc pas de mise ; Sénèque le Rhéteur rappelle que si le Préteur administre la justice vêtu comme une femme ou un esclave, il commet un crime de *maiestas*[16] (*violabit maiestatem*). Suivant cette distinction sociale nette, Ulpien postule que l'identité sexuelle de l'hermaphrodite doit reposer sur l'octroi d'un sexe unique. Il n'est en aucun cas question de la création juridique d'un « troisième genre »,[17] ni homme ni femme dont parle sensiblement à la même époque Alexandre Sévère dans un passage de l'*H. A*[18] pour désigner les eunuques. Est rejetée également l'idée de Pline qui qualifie les hermaphrodites de « demi-hommes ». C'est vraisemblablement une expertise (*aestimatio*) menée sur les organes reproducteurs -*sexus* désignant ici précisément les organes sexuels- qui devait déterminer laquelle des parties mâle ou femelle prédominait

chez la personne. Il était évidemment préférable, compte tenu de l'orientation machiste de la société romaine, que l'hermaphrodite intègre la catégorie virile que le droit favorisait de façon constante. Par exemple, le juriste Paul affirme que pour savoir si un hermaphrodite peut être admis comme témoin à un testament, il faut examiner quel est le sexe qui domine en sa personne.[20] La *qualitas sexus incalescentis* évoquée par l'auteur désigne un examen physique destiné à vérifier crûment l'apparence que présentent les organes génitaux lorsqu'ils sont échauffés ; ceci afin d'attester la prédominance masculine car la charge de témoin testamentaire[21] est un « office viril », réservé aux seuls hommes. Par ailleurs, il n'est aucun texte juridique qui reconnaisse le *conubium* (mariage légal) des hermaphrodites et l'exercice de l'*actio rei uxoriae* entre les époux dans ce cas particulier d'union. Néanmoins, des situations de fait montrent qu'ils avaient pris mari ou femme, d'après le témoignage de Pline[22] repris par Aulu-Gelle.[23] Il y apparaît que l'*hermaphroditus* adoptait l'identité d'un partenaire du sexe opposé à son futur conjoint : une certaine Arescusa avait été mariée à un homme puis, devenue Arescon une fois que la barbe et les parties viriles furent apparues, il épousa une femme. Lorsqu'ils intervenaient au cours du mariage, ces changements de sexe pouvaient provoquer des drames comme l'indique le récit de Diodore de Sicile au sujet du mariage de Samiadès et d'Héraïs. Cette dernière changea de sexe, adopta une tenue de jeune homme puis prit le nom de Diophante avant d'être enrôlée dans la cavalerie. Le mari, accablé de honte par son mariage contre nature, se suicida après avoir légué ses biens à celui qui avait été son épouse.[24] Il faudrait donc croire que, sur le fondement des éléments requis pour contracter mariage (*conubium*,[25] capacité physique et consentement) évoqués par Ulpien,[26] l'hermaphrodite verrait son union reconnue dès lors qu'elle implique un partenaire réputé du sexe opposé. Ainsi s'explique l'attitude de Néron qui fit émasculer le jeune Sporus, pour le transfigurer, lui faire prendre l'identité d'une femme afin de pouvoir l'épouser et en faire son impératrice.[27]

II

Les principes du droit civil romain ont grandement influencé les juristes médiévaux qui ont commenté le *corpus iuris civilis*. Ces réflexions intègrent en sus un paramètre moral résultant de l'influence du christianisme sur les raisonnements proposés. Il s'agit toujours de réguler la question des rôles sociaux, à travers l'étude de la possibilité pour l'ambivalent d'avoir accès à des rites de passage fondamentaux. Les incertitudes posées par l'hermaphrodisme au sujet de certains sacrements comme le baptême ont pu être contournées car la formule baptismale était neutre et ne tenait pas compte du sexe.[28] Au besoin, le nom pouvait faire l'objet de masculinisation ou

féminisation au moment de la confirmation. L'ordination pose un problème plus grave et fait l'objet de discussions nourries. Parfois il est admis que l'hermaphrodite à dominance masculine puisse être ordonné prêtre, ce qui exclut l'ambivalent pur, considéré comme une femme ou encore les hermaphrodites féminins. Dans d'autres cas, même l'hermaphrodite mâle se voit refuser l'accès à la prêtrise, non pas à cause d'une identité sexuelle douteuse mais en raison de son apparence monstrueuse ;[29] certaines tares physiques importantes étaient incompatibles avec la célébration du culte. De telles restrictions existaient déjà dans le monde du paganisme où le prêtre se devait de posséder un corps intact : un Augure frappé d'ulcères ne pouvait pas observer le vol des oiseaux ; une postulante à la charge de Vestale ne devait pas être sourde, bègue, muette ou atteinte de quelque infirmité.[30] En certains cas, l'expertise extérieure envisagée par les jurisconsultes de Rome cède en partie la place, chez les canonistes, à la considération des sensations intimes du sujet pour établir son identité sexuelle. Vers la fin du XIIème s., l'auteur d'un traité de théologie morale appelé Pierre le Chantre (mort en 1197), dont l'œuvre eût une influence considérable au cours du Moyen-Âge en ce qu'elle conféra à cette discipline une orientation pratique et casuistique,[31] réfléchit à la question de l'identité sexuelle de l'*androgynus*. Au chapitre 138 intitulé *De vitio sodomitico* de son *Verbum abbreviatum*, il expose que l'hermaphrodisme recèle des implications sérieuses dans la mesure où cette configuration corporelle inhabituelle remet en cause l'ordre voulu par Dieu des rôles dévolus à l'homme et la femme lors de l'acte sexuel. En principe, les hommes ne peuvent avoir de rapports sexuels avec les hommes ni les femmes avec les femmes, mais seulement les hommes avec les femmes et réciproquement ; or l'être pourvu des deux appareils génitaux est capable par définition de tenir à la fois le rôle actif et passif. Aussi la configuration corporelle permettant cette alternance dans l'union des chairs, laquelle est à rapprocher de l'homosexualité et donc de la sodomie, vice contre nature par excellence, explique que l'hermaphrodisme interpelle les théologiens. L'Eglise permet toutefois l'usage de l'organe -et de lui seul- qui procure à l'androgyne les émotions les plus vives et elle autorise le mariage seulement s'il adopte le rôle inverse de son partenaire. Cette position qui venait fixer l'identité sexuelle de l'individu devait rester immuable ; l'intersexué qui n'avait pas de préférence devait rester chaste toute sa vie et observer le célibat, afin d'éviter toute ressemblance avec l'inversion des sodomites que Dieu a en horreur.[32] Cette conception dualiste calquée sur le critère binaire du droit romain fait écho aux opinions des philosophes et médecins médiévaux qui nient, en suivant les conceptions aristotéliciennes qui définissent l'hermaphrodisme comme un simulacre de bisexualité, l'existence d'un intermédiaire parfait entre l'homme et la femme.[33] La raison en est que la nature résidant entre les mains de Dieu, celui-ci ne peut créer des êtres indéterminés. Même si les deux sexes semblent présents en une même personne, l'un est forcé-

ment inefficace et incomplet. En même temps, si l'existence d'un troisième sexe demeure repoussée de manière quasi-systématique dans les discours médicaux, les spécialistes admettent que l'examen clinique ne permet guère de lever l'ambiguïté. En ce sens, l'approche d'un juriste canoniste italien tel Hugues de Pise (vers 1210) est remarquable en ce qu'elle fait converger paramètre médical, apparence et attitude sociale du protagoniste. Huguccio insiste en effet sur l'importance du comportement public -et non pas de la seule attitude au cours de l'acte sexuel- comme révélateur du sexe à retenir.[34] Si l'hermaphrodite préfère les activités masculines et la compagnie des hommes, le droit le regardera comme tel. Certes l'examen des parties génitales se révèle utile mais il faut surtout considérer l'aspect extérieur le plus visible et observer si l'individu possède ou non de la barbe. Le déplacement du critère du rôle sexuel vers l'évaluation comportementale permet d'affirmer que certains canonistes médiévaux ont, en considérant que l'identité sexuelle résulte à la fois de la morphologie modifiée, du psychisme et du rôle social de l'individu, mis en évidence la notion de genre qui servira de fondement des siècles plus tard aux analyses de la Commission européenne des droits de l'homme. Et à vrai dire, rares sont les dispositions juridiques qui laissent une telle latitude aux intersexués ; on en trouve des traces explicites dans la législation prussienne du Code Frédéric. Fondée sur le droit romain, cette dernière en complète les principes et laisse à l'hermaphrodite le choix de son sexe lorsque l'observation ne permet pas de déterminer si le masculin ou le féminin l'emporte. En ce cas, l'individu devra se conformer pour toujours à sa décision car « il lui est défendu, sous des peines sévères et corporelles de faire usage de l'autre sexe. Ainsi un hermaphrodite qui a une fois épousé un homme, ne peut plus se marier à une femme ».[35] Une telle possibilité laissée au sujet d'avoir un regard sur lui-même existait également dans la tradition orientale des casuistes musulmans,[36] à travers l'analyse du juriste hanafite Sarahksi (mort en 1106) qui accepte le cas échéant de considérer le propre témoignage de l'hermaphrodite dans la mesure où le propos d'un homme sur lui-même a valeur légale dès lors qu'il s'agit d'un domaine sur lequel les autres ne peuvent témoigner.[37] En effet, seul l'ambivalent peut constater l'apparition des signes qui identifient son sexe véritable car il s'agit là d'une matière regardant sa plus stricte intimité. Parmi toutes les législations humaines, c'est sans doute le droit musulman, pourtant fondé plus que tout autre sur une stricte division des sexes, qui recèle le plus grand nombre de règles relatives à l'hermaphrodisme. Celles-ci concernent des domaines très variés : la circoncision, le pèlerinage, la prière (l'hermaphrodite doit s'exécuter en se plaçant derrière les hommes mais devant les femmes), le droit successoral ou pénal etc. Pour autant, comme dans la presque totalité des univers juridiques connus, il est difficile d'y déceler une véritable taxinomisation du troisième sexe car « l'ambiguïté sexuelle n'est pas une catégorie de la loi islamique » ;[38] le sujet réputé intersexué est régulièrement considéré comme une femme ou

un impubère jusqu'à ce que son sexe définitif soit affirmé. Or, l'exigence de décliner une identité sexuelle unique et fixe, même si celle-ci résulte d'un choix délibéré, peut provoquer un malaise conséquent et se révéler destructrice au final, en ce qu'elle anéantit toute possibilité d'évolution ultérieure.[39]

III

La nature duale de l'hermaphrodite, au sens médical moderne de l'hermaphrodisme vrai d'un individu affublé à la fois d'ovaires et d'utérus mais aussi d'un pénis et d'une prostate, c'est-à-dire d'un double appareil reproducteur, se trouve encore niée par les médecins et les juristes sous l'Ancien Régime. Un tel cas a pourtant fait l'objet de la controverse 48 contenue dans le traité de droit criminel du juriste espagnol Lorenzo Matheu y Sanz (1618–1680) qui affirme que l'hermaphrodisme vrai est une réalité biologique -au sens de techniquement possible- et historique : l'auteur parle d'*herma(p)hroditi raro utruque sexu perfecti*. Il était précisément question de l'usage indistinct, en termes de fécondation, du corps de deux époux parfaitement bisexuels dans une démonstration visant à défendre la dépénalisation de pratiques sexuelles considérées comme déviantes.[40] La position défendue par l'auteur se révèle autant fine que progressiste car elle dénonce avec méticulosité la dépendance des opérateurs du droit envers la science, laquelle rattache nécessairement l'être ambigu à l'un ou l'autre sexe, dans un discours qui dispense une morale sexuelle unique pour le pseudo-hermaphrodite et l'authentique bisexuel dont la médecine nie paradoxalement l'existence. Or ce dernier devrait être reconnu comme un sujet particulier, pourvu d'une puissance naturelle génitale double, et traité comme tel ; son comportement sexuel évolutif ne devrait pas faire l'objet d'une criminalisation puisqu'il demeure parfaitement naturel.[41] Cette analyse est au combien marginale, car l'immense majorité des sources, tant doctrinales que jurisprudentielles ou médicales,[42] sous-tendent la suprématie de la traditionnelle classification duale pour catégoriser l'hermaphrodite. Dans son *Dictionnaire de droit et de pratique*,[43] Claude-Joseph Ferrière résume parfaitement cette position et lui alloue une légitimité historique voire même théologique en s'appuyant sur le *De generatione animalium* d'Aristote, le *De animalibus* écrit par celui qui fut le maître de Thomas d'Aquin : le dominicain Albert le Grand[44] ou encore l'idée diffusée aux temps médiévaux selon laquelle le Dieu créateur a nécessairement voulu distinguer le mâle et la femelle en termes d'engendrement. En ce sens, le juriste précise que l'« On tient qu'il n'y a point de véritables hermaphrodites, & en qui les deux sexes soient parfaits & en qui les parties qui les composent soient parfaitement séparées, qui puissent engendrer en eux comme les femmes, & hors d'eux comme les hommes ». Des analyses similaires émanent d'autres juristes de la même époque tels Pierre-Jacques Brillon,[45] Merlin de Douai[46] ou Fran-

çois Gayot de Pitaval[47] qui, dans un récit au sujet d'une religieuse prétendument hermaphrodite, compare les intersexués aux satyres et autres minotaures. L'auteur y confine l'être bisexué aux fictions poétiques antiques ou aux récits mythiques consacrés par la postérité païenne, au sein desquels les peuples ont parfois donné les deux sexes à leurs héros, leurs idoles et leurs dieux ; tout en précisant qu'il y a toujours concrètement un sexe qui l'emporte dans les faits. Cette primauté obligée guide la concession d'une identité juridique intangible et unique, conformément aux lois romaines qui composent un inéluctable référent intellectuel à cette époque. L'accolement à l'un au l'autre sexe guidera l'insertion institutionnelle des intersexués ; ils devront par exemple forcément épouser une personne de sexe opposé à celui qui leur fut attribué sous peine que le mariage soit invalidé.[48] L'hermaphrodite à dominance masculine pourra intégrer les ordres et devenir moine,[49] un dénouement en revanche impossible si le sexe féminin prime en lui. Par ailleurs, le champ processuel révèle les préjugés sociaux relatifs à l'hermaphrodisme, que l'on assimile presque toujours à des pratiques sexuelles déviantes, une association d'idées dérivant de la particularité physiologique elle-même en ce qu'elle remet en cause la distinction des rôles entre l'homme et la femme dans la société civile. Aussi le constat, ou tout du moins l'évocation de la conformation corporelle supposée du sujet, s'assimile aux penchants comportementaux censés en résulter et suffit à l'inquiéter. L'accusation « d'avoir les deux sexes comme un hermaphrodite », évoquée dans les écrits du médecin Jacques Duval,[50] au sujet d'une affaire mettant en scène une jeune fille du pays de Caux, qui sera au final déclarée femme et accordée en mariage au sieur de la ville, Bailly de Vimeur, enseigne que c'est précisément la nature physiologique équivoque, réelle ou présumée, de l'hermaphrodite qui suscite avant tout rejet. Quelques grands procès permettent de prendre toute la mesure de l'embarras judiciaire face à cette exception physiologique et surtout du peu de précautions requises lors des expertises médicales qui se révèlent la plupart du temps extrêmement traumatisantes pour les accusés.

Une de ces affaires, laquelle fut résolue le 7 juin 1601,[51] met en scène Marie le Marcis. Cette dernière, considérée depuis toujours comme une femme, prit l'habit masculin et se fit appeler Marin après avoir révélé sa masculinité à celle qui l'employait alors comme chambrière, Jeanne le Febure, afin d'envisager de se marier avec elle. Après un examen médical qui prouva, en dépit d'une configuration sexuelle très atypique, que la prédominance masculine ne faisait aucun doute, le verdict rendu ne manque pas de surprendre : Marie devait rester Marie, conserver l'habit féminin[52] jusqu'à l'âge de vingt-cinq ans et s'abstenir de toute cohabitation avec des personnes de l'un ou l'autre sexe, « sous peine de vie ».[53] Ce jugement constitue une neutralisation du comportement du sujet autant que la négation de la nature de son corps. Le moyen envisagé ici pour conjurer cette bisexualité étant au fond de la désexualiser pour un temps et d'interdire au sujet toute situation de nature à

provoquer un rapport charnel qui serait forcément déviant. Un dénouement moins clément frappa en décembre 1661 Angélique de la Motte Vilbert d'Apremont,[54] une prieure au couvent des Filles-Dieu de Chartres qui fut accusée d'avoir pris, sous les deux sexes, des libertés peu conformes à son vœu de chasteté.[55] Elle sera fouettée puis emprisonnée à vie à Paris au couvent des Madelonnettes. Le procès de Marguerite Malaure[56] est lui aussi très édifiant des difficultés posées par l'ambivalence sexuelle. Après avoir vécu vingt et un ans comme une femme, elle sera ensuite considérée, après examen médical, comme hermaphrodite à dominance masculine. Elle fut par conséquent débaptisée et condamnée par les Capitouls de Toulouse le 21 juillet 1691 à se vêtir en homme ainsi qu'à répondre au prénom d'Arnaud. Après bien des turpitudes et des inspections avilissantes et sordides, les commissaires du roi lui rendirent, à la suite d'une ultime expertise médicale concluante, son état originel ; son nom et sa vie de femme. Une issue heureuse et conforme à l'identité intime de la jeune femme mais qui ne devait pas éluder sa propension involontaire à incarner « un réceptacle de fantasmes physiologiques et érotiques »[57] dans l'opinion publique. Le cas Anne-Jean Baptiste Grandjean[58] est peut-être l'épisode le plus marquant en raison de son retentissement. Celle-ci fut baptisée comme fille en novembre 1732 à Grenoble, puis après que la puberté eût entraîné l'apparition d'attributs virils, prit femme à Chambéry le 24 juin 1761. Après une expertise clinique et malgré ses protestations, elle fut déclarée hermaphrodite femelle et mise aux fers, attachée au carcan avec un écriteau portant la mention « profanateur -et non profanatrice- du sacrement de mariage » puis condamnée à subir la peine du fouet et du bannissement perpétuel.[59] L'appel de cette sentence devant le Parlement de Paris aboutira, après une plaidoirie parfois maladroite de l'avocat Vermeil qui classa l'accusé(e) du côté des hermaphrodites neutres et stériles (ni homme ni femme), à un arrêt rendu le 10 janvier 1765 qui infirma l'accusation en profanation de sacrement du mariage mais déclara ce dernier abusif et enjoignit à l'accusé(e) de prendre des habits de femme, de ne plus hanter Françoise Lambert et autres personnes du même sexe.[60] Une décision irrationnelle qui ruine sa vie maritale puis l'empêche de construire son existence conformément à son identité intime. L'incohérence et la sévérité du jugement, qu'il faut sans aucun doute rapprocher de l'intransigeance religieuse envers les défauts corporels majeurs,[61] ont été dénoncées dans les milieux intellectuels.[62] Corrélativement, d'autres témoignages permettent de confirmer implicitement une atmosphère sociale hostile aux ambivalents sexuels. Traiter quelqu'un d'hermaphrodite est un acte méritant réparation. En ce sens, un autre litige rapporté par Jean Albert[63] et Des Essarts[64] est parti d'une rumeur selon laquelle un certain Rafanel, occupant la fonction de précenteur (maître de chœur) au sein de l'église cathédrale de Chartres, était hermaphrodite. Ce bruit émanait des Calvinistes et du prébendier Delmas qui convoitait vraisemblablement la charge de son collègue. La cause fit l'objet d'un appel devant

le Parlement de Toulouse en juin 1652. Une expertise médicale attesta l'absence du sexe féminin chez le prévenu. Le délateur fut condamné à payer une lourde amende et à demander pardon publiquement pour sa calomnie. Une telle mesure ne put toutefois effacer l'humiliation subie par Rafanel en raison de la visite intime qu'il supporta et fut difficile à effacer des esprits. Un autre arrêt rendu par le Parlement de Bordeaux le 12 janvier 1691 obligea une jeune fille qui avait usé avec malveillance du terme « hermaphrodite » pour en désigner une autre, à demander pardon à cette dernière en présence du juge et de six témoins, avec défense de réitérer de telles façons de faire.[65] Plus dramatique se révéla l'histoire de l'archevêque de Brême, lequel fut accusé par un diacre d'être hermaphrodite et qui ne se remettra pas, bien que cela permit de confondre son accusateur, de la honte causée par la visite intime de son corps : « il quitta son archevêché, et chercha la retraite dans les extrémités de sa province. Car enfin il y a de certaines accusations qui, encore après la justification, font la peine de l'accusé : il est purgé du crime que l'on lui avait imputé, mais la douleur sera toujours dans le titre de son accusation… le remède qu'on a apporté au mal en le guérissant, a laissé après lui une honte pire que le mal même… ».[66]

Tous ces récits induisent que, pour conjurer l'embarras et la difficulté sociétale posée par l'hermaphrodisme, cette configuration corporelle fut rangée du côté du crime ou du péché avec les conséquences qui en résultent en matière d'exclusion communautaire. La notion de dénonciation est en ce sens probante : traiter quelqu'un d'hermaphrodite, c'est vouloir le marginaliser, lui porter préjudice au point de déclancher des poursuites judiciaires, le couvrir d'« infamie » d'après le juriste François Richer.[67] Aussi la justice reconnaît-elle la faute de l'accusateur en le condamnant s'il se révèle que les griefs sont faux.

IV

Le droit civil français contemporain ignore la question de l'hermaphrodisme, que la doctrine prend grand soin de distinguer du transsexualisme.[68] Ce sentiment profond d'appartenir au sexe opposé en dépit d'une apparence conforme au sexe chromosomique est en revanche l'objet d'une attention particulière de la part des juristes et des tribunaux. L'absence de l'hermaphrodite de l'univers du droit civil de la famille s'explique au regard de la taxinomie juridique, de l'indisponibilité de l'état des personnes et donc du sexe. L'article 57 du Code civil stipule que tout acte de naissance doit indiquer, outre les noms, prénoms, date et lieu de naissance, le sexe de l'enfant. Et l'article 288 al. 1 de l'Instruction générale relative à l'état civil du 11 mai 1999 (JO du 28 juillet 1999 annexe) complète les dispositions du CC pour les cas atypiques de sexe incertain. Dans cette dernière hypothèse, il est interdit aux officiers d'état

civil d'indiquer la mention « de sexe indéterminé » au sein du formulaire. Le langage employé est symptomatique car l'indétermination visée s'entend implicitement au regard des deux sexes, masculin et féminin, autour desquels s'érige la tradition légale. Il faut rappeler que le système se conçoit par principe autour de la définition initiale d'un sexe unique et immuable établi au moment de la naissance. Les tribunaux firent preuve d'intransigeance sur ce point jusque dans les années 1990 mais la Cour de cassation a dû, sous l'impulsion d'un arrêt de la CEDH du 25 mars 1992 qui dénoua la célèbre affaire Botella c. France,[69] revoir ses positions en la matière.[70] Elle permet dorénavant d'apposer une mention qui précise le nouveau sexe du sujet. Le transsexualisme de l'individu doit être médicalement reconnu et s'accompagner, à de rares exceptions près,[71] de la réalisation d'opérations de conversion sexuelle[72] qui permettent de faire coïncider l'apparence physique avec le sexe revendiqué. Sans rentrer dans tous les détails, il faut considérer que cette législation est une avancée mais elle souffre de substantielles limites au regard des hermaphrodites. Le possible changement de sexe n'équivaut en rien à la création juridique d'un troisième sexe. Et sur ce dernier point la rigueur est de mise car toute démarche à connotation équivoque doit être rejetée. Dans des cas de transsexualisme ou de situations voisines, de rares décisions des juridictions inférieures avaient pu valider un changement de prénom sans modification de la mention du sexe,[73] une démarche qui aboutissait techniquement à la création d'un statut que le droit ignore. Un arrêt rendu le 8 novembre 1990[74] par la Cour de cassation repousse une telle éventualité et précise que : « Doit être rejetée la demande de substitution de prénom qui, si elle était accordée, aurait pour résultat d'établir une contradiction entre le prénom et le sexe de l'intéressé figurant à l'état civil et de lui donner un statut mixte d'intersexualisme qui n'est pas reconnu par le droit français ». En réalité, la création juridique d'un troisième sexe divise ceux qui y réfléchissent. Certains auteurs[75] ont émis l'idée qu'une telle catégorie pourrait intégrer ceux dont le sexe n'est pas homogène mais d'autres la jugent potentiellement discriminatoire[76] voire saugrenue dans sa résonance sociale car les individus intersexués ne désireraient pas se singulariser dans un statut juridique hybride mais être avant tout rattachés à l'un des deux sexes existants.[77]

Il faut observer qu'une telle catégorie intermédiaire est reconnue depuis peu au Tamil Nadu, un Etat au sud de l'Inde, pour permettre aux eunuques, les hijras, de bénéficier des conditions accordées à chaque citoyen sans qu'ils soient obligés de se caractériser comme homme ou femme. Ceux-ci ont désormais la possibilité d'apposer la mention « T » pour *transsexual* sur leur carte familiale ou de rationnement. Cette reconnaissance socio-juridique a des échos triviaux puisque la municipalité de Chennai, la capitale du pays, a alloué l'équivalent de soixante-neuf-mille euros à la construction de toilettes exclusivement destinées aux transsexuels.[78] Le contexte ainsi que

l'enjeu local de cette législation demeurent spécifiques en raison du nombre et du statut social des castrats dans la société hindou. Il n'en reste pas moins qu'une telle initiative mérite toute l'attention du juriste. En posant une alternative aux différentiations strictes et immuables imposées jusque-là par la totalité des législations humaines, le droit suggère ici par ricochet que l'identité sexuelle est un processus évolutif, et qu'il peut exister tout au long de l'existence une trajectoire psychologique présentant des variations dans ses rapports à la masculinité ou à la féminité. Il s'agit là d'un fort bel exemple de considération juridique des méandres inattendus de la nature humaine envisagée dans ses confins les plus lointains, et de ses dérivés identitaires.

NOTES

1. Graille, P. (2001), *Les hermaphrodites aux XVIIè et XVIIIè siècles*. Paris, 11.

2. Héritier, F. (1996), *Masculin, Féminin. La pensée de la différence.* Paris. Il s'agit d'un ouvrage réunissant douze articles publiés dans diverses revues entre 1979 et 1993.

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6. Cf. notamment Obseq. 22; 27; 32; 34; 36; 47; 48 et 50 ; Brisson, L. (2008), *Le sexe incertain. Androgynie et hermaphrodisme dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine.* Paris, 31–32.

7. Dans son enquête sur la psychologie collective dans le monde romain, Barton, C. A. (1993), *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans*. Princeton, 86, a mis en évidence que les Romains de la République tardive et du Haut-Empire étaient partagés entre le rejet du « *miraculous* » et une grande fascination voire admiration pour l'étrange. Admirer c'est désirer, aussi se produit ce que l'auteur appelle le passage du prodige à « l'animal de compagnie ».

8. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* 7.3.

9. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* 34.79–80 parle de l'*hermaphroditus nobilis* de Polycles sans plus de description.

10. Gourevitch, D. (1998), « Au temps des lois Julia et Papia Poppaea, la naissance d'un enfant handicapé est-elle une affaire publique ou privée ? », *Ktèma*, 23, 467.

11. Ulp. 1 *Sab.* D.1.5.10 *Quaeritur: hermaphroditum cui comparamus? Et magis puto eius sexus aestimandum, qui in eo praevalet*.

12. Brisson, L. *Le sexe op. cit.*, 41.

13. Cic. *De Off.* 1. 36.130.

14. Gell. 6.12.5.

15. Sur ce point, voir Manfredini, A. D. (1958), « *Qui commutant cum feminis vestem* », *RIDA*, 32, 257–271.

16. Sen. *Contr.* 9.2.17.

17. Sur cette notion voir G. Herdt (éd.) (1996), *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*. New York, en particulier le chapitre 1 sur les eunuques byzantins par K. Ringrose.

18. *H. A. Alex. Sev.* 23.7.

19. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* 11.49.

20. Paul 3 Sent. D.22.5.15.1. *Hermaphroditus an ad testamentum adhiberi possit, qualitas sexus incalescentis ostendit.*

21. Thomas, Y. (1991), « *La division des sexes en droit romain* », G. Duby-M. Perrot, *Histoire des femmes en Occident*. Tome 1, *L'Antiquité*. Paris, 104–106.

22. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* 7, 36.

23. Gell. 9, 6, 4.

24. Diod. 23.10.2 sq. cf. Photius, *Bibliothèque, codex* 244, 377b-378b. Un autre cas de changement de sexe décrit par Diodore concerne une certaine Kallô qui fut mariée pendant deux ans et qui devient un jeune homme à la suite d'une intervention médicale. Elle prit le costume et les habitudes d'un homme et changea son nom en Kallôn.

25. Cf . Fayer, C. (2005), *La familia romana*. Rome 389–412.

26. *Tit. Ulp.* 5.2, voir le commentaire de Fayer, C. *La familia op. cit.*, 388–389 et la note 207. L'auteur établit l'importance primordiale du *conubium* qui prime la capacité physique et le consentement des époux ou celui des pères de familles auxquels ils sont soumis.

27. Au sujet de cet épisode, voir Suet. *Ner.* 28. Sporus castré fut conduit, couvert du voile nuptial et pourvu d'une dot, au palais impérial au milieu d'un cérémonial extraordinaire. Il revêtit ensuite les ornements d'une impératrice et fut présenté comme tel.

28. Voir l'exposé de M. van der Lugt (2008), « L'humanité des monstres et leur accès aux sacrements dans la pensée médiévale », *Monstre et imaginaire social. Approches historiques*, A. Caiozzo et A. E. Demartini (eds.), Paris, 135–161.

29. Par exemple Huguccio, C. XXVII, q. 1, c. 23 ad. v. *ordinari*. Et les références proposées par M. van der Lugt, *op. cit.* note 84.

30. Porte, D. (1995), *Le prêtre à Rome*. Paris, 67.

31. Sur cet auteur qui fut professeur à l'Ecole épiscopale de Paris, voir Antoine, P. (1992), *Le mariage. Droit canonique et coutumes africaines*. Paris, 204.

32. Pierre le Chantre, *Verbum abbreviatum*, cap. 138, col. 333–335 (éd. Paris, 1855) ; cf. Aussi *Summa de sacramentis et animae consiliis*, III, 2a, cap. 17 par. 254. Voir aussi M. van der Lugt, *op. cit.*

33. On trouve un exemple de cette négation dans l'œuvre d'un disciple de Pierre le Chantre nommé Robert de Courçon, *Summa, De hermafroditis, … ut tradunt physici, non potest contingere quod duo sexus in hermafrodito equaliter vigueant, immo oportet quod semper unus obstineat privilegium.*

34. Hugguccio, C. IV, q. 2 et 3, c. 3 par. 22 *ad sexus incalescentis* (B. n. F., *ms. Lat.* 15396, fo 136 va).

35. *Code Frédéric ou corps de droit pour les États de S. M. le roi de Prusse*, trad. A. de Campagne, Berlin, 1751, titre 7 par. 3, 27 : « Les hermaphrodites sont ceux qui ont les marques des deux sexes ; il faut observer à l'égard d'un hermaphrodite, que l'on doit examiner quel sexe prévaut en lui, et le faire déclarer en conséquence mâle ou femelle. Lorsqu'aucun des deux sexes ne prévaut, il a le choix ; mais le choix fait de l'un …».

36. Les méandres de cette dernière au sujet de l'hermaphrodite ont fait l'objet d'un exposé récent par M. Hocine Benkheira, « Homme ou femme ? Les juristes (2008), musulmans face à l'hermaphrodisme » in A. Caiozzo et A. E. Demartini (dir.), *Monstre et imaginaire social : approches historiques*. Paris, 163–186, 175.

37. M. Hocine Benkheira, *op. cit.*, 171.

38. M. Hocine Benkheira, *op. cit.*, 185.

39. Il faut rappeler que l'exigence de décliner une identité sexuelle fixe peut se révéler destructrice de l'individu, de ses capacités créatrices en matière de sexualité, ainsi que de ses possibilités personnelles d'évolution. M. Foucault, (1994), *Le mystérieux hermaphrodisme, Dits et écrits* III, 1976-1979, Paris, 624 indique que la civilisation moderne, exige une correspondance rigoureuse entre le sexe anatomique, le sexe juridique, le sexe social : elle s'appuie sur une coïncidence de ces sexes pour ranger l'individu dans la catégorie masculine ou féminine et ce de manière immuable. On se rend compte que si on exige cette correspondance pour certaines personnes qui ne sont pas capables de décliner une identité sexuelle claire, elles sont jetées dans une confusion et un malaise conséquents. C'est notamment le cas d'un individu déclaré médicalement et juridiquement homme, alors qu'il aurait vécu jusqu'alors comme une femme. M. Foucault rapporte en ce sens l'exemple des mémoires d'Herculine Barbin que le malaise psychologique conduira au suicide.

40. Matheu y Sanz, L. (1738), *Tractatus de re criminali sive controversiarum usufrequentium in causis criminalibus cum earum decisionibus*. 4ème édition, Lyon, contr. 48, § 1–54, 243–253. En France, Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, Paris, 1838, 903 indique prudemment au sujet des vrais hermaphrodites « il est bien hardi de dire : nous n'avons jamais vu ce phénomène donc il est impossible qu'il existe ».

41. Sur cette question voir l'analyse de Marchetti, V. (1987), « Proposition de règlement juridique d'une troisième sexualité : Lorenzo Matheu y Sanz et les hermaphrodites (1663), » *Droit, histoire et sexualité*, J. Poumarède et J. Royer (éd.), l'espace juridique, Lille, 131-142, en particulier 135–139.

42. Zacchia, Paulus (1701), *Queastionum medico-legalium tomus secundus*. Lyon, 556 a–b, doute de la capacité de l'hermaphrodite, en lequel les deux sexes sont tellement bien et exactement formés, à procréer avec l'un et l'autre.

43. Ferrière, C. J. (1769), *Dictionnaire de droit et de pratique*. Tome 1. Paris, 677–678.

44. le Grand, Albert (1920), *De animalibus libri viginti sex nach der Cölner Urschrift herausgegeben von H. Stalder*. II, Munster, 1224–1225.

45. Brillon, J. (1727), *Dictionnaire des arrêts ou jurisprudence universelle des Parlements de France et autres tribunaux*. Tome 3, Paris, 604. L'auteur rapporte les règles romaines en vigueur au sujet du rattachement de l'ambivalent à l'un ou l'autre sexe. Cette position doit rester immuable aussi il est fait mention d'un hermaphrodite reconnu de sexe viril qui avait fait l'office de la femme et fut accusé de

crime de sodomie. Il fut condamné à être étranglé puis brûlé à la suite d'un arrêt du Parlement de Paris intervenu en 1603.

46. Merlin de Douai, P. A. (1812–1825), (4ème éd.), *Répertoire universel et raisonné de jurisprudence*. Tome 5. Paris, 698.

47. Gayot de Pitaval, F. (1775), *Causes célèbres et intéressantes avec les jugements qui les ont décidées*. Tome 6. Paris, 191-233 ; *idem* chez Brillon J. (1781–1788), *Dictionnaire de jurisprudence et des arrêts*. Tome 6. Lyon, 208–211.

48. Marchetti, V. *op. cit.*, 135.

49. Albert, J. (1686), *Arrêts de la cour du parlement de Toulouse*. Toulouse. Article VIII *Si un hermaphrodite peut tenir des Bénéfices*, 56–58.

50. Duval, J. (1612), *Des hermaphrodites, accouchements des femmes, et traitement qui est requis pour les relever en santé & bien élever leurs enfants, où sont expliqués la figure du laboureur & verger du genre humain, signes de pucelage, défloration, conception & la belle industrie dont use la nature en la promotion du concept et plante prolifique*, Rouen. Chap. LIIII *Histoires de ceux qui ayant les deux sexes ont eu le féminin plus parfait*, 363.

51. Trois documents importants permettent d'en prendre toute la mesure. Outre l'ouvrage de J. Duval cité *supra*, il faut mentionner Riolan, J. (1614), *Discours sur les hermaphrodites, où il est démontré contre l'opinion commune, qu'il n'y a point de vrais hermaphrodites*. Paris, et un autre essai de J. Duval (1615): *Réponse au discours fait par le sieur Riolan, docteur en médecine et professeur en chirurgie et pharmacie à Paris, contre l'histoire de l'hermaphrodite de Rouen*, Rouen. L'affaire est évoquée en détail par P. Graille, *Les hermaphrodites… op. cit.*, 114–117.

52. Sur l'enjeu du vêtement, voir Pellegrin, N. « Le genre et l'habit. Figures du transvestisme féminin sous l'Ancien Régime », *Clio*, 10-1999, *Femmes travesties : un « mauvais » genre*, consultable en ligne : http://clio.revues.org/index252.html.

53. Duval, J. *Des hermaphrodites… op. cit.*, 441.

54. Sur cette affaire, se reporter à Graille, P. *Les hermaphrodite, op. cit.*, 119–124.

55. Salgues, J. B. (1810), *Des erreurs et des préjugés répandus dans la société*. tome 3, Paris, 252.

56. Sur cet épisode, voir par exemple Merlin de Douai, P. A. *Répertoire op. cit.*, 698–699.

57. Graille, P. *Les Hermaphrodites op. cit.*, 128.

58. Ample exposé par Graille, P., *Les Hermaphrodites*, *op. cit.*, 129–144 ; voir aussi de Courrèges, Hélène (2009), *Être ou ne pas être. Les hermaphrodites dans l'ancien droit français*, in *Les annales de droit*, n°3, 2009, 51–61, en particulier 58–59.

59. Merlin de Douai, P. A. *Répertoire, op. cit.*, 699.

60. Des Essarts, N. T. L. M. (1788), *Procès fameux extraits de l'essai sur l'histoire générale des tribunaux des peuples tant anciens que modernes*. Tome 9, Paris, 107–126, 126.

61. Voltaire, *Dictionnaire, op. cit.*, 903.

62. Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Meister etc. 15 Janvier 1965 « Mariage, procès et condamnation de l'hermaphrodite Granjean ». Cf : http://www.voltaire-integral.com/zEtudes/Grimm/06/1765_01_Janv.html.

63. Albert, J. *Arrêts op. cit.*, 56–58.

64. Des Essarts, N. T. L. M. *Procès fameux op. cit.*, 110–111.

65. Affaire rapportée dans Brillon, J. (1727), *Dictionnaire des arrêts ou jurisprudence universelle des Parlements de France*. Tome III, Paris, 604.

66. Gayot de Pitaval, F. *Causes célèbres op. cit.*, 222–223.

67. Richer, F. (1995), *Procès d'Angélique de la Motte, religieuse prétendue hermaphrodite*. rééd., présentation et bibliogr. de J. Bouchon, Poitiers, 30.

68. Buffelau Lanore-V., et Y. Terneyre, Larribau (2009), *Droit civil. Introduction, biens, personnes, famille*. Paris, 374.

69. Sur l'enjeu de cette décision en rapport avec la protection de la vie privée, voir Guttman, D. (2000), *Le sentiment d'identité. Etude de droit des personnes et de la famille*. Paris, 310–340 et 359–368.

70. Par une décision rendue en AP le 11 décembre 1992.

71. CA Rennes, 26 octobre 1998. La dispense est accordée pour raisons médicales.

72. Un enfant ambivalent à sa venue au monde sera légitimé à subir des interventions chirurgicales et à faire éventuellement une action d'état en changement de sexe ou de prénom en rapport avec son apparence physique, cf. CA Versailles, 22 juin 2000.

73. Par exemple TGI Saint-Etienne, 26 mars 1980.

74. Paris, 1ère ch. Section C, 8 nov. 1990.

75. Rassat, M. L. (1985), « Sexe, médecine et droit », *Mélanges offerts à Pierre Raynaud*. Paris, 651–674.

76. J. Rubellin-Devichi, obs. *RTD civ.* 1985, 139.

77. Chiland, C. (1999), *Le sexe mène le monde*. Paris, 191. Sur ces questions, je renvoie également aux développements de F. Vasseur-Lambry (2000), *La famille et la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme*. Paris, 78–85.

78. Il ne s'agit pourtant pas d'une première. En effet, certains établissements scolaires thaïlandais sont équipés de toilettes -dont le logo associe la moitié d'une fille avec une moitié de garçon-, lesquelles sont spécifiquement dédiées aux katoy (transsexuels hommes qui se veulent femmes). Il s'agit avant tout d'éviter certains conflits infantiles. Même si les ambivalents sont bien tolérés et intégrés dans la société thaïlandaise, certaines gênes peuvent toutefois subsister. Les petites filles ne sont pas enclines à partager ces lieux intimes avec des garçons et il apparaît que les transsexuels sont parfois ennuyés par les usagers des toilettes masculines.

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Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 2(1), 2012, pp. 28–47, ISSN 2164-0262

Trauma, virtuel et pulsions : vers un « devenir inorganique » de la mondialisation ?

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ABSTRACT. This paper aims to examine the unpublished reports between the death drive, sex drive, and gender identity in the context of virtual technologies of globalization, from analyses of Teresa de Lauretis. In her latest book, *Freud's Drive* (Original Title: *Freud's Drive. Psychoanalysis, Literature and Film*. (2008), New York: Palgrave Macmillan) [*Teresa de Lauretis, Instincts Freud – Psychoanalysis, Literature and Cinema*, (2010). Trans. fr. by Jacques Brunet-Georget. Paris: PUF], the American theorist departs from a comparison of the early twentieth century and early twenty-first century of our postmodern, based on a reflection on September 11, 2001 and the new contributions of globalization. The attacks of September 11 revealed a rupture in the fabric of the Western world that has reached the proportions of a societal trauma. According to T. de Lauretis, this situation is not so far removed from that of the 1900s, marked by the trauma of World War I, except that the globalization of the geopolitical space (cyberspace, bacteriological threat, chemical warfare, etc. ...) makes more diffuse impact of trauma. In this perspective, Teresa de Lauretis is based on the results of psychoanalysis. In a Western world ravaged by World War I, Freud observed in 1920 some traumatic neuroses in his patients and made the assumption that the compulsion to repeat the unpleasant experience or even more painful one would come from an unconscious drive, pushing towards self-destruction, at work in the human body: the "death instinct." The challenge of Teresa de Lauretis is to update the theory of the death drive in terms of trade globalization. Globalization is understood here under three aspects: the new terms of geopolitical trauma, the impact of technology of instant and virtual communication, the network of a "biopower," to borrow a phrase from Michel Foucault, who describes the living (exploitation of organic animal life, bio-technological innovations ...) in the middle of relations of power that are in permanent recomposition. Teresa de Lauretis locates a "death pulsion" in the heart of global capitalism, which would have an "unorganic become," and hypothesizes that this paradoxical pulse is closely linked to new forms of sexual drive.

Keywords: globalization, trauma, death drive, sex drive, virtual

Cette communication se propose d'interroger les rapports inédits entre la pulsion de mort, la pulsion sexuelle et l'identité de genre dans le contexte des technologies virtuelles de la mondialisation, à partir des analyses de Teresa de Lauretis. Dans son dernier ouvrage, *Freud's Drive* (Titre original : *Freud's Drive. Psychoanalysis, Literature and Film*. New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) [Teresa de Lauretis, *Pulsions freudiennes. Psychanalyse, Littérature et cinéma*. Trad. fr. par Jacques Brunet-Georget. Paris, PUF, 2010], la théoricienne américaine part d'une comparaison entre le début du XX^{e} siècle et notre début de XXI^{e} siècle post-moderne à partir d'une réflexion sur le 11 septembre 2001 et sur les apports nouveaux de la globalisation. Les attentats du 11 septembre ont révélé une rupture dans le tissu du monde occidental qui a atteint les proportions d'un trauma sociétal ; selon T. de Lauretis, cette situation n'est pas si éloignée de celle des années 1900, marquées par le trauma de la Première Guerre Mondiale, à ceci près que la globalisation de l'espace géopolitique (cyberespace, menace bactériologique, guerre chimique, etc…) rend plus diffus l'impact de ce trauma. Dans cette perspective, Teresa de Lauretis s'appuie sur les résultats de la psychanalyse.

Dans un monde occidental ravagé par la Première Guerre Mondiale, Freud observa en 1920 des névroses traumatiques chez ses patients et fit l'hypothèse que la compulsion à répéter des expériences désagréables ou même douloureuses devait provenir d'une pulsion inconsciente, poussant à l'autodestruction, à l'œuvre dans l'organisme humain : la « pulsion de mort ». Tout le pari de Teresa de Lauretis est de réactualiser la théorie de la pulsion de mort à l'aune de la mondialisation des échanges. La mondialisation se comprend ici sous un triple aspect : les nouvelles modalités du traumatisme géopolitique ; l'impact des technologies de la communication instantanée et du virtuel ; le réseau d'un « bio-pouvoir », pour reprendre une expression de Michel Foucault, qui met en jeu le vivant (exploitation de la vie organique animale, innovations bio-technologiques…) au cœur de rapports de forces en recomposition permanente.

Teresa de Lauretis repère une « pulsion de mort » au cœur du capitalisme mondialisé, pulsion qui tendrait vers un « devenir inorganique », et fait l'hypothèse paradoxale que cette pulsion est étroitement liée aux nouvelles modalités de la pulsion sexuelle. Pour éclaircir ce point, elle s'appuie sur le film *eXistenZ*, de David Cronenberg (1999), qui introduit les corps dans l'univers des jeux vidéos virtuels. Le film s'inscrit sur fond de guerre économique (vols de système de jeu et de capitaux d'entreprises) et de « délocalisation » permanente du site de la réalité ; dans le même temps, le dispositif du jeu – qui interface la psyché humaine, les images, le corps vivant et certains dispositifs bioélectroniques – et la structure même du récit mettent en scène une réalité virtuelle qui décolle les désirs des joueurs de leur identité anatomique et psychologique et finit par brouiller les possibilités d'identification, les limites entre la masculinité et la féminité, ainsi que la

limite entre le réel et l'intangible. Ce qui est en jeu, ici, c'est le nouage paradoxal entre la tendance à la destruction et des modes de sexualité « *queer* » qui viennent précisément inscrire le sexuel *en tant que* pulsion de mort dans une nouvelle économie corporelle.

Poser la question des études de genre à l'ère de la mondialisation, c'est se situer dans une tradition de pensée qui se garde, depuis le début des années 1970, de dissocier la sphère intime et la sphère du collectif et qui interroge précisément la sexualité comme un problème politique. Pour autant, cette tradition, et ses avatars militants, sous prétexte d'arracher la sexualité à la biologie ou à un psychologisme trivial, et de développer des stratégies de subversion dans le champ social, a pu laisser de côté ce qu'il y a, pour ainsi dire, de plus sexuel dans la sexualité, et que l'on pourrait qualifier rapidement, pour emprunter ce terme à la psychanalyse, de « pulsionnel ». De plus, il n'est pas dit que cette tradition – *gender studies*, *queer theory*, études féministes et post-féministes, théories post-coloniales… – possède les outils théoriques adéquats pour aborder les changements les plus récents qui affectent l'économie globalisée comme nos pratiques technologiques et épistémiques. Dans un ouvrage paru aux États-Unis en 2008, *Freud's Drive*, et traduit en France en 2010 sous le titre de *Pulsions freudiennes*, la philosophe américaine Teresa de Lauretis se donne précisément pour tâche de lever ces difficultés en opérant un retour aux intuitions freudiennes : elle propose une compréhension renouvelée de la pulsion, à partir des résultats de la psychanalyse, pour interroger notre début de XXI° siècle, marqué selon elle par un lourd traumatisme géopolitique aux modalités diffuses.[1] Plus précisément, elle revient sur les relations qui se donnent à penser entre la « pulsion de mort » et les pulsions sexuelles dans le contexte des technologies de la mondialisation. En exploitant notamment la notion de trauma, Teresa de Lauretis cherche à appliquer la conception freudienne du nœud oxymorique de la vie et de la mort dans la psyché et la société humaine ; elle s'appuie de façon stratégique sur certaines productions artistiques contemporaines, et en particulier sur le film *eXistenZ*, de David Cronenberg, qui introduit les corps dans l'univers des jeux vidéos virtuels, et qui lui permet de forger la figure d'un « devenir inorganique ». Nous nous proposons, dans le cadre de cet article, de situer son analyse à l'aune de la problématique du « genre » en prenant la mesure de son originalité. Il faut bien préciser que le terme est ici compris dans un sens élargi : loin de se cantonner au binaire homme/femme, le genre désignera l'ensemble des opérateurs qui interrogent et mettent en jeu la tension entre l'identité et la sexualité. Cela étant posé, nous nous attacherons à présenter les lignes de force de *Pulsions freudiennes*, en répondant à une triple exigence : il s'agira d'abord de rendre compte de la dynamique de la pensée de Teresa de Lauretis, volontiers labile et proliférante, traversée de glissements, de bifurcations, d'associations inattendues, mais en orientant et en balisant ce mouvement à partir de notions-clés comme celle de « mondialisation » ou de « trauma »,

pour en tirer un gain conceptuel ; nous tenterons également, de proche en proche, d'éclaircir ou d'interpréter certains points saillants ; enfin, nous essaierons de mettre ce texte en perspective dans l'évolution intellectuelle de Teresa de Lauretis et dans le champ des études *queer*. Si c'est à Teresa de Lauretis qu'on doit, en 1991, l'expression de « théorie *queer* », la tonalité sombre de cet ouvrage le démarque explicitement de ce champ : à partir de là, comment comprendre aujourd'hui le sens et l'intérêt d'une démarche « *queer* » ?

Par sa radicalité, le point de départ de Teresa de Lauretis est aussi séduisant qu'étonnant : elle se propose de comparer le début du XX° siècle et notre début de XXI° siècle « post-moderne » à partir d'une réflexion sur le 11 septembre 2001 et sur les effets de la mondialisation. De toute évidence, les attentats du 11 septembre ont révélé une rupture dans le tissu du monde occidental, rupture qui a atteint les proportions d'un traumatisme sociétal. Selon Teresa de Lauretis, cette situation n'est pas si éloignée de celle des années 1900, marquées par le choc de la Première Guerre Mondiale, à ceci près que la globalisation de l'espace géopolitique, qui enveloppe entre autres le cyberespace, la menace bactériologique ou encore la perspective de la guerre chimique, rend maintenant plus diffus l'impact de ce trauma. À vrai dire, la Première Guerre Mondiale est ici tenue pour emblématique des manifestations de violence qui ont scandé le XX° siècle, si l'on considère ce dernier comme l'acmé de la modernité. On pourrait être tenté de voir dans les nouvelles technologies de la violence, élargies à la dimension de réseaux de moins en moins délimitables, une rupture par rapport à ce régime ; mais la trame de l'histoire occidentale suggère, sinon une continuité, du moins un effet d'insistance. Pour Teresa de Lauretis : « les formes modernes occidentales – les pratiques théorisées – de lutte armée contre l'état libéral-démocrate, comme celles des "années de plomb" qui ont eu cours en Italie à partir des années 1970, semblent incommensurables avec les formes du prétendu terrorisme qui a frappé le World Trade Center à New-York, la gare Atocha à Madrid, le réseau du métro londonien et d'autres monuments du pouvoir occidental. Pourtant ils coexistent ».[2] Pour elle, l'énigme du monde actuel consiste dans le fait qu'on ne peut en avoir idée que comme d'un paradoxe : « une négativité qui est aussi, en même temps, une positivité ; une résistance obstinée, silencieuse, à la mise en discours, à l'articulation, à la rationalisation ou à la négociation qui coexiste avec les technologies de communication instantanée à travers le réseau planétaire des médias ».[3] La « post-modernité » peut bien se laisser appréhender comme un ensemble de dispositifs favorisant la circulation, à vitesse infinie, des informations, des images, ou des capitaux, dans la perspective d'accroître les potentialités et les ressources de différentes formes de vie à partir de foyers multiples ; l'organisation humaine n'est reste pas moins traversée d'une « négativité » qu'attestent les phénomènes

ponctuels de violence et qui ne laisse pas de faire signe vers une « ancienne modernité »,[4] celle, en particulier, du début des années 1900.

Mais la référence à la Grande Guerre sert aussi de levier pour introduire un champ épistémologique qui joue un rôle stratégique dans l'argumentation de Teresa de Lauretis : celui de la psychanalyse, et plus particulièrement de la psychanalyse freudienne. En effet, c'est au sortir de la Première Guerre que Freud établit un constant surprenant. Il observa en 1920, chez des patients revenus du front, des névroses traumatiques qui se manifestaient par une compulsion à répéter, dans les rêves et les idées hallucinatoires, le choc et la terreur réellement éprouvés pendant la guerre. En comparant les symptômes des « névroses de guerre » avec d'autres névroses pathogènes, Freud formula l'hypothèse que la compulsion à répéter des expériences désagréables ou même douloureuses devait provenir d'une pulsion inconsciente, poussant à l'autodestruction, à l'œuvre dans l'organisme humain. Il l'a décrite comme une tendance de l'appareil psychique à aller *au-delà* du principe de plaisir, c'est-à-dire à atteindre une excitation inférieure au niveau stable que le moi perçoit comme satisfaction, plaisir ou apaisement, et à réduire finalement le niveau à zéro, à l'absence totale de tension. Il l'a appelée « pulsion de mort » (*Todestrieb*, *death drive*). Si l'on s'en remet à la spéculation freudienne, cette pulsion autodestructrice œuvre tantôt en opposition, tantôt de concert avec les pulsions tendant à l'accroissement vital. Freud remplaçait ainsi l'ancienne opposition entre les pulsions sexuelles et les pulsions d'auto-conservation – ou pulsions du moi – par une opposition entre des « pulsions de vie (*Éros*) et des « pulsions de mort »,[5] en insistant sur le fait que toutes les deux sont présentes dans le moi et sont animées par une seule et même énergie psychique, la libido. Éros est le terme que Freud emprunte à Platon pour désigner les pulsions tendant « à conserver la substance vivante, à la rassembler en unités de plus en plus grandes ».[6] Freud pensait qu'à côté de ces « pulsions de vie » était simultanément à l'œuvre « une autre pulsion, opposée à elle, qui tend à dissoudre ces unités et à les ramener à l'état organique des primes origines ».[7] Cette dernière pulsion, la pulsion de mort, est tout d'abord une pulsion autodestructrice, une tendance de la vie psychique de l'individu à revenir à un état de quiétude instinctuelle, un état que Freud compare à l'inertie d'une matière inorganique. Pourtant, Freud utilise aussi dans *Au-delà du principe de plaisir* l'image équivoque d'un organisme luttant pour se maintenir *envers et contre* tout et tous. Mais, comme le suggère Teresa de Lauretis, il semble permis de lire le paradoxe de l'organisme freudien – celui de la matière vivante recherchant sa propre manière de mourir – comme un oxymore : une figure de pensée, distincte d'un concept positif, qui permet de saisir à partir des interstices et des équivoques du langage ce qui se manifeste, en dernière instance, dans l'organisme.

Teresa de Lauretis s'appuie sur les vertus du paradoxe pour réinscrire la théorie de la pulsion de mort dans un cadre contemporain. Précisément, elle

la révise à l'aune de la question de la mondialisation des échanges. Ce projet comporte deux conséquences notables : il la conduit, d'une part, à mobiliser tout un faisceau de liens interdisciplinaires et, d'autre part, à re-traverser la thématique pulsionnelle sur le versant de la sexualité. Mais que faut-il entendre au préalable sous le terme de « mondialisation », qui apparaît à plusieurs reprises sous la plume de Teresa de Lauretis ? La première strate de signification est attestée par le point de départ de la réflexion : il s'agit des nouvelles modalités du traumatisme géopolitique pour autant qu'elles prennent en compte, entre autres, l'impact des technologies de la communication instantanée. C'est la comparaison entre les années 1900 et le début du XXI° siècle qui permet, nous l'avons vu, de dessiner les lignes de force de cette option. La seconde entrée dans la question de la mondialisation est fournie par la référence, plus spécifique, au philosophe Michel Foucault. Teresa de Lauretis lui emprunte la notion de « bio-pouvoir » pour la resituer à la lisière de sa propre réflexion sur la vie et la mort. Pour Michel Foucault, le « bio-pouvoir » qualifie en effet un réseau qui met en jeu le vivant au cœur de rapports de force en recomposition permanente.[8] Teresa de Lauretis repart de cette affirmation de Foucault sur l'implantation et la production diffuse de la sexualité dans les corps : « les rapports de pouvoir peuvent passer matériellement dans l'épaisseur même des corps sans avoir à être relayés par la représentation des sujets. Si le pouvoir atteint le corps, ce n'est pas parce qu'il a d'abord été intériorisé dans la conscience des gens. Il y a un réseau de bio-pouvoir, de somato-pouvoir qui est lui-même un réseau à partir duquel naît la sexualité comme phénomène historique et culturel à l'intérieur duquel à la fois nous nous reconnaissons et nous nous perdons ».[9]

Dans le projet critique de Michel Foucault, le « bio-pouvoir » en vient à désigner « toute la technologie politique de la vie »,[10] qui s'est développée à partir du dix-septième siècle, quand le pouvoir politique venait de se donner la tâche de gérer la vie. Il portait au départ sur le corps en tant que *machine*, sur « son dressage, la majoration de ses aptitudes, l'extension de ses forces, la croissance parallèle de son utilité et de sa docilité, son intégration à des systèmes de contrôle efficaces et économiques »[11] : dans ce cas, le corps-machine renvoie à l'insertion contrôlée du corps physique dans l'appareil de production et s'avère être un élément indispensable au développement du capitalisme. Par la suite, le bio-pouvoir a porté sur le corps de *l'espèce*, si l'on entend par là « le corps traversé par la mécanique du vivant et servant de support aux processus biologiques : la prolifération, les naissances et la mortalité, le niveau de santé, la durée de la vie, la longévité ».[12] Or, parmi tous les processus biologiques, ou supposés tels, c'est la sexualité qui vient occuper le centre de la scène. Une technique suprême de bio-pouvoir a été le déploiement de la sexualité au dix-neuvième siècle, qui a produit la notion moderne de « sexe » et l'a constituée comme problème politique « [e]n créant cet élément imaginaire qu'est "le sexe" ».[13] Teresa de Lauretis commente la

constitution du sexe et de la sexualité à partir du bio-pouvoir selon deux axes majeurs. D'une part, le bio-pouvoir concerne les conditions et les mécanismes du contrôle et de la gestion du corps sexuée à travers la régulation de la sexualité ; ainsi de la bourgeoisie qui s'attribue, à travers un certain nombre de pratiques épistémiques et politiques, une sexualité spécifique, affectée par des critères de santé, d'hygiène, de descendance, de race… D'autre part, le bio-pouvoir en viendrait en quelque sorte à « produire » le terrain corporel même où se constitue la sexualité, c'est-à-dire configurer le champ de la corporalité comme surface malléable d'inscription et de régulation des processus de la vie – comprise comme un problème proprement politique. Adaptant cette perspective aux enjeux contemporains, Teresa de Lauretis resitue le bio-pouvoir tant dans la façon dont nous éprouvons le rapport à notre intimité sexuelle que sur la plan de l'exploitation de la vie organique animale et des innovations bio-technologiques.

La seconde acception du terme de « bio-pouvoir » ouvre tout un faisceau de corrélations qui fournissent des outils précieux pour penser les aspects paradoxaux de la mondialisation.[14] Tout d'abord, parler du bio-pouvoir comme d'un terrain corporel de régulation des processus de la vie, et mettre en avant le fait que la corporalité de ce terrain se constitue de façon coextensive à ce processus, ne manque pas, semble-t-il, de faire écho à une approche psychanalytique de la pulsion – quand bien même Foucault revendique de prendre le contre-pied de ce champ. En effet, la psychanalyse met en lumière le fait que la sexualité, pour reprendre une expression de Jean Laplanche abondamment commentée par Teresa de Lauretis, est « exogène, intersubjective et intrusive ».[15] Pour le dire brièvement, la sexualité n'est pas innée, inhérente au corps physique, mais résulte d'une relation inter-humaine fondamentale : elle est « implantée » dans l'enfant par les actions et les investissements psychiques des adultes qui prennent soin de lui.[16] Une fois reçus, bien qu'intraduisibles, les messages hétérogènes – moins verbaux que de nature sensorielle – qui s'adressent à l'enfant sont conservés comme des résidus inscrits chez l'enfant et constituent le premier noyau de l'inconscient.[17] Ce processus contribue à élaborer les limites mêmes de la corporalité ainsi que les paramètres imaginaires à l'intérieur desquels le sujet en vient à reconnaître son identité, tout fluctuants que soient ses contours, et à négocier avec la sexualité telle qu'elle surgit, au sens où elle vient à la fois de l'extérieur et de l'intérieur – *en même temps* de l'extérieur et de l'intérieur. Par certains aspects, la « fabrique » de la pulsion freudienne n'est pas si éloignée du bio-pouvoir. En effet, l'un et l'autre sont situés dans la corporalité au-delà du champ du sujet cartésien rationnel, et fournissent le fondement matériel, corporel, qui a conduit Foucault à parler de « l'implantation » de la sexualité dans le sujet.[18] Chez Freud, c'est parce que le moi est incarné qu'il fournit le fondement *matériel* de la formation du sujet. Teresa de Lauretis, en un court-circuit saisissant, suggère que c'est justement pour cette raison

que le bio-pouvoir « passe matériellement dans l'épaisseur même des corps ». Cette profondeur ou cette *épaisseur* du corps ne serait-elle pas la partie la plus large de ce que Freud appelle le « moi » et qu'il définit – d'une manière, certes, plutôt obscure[19] – comme une projection de la surface du corps ? Ce rapprochement prend d'autant plus de relief en regard des enjeux contemporains. Brouillant la limite entre le collectif et le psychisme individuel, le bio-pouvoir pourrait bien se lire comme un appareillage proprement pulsionnel qui régule, pour les produire, les désirs les plus intimes le long d'une surface en recomposition continuelle – celle constituée par l'enveloppe numérique et par les réseaux virtuels étant un bon exemple.

Si l'on prend acte du fait que Teresa de Lauretis place toute son argumentation sous le signe du « trauma », au point d'en faire un véritable paradigme, on peut franchir un pas de plus et remarquer que la convergence présumée entre les technologies d'implantation de la sexualité à travers l'épaisseur des corps, selon Foucault, et les mécanismes exogènes d'intrusion de la pulsion, selon la psychanalyse, se redouble d'un autre parallélisme : les deux options peuvent se lire à certains égards comme une opération traumatique. L'élaboration freudienne de la pulsion de mort avait précisément pour point de départ une observation des effets du trauma de la Première Guerre Mondiale sur la psyché des vétérans. Dans une perspective métapsychologique, si l'on s'en remet aux paramètres topiques proposés par Freud, on peut dire que l'appareil psychique, ou si l'on veut le moi, est en quelque sorte pris par surprise dans l'expérience traumatique. N'étant pas préparé à maîtriser ou à réprimer la force de l'impact, il s'avère incapable de contenir l'excès d'affect produit par l'impact sur son enveloppe corporelle et de régler les sensations déterminées, comme la douleur, que suscite cet impact. Les fonctions psychiques qui constituent la subjectivité consciente, par exemple la cognition, la perception, l'imagination ou la mémoire, s'en trouvent considérablement réduites, si ce n'est paralysées.[20] Teresa de Lauretis convoque cette définition dès le départ de sa réflexion, mais elle l'extrait bientôt de son socle clinique pour l'adapter à un cadre de compréhension qui possède une portée paradigmatique. Au fur et à mesure qu'elle approfondit les résultats de la métapsychologie freudienne et qu'elle s'attache à confronter des champs épistémologiques disjoints, il semble permis de dire que le trauma en vient à désigner le mode majeur de constitution de la subjectivité et même à englober la question de la sexualité.

À tout prendre, le caractère exogène de la pulsion pointe le fait que la sexualité est fondamentalement traumatique : les signifiants – ou, dans une perspective foucaldienne, les appareillages de pouvoir – issus du dehors ouvrent une brèche dans l'enveloppe même qu'ils contribuent à constituer, ce processus paradoxal – et, en un sens, impensable comme tel – fournissant les conditions d'élaboration de l'identité. Pour le dire autrement, l'épaisseur des corps forme le terrain fragile où se font et se défont sans cesse les limites

imaginaires du moi, en proie aux stimulations qui l'assaillent de l'extérieur, mais qui surgissent comme si elles émanaient de sa profondeur la plus intime. Ainsi, faire du trauma un paradigme pour penser l'identité subjective revient à penser l'expérience de la vulnérabilité – au sens étymologique de la possibilité d'être blessé, meurtri, par une intrusion qui déchire la surface de la peau ou du moi – comme fondatrice de la relation à l'Autre.[21] Là où la réflexion de Teresa de Lauretis trouve toute sa pertinence, c'est qu'elle ne manque pas de mettre en corrélation cet usage paradigmatique du terme avec les modalités empiriques, historiquement déterminées, du traumatisme telles qu'elles nous affectent en ce début de XXI° siècle. Voilà posé le cadre qui permet d'interroger conjointement les nouvelles formes du traumatisme géopolitique et les processus de constitution des formes de vie – incluant les désirs et la sexualité. Car la définition du trauma n'est pas exempte de significations positives : c'est précisément parce qu'il y a une fragilité foncière du psychisme, individuel ou collectif – individuel et collectif – et que la barrière protectrice de l'identité est continuellement menacée d'être rompue, qu'une expérience intersubjective est possible et que des liens peuvent se nouer, fussent-ils douloureux, improbables ou précaires. Pour autant, le versant sombre du trauma tient une place décisive dans l'argumentation de Teresa de Lauretis ; c'est d'autant plus vrai que, reprenant le geste freudien, elle prolonge la question du trauma dans la caractérisation de la pulsion de mort.

De fait, tout l'effort de Teresa de Lauretis consiste à repérer comment la pulsion de mort œuvre au cœur du réseau du vivant et du capitalisme mondialisé. Si la réflexion sur le bio-pouvoir met en lumière, à l'aune de la question du trauma, l'implantation du sexuel dans nos formes de vie, ce résultat semble indissolublement lié à l'insistance d'un processus qui tendrait vers un « devenir inorganique ».[22] Ici, Teresa de Lauretis fait jouer un autre carrefour transdisciplinaire en interrogeant conjointement la psychanalyse et l'économie. Plus précisément, elle lit Freud en regard de la théorie du capital développée par l'économiste autrichien Joseph Schumpeter ; à nouveau, cette confrontation, fort inattendue, ne se comprend que si l'on en garde à l'esprit le projet de se servir des différentes conceptions de l'imperfectibilité humaine pour penser le monde actuel. Pour expliquer le rythme extraordinaire de la croissance économique et de l'expansion non inflationniste aux E-U durant les années 1990, qui coïncidait avec l'émergence d'une « nouvelle économie » alimentée par les innovations technologiques, les économistes occidentaux ont repris une théorie du capital développée par Joseph Schumpeter dans les années 1940.[23] Pour l'exposer brièvement, on peut s'en tenir au schéma suivant : les périodes de plein essor économique sont stimulées par les nouvelles technologies ; mais quand les innovations deviennent la norme, l'essor s'amenuise, et il est suivi d'une période de récession ou d'une crise lors de laquelle l'économie se contracte jusqu'à ce que, un nombre variable d'années

après, une autre innovation enclenche une nouvelle vague d'expansion. En introduisant de nouvelles technologies, de nouveaux produits et de nouvelles méthodes de production, les entrepreneurs économiques se lancent dans un processus de « destruction créatrice », selon l'expression de Joseph Schumpeter, qui force les entreprises existantes à s'adapter ou à faire faillite, avec les conséquences qui s'ensuivent : les pertes d'emploi, la nécessité pour les travailleurs de se recycler, et ainsi de suite. L'expression « destruction créatrice » s'est largement répandue sur les marchés à la fin des années 1990.

Teresa de Lauretis cherche à la réactiver en suggérant une similitude avec la théorie freudienne des investissemenst libidinaux. Certes, une différence majeure saute immédiatement aux yeux, au-delà même de la difficulté à penser les rapports entre les processus subjectifs et la macro-économie : tandis que Schumpeter pensait que le capitalisme fonctionnait par cycles alternatifs et apportait au bout du compte le progrès social, il n'y a, selon Freud, aucun progrès dans le destin des pulsions qui sont, insiste-t-il, ou bien strictement conservatrices, ou bien entropiques. Néanmoins, on peut envisager un parallélisme entre les deux théories. Tandis qu'à la suite de la Grande Guerre, les symptômes de compulsion de répétition de ses patients conduisaient Freud à postuler une pulsion de mort, Schumpeter compare la question de savoir dans quelles circonstances le système économique « produirait *par son propre fonctionnement* des booms, des crises ou des dépressions » à celle de savoir « pourquoi la mort surviendrait, en l'absence de lésions, du seul fait du fonctionnement de l'organisme humain ».[24] En outre, la présence ou l'absence de fluctuations au sein du processus économique et le rôle de « l'équilibre » dans le système économique tels qu'ils sont décrits par Schumpeter résonnent fortement avec la définition « économique » du principe de plaisir en termes de quantités de stimulation et de décharge, comme principe de constance ou tendance entropique vers zéro dans l'appareil psychique de la première topique. Dès lors, Teresa de Lauretis se pose la question suivante : si la théorie de la destruction créatrice de Schumpeter s'applique si bien à la conjoncture de notre « nouvelle » économie, nous pourrions nous demander si la théorie plus sombre de Freud sur la tendance psychique vers l'inorganique est aussi pertinente par rapport à l'environnement technologique qui est le nôtre et peut être utile pour interpréter les nouveaux produits culturels tels que le genre ou la sexualité, et la façon dont ils sont institués dans les pratiques et les représentations. Le jeu interdisciplinaire permet donc de resserrer la question de la mondialisation autour d'une série de polarités audacieuses : au joint de l'intime et du collectif, la globalisation des processus de la vie sollicite à la fois l'appareillage d'un « bio-pouvoir » aux modalités diffuses et le travail de sape d'une force inconsciente qui ferait tendre nos corps post-modernes vers un « devenir inorganique ».

À vrai dire, l'expression de « devenir inorganique », extrait de la spéculation freudienne, n'est pas traité à proprement parler comme un concept,

dont le sens serait fermement établi dans les limites d'une argumentation discursive. Il advient plutôt comme une « figure ». Dans la démarche de Teresa de Lauretis, le recours à la « figuralité » est omniprésent et vient aiguiller la méthodologie. Pour en fournir une première approche, on peut dire que la figure, à la différence d'un concept positif, ne désigne pas un espace référentiel ou thématique, mais ne devient efficace, en tant qu'elle produit des effets de sens, que dans les interstices du langage théorique, là où elle cherche à traduire les passages entre des dimensions qui se trouvent être hétérogènes et incommensurables – du moins dans le langage ordinaire ou dans le discours de la science. Comme mode de pensée spécifique, la figure opère ainsi dans toutes sortes de textualités, au premier rang desquelles on peut compter le langage artistique. Ainsi, l'un des pari majeurs de Teresa de Lauretis dans *Pulsions freudiennes* consiste à mettre à l'épreuve ses hypothèses à partir d'un film de David Cronenberg, *eXistenZ* (1999). Ce qui est remarquable, c'est qu'elle n'entend pas opérer sur un mode illustratif, mais plutôt créer une textualité particulière, un entre-deux discursif, qui permette de forger une figure spéciale, celle d'un « devenir inorganique ». Sa démarche ne revient pas à transporter des énoncés théoriques préexistants sur un objet culturel empirique pour en valider la portée, mais à accompagner le mouvement, toujours instable, qui consiste à accueillir la force de choc de l'œuvre d'art au carrefour du discours conceptuel et de la mise en récit. En exploitant l'espace entre les images, le langage et la réalité, Teresa de Lauretis explore en même temps les relations inédites qui se tissent entre les nouvelles modalités de la pulsion sexuelle, la pulsion de mort et la « nouvelle économie » mondialisée. Elle le fait à partir d'un support esthétique qui présente l'intérêt de plonger les corps dans l'univers du virtuel.

Présentons brièvement l'intrigue du film. *eXistenZ* commence dans une salle de séminaire d'une multinationale : un nouveau jeu virtuel, *eXistenZ*, est présenté. C'est la créatrice du jeu elle-même, Allegra Geller (Jennifer Jason Leigh), qui mène le test. Une douzaine de séminaristes sont désignés ; on leur fournit les manettes, appelées les « pods », pour se connecter au jeu. Ce sont des composés technico-organiques, animés d'une pulsion ronronnante dès qu'on les presse pour commencer à jouer ; on apprendra plus tard qu'ils sont connectés au jeu et à la perceptualité organique et nerveuse des joueurs par des sortes d'ombilics, câbles branchés sur un « bio-port », orifice artificiel situé en bas de la colonne vertébrale. Les joueurs semblent entrer, lorsqu'ils amorcent le jeu en caressant leurs pods, dans une espèce de léthargie hypnotique. En fait, le jeu donne l'impression d'évoluer dans un espace réel, qui procure des sensations intenses et violentes. Soudain, un séminariste sort un revolver et ouvre le feu en criant : « Mort à la démone Allegra Geller ! ». Le maître du séminaire ayant révélé avant de mourir que la multinationale était infiltrée, la créatrice prend la fuite, accompagnée d'un jeune employé naïf, Ted Pikul (Jude Law). Dans un climat de paranoïa, ils

filent vers une destination inconnue, et se réfugient dans un hôtel. Allegra éprouve le besoin de se connecter au jeu, mais elle a besoin d'un partenaire ; or Ted avoue ne pas avoir de bio-port, angoissé à l'idée de ce trou dans l'épine dorsale. Le chantage affectif d'Allegra les conduit dans un station-service, où Ted se fait installer un bio-port par un mécano ; la violence de l'impact le paralyse quelques instants, puis Allegra enfonce un bout ombilical dans l'orifice. Mais la surtension nerveuse, due à la panique, fait imploser le pod, qui contenait la version originale du jeu. Le mécano, Gas, révèle alors qu'il a lui-même saboté la connexion au jeu ; il les menace d'un fusil, arguant que la tête d'Allegra est mise à prix pour plusieurs millions. Ted parvient à neutraliser Gas. Ils reprennent la route et vont se réfugier chez Kiri Vinokur, un réparateur à l'accent slave qui soigne le game-pod malade d'Allegra et répare le bio-port défectueux de Ted. Dans le chalet de Kiri Vinokur, ils se connectent enfin au jeu, et se retrouvent dans une sorte de snack-bar aux couleurs psychédélisantes. En fait, ils sont dans la boutique d'une société, *Cortical Systematics*, qui vend des jeux et leurs accessoires. Ils discutent avec leur premier « contact » dans le jeu, D'Arcy Neder, qui leur fournit des pistes pour continuer à y évoluer, et leur donne des « micro-pods », pods miniatures censés leur permettre de se glisser dans leurs nouvelles identités. Ils s'isolent dans une pièce et s'affairent à utiliser leurs nouveaux instruments. Dans cette séquence – significative pour notre propos – Allegra commence par « préparer » le bio-port de Ted en enduisant le bord de l'orifice d'une sorte de gel lubrifiant, puis y glisse le micro-pod, qui est invaginé d'une traite. Ted panique, imaginant déjà sa moelle épinière creusée et travaillée par les pulsations de l'objet. Allegra lui rappelle avec à-propos que ce n'est qu'un jeu, et Ted reconnaît d'ailleurs ne rien sentir. La créatrice se fait à son tour « empoder » ; la chose entièrement avalée, Ted, animé d'un désir irrépressible, glisse sa langue dans l'orifice d'Allegra. Elle le rejette avec violence et le récrimine ; comme il explique ne pas savoir pourquoi il a agi de la sorte, elle se jette sur lui, et l'embrasse avidement, en susurrant que ceci est prédéterminé par le jeu pour accroître la charge émotionnelle des séquences suivantes. L'érotisme de la situation les emporte, en même temps que Ted fait part de son angoisse concernant son « vrai » corps. Dans la suite du film, les limites entre le jeu virtuel et la réalité immédiate s'estompent de plus en plus. Au milieu des ombilics putrescents des pods, contaminés par un virus dont on ne sait s'il est étranger ou interne au jeu, et des multiples revirements de situation, on ne pourra tenter de sauver le statut narratif des deux « héros », sauf à entrecroiser, à l'infini, toutes les possibilités de recoupement d'appartenances. À la fin du jeu vidéo, la créatrice du jeu semble la seule survivante ; elle apparaît alors avec un casque en plastique bleu sur la tête, et la main gantée d'une sorte de prothèse. On retrouve la salle de séminaire du début, où les protagonistes discutent des sensations et de la durée du jeu. Il s'avère que Ted et Allegra sont un couple d'étudiants, alors que le créateur à propre-

ment parler du jeu qu'ils viennent de jouer est en fait Yevgeny Nourish ; le jeu s'appelle *trenScendenZ*. Ted et Allega abattent Yevgeny de plusieurs coups de feu au motif qu'il aurait trop contrefait la réalité. Ils menacent un autre « personnage » qui demande avec angoisse s'ils sont encore dans le jeu ; suit un noir brutal.

Dans sa lecture d'*eXistenZ*, Teresa de Lauretis s'intéresse aux rapports entre les pulsions et le virtuel, figuré cinématographiquement à travers le jeu vidéo et ses ramifications.[25] Elle isole deux points saillants : d'une part, le virtuel décolle la pulsion de tout substrat biologique ; d'autre part, il finit par inscrire le sexuel *en tant que* pulsion de mort dans une nouvelle économie corporelle. La séquence décrite plus haut laisse apparaître le bio-port comme un réceptacle pour la cellule, qui est elle-même un organe sexuel externe génétiquement créé : pénis lorsqu'elle est directement insérée, utérus/vagin lorsqu'elle est branchée à quelque chose grâce à l'OmbiCâble. La pulsion ne s'appuie plus sur l'anatomie. À la peur masculine désuète de Ted (« Je meurs d'envie de jouer à tes jeux », dit-il, « mais j'ai une phobie de la pénétration »,) Allegra répond : « Cela se fait partout, c'est comme se faire percer l'oreille ». Semblable au *piercing* dans le plaisir prothétique non genré qu'il procure, le bio-port annule et évide toutes nos identités sexuelle courantes, en faisant surgir de l'extérieur un désir étrange. Pourtant, fait remarquer Teresa de Lauretis, la nouvelle économie sexuelle n'élimine pas tout à fait l'ancienne, celle décrite par Freud, dans laquelle la peau, la bouche et en particulier la succion sont aussi importantes pour la vie érotique que les zones génitales à présent remplacées par le bio-port. En effet, la sexualité est un produit de la structure psychique du fantasme, à resituer dans l'espace non référentiel qui se déploie entre le registre organique et le registre des signifiants. Le travail conceptuel de la psychanalyse est ici convoqué à travers la relecture de Freud par Jean Laplanche. Laplanche situe l'origine du fantasme dans la « […] disjonction entre l'apaisement du besoin (*Befriedigung*) et l'accomplissement du désir (*Wunscherfüllung*), entre les deux temps de l'expérience réelle et de sa reviviscence hallucinatoire entre l'objet qui comble [l'objet réel, le lait] et le signe qui inscrit à la fois l'objet et son absence [l'objet perdu, le sein] ». [26]

Le surgissement de l'absence est lié à la nature « hétérotope » de la sexualité – à la fois inhérente au corps et issue des signifiants venus de l'extérieur – telle qu'elle est reconfigurée, et poussée à son extrême limite, par le dispositif virtuel. Dans *eXistenZ*, la réalité est tout à fait virtuelle et ne laisse entrevoir aucun retour à une naturalité de la pulsion ; même la masse visqueuse de viscères et de jets de sang qui éclaboussent l'écran mental des joueurs est un effet de réalité virtuelle. Les technologies sociales de la virtualité, avec leurs « signifiants imaginaires incarnés »[27] – images digitales hallucinatoires, phrases programmées, identifications affectives… –, font émerger la pulsion en lien avec un dehors sans consistance substantielle. En ce sens, les images suggèrent crûment, selon l'auteure, une forme adaptative

d'un bio-pouvoir, tel qu'il est décrit par Foucault, dans lequel les nouvelles biotechnologies et les nouvelles technologies de la communication opèrent des transformations dans les organismes animaux et humains afin de servir des objectifs économiques. La sexualité virtuelle est « bio-technologique » dans la mesure où des rapports de pouvoir et des appareillages « passent matériellement dans l'épaisseur des corps ». Toutefois, cette épaisseur est problématique, par sa prégnance même. Les plans de Cronenberg font voir des surfaces trouées qui ouvrent sur une épaisseur virtuelle, peut-être sans consistance, mais dont l'opacité est source d'angoisse, comme l'atteste l'échange suivant :

> T.P. : Et nos nouvelles identités ? Tu sens la tienne ?
> A.G. : Qu'elle se débrouille.
> T.P. : Je m'inquiète beaucoup pour mon corps.
> A.G. : Ton quoi?
> T.P. : Où sont nos véritables corps ? Est-ce qu'ils vont bien ? Et s'ils ont faim? S'ils sont en danger ?
> A.G. : Ils sont là où on les a laissés. Assis tranquillement, les yeux fermés. Comme s'ils méditaient.
> T.P. : Je me sens vulnérable, désincarné.
> A.G. : Ne t'en fais pas. Tous tes sens sont en éveil.

Le corps virtuel peut certes se laisser comprendre comme un corps hallucinatoire, fictionnel, à rapporter aux cordonnées d'une « épaisseur » biologique et nerveuse ; mais il peut aussi bien se confondre avec une pure surface d'excitation et d'intensités, dépourvue de référent véritable, et propre à suspendre la distinction même entre un dedans et un dehors, ou à la reconfigurer en permanence suivant les vicissitudes du plan cinématographique.

Pour autant, Teresa de Lauretis poursuit son effort d'analyse à partir de l'idée d'une pulsion de mort. Selon elle, ces technologies sont précisément « les modes de production de notre pulsion de mort à l'œuvre ».[28] Dès le point de départ du jeu, lorsque l'un des joueurs tente de tuer la conceptrice, aux multiples assassinats de personnes et d'animaux, les fantasmes de destruction priment les fantasmes de création ou absorbent le thème du sexe dans le thème de la mort. La cellule de jeu d'Allegra est sans cesse malade ; au départ, c'est à cause d'une blessure causée par une dent humaine ; ensuite, elle est contaminée, explose et finit par « mourir ». Le bio-port de Ted est infecté en permanence : l'infection est létale et lorsqu'Allegra affecte de le soigner, c'est pour y placer un détonateur qu'elle activera par la suite. Si, dans ces exemples, la maladie et la mort sont les effets d'un désir de meurtre intentionnel, la « terrible envie » que ressent Allegra de se connecter à une cellule malade à l'usine « fait signe vers un désir autodestructeur, une pulsion tendant à sa propre mort que nous devons comprendre comme une pulsion inconsciente ».[29] Selon Teresa de Lauretis, ce désir de mort ramène en droite ligne à un commentaire décisif de Laplanche sur Freud ; dans le *Vocabulaire*

de la psychanalyse, il écrit en effet, avec Jean-Bertrand Pontalis, que « […] ce que Freud cherche explicitement à dégager sous le terme de pulsion de mort, c'est ce qu'il y a de plus fondamental dans la pulsion, le retour à un état antérieur, et, en dernier ressort, le retour au repos absolu de l'anorganique. Au-delà d'un type particulier de pulsion c'est ce qui serait au principe de toute pulsion qu'il désigne ici ».[30] De fait, le sexuel s'inscrit ici à même la pulsion de mort en tant que force de dissolution de la réalité matérielle. Et Teresa de Lauretis d'ajouter qu'« avec l'essor de l'Internet, de la nouvelle économie globale et la chute du mur de Berlin, la croyance en une réalité matérielle s'est affaiblie au point de sembler se perdre », au point d'offrir, comme le montre le film *eXistenZ*, la perspective d'un « devenir inorganique sans retour ».[31] La figure du « devenir inorganique » amène ici à pousser la conceptualité psychanalytique à sa pointe extrême en favorisant une équation entre le sexuel et la pulsion de mort. La figure de la pulsion apparaît alors comme une façon de « travailler » les concepts au sens de les faire jouer avec l'hétérogénéité d'un dehors, de sorte à faire ressortir, par le détour d'un objet culturel, que ce qu'il y a de plus « pulsionnel » dans la pulsion est peut-être ce qui met en question la positivité organique de notre réalité. Ce qui est sûr, du moins, c'est qu'elle fournit l'entrée méthodologique permettant d'appréhender, à partir d'une œuvre d'art, les liens entre une économie corporelle qui est, pour partie, nouvelle, et certains aspects saillants de la globalisation.

Précisément, la spécificité d'une telle entrée devrait nous aider à resituer cette proposition dans le parcours de Teresa de Lauretis ainsi que dans le champ actuel des études de genre ; ce faisant, elle pourrait aussi contribuer à éclairer les tensions qui se dégagent de cette mise en perspective. Teresa de Lauretis est connue pour être à l'origine de l'expression « théorie *queer* » ; elle la propose dans un numéro de la revue *Difference*, une revue post-féministe et culturaliste américaine, paru en 1991. Le terme *queer* y est utilisé pour contrer les effets d'invisibilisation qu'engendrait l'expression « gay and lesbian » en matière d'oppression de classe et de race. La théorie *queer* a connu, comme on le sait, un fort développement dans les années 1990 à partir des travaux de Michel Foucault, des féministes postmodernes comme Judith Butler et Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick et des luttes militantes. Dans son article de 1991, Teresa de Lauretis assignait comme objectifs à la théorie *queer* d'articuler « les termes grâce auxquels les sexualités gays et lesbiennes peuvent être comprises et représentées comme formes de résistance à l'homogénéisation culturelle, en contrecarrant les discours dominants par d'autres constructions du sujet dans la culture, […] et d'explorer les discours et les pratiques des homosexualités en relation avec le genre et la race ».[32] À cette époque, si une position *queer* s'ébauche, c'est celle qui insiste sur les constructions discursives en matière de sexualité et qui fait valoir des formes alternatives de désir. Pourtant, Teresa de Lauretis s'est progressivement éloignée du champ de la théorie activiste et de l'optimisme qui le sous-tend.

Dès les premières pages de *Pulsions freudiennes*, elle signale d'ailleurs cette évolution : « Pendant un certain temps, j'ai moi-même contribué à articuler les différentes formes de la théorie critique – sémiotique et théorie du cinéma, théorie féministe, théorie du genre, théorie *queer* – et à chaque fois, le temps de la théorie […] était toujours le présent. Mais depuis maintenant plus d'une décennie, je sens que je me détourne des théories critiques militantes que j'ai contribué à articuler. Il y a avait d'abord un vague sentiment d'insatisfaction, comme s'il s'agissait de quelque chose qui serait parti à la dérive en traversant l'espace discursif, comme un nœud de brindilles et de feuilles emporté en aval par un fort courant peut se prendre un instant à une souche ou à un rocher à moitié immergés, pour ensuite recommencer à dériver […] ».[33] Quelques lignes plus loin, elle souligne même que l'espoir qui a animé les théories militantes « semble aujourd'hui pris désespérément dans les filets d'un académisme gestionnaire ».[34] De fait, deux points décisifs démarquent *Pulsions freudiennes* des « noeuds » discursifs autour desquels se serait peu ou prou agrégée la théorie *queer* : la tonalité sombre et plutôt pessimiste employée pour parler de notre présent et de son horizon ; une ouverture audacieuse au champ psychanalytique de la théorie des pulsions, souvent rejeté en bloc par l'institution féministe ou traitée du moins avec une forte ambivalence.

Toutefois, le terme de « *queer* » apparaît à de nombreuses reprises dans le texte de *Pulsions freudiennes* ; il articule même le titre du chapitre 3 : « The Queer Space of the Drive: Rereading Freud with Laplanche ».[35] La traduction retient le terme « étrange », mais le potentiel sémantique du terme excède l'idée d'une simple « bizarrerie » : il dénote tout un jeu de transversalités et de circulations obliques. Plus précisément, pour surprenant que cela paraisse, il est réactivé et re-signifié depuis l'intérieur même du registre conceptuel de la psychanalyse. Teresa de Lauretis repart en effet de la distinction qu'opère Freud entre l'instinct (*Instinkt*) comme force somatique et la pulsion (*Trieb*) comme force psychique. La définition la plus connue qu'a donnée Freud du *Trieb* met en évidence l'ambiguïté constitutive du concept : « Si, maintenant, nous abordons par le côté biologique l'examen de la vie d'âme, la pulsion nous apparaît comme un concept frontière [*a concept on the frontier*, *ein Grenzbegriff*] entre animique et somatique, comme représentant psychique des stimulus issus de l'intérieur du corps [*from within the organism*, *aus dem Körperinnern*] et parvenant à l'âme, comme une mesure de l'exigence de travail qui est imposé à l'animique [*the mind*, *dem Seelischen*] par suite de sa corrélation avec le corporel [*the body*, *dem Köreperlichen*] ».[36] Quand les stimulus passent de l'intérieur du corps à l'esprit, ils traversent un espace non homogène où ils sont d'abord transformés en leurs délégués, qui ne sont plus des stimulus corporels, mais quelque chose d'autre, une entité « autre » que Freud appelle la pulsion. Cette pulsion, dès lors, se lie à une image mentale, une idée, un affect ou une émotion, qui agit en tant

que délégué pour la conscience. En d'autres termes, la pulsion existe dans un espace qui se déploie entre les stimulus corporels et la représentation mentale, un espace ou « une localité psychique » qui n'est pas seulement non homogène, mais plus précisément « hétérotope »[37], selon le terme utilisé par Teresa de Lauretis : c'est l'espace d'un transit, d'un déplacement, d'un passage et d'une transformation[38]. C'est précisément dans ce cadre que le terme de *queer* reçoit une élaboration particulière ; relisant Freud, l'auteure souligne le fait que la « pulsion », en tant que *Grenzbegriff*, occupe une place « étrange » : *queer place, ou displace*.[39] Sous le terme de « queer », il faut entendre que les oppositions catégoriques entre le psychique et le biologique, entre l'ordre du signifiant et la matérialité du corps, ne tiennent plus : c'est un espace figural, un lieu de transition non homogène « entre l'animique et le somatique », où *entre* ne représente pas la logique binaire d'exclusion, mais figure bien un mouvement rétif à toute détermination positive. En somme, le *queer* en viendrait plutôt à désigner le mode opératoire d'une pensée figurale qui se déprend de « l'académisme gestionnaire » et qui se garde d'enrôler l'espoir dans un discours constitué ; c'est une manière de penser « l'énigme du monde dans l'ici et maintenant »[40] à partir du point où la réflexion sur le genre et la sexualité rencontre une part sombre, une part maudite, propre à contrarier l'optimisme libertaire tout autant qu'elle stimule de nouvelles pratiques disciplinaires. Dans cet espace, il est naturel que la réflexion sur la pulsion prenne en compte, d'une part, le problème de la mondialisation, marqué par les modalités d'un traumatisme géopolitique qui semble irréductible à la rationalisation, et, d'autre part, la force expressive de l'art et des productions culturelles.

L'espace « *queer* » de la pulsion est un nœud paradoxal : il associe la tendance à la destruction et des modes de jouissance qui viennent précisément inscrire le sexuel *en tant que* pulsion de mort dans une économie corporelle en mutation. Et si cet espace se prête aisément au qualificatif de « virtuel », ce n'est pas seulement du fait de son affinité avec les nouveaux dispositifs technologiques, qui laisseraient entrevoir l'horizon d'un « devenir inorganique » ; c'est aussi parce que l'effort même pour dire et pour saisir cet espace nous précipite dans un entre-deux, dans un espace de transferts, dans les interstices du langage et de ses polarités habituelles, et nous invite à expérimenter la force déstabilisante des figures. Ainsi, pour Teresa de Lauretis, le film de Cronenberg suggère un désir de mort qui ne conduirait pas à un bien-être social plus grand ni à une meilleure communauté humaine, mais plutôt à une dé-liaison au sein d'un monde globalisé, où les modalités du conflit sont diffuses et non locales (technologies de communication, industrie financière ou biotechnologies …). Pour autant, d'autres perspectives demeurent ouvertes. Si les formes post-modernes du traumatisme passent par une force inconsciente de destruction, irréductible au discours et à la diplomatie politique, elles tendent toutefois à décoller les pulsions d'une origine identitaire

et positive à travers de nouveaux nouages entre l'image et le corps. Du reste, si l'univers biotechnologique semble compromettre un dépassement du traumatisme dans le bien-être, peut-être la disjonction entre l'image, l'origine et l'identité laisse-t-elle entrevoir la construction de communautés désirantes inédites, en recomposition permanente.

NOTES

1. Teresa de Lauretis, *Pulsions freudiennes. Psychanalyse, Littérature et cinéma.* (titre original : *Freud's Drive. Psychoanalysis, Literature and Film.* (2008), New York : Palgrave Macmillan), (mai 2010). Trad. fr. par Jacques Brunet-Georget. Paris : PUF.

2. T. de Lauretis, *Pulsions freudiennes, op. cit*., 4–5.

3. Ibid., 5.

4. *Ibid.*, 8.

5. S. Freud, (2003), *Au-delà du principe de plaisir*, in *Œuvres complètes*, Paris : PUF, tome XV, 335.

6. *Ibid*., 337. Ce processus va de la fusion de deux cellules germinales différentes et de la conjugaison de deux organismes unicellulaires à la reproduction sexuée des animaux supérieurs et à la formation d'unités sociales – familles, tribus, nations et autres agrégats sociaux

7. *Ibid.*, 304.

8. Voir en particulier Michel Foucault, (1970), *La Volonté de savoir*. Paris : Gallimard.

9. Michel Foucault, (1994), *Dits et Écrits 3. 1970–1974*, éd. établie sous la direction de Daniel Defert et François Ewald, Paris, Gallimard, « Bibliothèque des science humaines », 83-84.

10. M. Foucault, *La Volonté de savoir, op. cit*., 191.

11. *Ibid*., 182.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid*., 207.

14. La notion de mondialisation, notons-le, n'est pas conceptualisée à proprement parler par Teresa de Lauretis, mais la dynamique même de sa réflexion, parce qu'elle favorise des communications transversales et qu'elle fait glisser l'un sur l'autre les plans de compréhension, incite plutôt à en construire une définition non dogmatique et productive.

15. Jean Laplanche, (1992), *La Révolution copernicienne inachevée* (Travaux 1967–1992). Paris : Aubier, 198.

16. Jean Laplanche utilise l'image de l'implantation dans *Vie et mort en psychanalyse*, Paris, Flammarion, 1970, et dans *Nouveaux fondements pour la psychanalyse* (1987), Paris : PUF, « Quadrige », 2008.

17. Selon Jean Laplanche, les résidus refoulés des signifiants énigmatiques restent actifs dans l'inconscient à titre d'entités internes – impulsions, élans, désirs naissants ou fantasmes ; ce sont des énigmes que le moi en développement va tenter de traduire et de retraduire sans cesse à différents moments de la vie psychique suivant les codes, les langages, les discours ou les savoirs dont dispose le sujet à chaque moment.

18. Dans *La Volonté de savoir*, Michel Foucault décrit *l'implantation des perversions dans le corps social* au moyen de la régulation institutionnelle des pratiques sexuelles.

19. La compréhension du moi comme « projection » d'une surface apparaît dans *Le Moi et le Ça*, de manière assez énigmatique : « Le moi est avant tout un moi corporel, il n'est pas seulement un être de surface, mais il est lui-même la projection d'une surface ». Dans une note ajoutée à la traduction anglaise de 1927, avec l'autorisation de Freud, on peut lire : « C.à.d. : le moi est finalement dérivé de sensations corporelles, principalement de celles qui ont leur source dans la surface du corps. Il peut ainsi être considéré comme une projection mentale de la surface du corps, et de plus, comme nous l'avons vu plus haut, il représente la surface de l'appareil mental. ». (*Le Moi et le Ça*, in (2005), *Essais de psychanalyse*, Paris, Payot & Rivages, « Petite Bibliothèque Payot », 264).

20. Voir en particulier S. Freud, *Au-delà du principe de plaisir*, *op. cit*., 78.

21. Sur ce point, il serait fécond d'envisager les liens entre cette relecture du trauma et les développements de Judith Butler sur la vulnérabilité des vies ordinaires ; Judith Butler démontre qu'il n'est de vie humaine que pour autant qu'elle s'expose à ce qui peut la défaire, et la rendre par là même potentiellement invivable. Voir en particulier : *Vie précaire – Les pouvoirs du deuil et de la violence après le 11 septembre 2001*, (2005), trad. fr. par Jérôme Rosanvallon et Jérôme Vidal, Paris : éditions Amsterdam; (2006), *Défaire le genre*, trad. fr. par Maxime Cervulle, Paris : éditions Amsterdam.

22. L'expression forme le titre du chapitre 4 de *Pulsions freudiennes* : « Devenir inorganique : *eXistenZ* (Cronenberg), le virtuel et la pulsion de mort », *op. cit.*, 115.

23. Voir en particulier Joseph Schumpeter, *Business Cycles: A Theoretical, Historical and Statistical Analysis of the Capitalist Process* (1939), New York and Londres, McGraw Hill, 1964 ; *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (1942), New York: Harper and Row, 1975.

24. J. Schumpeter, *Business Cycles: A Theoretical, Historical and Statistical Analysis of the Capitalist Process*, *op. cit.*, 12.

25. Cette lecture constitue le chapitre 4 de *Pulsions freudiennes* : « Devenir inorganique : *eXistenZ* (Cronenberg), le virtuel et la pulsion de mort », *op. cit.*, 115–152.

26. J. Laplanche, Jean-Bertrand Pontalis, (2008), *Fantasme originaire, fantasme des origines, origines du fantasme* (1985), Paris : Hachette Littératures, 90.

27. T. de Lauretis, *op. cit*., 149.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*, 145.

30. J. Laplanche, J.-B. Pontalis, (2007), *Vocabulaire de la psychanalyse* (1967), Paris, PUF, « Quadrige », 376.

31. T. de Lauretis, *op. cit*., 150.

32. T. de Lauretis, "Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities, An Introduction", in *Differences: Journal of Feminism and Cultural Studies*, Brown University Press, vol. 3, n°2, été 1991, III-IV. On se rapportera également à : (1987), *Technologies of Gender. Essay of Theory, Film and Fiction.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

33. T. de Lauretis, *Pulsions freudiennes*, *op. cit*., 3-4.

34. *Ibid.*, 4.

35. *Ibid.*, 75.

36. Sigmund Freud, « Pulsions et destins de pulsions » (1915), in *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, PUF, 1994, tome XIII, 169 ; cité par Teresa de Lauretis, *op. cit*., p. 79. Les termes soulignés sont ceux de la *Standard Edition*, l'édition anglaise des œuvres complètes de Freud.

37. T. de Lauretis, *Pulsions freudiennes, op. cit*., 80.

38. Cet espace n'est pas pas référentiel, mais, insiste-t-elle, figural – dans le sillage de la définition que nous avons esquissée plus haut. La pulsion elle-même est la figure de ce passage et de cette transformation.

39. On peut lire ces deux expressions à la page 67 de l'édition originale américaine de *Freud's Drive*.

40. T. de Lauretis, *Pulsions freudiennes, op. cit*., 5.

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Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 2(1), 2012, pp. 48–65, ISSN 2164-0262

Human Trafficking in a Globalized World: Gender Aspects of the Issue and Anti-trafficking Politics

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ABSTRACT. Human trafficking has become a globally prominent issue which attracts the attention of different countries worldwide because of its devastating consequences to human beings. Is human trafficking a gender issue? If yes, we need to have gender-based anti-trafficking initiatives that help eliminate gender causes and consequences of human trafficking. This paper turns around human trafficking situation in Vietnam and anti-trafficking politics of the state to examine gender aspects of human trafficking in globalization; to see if the commitments are gender specific or gender-sensitive; and the state ideologies that inform anti-trafficking politics in globalization.

Keywords: human trafficking, state, ideology, gender, globalization

"*Both the supply and demand sides of the trade in human beings are fed by gendered vulnerabilities*" (USDOS, 2009).

1. Introduction

Human trafficking has become a globally prominent issue which not only adversely affects individual development, national, regional and global security, but also contravenes international conventions on human rights and women's rights (Heyzer, 2006; Munro, 2008). Worldwide, million people are living under different types of exploitation. It can be said that no other crime has such a high prevalence of victims like human trafficking. According to "Human Trafficking in Person Report 2010" of the US Department of State, there are 1.8 victims per every 1,000 inhabitants. In Asia and the Pacific, the ratio is even much higher, with 3 victims per every 1,000 inhabitants. Being seen as a low-risk and high profit trade, human trafficking attracts different individuals and groups to become engaged in this crime. Among different actors involved, women and children shoulder the greatest devastation of

human trafficking and are the most vulnerable in the trafficking process. That explains why in some countries human trafficking is being understood as trafficking in women and children.

Vietnam is not an exception of human trafficking; even it is a "hot point" of human trafficking in the Greater Mekong Sub-region (the GMS countries).[1] From 1998–2008, approximately 5,700 Vietnamese women and children were trafficked, 8,000 were absent from home and assumed to have been trafficked, and another 11,000 women may have been victims of the illegal bride trade (VWU, 2008a). However, statistics on trafficked victims in Vietnam are still limited (UNODC, 2009). Due to complicated characteristics of the crime, the state itself is unclear of the number and status of the trafficked women and children living abroad (GOSRV, 2004). The exact number of victims of human trafficking, therefore, is likely to be much higher. Trafficking in women and children in Vietnam is reported to be on the rise with new types emerging in the forms of fraudulent brokered marriage, deceptive labor recruitment practices, illegal child adoption, and child sex tourism (Dang, 2006; USDOS, 2009). Significantly, cases of trafficking for removing organs have been acknowledged. There are signals of having trafficking chains that approach the poor and advise them to sell organs and leave serious consequences.[2] Recently, in March 2011, cases of trafficking in Vietnamese women for surrogacy were uncovered. 14 young girls from the South of Vietnam, aged from 19–26 were trafficked to Thailand, there they were forced to be pregnant, the traffickers then take the babies to sell to infertile couples or foreigners with high price. The girls were harbored with identification papers and passports confiscated. Thus, the nature and types of human trafficking in Vietnam are quite complicated that need solutions to successfully control the situation. This requires more actions and research which aid in determining the shortcoming and gaps in the existing anti-trafficking policies and programs.

2. Anti-Human Trafficking Politics Worldwide

Human trafficking has been a matter of great importance for countries worldwide not only because this illicit crime is one of the fastest growing crimes which dehumanizes and erodes human dignity (Getu, 2006), but also because it involves different countries, regions, and continents. Preventing human trafficking has become a strong political commitment to many countries. It has been evident that a rising number of nation states are now adopting important international anti-trafficking conventions. Up to the end of 2009, the UN Protocol 2000 has been signed by 117 countries. By doing so, those countries committed to take strong actions to stop trafficking. In contrast, a few countries are blind to the issue. According to USDOS (2009),

there are still 17 countries under Tier 3 of the TIP report which do not fully comply with minimum standards of the Trafficking Victims' Protection Act and are not making any significant efforts to do so. Even in some African countries, human trafficking is yet to become an agenda item for the states as there is no institution or person in charge of human trafficking issue, and the crime is left to be unregulated (UNDOC & SADC, 2007). Anti-human trafficking also has become a key task for many international organizations such as IOM, ILO, UNIAF, UNIFEM, Human Rights Watch, and Global Alliance against Trafficking in Women, Save the Children, and Coalition against Trafficking in Women.

Actions to combat human trafficking are various; however, states worldwide have failed to adequately address the issue of human trafficking. Many states have adopted new laws or amended existing legislation to define the crime in line with the new widely accepted definition of trafficking in persons,[3] to establish mechanisms to implement the new laws, and to establish bilateral or regional agreement to counter trafficking. Some source countries have put considerable efforts into the political will and capacity to better combat the crime, others have focused on dealing with its "push" and "pull" factors. The countries like Sweden, the Philippines, UK, Indonesia and the USA have chosen to pursue indirect actions against male buyers of sex or to challenge and change their attitudes and practices to female prostitution. However, in general, legislation and policy initiatives for pushing back the crime remain poorly developed, even in developed and industrialized countries.

In international feminism, human trafficking has become an emergent issue. Feminist concern of human trafficking has focused on several areas such as gender and human rights (D'Cunha, 2002; Heyzer, 2006); migration (Truong, 2008); legal issue (Hoang, 2008); security (Aradau, 2008); prostitution (O'Neill, 2001); and sex trafficking (Jeffrey, 2002; Samarasinghe, 2008). The majority of feminist studies centre around prostitution and human trafficking (Mirriam, 2005; Doezema, 2005; Samarasinghe, 2008; Jeffreys, 2009). This predominant trend in feminist research can be analyzed because trafficking has traditionally been associated with prostitution, and also, in most of the countries all over the world, women and girls are mainly trafficked for the purpose of sex trafficking or prostitution (Derks, 2000). While feminist perspectives on prostitution are not united, the debate around prostitution and sex trafficking has been more critical. Feminist scholars who support neo-abolitionist ideas question the unacceptable impacts of both human trafficking and prostitution on women's bodies and lives, confirm their desires in pushing back both sex work and trafficking, however, taking into account the issue of victims' protection (Samarasinghe, 2003; Miriam, 2005). The others, who support prostitution as a legitimate work, want to compromise with the legalization of prostitution as a way to reduce sex trafficking.

Within Southeast-Asia, the GMS countries have become a "fertile land" for human trafficking. Some 250,000 people in the region are victimized by trafficking annually (World Vision, 2008). Thailand is the major destination for trafficked victims from the other GMS countries, the other member countries are also destinations or transit points of human trafficking. The GMS countries combat human trafficking in the region through a bilateral and regional mechanism of cooperation.[4] However, long river borders, weak management, and corrupt officers are among a range of reasons that leaves the problem prevalent and becomes a sensitive political issue for all countries in the region. To successfully address the problem of human trafficking in the GMS, there is a need to take into account not only the cross-border nature of the crime, the inter-connection of the member countries, but also the specific socio-economic, cultural and political contexts of each country. Further, there is a need to define gender aspects of the issue in order to adjust existing anti-trafficking solutions to cope with regional current situation of human trafficking.

3. Human Trafficking Politics in Vietnam

Trafficking in women and children in Vietnam has been noted to occur since the early of 1880s with cases of Vietnamese women purchased by Singapore Arabs or Chinese (Lassard, 2009). Later on, trafficking in Vietnamese women and children increased during the first fifty years of French colonial rule in Vietnam, from 1885–1935 (ibid.). The scale of this illicit trade has been widened in the era of globalization and market economy when people have more chances to move to different places in the country or cross the country borders. Within the last ten years, in Vietnam, trafficking in women and children has been becoming an urgent and pressing problem for the Vietnamese state (GOSRV, 2004) and advocacy for anti-trafficking politics has been high on its agenda.

The Country Context

It should be noted that as a poor developing country with unfavorable natural, historical conditions, Vietnam has been a good place for human trafficking to be developed, that makes the fight against the crime become more difficult and tense.

Vietnam is a small country in Southeast Asia, sharing a long land and river border with China, Laos and Cambodia. Having a population of some 86.5 million residing in an area of 331,114 square km, Vietnam is the 13th most populous nation in the world, and its population density is six times higher than the world's average (Vietnamnet, 2009). About 74% of the

Vietnamese population is living in rural areas where arable land has been considerably reclaimed to serve the growth of industrialized projects. Vietnam has been recognized as one of the most disaster-prone countries in the world with an average of more than 10 heavy typhoons and floods per year (Nguyen, 2007) which sometimes sweep out houses, assets, and crops of people in different areas of the country.

Vietnam has experienced different wars. After a long period of Chinese, Japanese, and French incursions, Vietnam declared the country's independence in 1945. Later on, Vietnam continued suffering interminable wars: the Vietnamese Resistance against the French colonists (1946–1954) and the Vietnam War (1954–1975). The Vietnamese government, therefore, had to give priority to reconstruct the country following the heavy devastation of wars rather than eradicate poverty and backwardness for the citizens in some particular periods of time.

The wider significance of Vietnam lies in the fact that Vietnam is among the few communist countries today in the world. Under the leadership of the ruling party – the Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP), Vietnam has gained considerable achievements in the socio-economic and political fields. However, it is still a poor country with a HDI rank of 116th out of 182 countries (UNDP, 2010). Despite the fact that Vietnam possesses a relatively high Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) which are of 0.723 and 0.554 respectively in 2009 (ibid.),[5] Vietnamese women are still facing considerable difficulties in their lives and suffering gender inequality (Martignoni, 2001). The gaps between gender development on paper and in reality, therefore, can be recognized and emphasized, and can be seen as a hidden cause of human trafficking in Vietnam.

The Vietnamese State and Women's Rights

The Vietnamese state plays a central role in constructing gender and regulating relationships between men and women. Under laws, Vietnamese women have equal political, economic, cultural and social rights to men. The Vietnamese state has been taking gender quality and gender development as main tasks among national development goals. The first constitution of Vietnam in 1946 emphasized the state's willingness to remove gender discriminatory norms to enhance women's empowerment. The successive constitutions also share the same ideology towards gender and women development. However, in the words of Truong (2006), gender interests of both Vietnamese men and women were subjugated to the concerns for the national security and construction of the state rather than for their individual development. In political arena, women's political activities and women's representation in the state are still limited, which results in a poor construction of women's identities in the political agenda (Randall, 1998). As of 2010, there is only one female

leader in the state cabinet; women's political representation is still less than 30%. In society, although the status of Vietnamese women has improved, women are still an oppressed group of people. Gender gaps in favor of men have been found prominently in the literacy rate of both adult and child males and females, among women in different areas and ethnic minorities. In Vietnam, more and more women suffer severe types of domestic violence and sexual abuse while legal regimes applicable to those crimes are often inconsistently and inadequately enforced (Martignoni, 2001). Attitudes and perceptions are still skewed in favor of men due to a long history and influence of Confucianism, feudalism, and patriarchal ideology (VWR, 2009). Consequently, Vietnamese women shoulder significant responsibilities. They have to assume the gender roles of a daughter, a daughter-in-law, a mother, and a wife; therefore they have less time to improve their education and skills. Additionally, they also have to work to earn an income. While taking such an important role in the household, however, women's voices are less 'powerful' than that of men (VWU, 2008b). Also, suffering from a highly patriarchal system and a cultural preference for sons, many Vietnamese women deliberately try to have a son to satisfy the wishes of their husband and their husband's family by seeking abortion of female fetuses, and therefore bear different health risks (Nguyen & Hoang, 2000). Not a few of them either have to see their husbands having outside-marriage relationships with the hope of having a son, or to suffer frigid treatment in the family. In explaining the vulnerabilities of Vietnamese women in the family, Martignoni (2001) argues that, due to the overemphasis of the state of women's role in family in the constitution, women have become the sole or primary caregivers for children and other family members. In other words, women have been facing gender discrimination perpetrated by the state.

Thus, in an attempt to advocate women's rights as a full citizenship in terms of civil, political and social citizenship, the Vietnamese state has considered women as the objects of state policy. It is beneficial for women somehow, however, by doing so, the state is something very high and far from women and women have a limited control over what the state can do for them (Waylen, 1998). Such a mechanism, therefore, still fails to address women's special needs and rights and ineffectively removes deep-rooted subordination of women from men, both in the household and in the society.

Globalization, State and Changes in Gender Norms and Values in Vietnam

Gender norms and values in Vietnam have changed considerably under the market economy. The application of the Renovation Policy in 1986 has opened up a new era of globalization in Vietnam. The Vietnamese modernist politicians attempted to build a system of governance that fulfilled the issues

of social equality, gender equality, religious affinity and ethnic equality (Truong, 2006). This is evident in the adoption of socio-economic reforms and gender-related policies. Two of the most frequently mentioned initiatives influencing women's empowerment are economic reform and land reform, although both types of policies have been emphasized to have masculine characteristics (Waylen, 1998).

Economic reform was introduced by the National Sixth Congress in 1986 and has been supplemented and fulfilled through successive congresses. The economy of Vietnam was turned from a central planning one into a market economy one. In 1996, the government again affirmed the existence and growth of five economic sectors[6] which have equal treatment. The state sector is considered to be an important engine and an instrument to help the government to orient and regulate the economy at the macro level. A multi-sector economy has created a diversification of institutional arrangements in enterprises. However, differences in institutional arrangements impact on laborers' rights and interests (Duong, 2006). In fact, the execution of social protection for laborers in non-state economic sectors is still insufficient, with unstable jobs and low wages (ibid.). In the state-owned enterprises themselves, wage levels are quite low and incompatible to that of foreign-capital enterprises which usually require high-skilled labor and strict time tables. The public-private dichotomy, as a result of the state policy, hence, starts to challenge women's exclusion from full citizenship and yields gender inequality.

Land reform was launched by the Vietnamese government in the 1980s and considered to have noticeable impacts on Vietnamese women. The reform was targeted to strengthen land-use rights by allocating land and issuing the land title to private land users. The allocation of land to farm households under the household contract system, along with a newly liberalized socio-economic environment, resulted in intensive use of land resources (Ha, 2007). This initiative helped women to allocate their labor time in a flexible way instead of confining themselves in cooperatives, and also provided alternative livelihood options for female workers affected by state-owned enterprises downsizing (Truong, 2006). However, unintentionally, women have become deeply engaged in production, housework and care work after the abolishment of the state subsidization of education and health, in line with the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) in the 1980s. As with many other women in developing countries, Vietnamese women have been suffering tension in allocating time and resources as a consequence of considerable cutbacks in public expenditures.

The norms of 'working women' or 'working mothers' widely accepted in Vietnam are in contrast with traditional Confucian ideology which considers women as housewives or the ones living and working in the kitchen. Vietnamese women today are less subordinated to men as they have the chance to earn an income from paid work. However, they also face different forms

of bias, including embedded traditional social and cultural ideologies, and the tension between economic liberalism and social protection (Truong, 2006). Equally important, in international economic integration new types of inequalities have emerged in Vietnam. Firstly, there is inequality in income and development opportunities. It has been reported that men earn more than women in most of the industries, except services (Cyrus, 2007). Among manual workers, the gender wage gap is 35% in favor of men (ibid). Vietnamese women are less advantaged than men in accessing employment opportunities due to their reproductive and social functions of bearing and rearing children, taking care of the sick and the elderly. They work more in the informal sectors, such as textiles and garment making or in aqua-fishing processing enterprises which often recruit low-skilled women pay low income. Nguyen (2004, as cited in Duong, 2006) states that in Vietnam the female labor force comprises of 5% in management positions, 10% staff and officers, and more than 80% workers directed toward production activities. Secondly, industrialization and the high speed of urbanization also create challenges to social and family cohesion. Land use change has brought many benefits to industries and communities. However, it also poses many challenges to women (VWU, 2008c). As a consequence, rural female laborers have to migrate to find alternative livelihoods, potentially suffering inequality, harassment, poor living conditions and exploitation in the process. At the same time, care of children and the elderly becomes a noticeable issue when women migrate and leave a burden of care work and housework to girl children and the 'well' elderly.

In short, Vietnamese women still have to live in poverty and inequality and have to struggle to subsist. As a consequence, they face quite a high risk of exposure to human trafficking while moving within the country, or from Vietnam to the other countries to find better livelihoods for themselves and contribute to family income.

Main Characteristics of Trafficking in Women and Children in Vietnam

Vietnam has witnessed both internal trafficking and cross-border trafficking. Internal trafficking in women and children in Vietnam relates to strong rural-urban migration (IOM, 2005; Dang, 2006). It is predicted that by 2020, about 40% of the country's population will live in cities (SIREN, 2008). Annually, a significant number of people migrate to the South and the North from central provinces; however, the major flow of migration is the flow towards the South. Women and children are trafficked from rural and remote areas to urban areas to work in restaurants, hotels and bars or to sell lottery tickets or polish shoes, with some facing forced labor or forced prostitution. Labor exploitation also takes place in the domestic and construction sectors

and in factories. Internationally, Vietnamese women and children are trafficked through four main routes: from Vietnam to China, from Vietnam to Cambodia, from Vietnam to the other GMS countries, and from Vietnam to the countries outside the GMS.

Vietnamese women and girls are trafficked to different parts of China for marriage and forced prostitution (Wang, 2005). Luckoo & Tzvetkova (2002) acknowledge that at least 22,000 Vietnamese women and girls were illegally sent to China within 1991–1999 as a consequence of China's shortage of women. There are also Vietnamese boys who are trafficked to China, then forced to work in agricultural or factory settings (USDOS, 2009). Those victims normally are transferred to China through small tracks or border gates. A long porous border line between the two countries has been created opportunities for traffickers to kidnap women and children. In mountainous area, traffickers break into homes to kidnap children, and even kill parents and snatch children, at night, or even in broad daylight. Vietnamese women and children, particularly from the provinces in the Mekong Delta, are trafficked to Cambodia for commercial sex, either voluntarily or by force, however debt bondage is particularly prominent (see Derks, 1998; Busza, 2004). Apart from the two main mentioned destination countries, traffickers also transfer Vietnamese women and children to Laos, Thailand, and Myanmar for prostitution or forced labor (SIREN, 2008). Vietnamese women and girls are among thousands of foreign nationalities having been sold to brothels in Thailand to serve the demands of the Thai sex industry since the 1990s. The common-shared Mekong River has interconnected GMS countries, but also caused difficulties for the member countries in controlling trafficking cases (Derks, 2000). Vietnamese women are also trafficked to other countries through fraudulent marriages, labor and sexual exploitation; while children are trafficked under child adoption. Cases of trafficking in men, infants, unborn children and viscera have been detected by the relevant agencies (SIREN, 2008; UNIAF, 2010).

Due to inadequate understanding of human trafficking, available data only cover cases of women and girl victims, although trafficking in men and boys has been emphasized (UNIAF, 2010). Further, trafficking in women and children in Vietnam is becoming a far more complicated issue with more female traffickers involved. Many female traffickers were initially victims and became wiser in dealing with the police force. Significantly, Nguyen (2008) warns that about one-third of trafficking cases involve three victims or more, while 1.42% involve seven victims. The above characteristics make human trafficking in Vietnam to be quite distinguishable from human trafficking in the other countries worldwide in the nature of crime, and therefore, require specific measures to be solved.

Gender Aspects of Human Trafficking in Globalization

Human trafficking is an issue of human rights; however, it is also a socio-economic issue that relate to gender discrimination and gender inequality. The first gender aspect of human trafficking is feminization of poverty. Poverty, according to Naila Kabeer (1994), is gendered because women and men experience poverty differently and unequally. There are many reasons to approve this statement. Women have less control of and access to land and other resources than men. Women usually get lower income because they spend a lot of time on unpaid housework, on child bearing and rearing. In globalization, gender-poverty gap between men and women has widened. Globalization and economic restructuring with the movement towards a market economy bring more opportunities for women to work; however, women account for a main workforce in textile, garment, or manufacturing factories where they work long time with low pay. Women are disadvantaged to men in work, even, "among lower-skill, lower-paying occupations, women earn approximately 60% of men's wages for comparable work" (Megan et al., 2007: 5). Feminization of poverty is emergent as it affects more than women. While women are poor, children's welfare and family life is negatively impacted, especially in case of female-headed households. Poverty has been identified to be a main cause of human trafficking. One may argue that poverty is no longer to be the root cause of human trafficking because the rich also may be trapped by traffickers; however, it is fair enough to say that feminization of poverty with women experience poverty at far higher rate than men put many women under risks of being exploited or deceived. Also, growing poverty in financial crisis time is clearly making more women and girls vulnerable to both labor and sex trafficking.

The second gender dimension of human trafficking relates to feminization of migration. There is evidence showing that globalization has created a feminization of the labor market and migration processes. According to Perrons (2004), the global neo-liberal economy has created a large demand for female laborers to work in the Export Processing Zones (EPZs), export-oriented factories, the cool chain (the production of fresh fruits), and the care economy. As a result, there has been a tremendous surge in female migration within and across borders and these women are in greater danger of being trafficked (Samarasinghe, 2003). Ebbe (2005) illustrates the linkage between this feminization of work, of migration, and trafficking by telling the stories of young poor female workers. Some have to prostitute themselves to earn extra money to send home, and therefore fall prey to Western tourists and traffickers. Others become debt-bondage victims because their low salaries are not sufficient to cover their monthly bills. Further, globalization with freer movement of people from rural to urban areas, from a country to the other country along with a high demand of housewives or caregivers attracts a large

number of female migrants. Risks are always there both at the source and destination places when the migrants do not know well about socio-economic conditions, customs, language, and be passive with the work they have to undertake.

The third gender dimension of human trafficking is a feminization of victims of sexual exploitation. We have seen in academic literature many terms implying the victim of sex trafficking as the female, such as "the traffic in women and girls for prostitution", "the sexual exploitation of women" (Limoncelli, 2010), "female sex trafficking," "trafficking of women for sexual exploitation" (Samarasinghe, 2008); "women are trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation" (Chen, 2010), "human trafficking as a women's issue" (USDOS, 2010). While in many countries, human trafficking is characterized as trafficking in women, and trafficking for sexual exploitation, women account for a majority part of trafficking victims. Gender stereotypes which consider women to be disadvantaged and victims rather than progressive and dominant have excluded many male victims from the list. Further, the other types of human trafficking, especially labor trafficking has not been sufficiently and constantly concerned. The US Trafficking in Person Report in the years 2009, 2010 emphasize that some countries have not adequately paid attention to labor trafficking and call the attempts of all countries worldwide to take into account and strongly combat against labor trafficking which involves a significant number of male victims. Worldwide, there are countless persons who labor in bondage and suffer in silence that have not been counted in statistics. Sex trafficking is more feminized when women and girls working as domestic servitudes are often sexually exploited. Generally, in term of human trafficking, women are easily targeted for violence and exploitation as socio-political, economic and development processes may leave women socially and economically dependent on men.

Further, gender aspect of human trafficking lies in the fact that men and boys can also be trafficked, not only women and girls. In some countries, where human trafficking is being understood as trafficking in women and girl children, anti-human trafficking solutions become gender-specific as it excludes men victims and some types of human trafficking such as trafficking for labor exploitation, for removal of organs, etc. The other danger is that, some other countries may take into account that human trafficking happens to any sexes, but do not pay attention to women's and men's particular needs and rights.

The Vietnamese National Action Program against Trafficking in Women and Children

Preventing and combating against human trafficking have become social issues of the highest concerns in Vietnam and the government takes the

issue of human trafficking quite seriously. The Vietnamese National Action Program against Trafficking in Women and Children (the VNAP) had been the national policy framework against human trafficking crime in the years 2004–2010. Within this time line, when there was no official law on human trafficking, the VNAP acted the role of the Vietnamese state's official response to the issue.

The VNAP sets out the roles and responsibilities of the various government agencies in relation to human trafficking. The VNAP's objective is to increase community and government awareness of trafficking in women and children and to assure that activities are sufficiently undertaken to prevent and reduce it. A significant characteristic of the VNAP is that it contains the image of an active partnership between different actors involved. Although the VNAP is a "3-Ps" anti-trafficking strategy of prevention, protection, and prosecution it can be considered as a "4-Ps" solution. The VNAP has four main projects with five main government actors directly involve in. Main content of the projects are (1) Education and advocacy in the community on prevention and combating trafficking in women and children; (2) Combat trafficking in women and children; (3) Receive and assist trafficked victims returning from abroad; (4) Develop and strengthen the existing legal system in relation to the prevention and combating of trafficking in women and children.

It must be noted that in the time of the VNAP formulation and implementation, human trafficking had been understood as "trafficking in women and children," also, data on human trafficking mainly report international trafficking and trafficking for sexual exploitation. Within five years from 2004–2009 the police force had defined 1,586 cases with 4,008 victims including women and children, 2,888 traffickers involved (NCAHT, 2009). It can be said that the VNAP is a gender specific policy when it solely focuses on women and girls. My fieldwork on anti-trafficking politics of the Vietnamese state contends that although people's awareness of human trafficking has been considerably increased, not a few men, including local government staff still persist that men are wise and cannot be victims of human trafficking. The government, however, has noted that there are not only cases of trafficking in women but also trafficking in men; men are trafficked to work in brick factories and mines. The gaps in human trafficking definition and anti-human trafficking solution have been adjusted with clear views and explanations presented in the Vietnamese Law on Preventing and Combating Human Trafficking.

The Law on Preventing and Combating Human Trafficking (the PCHT Law): A Gender Sensitive Policy and the Way Forward

It can be said that the VNAP has been a solid foundation for the PCHT Law. The birth of the VNAP has strengthened the government's determination to the issue and represented a further step of the Vietnamese government in the fight against trafficking in women and children (Hoang, 2008). Within 6 years from 2004–2010 the VNAP has acted an active role of the state official commitments to combat against human trafficking. Within the framework of the VNAP, different activities have been deploying around the country-wide. The government commitment to develop and strengthen the existing legal system in relation to the prevention and combating of trafficking in women and children has been achieved with the birth of the PCHT Law in March 2011 and it came into force in January 2012.

The PCHT Law has eight chapters and 58 articles showing careful gender considerations of the issue. Four dimensions of gender-sensitive institutional characteristics can be acknowledged from the PCHT Law. First, the shift in the use of the term "human trafficking" instead of "trafficking in women and children" has marked a significant progress in the change of state ideology towards human trafficking issue. The term "human trafficking" also fits with the fact that victims of human trafficking can be of any sex, race and age, human trafficking can occur anywhere, with anyone, and in any situation. Women and children are no longer the only group of human trafficking victims while human trafficking involves a wide range of exploitation. By accepting this international definition, the government shows its commitments to protect all citizens from all types of exploitation and all activities related to exploitation of people are strictly prohibited. Men and victims of labor exploitation are no longer out of law control. All victims have rights to be protected taking into account the needs and expectations of different ages and sexes (Article 41). Such a gender-sensitive anti-trafficking policy will more effectively prevent human trafficking and respond to the specific security needs of women and men, boys and girls. Second, is the institution's mandate of the Law: to criminalize traffickers, to protect and support victims of human trafficking regardless their sexes. In a society, where human trafficking was understood as trafficking in women and children and human trafficking was mainly referred to trafficking for sexual exploitation, the mandate of the PCHT Law helps eliminate such a gender stereotypes and prejudices of the society with respect to women trafficked victims and in turn will profit both men and women. The mandate may alter entrenched gender biases and discriminatory attitudes against women's trafficked victims, it does not mean that men are wiser and cannot be deceived by traffickers. Meanwhile, men victims will be protected and supported by PCHT Law. Third, operating practices of the Law involves different organizations with special emphasis

given to the role of the Vietnam Women's Union (VWU) to help increase women's awareness on human trafficking issue (Article 18). The VWU is a four-level organization (central, provincial, district, and communal levels) works closely with its millions members to ensure that the PCHT Law is effectively transferred to women and satisfy women's needs and concerns. The dedicated gender organization like the VWU is an evidence of effectively supporting attitudinal change among women and public as women themselves can be good trainers, communicators in their families and community. That can help socialize the issue of human trafficking, its risks and consequences to every individual and family. Further, the stories of trafficked victims themselves are lively evidences to alert people avoid human trafficking trap. Dedicated gender organization in this case acts the role as a bridge to shift personal commitment to widen and fulfill government's institutional commitment to combat against the crime. Another component of gender sensitive institutional dimensions of the PHCT Law is that the effective accountability system of the law is made public with the call for participation of individuals and wider public in consultations with authorized organization. Articles 11, 12 of the PHCT Law regulate individual and family obligations in supporting victims and actively participating in the prevention of human trafficking. A gender-sensitive information system is set up to welcome people to expose traffickers and response to the implementation of the Law.

Clearly, contemporary anti-trafficking efforts of the Vietnamese government are significant and progressive than any other anti-trafficking initiative that Vietnam has had in the past. The PCHT Law will help Vietnam to get closer with international anti-trafficking frameworks and practices and help to eliminate gender-based causes and consequences of human trafficking crime.

Conclusion

It is the contention of this study to identify gender aspects of human trafficking to see if anti-trafficking initiative must be gender-sensitive. The analysis of the Vietnamese anti-trafficking politics shows that a successful anti-trafficking solution must take into account gender dimensions of the issue and gender vulnerabilities that women may suffer in comparison to men as a result of socio-economic, political and development processes. As a socialist country following market-oriented economy, Vietnam has mixed well the ideology of cooperation and social service with competition and profit to achieve economic growth in globalization. However, globalization is the phenomenon of both advantages and disadvantages to people, especially the ones living in developing countries. Anti-trafficking policy, therefore, need to draw from gender perspective, and also socio-economic, cultural and political context in which gender-based activities and customs are exercised.

NOTES

1. The GMS countries include Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand, and Yunnan province of China.

2. In 2008, a student in Vietnam was brokered to sell his kidney in China and he died when returned home.

3. The most current and internationally accepted concept of human trafficking is presented in the 'Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially in Women and Children' (UN, 2000). Accordingly, for the purpose of this research, "trafficking in persons" shall mean: "The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over other persons, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs..." (Article 3a); "The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in sub-paragraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in sub-paragraph (a) have been used..." (Article 3b).

4. The GMS countries have signed several bilateral agreements. The common initiative between the member countries is the Coordinated Mekong Ministerial Initiative against Trafficking (COMMIT) which was officially signed in 2004. Based on this initiative, each member country has set up its own COMMIT plan.

5. The GDI captures inequality between men and women. The GDI is counted as % of HDI. In this case, the GDI of Vietnam is 99.7% of the HDI. The GEM reveals whether women take an active part in economic and political life.

6. The five economic sectors are: the state economy; the cooperative economy; the private economy; the state capital economy; and the foreign capital economy.

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Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 2(1), 2012, pp. 66–86, ISSN 2164-0262

Elfriede Jelinek: Feminism, Politics and a Gender and Queer Theoretical Perspectivation of *Krankheit oder Moderne Frauen* & *Ulrike Maria Stuart*

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ABSTRACT**.** Our article will proceed in a twofold way: on the one hand we attempt to introduce the audience more in depth to Elfriede Jelinek's work, extrapolating mainly her style of writing on the basis of the theoretical reflections that underlies her textual production; on the other hand we want to focus on two plays that are interesting and prime examples for her exposure to the question of feminism, gender-roles and gender-identifications and the very deconstruction of these complex concepts in the respective texts. Moreover we want to illustrate the whole thematic complex by visual examples of the plays or by sound recordings.

Keywords: Elfriede Jelinek, feminist perspective

1. Introduction

Elfriede Jelinek usually is labeled as 'feminist writer.' However, whereas secondary literature in the 80s deals with Jelinek's 'feminism' from a contemporary feminist perspective, emphasizing aspects of visibility, awareness and equality with respect to Jelinek's writing the term 'feminist writer' nowadays is used more like a 'standing matter' without any consequences regarding the applied theoretical approaches. It seems that hardly anybody undertakes readings and analyses of Elfriede Jelinek's texts that are based on recent gender- and/or queer theories. In the following article we will try to show that the just mentioned theoretical views and perspectivations turn out to be productive in reading Elfriede Jelinek's complex texts, no matter

whether the older texts are concerned, like *Krankheit oder Moderne Frauen*[1] (*Sickness or Modern Women*), or the more recent ones, like *Ulrike Maria Stuart.*[2]

2. Poetics and (Feminist) Politics

Elfriede Jelinek is not only a feminist writer, she is, to the same extent, a deeply political writer. In fact the two aspects cannot be separated from each other. Early in her career, triggered through the contact with the student movement, she shifts from formal-aesthetic problems and language play to content and political impact.[3] Already in her first novels, *wir sind lockvögel baby*! (1970) or in *Michael. Ein Jugendbuch für die Infantilgesellschaft* (1972), both having a character of linguistic rebellion and aiming at popular culture, Jelinek draws on Roland Barthes's analysis of myth to reveal how pop cultural forms work as palliatives to oppressed sectors of society by suggesting that all men and women are equal. [4] Culture industry, as Jelinek stresses last but not least out of her Marxist conviction in *Die endlose Unschuldigkeit*,[5] follows a strategy of de-historicizing and depoliticizing in order to make readers, listeners and spectators of all classes feel equal instead of offering them improvements in their material welfare. A concession, however, the ruling class is not willing to make.[6]

According to Barthes the effect of myth is to transform history into nature, that means, what we think that is naturally given is given through language and discourse at a given moment in time. Thus, the discrepancy between reality and its representation in language is what is concealed by myth. Jelineks primary assumptions in this respect are: "es kann nämlich alles *mütös* werden [...]." ("everything can become *mythicious*," as one could try to translate *mütös*).[7] She warns and outlines her guiding principle: "ich spreche von den dingen die sich in den begriffen einnisten" ("I speak of the things that settle down in the concepts," our translation).[8]

Jelinek deconstructs myths insofar as she adopts and amplifies the meaning of the original myth which brings this myth to a halt. That does not lead to an entmystification but rather to a denouncing of the myth through exaggeration. This kind of artificial myth that Jelinek then produces hyperbolises, overacts and perverts the ideological myth and reveals what Roland Barthes calls its 'naivety.'[9]

However, as already mentioned, textual and political strategies go hand in hand. When she says that "everything can become mythicious,"[10] one has to be aware of the fact that this word *mütös* does not exist in the German language – thus it is also a nice example of one of her stylistic and at the same time political approaches to language, namely creating neologisms, using certain linguistic devices – like suffixes – that mutilate a word and

transform it semantically, like in this case the suffix 'ös,' which designates a more negative semantics of a word (like komatös [comatose], maliziös [malicious], porös [porous] etc.), or using the phonetic spelling of a word instead of the correct orthography, in this case she writes "ü" instead of "y." Themes, concerns and style intertwine. Jelinek suspends all the usual categories of a novel (or a play), like time, place, figures, story lines (or, in the case of plays, monological or dialogical structures etcetera). Jelinek also abolishes the hierarchization between high and low literature in the way that she takes in the patterns and techniques of trivial literature into high literature.[11] More than this, she creates a 'new language,' a language that takes part in the performance and thus in the message of the texts. Since there does not exist a means of expression beyond language (or similar semantic systems), Jelinek carries clichés to the extremes, making them visible in and through language, taking possession of them and finally emptying them of meaning. This functions because of her seemingly uncritical adoption of the clichés which brings to the fore its absurd character. All of this is part of the already mentioned fundamental idea of the deconstruction of myth within her works. One could argue, generally, that her poetics, and, as the critique formulates it, the "new language," that she develops, perform the political. "This new language," as Shanta Rao in *The political aesthetic of Elfriede Jelinek's early plays* points out, enables her to present her critical views on Austro-German cultural history, particularly her belief that the historical subjugation of women (within private and public spheres) is closely aligned to the formation of a distinctly gendered subjectivity."[12]

Subjugation, violence, be it sexual or physical violence against women, or, at a larger scale, in and through language within the context of mass media, builds a central thematic complex in Jelinek's texts.[13] She discloses the symbolic violence of the state, i.e. the functioning of the police and military forces as an expression of the state's power and dominance. Also she unveils the latent and turned into a taboo sexuality within all these realms.[14] Matthias Konzett puts it even more pointed, namely that Jelinek reveals the "pornographic addiction and self-debasement in consumerism and nationalism"[15] of the entire cultural landscape. Jelinek hence is received as a "socialist feminist believing the overthrow of capitalism to be the prerequisite condition for the success of feminism.[16] Moreover Jelinek is understood in the way that "under the present socio-economic conditions, healthy sexual relations are a virtual impossibility between men and women."[17] Jelinek herself very recently formulated her feminist position as follows:

> I do not fight against men, but against the system that is sexist. The system that judges the worth of women, the system that judges a woman's worth through her youthful body and looks and not for what she does. Men are defined through what they do, women through their looks.[18]

What we do, in the following analysis of her two plays, is to read Jelinek both feminist and queer.

3. The Play *Krankheit oder Moderne Frauen*

All those aspects of her writing that can be described as 'deconstruction of myth,' of language, of realism in literature lead us to the question of how to deal with her texts from a gender and queer theoretical perspective that is itself based on the deconstruction of gender and sexual difference. Reading Jelinek's plays we will try to take some of those theoretical aspects in consideration, drawing a bow from *Krankheit oder Moderne Frauen*, *Sickness or Modern Women*, an early play, to *Ulrike Maria Stuart* from 2007. *Sickness or Modern Women* was written in 1984 and is a broadly discussed play within feminist critique. Let us briefly provide you with a short overview of the plot: The traditional Christian couple Carmilla and Benno and their Children come to the Practice of Dr. Heidkliff, a sportive doctor, dentist and gynecologist who is in a relationship with Emily, a vampire and writer. Carmilla needs help since she is about to give birth to her sixth child. Heidkliff, however, has left for a swim and so Carmilla's husband helps her in a fatal way, Carmilla dies. Emily, watching the scene, bites Carmilla who consequently becomes a vampire herself. The two women then establish a lesbian relationship, feeding themselves with the blood of Carmilla's children. Emily convinces her seemingly progressive boyfriend Heidkliff to construct a mechanism that allows her to move out in her eye-teeth. The two women suck dry the other children and attack their husbands, discovering that they are beings without blood. The two women have to flee. The two men arm themselves, follow them and shoot the two women, who have become a kind of double-creature.[19]

The tendency of the existing interpretations of *Sickness or Modern Women* can be described in either feminist and/or gender theoretical ways, thus not only the problematic of locating women within patriarchal patterns is being reflected but also the reduction of women to their bodies, to the seemingly given biological substrate, to a definition of women in opposition to men. Those interpretations often refer to Jelinek's own statements and feminist views: "The woman does not have a place, a position (of her own)," says Jelinek in her *Essay on Ingeborg Bachmann*, "she is the other, the man is the norm."[20] However important those analyses are, let's have a close look at the dramatic texts itself, at its numerous traits of queerness, starting from a definition of Queer Studies: "Queer studies," as one could summon up, "considers, and conducts a political critique of, anything that falls into normative and deviant categories, particularly sexual activities and identities."[21] Already this aspect, as simple as it sounds, is fundamental to the conception

of the play's two main female characters that at a certain moment in time not only do they become a lesbian couple but they are also regarded from their bodily and mental condition, as vampires. Historically speaking, Lesbian vampirism can be regarded as a figuration in 20th century exploitation film, rooted in Joseph Sheridan le Fanu's novella *Carmilla* (1872) about the predatory love of a female vampire for a young woman.[22]

Furthermore, the word 'queer,' as it appears in the dictionary, has a primary meaning of 'odd,' 'unconventional,' or 'out of the ordinary.' [...] 'To queer,' then, is to render 'normal' sexuality as strange and unsettled, to challenge heterosexuality as a naturalized social-sexual norm, and to promote the notion of 'non-straightness.' Thus, queer studies expands the scope of its analysis to all kinds of behaviors, including those that are gender-bending, as well as those that involve 'queer' forms of sexuality.[23]

Moreover, "it proposes that we deliberately challenge all notions of fixed identity, in varied and non-predictable ways."[24] Judith Butler, well known as one of the founders of queer theory, questions the binary opposition of heterosexuality and stresses the varied and fluid constitution of human sexuality and personal identity, the overlappings, the plural affiliations and inter-identitarian states of existence that characterize lived reality.

In connection to these brief definitions and aspects of queer theory we suggest that Jelinek's texts in question *do* render 'normal' sexuality strange and unsettled and challenge conventional ideas of heterosexual behavior and relationships in manifold ways. As already pointed out, Emily, the main female character, embodies the deconstruction of binaries not only in the sense that within the vampire itself the dichotomy of life and death dissolves, but also because the desire structures that give this figure contour turn out to be fluid and unsettled. Already at the very beginning of the play when the strange relationship of Heathcliff, the gynecologist and dentist at the same time and his fiancée Emily, who is also a writer, unfolds, we notice – leaving aside Emily's appearance, i.e. the blood trickling out of her wounds and the arrows that stick in her body –, their dialogue, that's something wrong with the couple and their relationship. Emily says:

> I'm outside of you. I know exactly the point where I begin and you end. You are bothering me. You open chapter. You menue. [...] There really is something growing out of you that Mother Nature can't possibly have intended in such a shape. Am I here? I think so. Prey in my jaws. (3)

There is no emphatic relationship between them, she is completely outside of him and upset of him. His sexual organ seems ridiculous to her as well as his intellectual condition, out of his body grows strange flesh, out of her body grow arrows and blood and big eyeteeth, symbols of her power to kill as well as to re-create, to bring into being what has already been dead. We'll

come back to those teeth later. Heathcliff seems to be completely unimpressed with those features and he responds: “Of course, because you are my future fiancée. And therefore, where I am, so are you. Yoohoo. In this way I spare you the weary search. Good day. I am useful for you. The way your head is useful for you too.” (3) Emily, however, utters: “Where you are *not*, there is happiness.” (4) But it is not only her disgust that comes to the fore, Heathcliff too correlates her with nauseous feelings on the one hand and at the same time welcomes her and asks here whether she, at last, has a “woman’s pains” since he is “too fond of performing operations” (4). However, it is not menstrual blood dropping out of her body and thus she rejects. A few lines further she says, and this might be a key to the relation: “I touch you. I don’t move you. I’m only sharpening a pencil. Others are moved by wheat fields. Will I soon turn against you? I wouldn’t go so far as to tear a piece off an animal. I am nature; so I often remind of art.” (4)

She is nature and art at the same time, she is dead and alive, he is a human but she calls him an animal. Things do not go together here, binary logic fails, either in a philosophical way or simply caused by a wordplay, “I touch you. I don’t move you.” (4) The latter can be better understood in German: “Ich berühre dich. Ich rühre dich nicht.” (195) Indeed, identities tend to develop in a hybrid and not in a fixed way in Jelinek’s play, the heteronormative system is disrupted, even the exaggeratedly overacted male identities in the play that are likely to fall apart just because of the hyperbolic rhetoric and the deconstruction of the binary oppositions that, within Jelinek’s discursive composition of female and male identity-formation, disfigurate. “I am visible from close by as from afar […] I go right back where I came from […] I am in antithesis.” (2)

Heathcliff, interestingly, is *in* antithesis, *in* a contradiction and it is *a* contradiction per se, at least sometimes. Sometimes he’s a conglomerate of either/or, neither/nor and mostly both or everything at once.

Heathcliff: “I am visible from close by as from afar […]” (2), i.e., he’s visible, not from either/or, but from bothes sides at once. The same counts for: “I am the one others measure themselves by […]”. (2) Briefly afterwards: “There I find others like myself.” (2) First he seems to be quite unique, then he encounters others like himself (2). He is neither the one, nor the other purely and simply, but both at once. A few pages later he says: “My professional secret is the division of above and below.” (8) He is continuously concerned with dealing with binaries, many of them turning out to be ambiguous and contradictory in the text.

Sometimes, however, he is also the very dominant part of the binary opposition, fulfilling the inherent hierarchic structure:

> The sky is above, in an extension of the axis of my body. […] I have a heart. I am a measure. I am a must.” (2) Here Heathcliff is the man, he’s in command, he seems to be the master, he is

> the centre and everything is concentrated around him, as Emily is: Heathcliff says: "You are around me. A circle I trace from here." (5) Emily serves as the constitutive outside of his identity-formation. "I am the other, that nevertheless still exists. You have to get used to that. (6)

And briefly after this passage there is a strong allusion to a text by Ingeborg Bachmann, *The Book of Franza*, where the female protagonist tries to kill herself by banging her head against a pyramid, escaping her faith, her master, her dominators, her rapists. And hence says Emily: "I'm going now, to bang my head on the stone of a pyramid." (7) However, Emily simply disappears from the scene, she, the vampire, can't kill herself by banging her head on a stone. The reference to Ingeborg Bachmann's book *Franza* however can't be overlooked. It is a compelling and feminist note since Franza tries to kill herself after having been violated in many respects. The book strongly reveals the suppression of women and accuses the men that harm Franza. Jelinek's text can thus be *also* understood as feminist in a very basic way of understanding. Consequently, and with regard to those feminist, reconstructive as well as deconstructive moments in the text one can state that in *Illness or Modern Women* no consequent and clear cut building of binaries takes place. The text on the whole does not insist on a univocal explicit either/or distinction, it is contradictory and ambiguous, it is feminist and deconstructive and, as above said, frequently both at the same time. And so is Emily: "I am the beginning and the end. I also occur even more often in between." (5)

This either or, in-between, sometimes both-at-once status of Emily we would like to theorize through one significant bodily aberration, her two oversized eye-teeth, that are − after the intervention of her boy-friend, the dentist − sliding, extendable, retractable. We would like to modify the often undertaken allusion of the teeth becoming a phallic symbol insofar as we would suggest a reading of her teeth through the concept of the *lesbian phallus*, a term coined by Judith Butler. In her reading of Jacques Lacans *Mirror Stage* Butler continues in a way to use the term 'phallus' for the symbolic function of a certain body part, thus in notable distance to the physical organ and based on the assumption of "the transferability of the phallus, the phallus as transferable or plastic property."[25] We cannot go very much in depth here regarding this complex theoretical trait, but we want to draw on those theoretical presumptions as well as on Butler's strong thesis that: "[T]he phallus is fundamentally transferable."[26] Butler asks herself which organs dominate the formation process of the ego, a process that is structured by the narcissistic imaginary relation to an 'other':

> By entering into that narcissistic relation, the organs cease to be organs and become imaginary effects. One might be tempted to

> argue that in the course of being set into play by the narcissistic imaginary, the penis becomes the phallus.[27]

Moreover Butler emphasizes that the phallus can only be regarded as a "phantasmatic moment in which a part suddenly stands for and produces a sense of the whole."[28] In addition she stresses the point that "[if] what comes to signify under the sign of the phallus are a number of body parts, discursive performatives, alternative fetishes, to name a few, then the symbolic position of 'having' has been dislodged from the penis as its privileged anatomical (or non-anatomical) occasion."[29] Biddy Martin interprets Butler's conception as follows:

> The lesbian phallus is Butler's provocative figure for the plasticity, substitutability, and detachability of the phallus. That which is supposed to organize the terms of sexual difference becomes plastic, mobile, subject to substitution, and attached to the figure of the lesbian. The body has not become irrelevant but is rendered capable of representations that exceed binary divisions and that redistribute symbolic authority and routes of desire.[30]

Taking this into account one can interpret Emily's teeth, those teeth belonging to a lesbian vampire and made retractable through the intervention of her fiancé, the dentist/gynecologist, as a kind of lesbian phallus, not only because she wants them to "be able to stick forward and then disappear again" (52), she wants her fangs to be able to shoot out (5) and her prey would be, let's listen to her: "If I bite someone, I'd rather it was a woman. Man is most like a dog tied to a wall." (539). Within the frame of Queer Studies one could provisionally conclude then, again in Judith Butler's terms:

> When the phallus is lesbian, then it is and is not a masculinist figure of power; the signifier is significantly split, for it both recalls and displaces the masculinism by which it is impelled. And insofar as it operates at the site of anatomy, the phallus (re)produces the spectre of the penis only to enact its vanishing, to reiterate and exploit its perpetual vanishing as the very occasion of the phallus. This opens up anatomy – and sexual difference itself – as a sit of proliferative resignifications.[31]

The ambivalent structure of the text is pictured in this very metaphor of the lesbian phallus which is itself an ambivalent and multilayered figure of power. The heterosexual privilege is being irritated, the 'original' signifier questioned and transformed, however not abolished since in the end the masculine principle again gains a kind of brutal power over the two women. However, whether death will be the end or whatever kind of end their deaths entails it is not clear, we will reflect on this open end at the end of the paper. Before that we would like again to refer to Lacan's *Mirror Stage* and the formation of the Ego within the very process. Emily, after having received

the mechanism to mobilize her teeth gains a form of special control over her body, acquires a seemingly wholeness as a lesbian vampire at the moment she acquires the apparatus (which creates, additionally, a kind of cyborg vampire status, a vampire as cybernetic, spare-part-death-alive organism, a fact that should be reflected as well (but due to lack of space not in this text). It is a kind of phallic wholeness, a moment, where "that body 'assumes' or 'comes to have' the phallus"[32] – regardless how long that status will last (it will not last long, as the text suggests, but that is not important for now). Emily: "It's going. It works! It's coming! And a hearty welcome, my god!" (56).

This state of 'wholeness' might also be considered as a status of *androgyny*,[33] a status of an 'original' wholeness. And at this very moment another allusion seems to make sense. As already mentioned, in the end Emily and Carmilla become a kind of double-creature which reminds of the critique of Platos *Symposion*,[34] more precisely of Aristophane's speech about people, who, in primal times […] had doubled bodies, with faces and limbs turned away from one another. As somewhat spherical creatures who wheeled around like clowns doing cartwheels (190a), these original people were very powerful. There were three sexes: the all male, the all female, and the "androgynous," who was half man, half woman. The creatures tried to scale the heights of heaven and planned to set upon the gods (190b-c). Zeus thought about blasting them to death with thunderbolts, but did not want to deprive himself of their devotions and offerings, so he decided to cripple them by chopping them in half, in effect separating the two bodies.[35]

That is the story, though not yet told in a queer theoretical perspective. Emily and Carmilla could be understood as those creatures, which, as the myth suggests, desire the other half, the woman. Oliver Claes points out that Jelinek conceptualized the two women fused out of the conviction that men and women are sexually not made for each other, the fusion of two women seems to be the only way out. This reading draws a lot on interviews and author commentaries by Jelinek itself, an approach that has its pitfalls. The fusion of the two women does not seem to create a kind of female wholeness with clear-cut desire structures. One could try to link the creature, at least partly, to the third sex, to the 'androgynous' without neglecting the close relation of the women, without neglecting the female to female version of the myth. Within Greek mythology double creatures or creatures 'in-between' were not rare, there is the figure of Hermaphroditos, son of Hermes and Aphrodite that fused with the nymph Salamacis and became a hermaphrodite. In Plato's interpretation the androgynous creatures gain no importance, they vanish. Within Queer Theory this very figuration is, on the contrary, of high importance with regard to the understanding of different and quite complex and manifold forms of the human existence. Some of these forms become readable in Jelinek's text, we take one further example from a dialogue between Emily and Carmilla, where, above all, Emily posits herself

quite off key, quite "queer" compared to conventional ways of existences, quite in-between, taking the androgynous condition as a form of in-betweenness that exceeds aspects of sexual and gender-identity and goes further, draws identitarian strength and power out of different sources; Emily:

> We're not deficient. We're the undead, Carmilla! […] We can't reveal ourselves to be powerful. Our existence is styleless in irritating ways. We're only pseudo dead people. We're the worst. […] We're nor death nor life. […] Carmilla, will you understand, we are and are not! […] We mock creation. […] Now that nature is finally messed up, they're singing snappy songs about her. […] I go away. Then I produce myself over and over again by myself. (64–65)

This citation speaks for itself; Emily unites numerous traits of queerness and also of androgyny, she is neither the one, nor the other, she produces herself out of herself in an endless process, which is not only motivated by the fact that she is a vampire but also by the fact, that she is a writer, a creator, a *female* creator. Carmilla, differently, gains her identity out of sickness, which is also not a characteristic that is gendered per se, this kind of discursive hypochondria, performed by Carmilla, can be found with any person, regardless of his/her gender:

> I'm avoiding the formalities of a fatal illness. So I'm only sick as a mockery. I love to talk about my illness. […] (67) Sickness is beautiful. It's indispensable to me. I am sick, therefore I am. (68) I am a beautiful sick! Sick! Sick! Sick! (69)

Being sick is not the end, death is not the end. Although being wounded by their husbands/fiancés, and although having fallen down to earth, one cannot really be sure whether they died. The question is: Can they die? Vampires, according to their literary, mythic construction, usually are killed by getting a pale driven into their hearts or by sunrays. 'Modern' vampires, as they are constructed for example in the TV-series *Twighlight*, do neither fear sunrays, pales, crucifixes or what on earth used to be a means to kill them historically. One has to, as suggested in *Twighlight*, dissect them and then burn them. And in Jelinek's play there are no sunrays, no pales, only bullets, but filled neither with plumb nor with holy water. Though the hunters beg for the light to be turned on – a scene which could as well be understood as a further attempt to killing the creature, the woman vampire – the text does not inform the readers whether the light will be turned on. The hunters desire for light – and we do not know why they are so desperately calling for it – is not being fulfilled in the text. Hence, although the double-creature falls and lies still one does not know whether this creature is really the loser of the game, an interpretation, that is consequently formulated by the critique, or whether

the creature is the creator, the endless creator, who is sick and strong and dead and alive and double and bites and writes and therefore *is*.

4. The Play *Ulrike Maria Stuart*

The second play we are analyzing is *Ulrike Maria Stuart*, a play that was never published as a book but only staged, the first time in 2006. Since a typescript of the play exists we are able to both analyze the text itself as well as the production directed by Nicolas Stemann. While *Krankheit oder Moderne Frauen* is one of the plays that within secondary literature is often read as a text with strong feminist intentions – though it was never read "queer" like we tried to – *Ulrike Maria Stuart* is read and analyzed differently. The critics as well as the literary scholars focus on the topic of terrorism. Surely this topic is the central one in this play. Jelinek reveals the connection between violence and counter-violence and the connection between the brutality of language and the brutality of action. Also central is the question how a 'good ideology' turns into terrorism. All these topics were widely discussed in the media and society, especially in Germany but also in Austria in 2006 since two prominent members of the RAF (Red Army Fraction) appealed for clemency: Brigitte Mohnhaupt, who was sentenced to prison because of nine murders and several attempted murders, and Christian Klar, also sentenced because of several murders (Mohnhaupt was released in 2007, Klar in 2008).[36]

Hence this text does not deal as obviously with gender-topics as *Sickness or Modern Women* does. However, the reasons why we still did choose this text are manifold: first of all there are some interesting parallels between *Sickness or Modern Women* and *Ulrike Maria Stuart*. The most important one is the topic of the 'woman as creator.' Just as Emily, whose name refers to the writer Emily Brontë, is a writer too, Ulrike Maria Stuart is writing, similar to one of her antetypes, the journalist and later terrorist Ulrike Meinhof. Moreover, Ulrike Maria Stuart and her counterpart Gudrun, also called 'The Queen,' based on RAF-terrorist Gudrun Ennslin and Queen Elisabeth of England in the interpretation of Schiller, are both politically active. Both texts discuss the possibility if and how women are capable, better allowed to, 'create,' to 'wield power.' And in both texts this question is associated with 'maternity.' So *Ulrike Maria Stuart* is one more example to show that Elfriede Jelinek does refer to questions of sexual difference in nearly all of her texts. This of course happens quasi automatically since her texts are characterized through a genuinely deconstructive gesture. Thus her texts play with and challenge and shift and slip and hence 'criticize' binary oppositions of which certainly the socially constructed opposition men vs. women is one of the most important ones and therefore constantly target of

Jelinek's texts. Like Emily and Camilla, who are vampires and therefore 'undead people', Ulrike, the main 'character' in *Ulrike Maria Stuart*, dies at the beginning of the text, or better, is already dead at the beginning of the text, talking as a dead person.

One more reason why we chose this text is the staging directed by Nicolas Stemann. While in *Krankheit* Emily does 'usurp' the phallus, or the lesbian phallus, as we argued in keeping with Judith Butler, in this staging two men do usurp the vagina and, speaking of it, also maternity. Even if the dramatic adviser and the actors assured that this idea, in their opinion, is not motivated by any feminist, gender or queer theoretical considerations, the impact that is caused by their staging is at the same time problematic as it is multilayered and thus worthwhile getting scrutinized.

5. The Text – Maternity and Power

"Väter, sagt uns, ist die Mutter tot?"[37] ("Fathers, tell us, is mother dead?"; our translation[38]). With this question asked by the "princes in the tower" the play starts. And this very first sentence already gives an important clue for the reading of the text. The fathers, set in plural, interpret the woman, by and large, reduced to maternity. Of course things are not that simple in Jelinek's text and so the "choir of the old men" answers: "Nein, Kinder." ("No, children.") only to tell them that, in fact, she is dead. And they go on:

> […] überschätzen sollte man sie auch nicht, eure Mutter, ihre Theorien sind nur auf Sand gebaut, wahrscheinlich hat sie keine und behauptet alles, ohne vorher auch nur einmal nachzudenken, denn für die Frau stellt sich das Sinnproblem viel unausweichlicher und auch massiver als für Männer, ja, die Frauen haben ein Emanzipationsproblem dazu […]
> […] but also you shall not overestimate her, your mother, her theories are built on sand, probably she does not have any, claiming everything without reflecting only once, because for the woman the problem of the meaning of life is much more inevitable and massive than for men, yes, additionally women have an emancipation-problem […]

The protagonists in Elfriede Jelinek's play – like in all her plays – are on the one hand pluralistic and oscillating characters, changing their point of views all the time. On the other hand one, all of them speak about the same things in the same way. That is why the doubts whether women are able to develop a complex theory are not only perpetuated by male 'characters' but also by female ones, especially by Ulrike Maria Stuart. Another broadly discussed topic concerning women and their 'natural behavior' in the play is the impossibility of combining political and intellectual activities with maternity.

The need for power is not compatible with being mother, says Ulrike herself, addressing her sons, the 'princes in the tower': "Nicht mal euer Tod würde eurer Mutter ihren Thron vergällen, […]" ("Not even your death would embitter the throne to your mother […]").

One must not forget that Jelinek's characters are not reliable ones. Talking about maternity and power they only imitate clichés, twist and turn and hence at least partly deconstruct them. The text's approach is highly ambivalent when women are connected with maternity and revolution:

> […] Frauen sind ja immer starker als die Männer, und am starksten sind sie wohl als Mütter. Mütter bleiben sie. Und auch als Revolutionärin sind sie stark, das ist das Gegenteil von Mutter, die aus ihrem Stolz heraustritt, wenns ums Kind geht, die sich selbst vergisst bevor sie sich gekannt hat […] Diese Frauen! Mütter müssen sie ja immer sein, egal von wem.
> […] women are always stronger than men, and they are the strongest when they are mothers. Mothers they stay. And also as a revolutionary they are strong, that's the contrary of mother, who forgets her pride, when it comes to the child, who forgets herself before she even got to know herself […] These women! Mothers they always have to be, no matter of whom.

In this short example the impact of Jelinek's writing becomes visible: Throughout long passages the inferiority of women was (and will be) emphasized also by the character Ulrike Maria Stuart. But here she does talk about their strength. Of course this is combined with the cliché of the strong and self-forgetting mother but also with that of the revolutionary. This symbol for political activity is at the same moment again set against maternity. But the unreliability of the character is empathized also when she talks about mothers as forgetting themselves (using the term 'self-forgetting' literally) before they even get to know themselves. This example shows that different contradictory 'truths' are confronted with each other, thus revealing the construction of myths like 'maternity', the 'naturally given' differences between men and women etcetera.

Let us now point at some interesting parts of the text that form a connection to *Sickness and Modern Woman*. For instance, there is Ulrike Maria Stuart's lesbian relationship:

> Warum hast du es zum Schluß sogar mit einer Frau denn noch getrieben, also wirklich, Mami? Fragen die mich glatt. […] Nein, diese Frage, die beantworte ich nicht, die ist mir zu persönlich liebe Kinder, mit der Frau, da mein ich mich schon selber, […].
> Why did you even fuck a woman in the end? Was this really necessary, mommy? This they really ask me. […] No, I will not answer this question it is to personal, my dear children, with the woman I am referring to myself, […].

Not only the heteronormative sexuality, but also Ulrike's identity is thematized and subverted when the character itself questions his very sexual and gender identity: "[…] und keiner hätte euch erkannt, nicht mal der eigne Vater, bin das ich? Wahrscheinlich. Nein, doch nicht, ich bin vielleicht die Mutter, keine Ahnung." ("[…] and none of you would have been recognized, not even by your own father, am I the one? Probably. No, I am not, maybe I am the mother, no idea.") Both texts, moreover, do deal with the question whether women are able to 'create' (in *Sickness* also symbolized through Emily's strongly developed and active sexuality, through her acting as the 'maker', the 'doer' in the relationship with Carmilla, her 'manly' desire structure). This goes so far that Emily starts to compare herself with Jesus when she exclaims: "Ich bin der Anfang und das Ende" ["I am the beginning and the end."][39] Also Ulrike and Gudrun compare themselves with God and/or Jesus:

> […] du hast das bloß noch nicht kapiert, daß wir gar keine Menschen sind, wir sind viel mehr, die Menschen wollen wir erlösen in der Zukunft, […].
> […] you still did not get it. We are no humans, we are much more, we want to redeem the humans in the future […]. (Ulrike)
> […] ich könnt doch glatt ihr Jesus werden […].
> […] I nearly could become their Jesus" […]. (Gudrun)

Before we leave the text let us briefly reflect on the very end of it. An angel has the final words, an angel who towards the end appears a couple of times. The characterization of the angel in *Ulrike Maria Stuart*, normally a sexless being, indicates that we have to deal with a 'manly' figuration due to its macho attitude and macho views. In a very rude way he refers to all 'female failures', first of all to an implied lack of intellect: "[…], die blöde Fotze, Fotze, Fotze, die schnallt nicht, wie alle Weiber, die bloß keifen und die Typen anschreien können, es nicht schnallen, […]" ("[…], this stupid cunt, cunt, cunt, doesn't get it, like all skirts, who only are able to natter and shout at guys, don't get it"). Similar to the "choir of the old men" that in the beginning held the power to interpret the life and death of Ulrike, the manly angel at the end has the power to not only interpret the lives and deaths of Ulrike and Gudrun but also to foresee the future memory of them:

> […] man wird zwar in dreißig, vierzig Jahren noch von euch vielleicht mal reden oder Ausstellungen machen oder auch Symposien und Tagungen und Workshops, allerdings wird dort dann in seiner grinsenden Armseligkeit euer Gedächtnis doch erst recht nicht leben, […], nur das Vergessen ist auf eurer Seite, […], wie oft ihr noch das Bleiben wünscht, es ist euch nicht gegeben […].
> […] maybe in twenty, thirty years one will still speak of you or make exhibitions or symposia or conferences or workshops, however, in its grinning paltriness, the remembrance of you, will

> certainly no longer live, […] only the oblivion is on your side, […], no matter how often you desire to stay, you won't […].

In Jelinek's text the man has, again, the final words (similar to Illness, yet without the company of a gun), a circumstance which can be read as a strong and pointed critique on the manly dominance with respect to memory and/through (the power of) language.

6. The Play, Directed by Nicolas Stemann

Nicolas Stemann takes a lot of liberties staging Elfriede Jelineks text. In addition to the many cuts he undertakes he uses long passages from a discussion between Jelinek and the Austrian author Marlene Streeruwitz, published in 1997 in the feminist revue *Emma*. [40] Twice in the course of the play actors, disguised as giant vaginas, appear, quoting parts of the talk. The first time two female actors appear after a little more than 30 minutes, shortly after a voice from the off stage has announced the "Vaginamonologue by Elfriede Jelinek. Vagina monologue by Marlene Streeruwitz" (our translation). Additionally the talk is introduced as "[t]he vagina dialogues from Elfriede Jelinek and Marlene Streeruwitz". The allusion to Eve Ensler's [41] famous book does already incline the direction of the conversation: The same way as Ulrike and Gudrun are imprisoned in their ideology, Elfriede Jelinek and Marlene Streeruwitz are imprisoned in their feminist ideology. At the same time the authors are not able to loosen themselves from their assumed female identities.

Of course one can say that Nicolas Stemann only underscores what Jelinek herself very often did and still does emphasize, that the woman as singular fate does not exist. In one of her interviews given after winning the Nobel Prize Jelinek said: "Und deswegen kann man den Preis nicht nur für sich selbst annehmen, sondern als Frau muss man ihn als Mitglied einer unterdrückten Kaste, ob man will oder nicht, mit den anderen Frauen teilen. Da darf man nicht 'ich' sagen."[42] ("And hence one cannot only accept the Prize for oneself, but as a woman you have to share it with the other women as part of a suppressed caste, no matter if you want it or not. You must not say 'I'"; our translation) When Nicolas Stemann uses the following part of the discussion published in the journal *Emma* in his staging, one does not notice too much of a difference: "Man gesteht uns nicht zu, Ich zu sagen. Und im Grunde können wir es auch nicht." ("We are not allowed to say 'I' and basically we are not able to say it.") Moreover, one could claim that the 'speaking vaginas' are not only a personification of the 'vagina dialogue' but also a critique of the reduction of women to their biological sex. In her book *Ihre Welt bedeuten. Theater – Feminismus – Repräsentation* Katharina Pewny alludes to Jean-Pierre Vernants reading of the Medusa Gorgo:

> Das Spezielle der Vernant'schen Interpretationsweisen der Figur Gorgo ist die (unter Berufung auf die Abbildungen) vorgenommene Gleichsetzung von weiblichem Gesicht und Genitale. Ihr Anblicken rufe Schrecken und Lachen hervor. [...] Die Unverwechselbarkeit individueller unterschiedlicher Gesichter verschwindet hinter der Gleichsetzung unter dem Zeichen des weiblichen Geschlechts. [43]
>
> [The special approach of Vernant's interpretation of the figure of Gorgo is, under reference to the illustrations, the equalization of the female face with the female genital. Gazing at it evokes fear and laughter. […]The uniqueness of these individual and diverse faces vanishes behind this equalization under the sign of the female genital. (our translation)]

Thus, according to Katharina Pewny, every single female character, every individual trait is being erased through the equalization of the female face with the female genital. Moreover, the way the talk is cut by Stemann and only the most lamenting passages are used; the way the actors play and the combination of the ideological gridlocked 'protagonists' with the 'real' authors, together with the second appearance of the 'vaginas,' confirm the apprehensions that Nicolas Stemanns staging does not only support the intentions to subvert and criticize the patriarchal system, but also ridicules these.

What turns out to be even more problematic in the course of the staging is the second appearance of the vaginas. In this part of the play two men speak some passages of the discussion between Jelinek and Streeruwitz. First they talk about rage and resignation, afterwards, relatively extensively, about having children. On the one hand this element of travesty adds just another dimension to the pluralistic characters of the play. To exemplify this, let's have a quick look at the character of Ulrike Maria Stuart. In Jelinek's text she is, at least, a composition of the historical Maria Stuart, the Maria Stuart from Schiller, of Ulrike Meinhof and of an undefined author-figuration. With the first appearance of the vaginas Stemann added the 'real Elfriede Jelinek' to the character. With the second one he adds a kind of 'manly dimension' to it – whatever 'manly' would then signify in this context.

Yet, given the described scenario, another motive comes to the fore: the women who, only one hour ago, where talking about the impossibility of 'female creativity', are significantly substituted by men. Similar to what Elfriede Jelinek showed more than 25 years ago, namely in her first play *Was geschah nachdem Nora Ihren Mann verlassen hatte oder Stützen der Gesellschaften*[44] (*What Happened after Nora Left Her Husband, or Pillars of Society*[45]). In this play Weygang, one of the male main characters, not only answers questions in the place of Nora, but he also speaks in a mock voice. Thus he takes over and mutilates the voice of the woman at the same time. Similarly, in Stemann's Interpretation of Ulrike Maria Stuart, manly vaginas speak passages of the text where maternity becomes the central topic,

taking away the last domains of women. Taking away domains, voices, having the final say, characterizes what men do – be it at the moment when an angel, connected with the male terrorist Andreas Baader, has the final say and humiliates the female characters in the text, be it Nicolas Stemann himself who has the final say on stage, copying Weygang's behavior from *What Happened after Nora Left Her Husband, or Pillars of Society.* Stemann's use of the 'Jelinek wig' in the end of his staging beats in the same notch.

Although there is no way to prove that Nicolas Stemann's directing is characterized by deliberate anti-feminist implications, his partly unconsidered use of symbols connected with 'femininity,' usurped by characters that are staged as 'men,' is at least very problematic. Interestingly, one could read Stemann's strategy of substituting the female actors by male ones also quite differently, as a kind of queer travesty, however without a clear-cut idea or 'intention' behind it. The speaking vagina is, as we have emphasized above, per se a most ambivalent figuration, worth a lot of critical questioning with respect to the reduction of women to body parts. We can't discuss this in length here, but Stemann's putting together of the two images, 'female and male vaginality,' can be considered as taking part in the project of cross-dressing in order to stage crossed forms of gender-(performances) that reveal that gender is constructed, performative and thus contingent. Stemann's staging is a dissonant one, is one that *also* transgresses sexual norms and hence can *also* be read, at least partly, as a non-straight, oblique figuration, taking into account all the ambivalences that lie in this figuration and interpretation.

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4. Cf. Spanlang, *Elfriede Jelinek. Studien zum Frühwerk*, 158–166.

5. Cf. Elfriede, Jelinek (1980), *Die endlose Unschuldigkeit*, Schwifting.

6. Cf. Jelinek, *Die endlose Unschuldigkeit*, 49; cf. Allyson, Fiddler (1994), *Rewriting Reality. An Introduction to Elfriede Jelinek.* Oxford/Providence: 40–42.

7. Jelinek, *Die endlose Unschuldigkeit*, 49. [our emphasis]

8. Cf. Jelinek, *Die endlose Unschuldigkeit*, 49, cf. Fiddler, *Rewriting Reality. An Introduction to Elfriede Jelinek*, 40–42.

9. Alexandra, Heberger. (2002), *Der Mythos Mann in ausgewählten Prosawerken von Elfriede Jelinek*, Osnabrück, 26 f. Marlies Janz calls her approach a

"Mythendestruktion," a destruction of myths. (Marlies, Janz (1993), "Mythendestruktion und 'Wissen'. Aspekte der Intertextualität in Elfriede Jelineks Roman *Die Ausgesperrten*," *Elfriede Jelinek*, hg. von Heinz Ludwig Arnold, München: 38–50).

10. Cf. Jelinek, *Die endlose Unschuldigkeit*, 49.

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Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 2(1), 2012, pp. 87–101, ISSN 2164-0262

A. S. Byatt's *Possession* and Its Critique of Academic Obsessive Interests

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ABSTRACT. The present paper is an attempt to explore the multiple-layered structure of A. S. Byatt's *Possession* (1990).The author labels this novel as 'romance' and indeed it is deservedly so since the main line of action in the book centers on an ardent love affair going on between two academics and their desperate and painstaking attempts to secure a position in the competitive world of the academy, a point the novel is at pains to unravel and finally fulfill. Subsumed under this main rubric are many topics such as the pretensions and even absurdity of the academic interests, the exigencies of criticism and writing biographies, the relation between the past and the present and above all the author's oblique and sometime overt irony and sarcasm of the secondariness of the whole critical enterprise. The book is exemplary in representing the tenets of metafiction and postmodernistic handling of the artistic material. As such a reference will be made to the innumerable allusions and intertextuality of other texts, both past and contemporary.

Keywords: possession, critical, creative love, academic

1. Preliminary Remarks

One of the convenient approaches in dealing with a text like the present one is the interdisciplinary one in estimating both the technical and thematic aspects of Byatt's novel, *Possession*. A reference to similar works is also useful as this novel is in line with a tradition already present in contemporary fiction: the campus novel and its diversifications. In her illuminating and insightful article, "People in Paper Houses," A. S. Byatt identifies the difficulty of "reporting speech in a land where understatement is the normal style of all classes, and how facts have an unreal, almost satirical ring when committed to paper" (Byatt: 1979, 41).

Although ostensibly talking about the predicament of the contemporary British novelist divided between commitment to the Victorian tradition and

the modernistic devices and technical innovation, Byatt refers to her own mode of writing and the hard choices to be made out of a plethora of literary devices. In many interviews held with her, she reiterates the view that her interest lies in exploring the theoretical and abstract rather than the actual. She admits, for instance, that "I'm more interested in books than people and I always expect everybody else to be, but they're not" (Stout: 1991). Moreover, she finds that her view of life and objects around her is marked by the keen realization that nothing is certain or conclusive. In this semi-Derridean assertion, Byatt puts forth her intellectual stand regarding the states of mutation and unpredictability which are the hallmark of existence as seen by this brilliant writer "Never stop paying attention to things," argues she, "Never make your mind up finally" (Bray: 2006).

A close reading of her *Possession*, the book that won the Booker Prize, shows that her interest is equally divided between artistic and literary materials on the one hand and presenting convincing characters of flesh and blood on the other. Writing in the same line of Iris Murdoch, whom she admires very much, Byatt draws our attention to the invaluable significance of tradition in formulating the present. Needless to say, such views bring to mind T. S. Eliot's renowned article "Tradition and the Individual Talent" (1919). For instance, she does not conceal her excessive admiration of the Victorian figures and thinkers. In fact, the whole book is a sort of homage to Victorian poet Robert Browning. Elsewhere she tells the reader about how much this name has impressed her "I love Browning in a way I love nobody in the period this novel is set in, except perhaps Rodin" (Leith: 2009). Indeed, Browning is the prototype of Randolph Henry Ash, the Victorian poet of the 1880's in her *Possession* about whose life and secret love affairs the events of the present novel revolve. In one of the relevant passages of this novel, Randolph Ash asserts the possessing role of the past, how it engrosses and overshadows the present. As he states, "A lifetime study will not make accessible to us more than a fragment of our own ancestral past, let alone the aeons before our race was formed. But that fragment must thoroughly possess and hand on" (Byatt: 1990, 104); this prioritization of the past compared to the instability of the present represents the fulcrum in her fiction which generally engages a constant space in her creative and critical texts. Apart from this consistent line of her thinking, there are other points the reader of the novel comes across. For instance, the mythological, fantastic and starkly realistic elements dominate the novel inextricably. This curious blend of different modes of writing is a means used by the author to present her image of the complex modern world in which she lives. Once again her own views and insights are helpful in illuminating this particular point. She tells us in one of her interviews that "a great novel, all the novels that love leap out, it tries to understand what the world is and out it together in a new shape" (Byatt, 2000: 85).

Technically speaking, *Possession* capitalizes on presenting both the interior lives and consciousness of the different characters and the outside world with its challenges and surprises. In other words, the plot in the traditional sense of the word is at work here and in fact much of the interest of the novel lies in these lines of action and how the author manipulates them to their final conclusion. As such, Byatt's novel stultifies the view that berates the role of the plot in affecting the action such as the one that claims "with or without your kind permission, I will kick the word plot right in the sea, hoping that it will sink and never reappear" (Vivian, 42). The plot in Byatt's novel is obviously rehabilitated and enjoys a prime position in channeling the events and themes. A further point is felt in her obsessive preoccupation with the linguistic medium and its success or failure in materializing the visions and perceptions swarming in the author's mind. Because of all this, one could give a generalization about her writing and art with a pinch of salt as seen in the argument stressing the contradictions and ambivalences "as the only central or authentic trait of her art" (Franken, 20).

In its general framework, *Possession* belongs to the campus novel established by postwar novelists and critics such as C. P. Snow, Malcolm Bradbury and David Lodge. One of the postulates of this fiction is that its world usually centers around the university and its academic interests. A representative example in this regard is Lodge's series of novels like *Nice Work*, *The Author, the Author* and *Deaf Sentence*. All these novels choose the academy as the center of their attention. Given all these, it is not surprising to find that *Possession* presents its characters as being preoccupied by one invariable obsession: the two love letters Roland Michel finds by chance in one of Ash's books kept in the library. They are originally addressed to his sweetheart, Christable LaMotte. That he conceals this from his supervisor who is interested in the same poet is indicative of his selfish interests and inner realization that scholarship becomes a furtive act if not a mystery to be kept hidden. Indeed the structure of the novel shows that it carries the elements of suspense and mystery. Herein lies the success of the novel as it combines the entertaining and intellectually stimulating. The mystery that ensues here is eventually resolved in the graveyard where the American academic, Mortimer Cropper, is found digging the grave of the dead poet in search of a box of letters buried with him.

This brief account of some of the events in this novel shows that it is indeed a campus novel in every sense of the word since the main action does not move beyond the academic corridors. Although the author herself has prioritized her creative faculty to the critical one, it is evident that she has a first-hand experience of the academic world and its foibles and shortcomings. As she vigorously defends herself, "I am not an academic who happens to have written a novel. I am a novelist who happens to be quite good academically" (Stout: 1991). This intertwining between the factual and fictive, historical and

imaginative has driven critics to categorize the practitioners of such fiction as "fabulators," whose interest lies in exploring states of "consciousness, dream, illusions" (Parrinder: 410).

That *Possession* hinges on the presence of two letters and their formidable impact on the lives and destinies of the characters in question brings the book in line with many texts written in this tradition. The first and perhaps the most famous one is Henry James's long tales *The Aspen Papers* and *The Figure in the Carpet* where the minor characters are involved in a frantic pursuit of the legacy of dead writers and possibility of moral gain once this mystery is resolved. Of course in both James's customary irony is pungent as the final conclusion turns the action upside down. In William Golding's *The Paper Men* (1984), once again the academic pursuit takes the form of mystery and detection. The one who undertakes this task is a biographer involved in a frenzied game of hide and seek with the pugnacious novelist, Barclay. Here the pursuer is the biographer while the one pursued is the creative writer. Indeed the biographer does his utmost best and resorts to all possible means to gratify his thirst for information about his subject. This almost morbid obsession of the biographer with the creative writer's most intimate and private matters drives William Golding himself to write his prose work, *A Moving Target* (1982) which satirizes this phenomenon relentlessly. Here Golding sees the creative writer not as a human being, but a prey to be chased or a booty to be won, irrespective of the grave repercussions this may incur. As he puts it, "the graduate student proposed I should bare my soul, answer all her questions, do all work, and should write the thesis on me" (Golding: 145). The contemporary Italian semiotician and novelist, Umberto Eco, dabbled in this form in his famous novel, *Name of the Rose* (1980). The whole book draws its momentum from the strenuous search for old manuscripts whose information leaves a formidable impact on the course of events.

The general tone of *Possession* is pessimistic and the characters are subject to contingencies due to the author's belief in determinism, the philosophy that her friend Iris Murdoch, has already expounded in her fiction. A. S. Byatt does acknowledge this salient point in her fiction in the interviews held with her. For instance, she acknowledges in one of these her view that "I'm a naturally pessimistic animal and there's a sort of innocence in these people" (Leith: 2009). This overriding tone is felt through the actions of the characters in this novel, whether in the past or present – Ash, Ellen (his wife), Miss Blanch Glover (his sweetheart), Christabel La Motte (his soul mate), Roland, Val, Maud Bailey, Cropper and Leonera Stern. All these find themselves running in a vicious circle in search of love, scholarship or gratifying a senseless pride. Such a world appears like an impasse where the egress is next to impossible. In this particular point, Byatt seems to be in line with many modernists such as Ernest Hemingway or Scott Fitzgerald. If

the characters of these two American novelists seem to be smarting under arbitrary and uncontrollable circumstances, Byatt's characters are involved in auspicious moments when Roland discovers the two letters which herald a new stage in his life in terms of job opportunities or love affairs. The book also suggests that scholarship is a sort of enslavement and only such rare moments as the ones Roland has can set man free from its trammels.

2. *Possession* in Brief

Possession hinges on a very simple and negligible event: the incidental discovery of two original letters written by the dead Victorian poet, Randolph Henry Ash. It is the postgraduate researcher, Roland Michel, who is lucky enough to find these which represent a radical turning-point in his career. Under normal circumstances, the proper place for such letters either the museum or the records in a decent university. However, in Roland's case, given the surmounting sense of inferiority he feels toward others, his reaction is devoid of any moral responsibility when he treats them as his possession. However, the reader of the novel perceives the whole spectrum of idiosyncrasies, moods, conflicts and wills. Roland at the beginning seems smarting under the condescending and sometimes bullying tone of the Randolph Ash's professor, James Blackadder. This unequal relation between a fresh member in the academy and an old name and authority (Blackadder) could be taken as one reason for his undisciplined attitude toward his possessing his of such historical letters for purely selfish reasons. On the private life, Roland's life is no less obscure and miserable as he lives with his school mate, Val, amidst all sorts of misery and abject dependence on her. He keeps applying for better jobs in Britain and abroad, and his attempts do not succeed for the time being. His speculations reveal his state of discontent and dissatisfaction:

> When she was not in a mood, when she was apathetic, she opened tins or boiled eggs, or at most dressed an avocado. When she was either cheerful or very hungry, she cooked. She stood at the sink, chopping courgettes and aborigines, when he came in, and did not look up, so he surmised that the mood was bad. (15)

In fact the details of her life, given in retrospect, show that she belongs to a very miserable background. Her mother, we gradually learn, is divorced, depending totally on social security. She has to fend for herself and her boyfriend, Roland, to enable him to get his Ph.D. She admits that she is not up to Roland's expectations, "I don't know why you should want me. I'm no good, but you do" (13).

These unfavorable, if not baffling circumstances, in Roland's life serve as catalyst for his future action – the purloined letters. Since the moment of that discovery his life undergoes a radical change. In terms of romance, Roland finds himself attracted to Dr. Maud Bailey, who turns out to be the great-great-great grand daughter of Christabel LaMotte, the one Randolph Ash is in passionate love affair with. All his sense of inferiority in academic rank and prestige will be over as he gets a good job and a beautiful friend.

If we leave aside this line of the complex structure of the book, we notice that the novel elaborates an equally interesting, albeit minor one, such as what has been going on between the Victorian figures whose love is no less controversial and problematic: Randolph, Ellen and Christabel LaMotte. If the contemporary feminist, Maud, as been involved with a passing love affair with Roland's rival, Fergus Wolff, and a lesbian love affair with Dr. Leonora Stern, the same holds true to Randolph Ash. Carrying on a totally mechanical marital relation with Ellen, Randolph feels irresistibly attracted to Christabel LaMotte who shares him his poetic and scientific interests. Moreover gets involved with Blanche Glover, a spinster, who soon commits suicide after giving birth to a child. In other words, the novelist draws an interesting line of doubling or correspondence between the past and present. It is, if one puts it in another statement, a process of matching or counterpart where the present reenacts and lionizes the sense of the past. All our actions, the book seems to suggest, are simply a reproduction of what has been going on ever since times immemorial.

Along with these lines, the novel explores the dedication of the academic figures in their ceaseless search for any details that might help the work even though this might be done at the expense of integrity and disinterestedness. James Blackadder who is officially in charge of Roland's work has to give up his common inertia and get vigorously involved in the intricacies of pursuing the minutest details in the letters and diaries of the late Randolph Ash. The American Mortimer Cropper does in fact practice the role of the consecrator of graves and his raison de d'être is fair enough: possessing the box of letters buried in Ellen's grave, Fergus Wolff plays the role of the rival, box in the academic circles and the sentimental one. It is Fergus who excels Roland and eventually is chosen for the job of lecturer. He has fleeting affairs with both Val and Maud, a point that fills Roland's heart with dismay once Fergus's name is mentioned. Fergus's role then is that of intensifying the sense of defeat and inferiority mounting in the main character, Roland. Such minor characters appear to be like birds of prey, seeking desperately for the catch whether alive or deep buried in the grave. The appropriation of such public belongings, then, becomes natural as such a catch can be the easiest possible means of material and moral success, although the act itself is indicative of deplorable lack of principles and codes of

behavior. The possession here of such letters brings benefits and prestige for the characters involved – Roland and Maud.

3. The Main Argument

The above-mentioned account of the relations and events in *Possession* does not give the book its due of recognition and estimation. Indeed it is one of the rare books in which the author tackles many topics concurrently. Among these, and perhaps the most salient one, is the unmistakable emphasis laid on the writer's reserved view of the academic world, although she herself is not an insider. The book shows all sorts of stratagems and roundabout and even crooked ways of getting the desired goal. The book bristles with such situations and attitudes that intensify this particular point. At one point in the development in the plot, literary critics, we are told, "even can make natural detectives" (237). In fact the author is not content with 'telling' the reader about the foibles of such people. Rather she dramatizes this streak in virtual situations. For instance the conduct of Fergus Wolff is representative of how some people are totally engrossed with or even 'possessed' by figures like Freud. We learn that

> He used to quote Freud at six in the morning. Analyzable, Terminable and Interminable. He got up very early. He used to prance round the flat-with nothing on-quoting Freud" (271).

Also the book shows that the world of academy is furtive, secretive, conspirational, pique and utterly narcissistic. It is described by Maud – "All scholars are a bit mad. All obsessions are dangerous. This one's got a bit out of hand" (332). In other situations, the author's implicit irony about the academic pretensions and petty dreams is felt in both authorial narrations and conversations between her characters. The solicitor, Toby, magnifies the issue of discovery as perceived through the eyes of the academics so that the public and private planes of experience get intermingled:

> I've got involved in the most ferocious wrangle about a correspondence between dead ports that some one's just discovered. The Americans have offered my client huge sums for the manuscripts… The Englishman says it will change the face of international scholarship. They only get to see specimen letters at a time… I've had TV journalists and gossip columnists phoning in. The English professor has gone to see the Minister for the Arts. (415)

The interest in the academic world and its prerequisite is obviously limitless in this book. The pursuit of scholarly matter is at times ferocious and at odds

with basic norms. Cropper, the American scholar and biographer of Randolph Ash, offers "a blank cheque" to get the objects of the pursuit. However, he "loves them most" (486). Eventually this obsession drives Cropper to take the most outrageous conceivable act: digging up the graves of Ash and his wife in search of the box of letters (439). It is one of the bizarre situations in the whole book and perhaps Byatt's fiercest attack of such mean devices of attaining scholarly distinction. The dialogues are rife with such unparalleled situations with their grotesque and uncanny situation. The puzzlement of those involved is absolute:

> How are we to stop him? said Blackadder, "Tell the police? Complain to Robert Dale Owen University? Confront him? He'd brush off the last two, and the first is a bit ridiculous – they've not got the men to mount guard at a grave for the next few months. If we put him off now, he'll just give up graciously and try later. We can't get him deported. (484)

It is through these and the different recurrent passages describing the absurdity of the critical enterprise that Byatt embodies its world as that of amusement and ridicule, full of insipidity and sometimes malice. In the state of the late poet, Ash, owned by Sir George Bailey, we learn that the academics spend a lot of time excavating and exhuming dead bodies of the past. From the view-point of an outsider, Sir George, the whole project is actually meaningless:

> Funny way to spend your life, though, study another chap's versifying. We had a sort of poet in this house once. I expect you'd think of her. Terrible, sentimental stuff about God and Death and the dew and fairies. Nauseating. (78)

What is more, the novelist gives her half-serious verdict of the activities of critics and biographers. Such people are compared to "ghouls and vultures" (462) from which the creative writer is advised to keep way. Indeed this the gist of the matter in Ann Bradstreets's argument in her very interesting poem *The Author to Her Book* (1678). She warns her would-book "in critics' hands beware thou dost not come/ And take thy way home where thou art not known" (Kennedy & Geogia, 720). In this book even after death, the poet cannot rest in peace as seen in the efforts of the biographers.

Another relevant aspect of the academic life shown in this novel, apart from its narrow interests, is its field of activity, compared to the creative one. As already shown in *Possession*, there is an insoluble link or inter-dependence between the creative (represented by Ash and La Motte) and the critical (represented by the group of feminists and biographers trailing behind the mysterious life of the Victorian poet and his entourage. A situation of this sort provides the author with a vantage point for perceiving and even-

tually assessing the critical enterprise with a reasonable degree of detachment and objectivity. No doubt the dedication of such scholars and seriousness is laudable and commendable as seen in the different moves and attitudes of the academic figures. However, the novel does criticize the extravagancies of such people as felt through the adverse reactions of those witnessing their activities. Byatt's ironic comments on the tenets of postmodernism and its claims of the absence of the ego or meaning are striking and in fact endow the book with a humorous and light touch. When the academic Roland finds himself infatuated to another academic (Maud, the feminist), he speculates and even questions the validity of the academic premises that the self is simply a construct, non-existent in actuality:

> Roland had learned to see himself, theoretically, as a cross-place for a number of systems, all loosely connected. He had been trained to see the idea of his 'self' as an illusion, to be replaced by a discontinuous machinery and electrical message of various desires, ideological beliefs and responses, language-forms and hormones and pheromones…. But he wondered much of the time, what their mute pleasure in each other might lead. (424)

Needless to say, this is Byatt's most flagrant condemnation of the claims of those who question the existence of the self or reality, for that matter. Norman Mailer, as representative of those Byatt challenges, has already raised such ticklish questions in one of his novels, *The Man Who Studied Yoga*, "Martin asks Sam if he has given up his novel, and Sam says, Temporarily." He cannot find a farm, he explains. He does not want to write a realistic novel, because reality is no longer realistic" (Lodge: 1). If Roland is enmeshed by the risks of his own job as an academic, the same holds true to his Maud who never stops talking about "liminality. Thresholds. Bastions. Fortresses. Invasion" (506). In contemporary theory, the name of the French theorist, Gerald Genette looms here as it is he who talks about parallel texts and what surrounds it as seen in his influential book about "paratexts: thresholds, those liminal devices and conventions, both within and outside the book: titles, forewords, epigraphs and publishers" (Genette, 1). However, all this critical twaddle and hairsplitting will soon vanish once they are in bed together. The coolness of their abstraction will soon be replaced by the warmth of their bodies and souls.

The fact of the matter is that Byatt's novel as representative of the post-modernistic fiction provides the reader with a great amount of information regarding literary theory and its problematics, for instance, what sort of person is the creative writer? Should he /she rely on solely on the rational and plausible? Or is there a space for the irrational and plausible? A. S. Byatt, as a typical contemporary writer writing at the turn of the century, argues in a way that has nothing to do with Coleridge's famous dictum about

creativity" for he on honey dew hath fed/And drunk the milk of paradise." However, she does explore those twilight moments where the creative writer is half conscious of the process of writing. Also she recapitulates the Freudian jargon that creativity is inextricably entwined with the erotic. Hence the striking number of professed and concealed, legitimate and illegitimate relationships both in the Victorian Age and the contemporary one. In both the lives of the characters in question are boisterous and eventful. In one of Ash's letters addressed to his sweet Christabel La Motte, he presents this question almost in mystical terms. He expounds describing sentiments and powerful feelings that even the Victorian rigid norms can not curb or mitigate:

> I have called you, with even greater truth – my love…for I most certainly love and in all ages possible to man and most fiercely. It is a love for which there is no place in this world – a love my diminished reason tells me can and will do neither of us any good, a love I tried cunningly from, to protect you from, with all the ingenuity at my command. (Except complete silence, you will rightly say, which was out of my power). We are rational nineteenth-century beings, we might leave the coup de foudre do the weavers of Romances, but I have certain evidence that you know what I speak of. (193)

Ash's sweetheart, the poet Christabel LaMotte, is no less articulate about the creative-critical debate as seen through the number of letters and letters exchanged with Ash. In one of these she delves deep in the conscious and unconscious drives leading her to write, although at the end she expresses her dissatisfaction at the final outcome:

> I have no graces, and as for the wit you may have perceived in me when we met, you saw, you must have seen only the glimmerings and glitter of you own brilliance refracted from the lumpen surface of a dead Moon. I am a creature of my Pen, Mr. Ash, my Pen is the best of me… The Spider in the poem however, is not my Silken Self, but al altogether more Savage and businesslike sister…Would Poems came as naturally as Silk Thread. (87)

This wishful thinking about creativity remains essentially inaccessible. The act of writing is painstaking and self-consuming as seen through the strenuous efforts of Byatt in evoking those vivid moments of the Victorian life and practices along with their counterparts from contemporary sensibility. The book suggests that for all its pains and fiascos, creative writing remains worthwhile the effort as seen in the generations of scholars treading the steps of the creative writers and tracing every minutest detail in their lives. Creativity, as the book suggests, is the origin, the prototype, while the rest is

merely the echo, reverberating in different directions and various pitches, lacking the original radiance and tempo. In one of his poems, the Victorian Ash comments on the nature of creativity when he states:

> With lamias and dryads, mlusines
> And firedrakes, sparkling, sliding, wreathing on,
> We make commotion there and mystery
> Hunger and grief and joy and tragedy. (465)

Nevertheless, critics and scholars have their own moments of elation and pride. The act of reading which engages a great space in contemporary controversy is directly presented in *Possession*. The reason is obvious enough: the twentieth-century scholars are involved in one way or another in the process of reading and what illuminates its gaps or spaces. As such reading here is a key element in the whole book. It is no surprise, then, to find the author, herself a very perceptive and discerning reader, to stress the significance of close and in-depth reading as the sole means of coming to grips with the creative text:

> There are readings-of the same text-that are dutiful, readings that map and dissect, readings that hear a rustling of unheard sounds, that count grey little pronouns for pleasure or instruction and for a time do not hear golden or apples… There are – believe it – impersonal readings, where the mind's eye sees the lines move onwards and the mind's ear hears them sing and sing.
> Now and then there are readings which make the hair stand on the neck, the non-existent pelt, stand on end and tremble, where every word burns and shines hard and clear and infinite and exact, like stones of fire, like points of stars in the dark – readings when the knowledge that we shall know the writing differently or better or satisfactorily, runs ahead of my capacity to say that we know, or how. (471)

This excerpt, typical of many others in possession, can stand in its own right as a critical insight that is no less influential than any written by Iser, Fish or Jaus.

If we leave aside the issue of reading, *Possession* offers similar interesting views about the question of writing. In many situations, the reader's attention is driven to the argument to this effect. Arguing in semi-Derridean discourse, the book reminds us of the fact that writing is actually a process of rewriting, the same material in new molds. By implication, the authority of the author in such situations is marginalized, if not cancelled altogether.

All stories, my cousin, will bear telling and telling again in different ways. What is required is to keep alive, to polish, the simple clean forms of the tale which "must" be there…And yet to add something of yours, of the

writer which makes all these things seem new and first seen, without having been appropriated for private or personal ends. (350)

A crucial problem in the critical scene is the lack of correspondence between what is there in the mind and the verbal expression is again forcibly present in *Possession.* Already T. S. Eliot has tackled this issue in his *The Hollow Men*, when he points out that:

> Between the conception
> And the creation
> Between the emotion
> And the response
> Falls the shadow. (Eliot: 16)

Byatt's contribution here is a reiteration and intensification of this view as she draws our attention to this very deep psychological problem, "whatever one had hoped to convey is lost in mists of impenetrability – and slowly in its readers" (167).

Creative writing and its sacrifices or anguishes is a question that has preoccupied critics and creative writers alike for a very long time. Many see it as a process of purging or sublimating act, bringing balance to many. At least this what Kafka sees in his appreciation of this uncommon phenomenon 'Writing,' argue his interpreters" is the only means by which he keeps hold on life" (Speirs & Sandberg, 30). Byatt neither shares the detrimental nor the exhilarating and sustaining role of creative writing. In her characteristic way, she sees the whole issue as ambivalent: a synthesis of joyous and painful feeling as she prepares her draft, "Many desire, but few succeed… and I would not recommend it as a way to contented life" (344).

The Freudian rationale about the full engrossment with the topic (Roland-Maud's pursuit of the lives of Randolph and Christabel) is exemplified here through the different reactions and attitudes of the actants. Byatt's argument here is as follows "It is only when a person is completely in love that the main quota of libido is transformed on the object and the object to some extent takes the place of the ego" (430). This psychological exchange is exemplified in the indefatigable search for any place or object Randolph and Christabel have treaded upon, possessed, or written.

That A. S. Byatt can combine all these themes in one seamless whole is by itself a great achievement. The multifariousness does not rest in content only. Rather it encompasses the structure as well. Indeed her structural and thematic layout is in line with what Alan Kennedy recommends as the convenient type of fiction, "In order to work on behalf of life, it must be necessary at times to work against the prevailing order" (Kennedy: 64), and that is what Byatt actually does in her feat, *Possession.* She has narrated and shown the different manifestations of the creativity-criticism dialectics and a keen sense of nostalgia for a lost past which is no longer in existence en

passant, the philosophical and intellectual principle the books develops brings to mind Iris Murdoch's view of life and how human being are actually at the mercy of a predominating deterministic philosophy. Life appears in such fiction as a sort of riddle enveloped by confusion, brevity and countless distractions. Although she expresses her admiration of Murdoch's faculty of "expunging of the self from the work of art" (Johnson: 19), it seems that keeping her own personal experience at bay is next to impossible as felt through the different destinies of her characters. If one considers this side and read her novel, it transpires that some of the pessimistic becomes clear. As her biographers tell us, Byatt lost her only boy (11 years old) in a car accident by a drunkard driver. This ineradicable experience will always overshadow her fiction and her perception of human experience. The characters in *Possession* reiterate such gloomy thoughts as they express their unhappy situation in life. The Victorian Randolph Ash pinpoints this predicament in the following:

> In certain moods we eat our lives away
> In fast successive greed; we must have more
> Although that '*more*' depletes our stock
> Of *time and peace remaining*…
> We feel our way
> Along this bright chain of curiosity
> Which is become our fetter…
> We cease as in his thrilling bridal dance
> The male wasp finds the bliss and swift surcease
> Of his small time 'n the air. (476)

So writing poems attributed to Victorian men and women, letters, and diaries is evidence of Byatt's brilliant success in making the reader visualize the striking differences between two ages: the Victorian and the contemporary. All this is evidence of her ability to put into practice Keats's famous dictum of 'The Negative Capability,' where the author assumes the identity of the figure or emotion he/she describes or writes about. If Byatt has been seen as simply "didactic and long-winded with little sense of structure and no elegance" (Massie: 19), her present novel rules out such charges and shortcomings. There is always a sense that while reading Possession that its author is dilettante and well-versed. In her case, reading fiction is not simply to pass time. Rather it a sort of intellectual and epistemological pleasure. Obviously she is knowledgeable in more than field: history, philosophy, anthropology, linguistics, criticism and aesthetics. It is this successful synthesis of such disciplines that Bernard Bergonzi recommends for the good novel "What counts is the finished work, in which disparate materials are transmitted by the author's imagination into a new imaginative unity" (Bergonzi: 240).

4. Conclusion

In sum, *Possession* proves itself as an unconventional novel whether in the plurality of themes or complex structure, felt though the superimposing the present on the past. Psychologically speaking, the novel succeeds in probing the egos of the characters in question. The action is not static, in vivid contrast to the modernistic type of fiction where the events are usually minimized and replaced by what goes on in the minds of the characters. Here the observable has its share of emphasis and foregrounding. Love and writing seem to be running hand in hand and the Freudian perceptions loom large here. There are moments of drama and surprising events in which people's destinies are subject to arbitrary and unpredictable circumstances. Byatt in general does not intervening the course of events. Rather she allows her characters to face their lots in an indifferent world as reflected in the painful situations of Balnche Golver (who commits suicide) or Val who has to adapt herself and concede continuously to the conditions of a very demanding milieu.

Pursuing the lives of the dead people in the way the book elaborates is not without serious repercussions as seen in the reactions of the characters involved in this frantic pursuit. It is by means of presenting those rare moments of anxiety, fear and competitiveness in the lives of her characters that Byatt shows us their existence as doomed for ever in a process of snatching, appropriating and coveting what is not their own. Hence the broad implications of the felicitous title chose here, *Possession*.

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Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 2(1), 2012, pp. 102–114, ISSN 2164-0262

Gender Pride as Tragic Flaw in Sophocles' *Antigone*

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ABSTRACT. This paper reexamines the source of dramatic conflict between Antigone and Creon in Sophocles' time-honored classic, *Antigone*. Whereas critics are wont to interpret the play as a case of the State against the individual as inferred from certain declarations and actions of Creon, the present study discovers, through a psychoanalytic study of Creon, that the dominant reason for which Creon does not want to be seen as buying Antigone's explanation for flouting Creon's edict and burying her brother is because she is a woman. Creon's attitude betrays his disregard for the female gender and haughtiness arising from his membership of what he considers the superior gender. Creon's eventual tragic end is finally propelled by his obstinate refusal to change grounds because, to him, that will constitute been beaten by a woman.

Keywords: gender, drama, psychoanalysis, criticism, Greek

1. Introduction

The dominant critical perception of the conflict in *Antigone* is that which sees it as one of the State, represented in the personality of King Creon, against the individual – Antigone. The tussle between Antigone and Creon has often been construed as one between political authority and individual conscience (Northrop Frye, 1990). Watson's (1983: 30) critique of the play propagates this views as he reiterates that the play "involves a very clear conflict between differing conceptions of law, between human law and a higher, more fundamental law." This may not be utterly wrong since Creon continually affirms throughout the course of the play that his authority would not be undermined without dire consequences attending whoever is the erring citizen. The decree that Polynices must not be buried is Creon's first official declaration in office and, under the circumstances, it would be understood if he claims it is imperative to let members of the royal household and the entire Theban populace realize that his orders are not to be trampled upon. At least that is

what he appears to be doing, on the surface. Only a closer look at Creon's attitude and a psychoanalytic review of his actions would reveal that a great deal of familial and sentimental considerations form the basis of this ruling and his subsequent actions in the play.

From the onset, it is quite obvious that the targets of Creon's law on the corpses of the two brothers are Antigone and Ismene since they are the only surviving relatives of the dead king Oedipus and consequently, of the two late brothers. The enmity and rivalry between Creon and Oedipus from *Oedipus Rex* does not end throughout the play and we see Creon's attempt at getting Oedipus through his children in *Oedipus at Colonus*. Thus the disposition of Creon to the children of Oedipus is one of hostility and hatred, indirectly and posthumously repaying their father for the unjust treatment meted out to Creon in the first play of the trilogy, *Oedipus Rex*. Besides, the circumstances surrounding the feud that leads to the death of the royal brothers involve Creon who assumes the throne as soon as Oedipus is deposed. Polynices ousts Creon and reigns till he is also overthrown by Eteocles, who chases away Polynices, his brother. It is possible that Creon would not forgive Polynices for humiliating him and may have even been involved in inciting Eteocles against his brother. Ordinarily, Eteocles has no reason to single-handedly rise against his brother since Polynices is older and therefore has greater right to the throne. The state burial Creon accords Eteocles afterwards lends credence to this suspicion.

Creon's intentions, whatever they are based on, are well shrouded and his claim that the state has to reward the loyal and punish the perfidious of the two brothers sounds plausible at the initial stage. Only as the story develops and the tension increases do we begin to discover that the reasons for Creon's obduracy when he should rescind his decision are embedded in his surreptitious and unconscious gender pride and sentiments. This posture, and the effect it has on the downfall of Creon are what we hope to delve into in the course of this paper with the aim to prove that Creon's real tragic flaw is his belief in masculine superiority and that his tragic end is catalyzed by his refusal to yield in a case where a woman would emerge, or appear to emerge, victorious.

2. Psychoanalysis as a Literary Theory

The classic work of Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams* and some others, now popularize the employment of psychoanalysis, known in literary parlance as psychoanalytic literary criticism, in the interpretation of creative works. Both literary critics and medical practitioners have relied on Freud's theories to construe the statements, actions and inactions of individuals they find worthy of attention. As a theory of literature, psychoanalytic literary

criticism, described by Ann Dobie (2012: 55) as psychological criticism, utilizes the principles of psychoanalysis in the evaluation of either character or author in a work of literature. The main thrust of the hypothesis, as put forward by Freud, includes the "theory of the primacy of the unconscious," the importance of dreams and *id*, *ego*, and the *super-ego* as principal factors underlying human mind constructs and actions. Psychoanalytic criticism, according to Chris Baldick (2008: 275) also seldom employs "various heretical versions" of psychoanalysis in the process of literary evaluation though he concedes that the Freudian version is the most used one.

The theory of the unconscious is about the most relevant to literary criticism of all the contents of the Freudian proposition of psychoanalytical theory as it informs a major part of what is done in the human unconscious though the individual involved may be oblivious of this fact. Dobie (2012: 56) analyses the working of the unconscious, as promulgated by Freud, that Because the conscious mind is not aware of its submerged counterpart, it may mistake the real causes of behavior. An individual may be unable to tell the difference between what is happening and what she thinks is happening. In short, our actions are the result of forces we do not recognize and therefore cannot control.

The unconscious in every human is often packed with societal ideologies, family values and experiences and other issues that often creep daily into the human mind unnoticed. Very often, ideas and perspectives that individuals may not readily declare in public reside latently in their unconscious and may not erupt for a period of time. To Hans Bertens (2008: 128),

> We may expect everything that is ideologically undesirable within a given culture to have found refuge in the unconscious of its members. If we see 'ideology' in psychoanalytic terms, that is, as the conscious dimension of a given society, then we may posit an unconscious where everything that ideology represses – social inequality, unequal opportunity, the lack of freedom of the subject – is waiting to break to the surface.

Oftentimes in the analysis of literary characters, it is discovered that their actions and/or inactions are mostly determined by the unconscious and sometimes by dreams as "symbolic fulfillments of unconscious wishes" (Terry Eagleton, 2008: 136) and sexuality. In the unconscious are often the negative notions of "gender, class, race, religion, sexuality and nationality" (Jonathan Cullen, 1997: 1196) which have to influence characters' decisions and utterances one way or the other. The theory of the unconscious has been applied in the evaluation of canonized literary characters such as Hamlet, Oedipus, and Macbeth, all tragic heroes whose attitudes are informed or misinformed by ideologies, aspirations and opinions latently inhabiting the unconscious quarters of their minds. Some critics also believe that the psychoanalytic

theory is more applicable to authors whose personal traits and experiences oftentimes form the source of their creative enterprise, albeit unconsciously.

The basis for this article is the investigation of the viability of the principles of psychoanalysis in the critical examination of Creon in *Antigone* by Sophocles. It is for this reason we have to undergo an explication of gender values and practices during the classical period in which the play is set in order to connect the place of these values and ideologies in Creon's unconscious to his actions, decisions and rulings as kings throughout the course of the play. Thus we find that the "ideologically undesirable" notions of gender and power in Creon's unconscious play fundamental parts in his reign and decrees which enhance his downfall. The standards of psychoanalysis are also relevant to an interpretation of what might be read as Antigone's Oedipal traits in her attachment (seemingly sexual) to her father and brother but that is beside the thrust of this paper and, except for the mention here, may not be treated into details. Psychoanalysis as a theory has been contested and has been "a source of fierce contention." Our bother here will not be to further the debate on whether the contents of the theory are apposite but an application of its tenets in deciphering the behavior of a character whose actions are obviously influenced by his unconscious.

3. Gender Relations in the Classical Greek Society

Gender issues are often raised in works of literature irrespective of the geographical origins of such works. What critics find as a point of similarity is the imbalance in the presentation of female gender issues in all the cultures and tribes of the world including the now civilized ones. Considerations of this subject have given rise to what is now known as gender criticism, an approach to literary criticism that is akin to gender studies. In the words of M. H. Abram (2005: 113),

> The basis of gender criticism is the premise that, while sex (a person's identification as male or female) is determined by anatomy, gender (masculinity or femininity in personality traits and behavior) can be largely independent on anatomy, and is a social construction that is diverse, variable, and dependent on historical circumstances.

Gender criticism is often conflated with feminist criticism and most works intended to be in gender studies always end up being an excursion in feminist criticism though attempts are made to develop fields of study such as men's studies or masculinity studies. Even when the theoretical basis for the present work is not solely gender criticism, we have deemed it fit to appraise gender issues in the society under discussion because they form the basis of the issues that are unraveled as the theory of psychoanalysis takes us to the character's unconscious.

Gender discrimination in roles, household duties, societal functions and even habitation forms part of the ethical composition of classical Greek people just as it is with the other cultures and tribes of the time. Greek women were unequal to their male counterparts in all matters of existence including religious worship, festivals and politics. In classical Greek societies, women were naturally confined to their homes with limited freedom to move around like men. Except for selected ceremonial functions, the women were expected to be in their homes where they run domestic affairs and take care of children. This dedication to family upkeep is expected to keep the women occupied and therefore excluded from public life. Sue-Ellen Case (2004) explains that

> … the rise of the family unit radically altered the role of women in Greek public life. Ironically, the important role women began to assume within the family unit was the cause of their removal from public life… since the Athenian women were confined to the house, (explicitly in the laws of Solon), they were removed from the public life of the intellect and the soul and confined to the world of domestic labor, childbearing and concomitant sexual activities.

Above all these, the women were also supposed to be subordinate to men without striving to be heard in a society that had gone completely patriarchal. Most of the restrictions placed on women in Greek societies apply to wives and daughters as well.

The male dominance of Athenian society extends to all aspects of societal and family lives including governance, sports, writing and the theatre. Key posts belonged to men and major actions were carried out by men leaving the women to be "good, and a slave, though the woman is said to be an inferior being, and the slave quite worthless" (Aristotle, 1997: 27). Thus Aristotle compares the inferiority of the female gender with the worthlessness of a slave. On the reflection of gender disparity in typical Athenian society, Worthen (2004: 16) notices that it extends even to the theatre and drama saying

Looking closely at both the drama and its performance can help us see how justice, power, and gender came to be arranged in Athenian society. Classical drama and theatre is replete with evidence of the astringent gender imbalance that characterized the Greek societies of the time. In the theatre, women are notably absent; feminine roles are played by boys and men, costumed as women. In the extant Greek drama texts, the themes and characterization often display the societal gender attitude of regarding members of the female gender as inferior to the male in all ramifications. In *Oedipus Rex* there is the practice of Levirate marriage which hands over a woman to her husband's successor the same way his property and position are handed over. In *Alcestis*, we see how Admetus cannily pushes his wife to die in his stead though she is later brought back to life on her way to Hades. The sufferings of the grief-ridden women of Troy in the face of a war caused by

masculine desires and contests in Euripides' *The Trojan Women* also form part of the representation of gender issues in Greek drama.

4. Gender Attitudes in Antigone and Ismene

Creon's ruling at the beginning of the play appears devoid of any gender bias since he states categorically that he merely desires to honor the loyal and patriotic Eteocles and serve out punitive measures to the traitor, though dead. However, the colossal penalty for transgressing the decree calls for closer examination as to whether Creon anticipates the flouting of his edict from certain quarters. Antigone is swift to decode Creon's intentions and she immediately confers with her sister that "It is against you and me he has made this order. Yes, against me" (1975: 127) Antigone considers this a travesty of the rule of law and insists that it is one's moral and civic rights to bury his/her dead relations. The ultimate death penalty for whoever buries Polynices is meant to scare dissidents away and also confirms that Creon really desires that Polynices be "… left unburied, left to be eaten/ by dogs and vultures, a horror for all to see." (131) It is a strange kind of punishment that offends the sensibilities of human beings yet Creon insists that the terms are not negotiable.

The burial of Polynices rapidly follows the order and things happen in quick succession thereafter; Sentry comes to report the burial with a claim of anonymity of the perpetrator in the first report. After hearing of life-threatening consequences of not producing the culprit from Creon, Sentry uses his own strategy, as he later boasts, and comes back to the Theban palace a second time with the criminal – Antigone. The discovery that Antigone is the offender brings mixed reactions from different angles but not from Creon who sternly insists that the law respects no one and that the implications of disobeying his command have been clearly spelt out initially.

Ismene is apparently more gender sensitive than Antigone drawing from her instant reaction to Antigone's proposal that they should not allow their brother's corpse to lie unburied on the ground. Her response betrays her congenital gender submissive stance as she explains to her sister that

> …we are women; it is not for us /To fight against men; our rulers are stronger than we, /And we must obey in this, or in worse than this. /May the dead forgive me, I can do no other /But as I am commanded; to do more is madness. (1975: 128)

Ismene's position here is definitely a reflection of societal expectations from women in their time. She thus withdraws from the struggle and steers clear of trouble for the dual reasons of her gender and citizenship. This leaves Antigone alone with the crucial decision of choosing between obeying Creon and burying her brother.

For Antigone, there are no points to consider at all – Polynices must be buried against all gender and civic obstacles. Antigone seems not bothered by the constraints of her gender vis-à-vis societal expectation of docility in women and tells her sister that it is their duty to bury their brother and prove themselves worthy of their "high blood" (1975: 127). Beyond the prejudices of her immediate environment, Antigone esteems the law of the gods and her duty to the dead of greater import than any obnoxious ruling made by Creon and she tells Creon this to his face that

> I did not think your edicts strong enough
> To overrule the unwritten unalterable laws of
> God and heaven, you being only a man.
> They are not of yesterday or today, but everlasting.
> Though where they came from, none of us can tell.
> Guilty of their transgression before God
> I cannot be, for any man on earth (1975: 138).

This evidently is the thesis statement of Antigone's actions throughout the play. Whereas Ismene perceives the issue mainly as a gender tussle where women are bound to fail, Antigone sees the matter as choice between obeying the law of God and the law of man. Man in her sense of usage here means human being, thereby juxtaposing the law of god and the law of human authorities. Antigone is focused on this, obdurate and rather gender insensitive. For a play like *Antigone* described by Sue Blundell and Nancy Rabinowitzs (2005) as "set in an age when females were generally denied a public voice," Antigone's attitude is palpably queer, courageous and lacks gender bias altogether. She does not see herself as a woman fighting men in a male dominated and patriarchal world, rather she sees herself a human being teaming up with the gods to battle human oppression and injustice to fellow human beings. Thus Antigone's perspective of the conflict is that between the ethereal and the natural, between the physical and transcendental forces governing the universe. However, Creon's understanding of the situation is in sharp contrast to this.

5. Gender Pride in Creon's Unconscious

There seems to be a consensual agreement by critics that the flaw in Creon which culminates in his fall is his pride and overblown ego. The general opinion is that

> The theme of pride and its disastrous consequences is here… Even when confronted by a prophet who has never been in error, Creon cannot back down. Creon has so much faith in his own sense of order that he cannot imagine the god's will being any different from his own sense of right and wrong.

This attitude of pride might have been propelled by a combination of his unexpected rise to the same throne from which he has suffered visceral hatred and a choleric nature that deprives him of good judgment more often. Creon's enthronement as the king of Thebes is occasioned by the tragic death of curse-laden Oedipus and the consequential tussle for the throne by the two royal brothers. Their death in battle on the same day leaves the throne vacant a second time and the next of kin, Creon, is left to assume the kingship. The kingship instantly affects Creon's opinion and estimation of himself and this is expected for, according to Northrop Frye (1990: 147–148), theirs

> is a society held together by a kind of molecular tension of egos, a loyalty to the group or the leader which diminishes the individual, or, at best, contrasts his pleasure with his duty or honor. Such a society is an endless source of tragic dilemmas like those of Hamlet and Antigone.

Thus Creon demands absolute loyalty and obedience from all and sundry without any regard for the nobility of other citizens of Thebes who also deserve respect. His first official proclamation reveals that he is set to rule with iron hand and crush whoever stands in his way of absolute leadership. This insensitive approach and pride can be subtly detected in the offhand manner with which he commands the Chorus at the beginning to ensure that his order on the burial of the two brothers be kept;

> CHORUS: Creon, son of Menoeceus, You have given your judgment for the friend and for the enemy. As for those that are dead, so for us who remain, Your will shall be law.
> CREON: See then that it be kept.
> CHORUS: My Lord, some younger will be fitter for that task.
> CREON: Watchers are already set over the corpse.
> CHORUS: What other duty then remain for us?
> CREON: Not to connive at any disobedience. (1975: 132)

These utterances of Creon smack of pride and arrogance and even when the Chorus promptly corrects him that the instruction should have been for younger citizens he has no apology, he only states further that they should avoid any act of connivance.

Creons relations with Haemon his son and Teiresias the blind seer further lend more credence to the claim that his behavior upon assuming the throne is characterized mainly by pride. After the altercation between him and Haemon his son, it becomes obvious that there is sense in Haemon's word and the Chorus advises Creon to consider it but Creon rhetorically queries that "Am I to take lessons at this time of my life from a fellow of his age?" (1975: 146). This question is an index of Creon's frame of mind and the underlining feature of all he does, even with other characters. Creon's disregard for other human beings reaches its apex in his treatment of Teiresias

whom Creon naturally assumes is out to beg for money. The proud assumption that his wealth and influence are what attract Teiresias hinder Creon from listening to the vision and prophecy of the blind prophet until it is too late and the looming tragedy can no longer be averted.

If Creon has no respect for his subjects both young and old and Teiresias the messenger of the gods, to say his attitude towards that of the opposite gender is that of pride is to state the obvious. Even though slightly veiled, Creon's gender pride is the most pronounced of all his negative attitudes throughout the entire play. Upon the discovery that Antigone is the dissident that Creon is looking for, he attempts to break the pride and will power with which she confronts him and owns up for the deed. Creon's gender pride first surfaces in the argument between both of them:

> ANTIGONE: My way is to share my love, not my hate.
> CREON: Go then, and share your love among the dead.
> We'll have no woman's law here, while I live. (1975: 140)

The problem here is undoubtedly not with the idea of sharing love put forward by Antigone but with the fact that the speaker is only a woman and she does not seem to recognize the fact. It is clearly revealed then that Creon is prejudiced against women and would not tolerate any act he considers as insubordination from their part. Before giving the final verdict on Antigone's offense, Creon first confines her indoors within the palace, describing there as "the proper place for women" (1975: 142). This statement emanates from Creon's unconscious, revealing societal and prejudicial belief that women are to constantly remain indoors and not meddle in the affairs of State since those are the responsibilities of the men. Thus Creon's gender sensitivity is hinted at early in the play. Later as the play develops, we find that Creon is highly uncomfortable with the fact that Antigone is neither tractable nor pliable and is determined to bring her to her knees anyhow.

At the initial stage of the discourse between him and Haemon, Creon claims that the need to maintain political authority is the reason for his insistence on punishing Antigone. To this end he explains that "He whom the State appoints must be obeyed /To the smallest matter, be it right – or wrong." (1975: 144)

This absolutist statement of Creon's opinion of kingship forms the basis for major critical evaluation of his actions and reactions in the play without going further to discover that Creon's obstinacy is strengthened and doubled, albeit unconsciously, by the gender of the person involved in the 'crime.' His conclusion to Haemon on the issue makes Creon reveal inadvertently that the reason he would not budge is because the offender he is dealing with is a woman:

> Therefore, I hold to the law,
> And will never betray it – least of all for a woman.

Better be beaten, if need be, by a man,
Than let a woman get the better of us. (1975: 144)

This is the point at which Creon finally concludes that he would not recant irrespective of whether his judgment is right or wrong, because the individual involved is a woman. Any judgment based on this statement and others like it will perceive the conflict between Antigone and Creon as a gender tussle and no more. Reading this explanation to Haemon greatly reveals Creon's mind for while he tries to expatiate on his point on defending his authority, he unintentionally lets out that the more reason he must not back down is because the offender is a woman. Thus we see that societal values on gender matters are deeply seated in Creon's unconscious and keeps interrupting Creon's statements and actions. In saying "better be … beaten … by a man…" it is implied that Creon might have rescinded his decision if only he has to do so for a man. Some critical opinion says that Creon's position is an understandable one. In the wake of war, and with his reign so new, Creon has to establish his authority as supreme. On the other hand, Creon's need to defeat Antigone seems at times to be personal. At stake is not only the order of the state, but his pride and sense of himself as a king and, more fundamentally, a man.

Creon's declaration implies that he would have long forgiven the offender if he were a man yet this is not true. It follows therefore that Creon is being influenced by the deep-seated thoughts in his unconscious mind. Later when the conversation between Creon and Haemon turns extremely sour, we see the same thought creep to the surface again as Creon despises Haemon for publicly taking sides with a woman. Creon considers his son a weakling and effeminate for this and rebukes him openly saying "Despicable coward! No more will than a woman!" (1975: 146).

The rationale behind Haemon arguing for Antigone does not appeal to Creon as much as the gender of the object of Haemon's defense. Creon's disgust for what he considers his son's shameless case in favor of a woman affects his acuity on the contents of the message of Haemon whom he equally perceives as too young for the advisory role he is playing. Thus gender pride is conflated with age pride in the composition of the negative attitude that turn out to be Creon's tragic defect.

The dispute arising from Antigone's flouting of Creon's law is a political as well as familial one eliciting reactions both from the chorus on one side and members of the royal household on the other. The involvements of Antigone, Ismene and Haemon make the problem one with a domestic side that could have been handled more personally by involving the Queen, Eurydice. The negligence of his wife in such a sensitive and somehow personal case as this further depicts Creon as an unapologetic male chauvinist, truly full of his gender with no modicum of regard for members of what he con-

siders the inferior sex. Creon makes no recourse to his wife and she remains indoors, unmentioned even after the visit of Teiresias when it becomes obvious to him that things are going out of control and calamity is looming. Eurydice only comes on stage after the announcement of her son's death and she commits suicide immediately after the news, without confronting Creon on his culpability in their son's tragic demise. Eurydice's attitude of utmost submission to her husband buttresses the position that Creon makes all women relate to him in forced veneration and deference. Out of the three women in the play, two are highly respectable in their approach towards Creon. The one who deflates his self-conceited appropriation of himself through confident confrontations and consistent resistance is given the ultimate judgment – death. It is true therefore that "Antigone is one of the few women who openly rebel against her fixed position in life" (J. M. 2000).

The contention here is not the illogical elimination of other factors that contribute to the tragedy of Creon as a valid tragic hero in *Antigone*. The concession can be made that the downfall of the tragic hero is often orchestrated by a conglomeration of issues ranging from the role of fate and supernatural forces to the contributions of society and hamartia. Hubris is the one factor we here highlight with specific concentration on how the tragic hero's pride where women are concerned deepens his general pride and intensifies his fall. Perhaps he might have lost only a loved one instead of two if he has carried his wife along as a partner in progress rather than relegate her as one of the weaker sex, undeserving of and attention and being heard. Even when Creon's tragedy cannot be averted by virtue of his position as king of Thebes, the effect could have been minimal if his pride has not been toward all – the Chorus, Antigone, Haemon, Eurydice and all who come across him. One other concession, however, is that *Antigone* is patterned after other Sophoclean tragedies in that tragic heroes often clash with Tiresias and the heroes also do not die though they are left in a stage where they would have preferred death. In the case of Creon afore discussed, his arrival at this tragic end where he losses all that is dear to him is through the instrumentation of his pride as a man. One point that need be stressed here is that even where Creon gives other justification such as political exigency for his insistence on punishing Antigone, it becomes obvious almost immediately that his inflexibility is hinged on Antigone's gender, confirming the position of J. M. (2000) on Antigone that "it wasn't her crime that repulsed her people, it was her gender."

At the final point of recognition in the face of disaster, Creon's loss enables him admit that the laws of heaven are superior to the laws of man and should be reckoned as such. He declares: "Now I believe it is by the laws of heaven that man must live" (1975: 156).

It is interesting to note that this same statement was earlier made by Antigone but Creon only retorts that he would not have a woman's law for

any reason. His declaration at the end therefore constitutes only a periphrasis because the true point would have been to say openly that Antigone was right after all. Thus we can conclude that Creon's detest of the female gender does not leave him, even in his state of devastation.

6. Conclusion

Discriminatory practices towards women, we have found, are a feature of an epoch, of classical Greek societies and are exhibited by all men of the time. What is dissimilar here is the attitude of pride in Creon, displayed toward everybody but heightened when the one is a woman. It is equally interesting how Creon easily gives himself away when he is trying to propose other admissible reasons why he must punish Antigone. Each time he launches into an explanation on why he has to be firm and uphold his own words, Creon somehow always ends up saying Antigone is unforgiveable because she is a woman. This then promotes our arguments that societal gender attitudes inhabit Creon's unconscious and often come up to work with his proud disposition to make him absolutely unnatural in his dealings.

Even when it is agreed that ascending the throne of the king of Thebes already predisposes Creon to an irredeemable tragic end judging by the manner of exit of his four immediate predecessors – Kings Laius and Oedipus, Polynices and Eteocles – one would observe that his own downfall is realized and intensified by his negative attitude of pride towards women, including his loved ones. The absence of any feeling of gender superiority in his son Haemon makes Creon despise him and spurn the boy's advice until it becomes too late. Events at the end of the play prove that Creon should have got down from his high horse and shifted grounds against his convictions of the gender order as this could have probably salvaged the situation or, at least, reduced the number of tragic deaths since a tragic character set on the path of destruction is irredeemable.

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Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 2(1), 2012, pp. 115–131, ISSN 2164-0262

Career Choices and Gender: Female Cadets at the Hellenic Military Academy

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ABSTRACT. The following essay discusses the findings of a small, unofficial survey concerning career choices and gender. Conducted at the Hellenic Military Academy in 2010, it explores the main reasons that account for the increasing popularity of the Academies of the Armed Forces among high-school graduates in Greece, and focuses on the particular decisions that female cadets make within the Academy, as well as on the treatment the latter receive from colleagues and instructors alike. Since military institutions are commonly ignored in debates about tertiary education, student recruitment, and gender theorization, the aim of this study was to expand existing research, and illuminate the links between "mainstream" education and a discipline that is often approached with suspicion or awkwardness. Examining parameters like academic performance, adaptability to the requirements of tertiary education, personal motivation, economic circumstances, and the dynamics of gender, the essay ultimately suggests that the Hellenic Armed Forces recruit particularly gifted and motivated women, and that the success of the latter within military institutions is tied up with the resistance to gender stereotypes and biased educational practices that have developed in the military.

Keywords: tertiary education, gender, military institutions, career choices, Greece

1. Literature Review and Aim of Present Study

For many different reasons, the relationship between gender and the military has always been controversial; a comprehensive review of the above field would reveal several thought-provoking, yet contradictory parameters that often prevent researchers from drawing solid conclusions. The situation becomes even more complicated when the researcher is interested in the Armed Forces of a small country like Greece, whose documented reality with respect to gender issues in the military is practically non-existent. And yet, we all need to start from somewhere and, in this study, the initial incentive

was the increasing popularity of the Hellenic Armed Forces among gifted high school graduates – especially women. The relevant reactions in the daily press suggest that this popularity may represent a new trend in the Hellenic tertiary education system, which deserves further analysis.[1]

In the following pages, therefore, I will examine the reasons that account for this trend, with particular reference to the Hellenic Military Academy and its female cadets. More specifically, I will focus on a) whether young men and women choose the army for the same reasons, b) whether they have similar expectations and, c) whether they receive the same treatment. I will also attempt to interpret both the males' and the females' views concerning gender and military leadership, as well as provide recommendations for future research that cannot be accommodated here.

Earlier research on gender and the military tended to focus on matters peripheral to women's active service in the Armed Forces: for instance, in her monumental *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, Cynthia Enloe (1989) explored the relationship between nationalism and masculinity, as well as army-related prostitution and the lives of women in military bases, but did not really examine the conditions of active service for female officers – presumably due to the still limited presence of such officers internationally. However, in *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*, Enloe (2000) did include a comparative analysis of the conditions that encourage women to pursue a military career in several different countries, concluding that such a career is often perceived as a fast track to social integration, and relates to aspects such as 'camaraderie, physical fitness, skill training, college scholarships, the chance for leadership, equal pay, child care […] [and] pensions' (285). Enloe's attempt to discuss gender within a much broader militarized framework was again taken up by scholars in the late 1990s: Lorentzen and Turpin (1998), for example, compiled a particularly interesting collection of essays (*The Women and War Reader*), which examined theoretical debates concerning women's presence in the Armed Forces together with parameters such as war resistance movements, motherhood and parenting, or peacekeeping operations.

Nevertheless, for all its usefulness as background reference, the above research is only indirectly related to the actual conditions of training, education, and service that both men and women face within the contemporary militaries of a globalized world. Furthermore, it must also be noted that, even when the discussion does examine gender in relation to the above issues, the focus is mainly on large countries like the U.S.A. Again, while such research provides an important frame of reference for new scholars interested in the field, due to the specific cross-cultural circumstances pertaining to officer recruitment and career progression, its usefulness when it comes to smaller countries like Greece appears rather limited. In 'Perception of Equal Oppor-

tunity among Women and Minority Army Personnel', for instance, Moore and Webb (2000) argued that 'race is a more powerful predictor of the attitudes of active-duty men and women toward the Equal Opportunity climate in their units than either gender or the interaction of race and gender'[2] – a conclusion that bears little relevance to the social reality of the Hellenic Armed Forces, whose recruits tend to be primarily middle-class youths belonging to the same race. Along the same lines, in 'Minority and Gender Differences in Officer Career Progression' Hosek et al. (2001) studied several cohorts that joined the U.S. Armed Forces during the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s, and reached a similar conclusion, emphasizing again the importance of race in matters like promotion and retention rate.[3]

Since, in this study, the emphasis is on military cadets, rather than senior officers, aspects like promotion will not be discussed. Instead, I will discuss the findings of a small survey that was conducted at the Hellenic Military Academy in 2010, which examines both the attitudes of cadets to their educational experience and the gender of their colleagues. As Pole and Lampard (2002) have argued, the term 'survey' covers a multitude of different forms of data collection and this is why, in survey research, 'the important concepts to a very large extent need to be pre-determined, and the concepts deemed to be important dictate which data are collected' (90–91). The focus here lies in uncovering and interpreting the specific choices that young women make once they join the Army. It was decided that the above concepts would be answered best by a set of original self-completion questionnaires, distributed to a representative random sample of first-year cadets (both male and female) of the Hellenic Military Academy. Random sampling was selected as the primary methodological tool because it has 'the profound advantage that it allows the researcher to rule out the possibility that research findings are *biased* by the way in which the sample was chosen' (Pole and Lampard, 2002: 33). The sampling frame consisted of first-year cadets only, because this particular group clearly embodies the transition from secondary to tertiary education; as such, it can recall with more precision the reasons that dictated the choice of a military career, and voice its feelings about this choice – and actual experience in the Academy – with greater spontaneity.

2. Methodology

Although the questionnaire consisted mainly of closed questions with 2–4 options, it also included some open questions – to allow respondents 'to control the range and nature' of their answers (Pole and Lampard, 2002: 103) – as well as several questions concerning family and social background, in order to avoid the pitfall of 'atomism'. Pole and Lampard (2002) defined the latter as 'the tendency to collect data from survey respondents in a way

which divorces them from their social context and severs their connections to other individuals'; the above researchers concluded that 'a combination of the survey method and other approaches may be most productive' (p. 95), and therefore the findings presented here are supplemented by data obtained through observation and additional sources like the daily press and official statistics. Since the majority of the cadets who completed the questionnaires were also my own students,[4] I was able to observe their reactions to colleagues / fellow cadets, and their handling of academic obligations for an entire semester, thus registering details which extended beyond the strict limits of my research interests. Furthermore, the cadets participating in the survey were informed about its scope and purpose only during the last day of classes, so I was able to create an environment in which observation was not highly structured; the advantage of this kind of observation, as Pole and Lampard (2002) have argued, is that 'it may change as it progresses, and [therefore] more is learnt about those who are the principal object of the research' (77). Unstructured observation allows for greater reflexivity on the part of the researcher who is 'directly responsible for some of the social action he / she is observing' (Pole and Lampard, 2002: 71).

3. Results and Discussion

Let us start then with the increasing popularity of the Armed Forces Academies: is it true that a career in the Armed Forces has lately become particularly appealing to young people? The answer is definitely yes: 76% of the male cadets replied that the Military Academy was their first preference on the Official Options List that all high school graduates are asked to complete after the Pan-Hellenic Exams for Tertiary Education Entrance.[5] When it comes to female cadets, the figure actually rises to 82%. Moreover, 20% of the male cadets graduated from high school with a GPA equal to (or higher than) 18.5/20 – which classifies as 'distinction'. Another 68% graduated with a GPA ranging from 16.5 to 18.4, that is, 'merit'. The picture becomes even more impressive when we consider the performance of female cadets: 45% graduated with 'distinction', 36% with 'merit'. It could be argued here that there is no direct analogy between the number of cadets who indicated that the Military Academy was their first career choice and the overall popularity of the Armed Forces among young people in Greece. However, education analysts nationwide have repeatedly drawn attention to the surging number of candidates for the Armed Forces Academies in recent years, and the Military Academy's admission records do in fact prove both the rising number of new entrants, and the rising percentage of women within the above number.[6]

In addition, according to the 2010 official exam results for tertiary education entrance released by the Hellenic Ministry of Education, all the Armed

Forces Academies are among high school students' top preferences, and the minimum access grade is particularly high: With respect to the Hellenic Military Academy, for instance, the minimum access grade is 18.48 for the Corps sector and 17.42 for the Arms sector. Figures for the Engineering branch of the Hellenic Air Force Academy are even higher, with a minimum access grade of 19.15! As Cook (2009) states, 'students have to compete for places but universities also compete for the more highly qualified students' (p. 22). A closer look at the official results reveals that in the 21st century the Academies of the Armed Forces compete mainly with the most prestigious subjects such as Medicine (where minimum access grade ranges from 19.4 [University of Athens] to 18.83 [University of Thrace], and Law [18.83 to 18.05 respectively]. In comparison, the minimum access grade for the Department of Economics of the University of Athens has dropped to 16, and smaller Universities like that of Ioannina, in north-western Greece, admit prospective economists with a grade just under 15 (14.81).[7] The 2011 official exam results present an almost identical picture: on the one hand, due to the increased level of difficulty in the current year's exam topics, the average access grade for almost all courses has dropped. On the other hand, however, candidates for the Academies of the Armed Forces performed considerably better, compared to other high school graduates, and the minimum access grade for the above Academies remains particularly high.[8]

The choice of a tertiary education institution is influenced by several other factors not accommodated by the scope and purpose of this paper (such as geographical location, family income, distribution of disciplines among peripheral Universities, etc): Shuter (2009) has recently argued that 'the influence of parents can still be surprisingly strong as far as young people's career and higher education choices are concerned', observing that 'the experience of parents themselves with university study is a factor shaping the perception of those who apply' (37). A popular stereotype in Greece is that the so-called 'military appeal' usually runs in the family; in other words, young people who choose to follow a military career do so because they have been influenced by a relative who is still an active army officer. It is surprising to discover that, according to the responses in this questionnaire, none of the female cadets, and only 12% of the male ones have a military background. In the 21st century, prospective army officers may be motivated by more pragmatic reasons: 48% of the male cadets and 54% of the female ones replied that they joined the army because 'the salary is good, and it is a safe choice in a time of socio-economic crisis' – by far the most popular option in the questionnaire's closed questions. In a country like Greece, where trainee lawyers receive a compensation of approximately 700 Euros per month, and medical interns a grant of approximately 1000 Euros, only to face a prolonged period of professional and financial uncertainty once their training is over, the above response comes as no surprise.[9] Even though courses like

Law or Medicine continue to recruit a great number of Greece's most gifted high school graduates, unemployment or partial employment among young lawyers is particularly high, and the future prospects of young doctors compare negatively with those of their colleagues twenty years ago. Viewed under this lens, the Armed Forces may provide a more secure future, chances for promotion, and a relatively good salary.[10] As Stratigakis (2010) argued, commenting on the rising popularity of the Hellenic Armed Forces and the remarkable exam results of their new recruits, the best minds are now more likely to choose a career that provides security and minimizes the risk of future unemployment.[11] His argument is fully consonant with that of Shuter (2009), who observed that 'employability is an effective key to student motivation and optimum performance' (34), and King (2008), who has written that 'school students tend to think in terms of named jobs' (cited by Shuter, 35).

However, if pragmatism and security win the day for most army cadets, we must not forget that there are other motives too: one in five young men (20%) and one in four young women (27%) replied that they joined the army because they strongly believe in values such as 'motherland' or 'self-sacrifice' and, again, one in five young men (20%) and almost the equivalent number of young women (18%) stated that the main reason behind their decision to pursue a military career was the appeal of the 'military lifestyle'. Paraphrazing the Irish poet Seamus Heany, Michael Fullan (2010) has argued that 'there comes a time in History when moral purpose and self-interest meet' (95). Career-wise, it seems that, in 21st century Greece, the Academies of the Armed Forces represent precisely the place where the above notions do in fact meet.

4. Gendered Differences

So far, we have seen a more or less uniform picture in the way that both male and female cadets approach their career choices: however, as Sasson-Levy (2011) argues, 'militaries have been identified as masculine institutions not only because they are populated with men but also because they constitute a major arena for the construction of masculine identities and play a primary role in shaping images of masculinity in society at large' (cited by Spade and Valentine, 294). The above argument is particularly accurate, and differences become more prominent when we look for a definition of the term 'military lifestyle'. For the male group, military lifestyle is primarily associated with 'discipline' (56%) and, secondarily, with 'self-respect and respect for other people' (28%). By contrast, the female group is divided between discipline (45%), and 'social prestige' (45%), an answer given by only 8% among men (the second lowest figure after 'tradition' – 4%). It

should be noted here that none of the females ticked the 'tradition' option – the main reason for this is almost certainly the lack of recruitment of women to the Hellenic military before 1992.[12] The survey did not explore whether the social prestige that female cadets associate with the army stems from their own gratification in being allowed to enter a stereotypically 'male' field, or whether it reflects the elevated social standing that many people attribute to superior army officers. Nevertheless, the fact remains that, contrary to the belief which still considers women 'weak', 'excessively sensitive', and thus less suitable for a military career, female cadets seem to be evaluating their experience in the army in more positive terms: 36% said that their experience in the Military Academy had been better than expected – when only 18% of their male colleagues gave the same response. The majority of the men (60%) said that their experience in the Academy was pretty much what they expected, a figure that drops to 27% in the case of women. As for dissatisfaction levels, they are similar across both genders: one in three cadets believes that their experience in the army did not quite meet their expectations.

With regards to whether they regretted their decision to join the military, 32% of the men and 27% of the women believe that it is too early to tell; the majority of their colleagues (male: 56%; female: 55%) said that they have no regrets whatsoever. Only 40% of the male cadets would encourage their younger siblings to join up – whereas the figure is 55% in the case of females, and again raises the question of whether women adjust better to a military environment, which presupposes flexibility and the ability to cope with a variety of demanding requirements – and whether the army has adjusted well to the needs of women. The former point is suggested by the finding that female cadets endorse the Academy's program of study (which combines academic and military education) much more warmly, with 36% expressing the same enthusiasm for both fields; by contrast, only 4% of their male colleagues approve of such interdisciplinarity: 48% claim that they prefer military training and 20% vote for academic education.

Due to this demanding combination of academic pressure and intense physical training, military institutions may represent of course a special case in point; however, the criticism they are subjected to is almost identical to that of other universities, as they all recruit young people whose experience and expectations have been shaped by the same secondary education system.[13] Referring specifically to military institutions, Lewis (n.d.) observed that 'most students do not know how to study' (20); Along the same lines, Gibbs and Habeshaw (1989) have shown that students are not used to reflecting on their learning processes, and are often unwilling to abandon their deep-rooted habits. 'Development', for the above scholars, 'consists of a gradual evolution of methods based on understanding of past and present experience' (176–177). Most recently, Cook (2009) has argued that secondary school experience does not really prepare people for university study, and

therefore the expectations of first-year students in higher education are often unrealistic (26). He stated that:

> The greater the difference between the sending environment […] and the receiving environment […] the greater will be the stress on the student. Such stress can lead to rapid adaptation and personal growth for some. Others, however, find coping with these changes overwhelming, and this can have a detrimental effect on student satisfaction, academic achievement, and personal growth. (7–8)

Cook concluded that 'the fit between the institution and a new student has to be judged […] in terms not only of the nature of the changes to be expected but also of the resilience of individual students to that change' (8).

If there were few 'military influences' in the sending environment as suggested in the findings, it follows that the female cadets of the Academy have been less resistant to change, and have thus adapted with greater ease. On the other hand and, in line with Shutter's previously mentioned observation concerning the impact of parents' educational experiences on young students, it must also be noted that cadets whose parents have graduated from a tertiary education institution report considerably greater satisfaction with the Academy: More specifically, 50% of the men who declared that their experience in the Academy had been better than what they expected came from parents with a university degree – with satisfaction levels in the case of females from university-educated families rising to 75%. By contrast, all the male cadets whose parents' educational background is limited to primary education stated that their experience in the Academy was worse than originally anticipated – with half of them regretting the decision to join the army. Only one in four (25%) female cadets who come from an educationally underprivileged background expressed regrets about joining the army.

Quite obviously, there are many parameters that need to be considered here before drawing safe conclusions – such as personal flexibility, student / family support services, accurate pre-entry information, sympathy with the ethos of the institution, etc.[14] – but, still, the responses of the cadets who completed the questionnaire do suggest women's greater satisfaction with the Academy. Furthermore, it appears that female cadets have devised more effective strategies for coping with the combination of academic pressure and intense physical exercise, as well as with the required changes that mark the transition from secondary to tertiary education, which may make them less likely to withdraw, and facilitate their better adjustment.

Adjustment, of course, includes matters like co-operation and respect of the hierarchy, and the situation becomes particularly challenging when the issue of gender is taken into consideration: While, for instance, 68% of the male cadets and 72% of the female ones stated that they feel either 'very comfortable' or 'quite comfortable' with colleagues of the opposite gender,

only 48% of the males would be willing to accept a female as their Chief of class.[15] As expected, the female vote was unanimously in favor of a female Chief; as one of the girls explained while her (mixed gender) group was tackling the questionnaire, 'women are better negotiators; it's just that men are unwilling to step down from positions of prestige'. The Chief of class is hardly a prestigious title, but it does carry some – albeit minor – status. And, as we move up the ranks, it seems that the greater the authority that a female officer possesses, the harder it becomes for male cadets to accept it: 80% of the young men who participated in the survey said that, even though they respect the hierarchy, orders issued from a female officer make them feel uncomfortable. Only one in five male cadets responded that the gender of the commanding officer makes no difference whatsoever – a response that won the approval of nine out of ten female cadets (and yet, it is worth examining why the remaining 10% feel uncomfortable with orders issued from women, since they exhibit no antagonism toward their female colleagues and would gladly endorse a female as Chief of class). As Maher and Ward (2002) have argued, gender socialization goes way beyond the classroom, but we should also remember that classroom dynamics 'both reflect and influence gender socialization patterns' (1). Since neither the male nor the female group reported serious problems with cross-gender socialization, and since the observation of classroom dynamics throughout the semester revealed only minor, isolated instances of antagonism toward the opposite gender – for the greatest part of the academic year, all cadets worked collaboratively, and seemed to be guided by a spirit of solidarity that transcended gender differences[16] – how can we account for this inner resistance to the authority of female officers that many male cadets seem to feel?

The 1990s marked progressive educational reform in Greece but attitudes are still influenced by social stereotypes belonging to a much earlier period, stereotypes which would render the issue of institutional authority less compatible with that of 'proper' femininity. Nevertheless, according to Maher and Ward (2002), students and educators alike 'carry around complex and even contradictory views about […] schooling and […] about gender issues,' and these views come largely from unconscious assumptions concerning the 'appropriate' gender roles (109). Along the same lines, and placing the gender debate within a military context, Steans (2006) argued that 'while men's seeming capacity for dominance, aggression and violence is not natural and women are not, by nature, submissive, passive and peaceful, the myths surrounding men and masculinity and women and femininity are both pervasive and powerful', despite the fact that women are currently 'entering the military in increasing numbers and are more likely to take part in active combat than in previous times in history' (49). These analyses can partly explain the discrepancies in the attitude of both male and female cadets. In the present context, it seems reasonable to argue that, as regards at least the male group,

the above discrepancies and the discomfiture toward the authority of female officers may stem from a feeling of deferential treatment: To the question 'I believe that both male and female cadets are treated equally and have to carry out equally difficult tasks', only 28% of the males gave an affirmative response, as opposed to 90% of the females (the remaining 10% of the latter group noted that 'it depends on the subject', while all the men who answered negatively said that the male gender is regularly asked to deal with more demanding tasks).

In the free space provided for optional further comments after the above question, only a few male cadets chose to elaborate on their answer: they stated that their female colleagues are sometimes asked to run fewer laps around the athletics track, do fewer push-ups, etc. There was absolutely no reference to the demands of academic education but, throughout the semester, I heard several remarks concerning female cadets 'who study hard and get top marks because girls want to be the teachers' pets'. Judging by these responses, it seems that some male cadets tend to overestimate physical training and ascribe greater 'difficulty' to tasks associated with physical strength or fitness. Consequently, they underestimate academic education and thus erode the importance of the type of intellectual tasks which would be demanded of senior militaries.

However, as McCausland and Martin (2001) have shown, there is a significant qualitative difference between 'training' and 'education'. They argued that:

> While training is more concerned with teaching *what* to think and what the *answers* ought to be, education is all about teaching *how* to think and what the *questions* ought to be. 'Training is focused on the development and performance of specific tasks or skills, and education is oriented toward more generalized and abstract knowledge that may or may not be tied to specific tasks or action.'[17]

The above scholars concluded that while training 'is normally the preferred method of learning when the goal is to perform operations in which success, failure, and completion can be clearly measured', when it comes to strategic preparation, education is of paramount importance, as it has 'more to do with those things that may not lend themselves to outright solutions. [Education] is a matter of thought, indirect leadership, advice, and consensus-building.'[18] Apparently some first-year cadets at the Hellenic Military Academy are too young to realize the accuracy of the above point and do not yet have a full picture of all the complex requirements associated with a military career.

In an attempt to explore further both the afore-mentioned gap in the respondents' opinions, and the subtle grievance that the majority of the male cadets expressed, I decided to look at the choices of female cadets within the Academy. If women consistently report greater satisfaction with their

new environment and are less likely to withdraw, is it because their choices actually differ in ways that affect their subsequent training and career prospects? Once again, the popular stereotype that would have women opting for less demanding or less dangerous posts appears to be not well-founded: More than half of the female cadets (54.5%) have decided to serve in the Arms sector, as opposed to 45.5%, who will serve in the Corps.[19] True, the percentages of male cadets are 88% and 12% respectively, but we should not forget that the Academy's female population is significantly smaller. Within their chosen sector, female cadets show a clear preference for the more competitive branches, like the Engineers or Army Aviation: 50% of the female cadets who completed the questionnaire stated that they wish to join one of the above Arms when they graduate – a number that drops to 36% in the case of male cadets. The same preference for more demanding positions is also present in the Corps sector: 40% of the women and 33% of the men expressed the wish to join the Technical branch when they graduate – a choice that normally requires a few more years of rigorous academic study (Junior Officers of the above branch often undertake postgraduate courses in engineering or logistics). It becomes evident that male cadets have no real reason to complain about the treatment that their female colleagues receive, since the latter are not evading their duties, and appear to plan for the more challenging tasks that lie ahead. If anything, female cadets appear even more ambitious, and fully aware of the fact that ambition is rarely fulfilled without diligence, persistence, and hard work – especially in a competitive environment whose basic structures did not accommodate the presence of women for the greatest part of its existence.

Of course, as Harrell et al. (2000) have established in their detailed analysis of the status of gender integration in the U.S. military, there are two important issues to remember when we examine gender representation within specific branches and occupations: the first one relates to officer positions that have only recently been opened to women. Harrell et al. (2002) correctly observe that 'even if women entered all occupations at representative levels, it would take a full career cycle – as long as 15 to 20 years in some instances – for representation in these careers to resemble that of service overall'.[20] Given that the first female cadets at the Hellenic Military Academy were admitted in 1992, and that women's service in the Arms sector became possible with a legislative amendment introduced in 2001,[21] the accuracy of the above point is indisputable. Harrell et al. (2002) also argued that with respect to gender integration in the military, the available data cannot always be used to determine 'the extent to which [women's] career choices are a result of self-selection or systemic limitations' – an observation that is certainly applicable to Greece, primarily due to the lack of published research in the field.

5. Conclusion

Clearly, there are several other issues that provide fruitful ground for further discussion. A truly sophisticated analysis of the interaction between gender integration and career progression in the Hellenic Armed Forces would involve significantly larger numbers of female cadets, studied diachronically over a period of years. Still, this small sample of first-year cadets serves as a useful indicator of the current trend in Greece regarding career choices, tertiary education, and the particular role of women within formerly male-dominated institutions. Indeed, the academic performance and overall conduct of female cadets both before and after entering the Academy suggest that a career in the Armed Forces is no less suited to women, and the specific choices that the latter make within the Academy can only elicit respect. Whether the Hellenic Armed Forces will continue to appeal to a substantial number of gifted high school graduates – both male and female – remains to be seen; what is already obvious, however, is the slow yet steady reform within traditionally 'masculine' institutions. To paraphrase Johnson (2011), 'the dynamic interactions that go on among systems' – between the military and equal opportunities in higher education, for example, or between submission and resistance to gender stereotypes – 'also produce powerful and unavoidable tensions, contradictions, and currents of change' (cited by Spade and Valentine, 566). The various alternatives available to female cadets in the 21st century and the persistence with which they continue to negotiate better career prospects suggest that social divisions along gender lines can certainly be challenged. Furthermore, as Lund (2007) has established, such challenges can be extremely beneficial to the military, and therefore the latter should seek to attract more women. 'Gender and diversity', she argues, 'should be implemented in doctrine as an important factor in any type of operation', because 'female officers [and] soldiers can open doors that are closed to men'.[1] If anything, the female cadets at the Hellenic Military Academy have so far managed to open several doors with respect to equal rights in education and service conditions. The future will tell whether the military will put their full potential to good use.

NOTES

1. See, for instance, Stratigakis (2010): www.ant1online.gr/Society/Education/Pages/20108/c946dc0b-60f9-4e5a-b800-ef403bfbe5a1.aspx

2. See Moore, B. L., and Webb, S. C. (2000), "Perception of Equal Opportunity among Women and Minority Army Personnel," *Sociological Inquiry* 70: 215–239; http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1475-682X.2000.tb00906.x./abstract

3. See Hosek et al. (2001), particularly chapter 3 (Differences in Retention and Promotion for Minority and Female Line Officers); available in PDF at http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1184.html

4. I am using the term ‘majority’ rather than ‘entirety’ because the number of female cadets in the Academy is significantly lower compared to that of male cadets, primarily due to the prerequisite exam in physical education, which sets exactly the same admission standards for both males and females. In order to produce a more representative sample, I therefore asked some of my colleagues to ‘lend’ me their own female cadets on the last day of classes. Additional female cadets completed the questionnaire in my own lecture room, together with the other students, and were given the same instructions and clarifications.

5. As regards entrance to tertiary education, the Hellenic jurisdiction shares a lot with both the British and the US admission guidelines: While admission requirements follow the British model, i.e. ‘centrally set and marked examinations based on an externally determined curriculum’, application, as in the USA, is post-qualification, i.e. ‘admittance decisions are made on the evidence available at the time of application’ (US and UK data provided by Cook, 2009, 17–18). To put it differently, high school graduates in Greece complete the Official Options List provided by the Hellenic Ministry of Education only after the announcement of their exam results – also known as ‘Pan-Hellenic Exams for Tertiary Education Entrance’.

6. See Stratigakis (2010), and the posts in http://www.ellinikos-stratos.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=5037&PN=1; see also the Military Academy’s Admission Records (available from the Examinations Office), which indicate that, since 2002, when the gender quota regulating women’s entrance to the Armed Forces was lifted, the number of female cadets has been rising substantially: in 2001, it was just 2%; in 2002, however, it became 6.6%, in 2004 8.8%, and in 2008 12.7%. Since 2002, the above number has never fallen below 10%.

7. The 2010 official results for entrance to tertiary education are available at the website of the Hellenic Ministry of Education, Lifelong Learning and Religious Affairs: http://www.minedu.gov.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=904%3A07-07-10-2010&catid=82%3Aanakoinwseis-eksetasewn&Itemid+786&lang:

8. The 2011 official results for entrance to tertiary education are available at the website of the Hellenic Ministry of Education, Lifelong Learning and Religious Affairs: http://minedu.gov.gr/exetaseis/anakoinwseis-eksetasewn/29-08-11-bathmologia-1oy-kai-teleytaioy-eisagomenoy-ana-sxoli-kai-tmima-2011.html; See, indicatively, the following chart:

INSTITUTION AND COURSE	**MINIMUM ACCESS GRADE**
Hellenic Military Academy (Corps)	17.38
Hellenic Military Academy (Arms)	16.26
Hellenic Air Force Academy (Engineers)	18.72
Hellenic Air Force Academy (Combat Pilots)	16.86
Hellenic Naval Academy (Engineers)	17.47
National Technical University of Athens (Civil Engineers)	18.45
Aristotle University of Salonica (Law)	18.38
University of Athens (Economics)	14.3
University of Crete (Mathematics)	13.88
University of Patras (Economics)	12.79

9. Data provided by the Association of Trainee Lawyers of Athens (2010), (http://www.eanda.gr/page.php?309), and the Association of Hospital Doctors of Athens and Piraeus (2009), (http://www.einap.gr/Doc.Fek_43_2009.pdf). For an extensive description of the current prospects of medical interns and the unemployment rate after internship, see also Karagiorgos (2008), http://www.iatronet.gr/newsarticle.asp?art_id=4966; for an extensive description of the work conditions of trainee lawyers, see also Ismaelidou (2010), http://www.tovima.gr/default.asp?pid=46&ct=1&artId=300150&dt=24/04/2010

10. The recent budget cuts have naturally affected the Armed Forces too, and the compensation that army officers receive is currently under review; nevertheless, the secure employment that the army provides, in conjunction with the mobility and relocation grants that officers are entitled to, constitute a tangible comparative advantage.

11. Source: www.ant1online.gr/Society/Education/Pages/20108/c946dc0b-60f9-4e5a-b800-ef403bfbe5a1.aspx (2010).

12. Women were first admitted in the Hellenic Military Academy in 1992, according to the records of the Academy's Internal Affairs Office. For more information concerning the legislative amendments regulating women's entrance to the Hellenic Armed Forces, see Law Database 'NOMOS', at http://lawdb.intrasoftnet.com (reference to Government Gazette A/166/11-12-1990).

13. With respect to the cadets who completed the questionnaire, this uniformity is clearly indisputable: all the female cadets and 96% of the male ones graduated from state schools, the so-called 'general lyceums'.

14. For a greater analysis of the role of these factors in student withdrawal, see also Richardson (2009), 127, and Cook and Davies (2009), 121.

15. The term 'Chief of class' denotes the person in charge of a group of approximately 15–20 Cadets; the latter are obliged to report to their Chief for all the daily activities assigned to them by the Commanding Officer on duty, and the Chief, in turn, becomes the official negotiator of the group in academic matters like assignment deadlines, scheduling of progress tests, etc. Chiefs can also report a member of their group to the Commanding Officer for professional misconduct, unaccounted absence, etc.

16. It must be noted, however, that no tutor can see what goes on behind the scenes, and there is no data on what happens when authority is not looking.

17. McAllister, D. E. (29 January 2001), Education / Training Discussion. U. S. Army Training and Doctrine Command. Cited by McCausland, J. D. Martin, G. F. (2001), "Transforming Strategic Leader Education for the 21st Century Army," *Parameters*. (Autumn 2001): 17–33. Available online at: http://www.carlisle.army.mil/USAWC/parameters/Articles/01autumn/Mccausla.htm

18. McCausland and Martin (2001), for an interesting analysis of the issue of leadership in the U.S. military, see also Bartone et al. (2002), "Cognitive and Personality Predictors of Leader Performance in West Point Cadets," *Military Psychology* 14(4): 321–338.

19. Note that 'Arms' refers to active combat service in a potential conflict, whereas 'Corps' refers to all the essential support services (e.g. technical, logistical, medical, financial, etc).

20. See Harrell, M. C. Beckett, M. K. Chien, C. S. Sollinger, J. M. (2002), *The Status of Gender Integration in the Military*, especially chapter 2 (Data analysis: Summary of Representation of Women in the Services). Available online in PDF at http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1380.html

21. See Law No. 2913/2001, article 6, paragraphs 1 and 2; available in Law Database 'NOMOS', at http://lawdb/intrasoftnet.com (reference to Government Gazette A/102/23-5-2001).

22. Lund (2007), *Gender and Diversity in Military Operations.* USAWC Strategy Research Project, available online at: http://mldc.whs.mil/download/documents/Business%20Case/Gender%20and%20Diversity%20in%20mil%20Ops.pdf

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Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 2(1), 2012, pp. 132–140, ISSN 2164-0262

Confucius and Feminism

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ABSTRACT: The relationship between Confucianism and Feminism should be reconsidered in the light of the entire socio-political context of the time. At the beginning, the Masters of Confucianism did not explicitly put women in a subordinate position, and in a patriarchal and highly hierarchical society, not only women but all members had their fixed and clear roles. The flourishing of the didactic literature for women in a period of vigorous thriving of Neo-Confucianism was also a sign for the gradually growing power of women.

Keywords: Confucianism, Feminism, re-interpretation, didactic literature for women

For the specialists in Confucianism, the juxtaposition suggested by the title of this presentation would have been unimaginable before the 1990s, when the first studies[1] on the philosophical affinities between Confucianism and feminism were written. Their authors made significant progress in respect to the work of their predecessors,[2] effectively breaking the ground for research into the feminine issue of the Confucian ethics and philosophy from completely different perspectives. They attempted to counterbalance the image created by a plethora of scholars, that of a stereotypical woman forever subjugated, powerless, silent and obedient.

The theme of the universal oppression of women in ancient China and Japan during the Tokugawa period has known several variations,[3] from the sociological to the cosmological and not least, to the philosophical.

Both the Chinese and the Japanese social systems were obviously patrilineal and patriarchal, based on the separation of influence and power zones – women traditionally belonged to the "interior," that is the domestic area, while men were associated with the "exterior," that is with governance and business. A social organization of this type implicitly meant women were excluded from public life and deprived of legal rights, from the freedom to

dispose of their own bodies and possessions to the ultimate interdiction to use their names.

The cosmological grid built around the yin-yang principles and used to justify the inferior position assigned to women within family and society has known a progressive evolution: at first, gender analogies emphasized a complementary difference between female and male, then the nuances opposing the two principles developed, and in the end, the order became explicitly hierarchical. This last phase has come to dominate, and ultimately annihilate, the previous tradition.

The philosophical and ethical version of this theme was attributed to Confucianism, which, a fact admitted even by its staunchest defenders, undeniably led to a consolidation of woman's inferior position as wife, mother or daughter within a markedly hierarchical society.

Beginning with the 1990s, the studies focusing on the life and role of women in Chinese and Japanese societies have taken a fresh turn motivated by the desire to achieve balance within the "woman persecuted by man" model, which until then presented a unilateral view of the negative influence of Confucian doctrine on the female status. With their more moderate approach, several articles[4] made the transition to a new style of research. Chinese historian and philosopher Hu Shi, through an article entitled "Women's Place in Chinese History" (1931), counts as one of the first critics of the Confucian tradition who raises this issue, but, at the same time, suggests that women have nevertheless managed to find themselves a very well defined place "within family, society and history," ruling over men and governing empires, contributing to the world of art and literature and educating their sons. ("If she has not contributed more, it was probably because China, which certainly has treated her ill, has not deserved more of her").[5] Lin Yutang (1939, 139) considers that the gender difference advocated by Zhu Xi, by which the "correct position" of the husband outside the home and of the wife inside it were prescribed, is not necessarily an attempt at creating a hierarchy, but more of a need resulting from a better division of labor. ("Confucianism also gave the wife an "equal" position with the husband, somewhat below the husband, but still an equal helpmate, like the two fish in the Taoist symbol of *yin* and *yang*, necessarily complementing each other").[6] In his opinion, the issue of women in China, oppressed by men or not, presents two major aspects – on the one hand, there is clear evidence in the Neo-Confucianism of the Chinese Song and Ming Periods and in the Japanese Tokugawa Period which attests to the different treatment given to men and women in society; on the other hand, Lin is one of the first researchers to state the supremacy held by women within the family, which, he argues, would make their deprivation of social rights simply "unimportant/ irrelevant." Richard Guiso (1981, 60), too, despite his criticism of Chinese classical texts, which accepted tacitly or even perpetuated female stereotypes

in a patriarchal society, acknowledges the respect shown to "elderly," "wise" or "experienced" women. Nevertheless, as noted by Chenyang Li (2000, 7), the one who truly held power in the family of the Confucian world was the "mother," not the "woman," and this type influence cannot, in fact, be compared to that wielded by men. As regards studies on women from the upper classes, we mention the one written by Priscilla Ching Chung (1981), which stresses the prestige and power attributed to palace women of the Northern Song Dynasty.

Following these works we call "transitional" in the research on women, there came a trend in which scholars reconsidered Confucian values, reinterpreted them in the light of new philosophies and gave novel meanings to classical excerpts, thus highlighting ideas that would, in fact, have led to a better position for women. Li Yu-ning (1992) stresses the importance assigned by Confucianism to equal education and self improvement regardless of social origin and gender. Dorothy Ko (1994) analyzes the privileged status held by educated women in the 18th century and the important role allotted to the "mother" and "wife" ruling the destinies of a family. Ko tries to explain a complex phenomenon manifested at the level of the elites, by which women actively embraced and internalized Confucian values in order to pass them onto the next generations. Susan Mann (1997), in her study on educated women during the Qing Dynasty (1683–1839), identifies writing not only as a weapon to defend values, but also as a means for them to gain respect and individual satisfaction. Thus, Mann gives them an important and well-deserved position, challenging a century and a half during which Chinese radicals and Western missionaries viewed women as "victims" of a "cultural tradition."

In her book *Sharing the Light*, Lisa Raphals (1998) offers representations of women as agents of "intellectual, political and ethical virtues," by analyzing the "biographies of exemplary women." Despite the fact that these didactic texts had been written with the explicitly stated intention of disseminating the Confucian moral lifestyle at all social levels, they also prove "what women are capable of," meaning their power acknowledged and sometimes feared by men.

With these works the foundations of, some would think, even more "daring" approaches are being laid, which end up juxtaposing Confucianism and feminism, in an attempt to rehabilitate this school of thought, to adapt this cultural tradition to social and political changes.

Some authors highlighted the similarities between the two schools of thought. Chenyang Li (1994) focuses on the aspects shared by the feminist ethics of compassion, of altruism and the Confucian *jen* ethics, and demonstrates that both exhibit a similar understanding of the self as social construct, that both lie a heavy stress on situational moral judgment rather than on judgment based on principals and also that both advocate the importance

of compassion in ethics. The concept of *jen* and that of "compassion" are equally centered on the system of human relationships. Confucianists as well as feminists see the human being as social, integrated into a system in which it occupies a referential place. Li borrows arguments from the feminist perspective on compassion and quotes the opinions of consecrated authors, such as Carol Gillian and Nell Noddings, in order to support the affinity of these two "philosophies," as he calls them. Li identifies the "feminist" grain in early Confucianism, which, in his opinion, should go back to Confucius and Mencius in order to do away with the later additions and amendments brought throughout history to the concept of "female gender," under the influence of various political and philosophical systems. Like all the other authors who have attempted a parallel between these schools of thought pertaining to different epochs and apparently placed in complete opposition, Li also sees them as complementary, remarking on the reciprocal "help" they could provide in order to acquire new nuances.

In his essay "Classical Confucian and Contemporary Feminist Perspectives on the Self: Some Parallels and Their Implications" (1997), Henry Rosemont Jr. draws a parallel between classical Confucianism and contemporary feminism and brigs arguments in favor of a reconstruction of Confucian philosophy on a new basis, which would inevitably comprise a vision of the equality between genders adapted to the modern world.

Terry Woo (1998) suggests, with examples taken from the writings of Confucius and Mencius that the two were "indulgent supporters" of traditional norms of sexual segregation and exacerbated masculine authority, rather than "misogynists" as they have often been labeled. She sees feminism in its active form, as the necessary force in the struggle for equal rights. She cannot avoid noticing the irreconcilable differences between Confucianism and feminism, but at the same time she points out their common principles: an equal opportunity for education and an attitude of flexibility and openness. She also offers a solution for the future – "an appropriation of *jen* and a better understanding of the history of Confucianism might offer a sense of cultural recovery"[7] to Chinese as well as Western feminists.

Tu Wei-ming (1998) is yet another prominent scholar who researched the subject, trying to bring more proof of the acknowledged necessity to establish a dialogue between Confucianism and feminism. Within the frame of the discussion on "the five essential relationships" mentioned explicitly in the writings of Mencius and "the three subordinations of women," Tu Wei-ming discusses the "separation between husband and wife" based apparently on the reciprocity principle, in view of a better division of labor. A wife's patience and obedience are interpreted as signs of great inner strength and not of weakness, and the author sees woman as equal to man precisely virtue of her capacity to adapt and to manipulate silently.

The majority of these texts have their roots in a common tenet, namely a return to the founders of Confucianism, Confucius and Mencius, who, in their turn, preached a rediscovery of the ancestors and a valorization of lost meanings. The reinterpretation of classical texts in the light of new realities has been considered necessary for formulating the hypothesis on which all modern scholars of classical Confucianism rely, namely that the fathers of Confucianism never openly expressed an oppressive attitude towards women. Yet nor did they advocate the idea of gender equality, mainly because they lived in a patriarchal society which appeared to have already devised a clear place and role for each of its members. Their neutral attitude in this respect is also a subject of discussion, given the sparse reference to women in their works.

"The Analects" have been analyzed from many angles and there is even a statistics on the frequency of certain words in the text. One aspect scholars view as revealing is the fact that "woman" appears only twice and never in direct reference to her status.

The fragment which is behind Confucius' image as sexist (17:25) has known countless interpretations: ("Only *nüzi* and petty people are hard to rear. If you are close to them, they behave inappropriately; if you keep a distance from them, they become resentful.")[8]

The word used to refer to women is *nüzi* (the characters for "woman" and "child"), and its interpretations have led to all manner of conclusions. Those who read simply "women" underlined Confucius' defamatory attitude towards this gender. Others, among whom Chinese linguist Wang Li, took *zi*, which means "child/children," as an adjective to *nü*, the resulting compound word meaning not "women" in general, but "girls." Other interpretations seeking to eliminate the sexist note replaced "women and small/unimportant people" with "servants, both female and male," but this particular decoding is seen as straying too much from the text's original meaning. Others consider that women are compared to "unimportant people" (the characters for "small" and "man"), allegedly the opposite of the Confucian ideal of the "superior man," and the accusation that "they are difficult to nurture/cultivate" – yet another meaning ascribed to this word – would indeed be serious, were we to analyze the philosophical and pedagogical dimensions of "nurturing" (in the sense of "nurturing the mind"), since it would lead to the obvious conclusion that women lack the ability to grow spiritually and intellectually. James Legge, the famous translator of *The Analects*, felt the need to clarify this term and he said it was a reference to "concubines" rather than to women in general. He could not help himself from not noticing that "we hardly expect such an utterance, though correct in itself, from Confucius."[9] Nevertheless, there are some nuances that would give new meanings to the fragment: Confucius would say that it is "difficult" to cultivate women, not that such a task is impossible, and seeing that he

considers the journey to self-cultivation as intrinsically difficult, there would be no discrimination between women and men, who face similar challenges. The complexity and ambiguity of this excerpt, the multitude of interpretations possible at all levels – semantic, ideological etc. – lead us to the conclusion that the scholars who took into consideration only the sexist aspect over-simplified things in the general context of the Confucian view on gender, created by successive additions throughout history.

The other fragment in which Confucius refers to women is also considered suffused with discrimination between genders. ("Shun had five ministers and society was well managed. King Wu said, "I had ten able people as ministers." Confucius said, "Is it true that it is difficult to find talent? The Tang-Yu period was a high time for talented people. [Among King Wu's ministers] there was a woman; so there were only nine people.")[10]

This was taken by scholars as proof of Confucius' belief in woman's inferior status. Even though King Wu counted a woman between his most trusted councilors, thus placing that woman on an equally footing with men, Confucius was keen on correcting his attitude and this is the reason why he said there were only nine people worth mentioning.

Such textual debates can continue endlessly but it is important to mention that in the late years different approaches appeared. Some contemporary scholars, like Xinyan Jiang,[11] see in this fragment that, on the contrary, Confucius admits woman's ability to become involved in official matters, building their interpretation on very early comments on the text. Huang Kan (488-545) considers that the "woman" Confucius speaks of could be King Wen's mother, whom he admired and wished to singularize in this way.

It is universally accepted that the founders of Confucianism were not the ones who produced this discriminatory vision of women, but later developments of this ethical and philosophical system, notably Neo-Confucianism, which effectively sealed women's fate. In the works by Confucius there is no mention of the three subordinations of woman, which place her successively under the authority of her father, her husband and her son. However, Confucius' antifeminist inclinations were considered evident from the fact that he had no female disciples among his followers. But this can also be explained due to the hierarchical structure of the gender relations in the society of his time.

We think that the key to the reinterpretation of the classic texts in relation to the new feministic approaches is Tu Wei-ming's remarks that we shouldn't forget there always was a major difference between the social and cultural practice and the Confucian teachings. One clear example to support this affirmation can be found in the didactic literature for women, written in China starting from the Han dynasty and which spread in all the other countries that went under the influence of Confucianism. Illustrated didactic books played an important role in establishing social norms and behavioral ideals, the

tracts for girls were meant to stimulate moral values by praising exemplary models and also supported a patriarchal ideology. They expressed a perceived necessity to conceptualize the female gender but the question is whether the portrayals of women in these texts offered as accurate and natural representations of the women as they really existed. Why did this kind of literature flourish in a period when Neo-Confucianism was at its peak? Was didactic literature responding to a recent change based in part on women increasing access to work outside the home and increasing knowledge gained from literacy? Another supposition meant to sustain this theory is that these developments in the lives of common women were so potentially disruptive to the ideal order conceived of by ruling elites that severe admonition was necessary. And here we go back to the remark of Tu Wei-ming who understood the discrepancy between reality and the Confucian principles.

Tu Wei-ming also recognized the feminist potential of Confucian thought in that "unlike other spiritual traditions, there is no theoretical limitation within Confucianism against educating women or against training generations of women Confucian masters. The tradition does not impose any constraints on this."[12] It is true that, for example, in Japan, the secularization of education was virtually completed before the end of the 17th century and according to Dore and the best available data, something like 40 per cent of Japanese men were literate by the end of the Tokugawa period but only 10 per cent of Japanese girls "were getting some kind of formal education outside of their homes."[13] Tokugawa education indoctrinated all levels of society, both men and women, with the goal dictated by Neo-Confucianism to serve the family, the group that one belonged to and ultimately, the country.

The relationship between feminism and Confucianism has long been one-sided, with feminists criticizing the status of the women conferred by Confucianism, but recent research tried to contextualize it and discover other aspects related to the socio-political reality of that time. Confucianism cannot be blamed for discriminating women in a patriarchal society in which women's subordination is seen as necessary for the whole hierarchy. It is worth mentioning that the fixed roles were not assigned only to women, but every member of the society should have known his place and should have behaved accordingly. It is said that the function of any philosophy is contextually determined and Confucianism is not an exception. That is why recent research on the classical books tried to redeem the subordinate status of women in Confucianism, "as their inferiority, at least as shown in the texts, is seen as contingent and functional rather than innate and biological."[14]

NOTES

1. Chenyang Li, (1994), Henry Rosemont, Jr., (1997), Terry Woo, (1998), Tu Wei-ming, (1998), Karyn Lai, (2000), Sandra A. Wawrytko, (2000), Kelly James Clark and Robin Wang, (2004), Jing Yin, (2006), Xinyan Jiang, (2009).

2. Li Yu-ning, (1992), Dorothy Ko, (1994), Susan Mann, (1997), Lisa Raphals, (1998).

3. Lisa Raphals, (1998), 1-2.

4. Hu Shi, (1931), Lin Yutang, (1939), Priscilla Ching Chung, (1981), Richard Guiso, (1981).

5. Hu Shi, (1931), 15.

6. Lin Yutang, (1939), 139.

7. Terry Woo, (1998), 138.

8. Roger T. Ames, Henry Rosemont Jr., (1999), 17: 25.

9. James Legge, (1935), p. 330, note to 17: 25.

10.The Analects 8.20 in the translation of James Legge.

11. Xinyan Jiang, (2009).

12. Tu Wei-ming, (1984), 62.

13. Dore, (1965), 254.

14. Sin Yee Chan, (2000), 165.

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Addleton Academic Publishers

Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 2(1), 2012, pp. 141–151, ISSN 2164-0262

(In)Visible European Connecting Channels: Mapping Nineteenth Century Women's Writings

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ABSTRACT. A research of women's situation in 19th century European societies starts with the observation that the political and historical events, starting with the French Revolution, opened a new way for important social, economic and cultural changes concerning the impact of women's presence on the literary scene, and the emergence of a women's literary tradition. The present article discovers and explores the work of a number of neglected Romanian women writers and the European (in)visible connections that can be found by mapping their activities and taking into account: their birthplace, their place of death, their marriage with a foreign husband, their living abroad, their position as correspondents for foreign journals, their translations, their writing travelogues.

Keywords: 19th century Romanian women writers, European connections

1. Introduction

The entry of women into the profession of writing in the Romanian Principalities was a slow process that became clearer in the second part of the 19th century. Most of the first Romanian women writers stepped on the public stage as journalists or translators and their writings were addressed especially to women in an era when as Doina Pasca Harsanyi remarks "the highest status women could hope to achieve was the trusted confidantes of men's troubles. In their correspondence (mostly written in French) the enthusiasts of 1848 often opened their hearts to (and asked advice from) their 'sweet', 'trusted', 'wise' and 'devoted' wives, sisters and girlfriends" (Harsanyi, 498).

The first novel written by a woman, *Omul muntelui* (*The Man of the Mountains*),* was published under the pseudonym Doamna L (1858). In the 1960s there were a lot of debates concerning the authorship of this novel,

some of the critics attributing it to the writer Vasile Urechia (1834–1901), others to the French-born writer Maria Boucher Movilă (?–?), and the third ones concluded that both of the authors wrote the novel and chose a pen name to conceal this. It is assumed that they wrote together the short story *Amelie Stefanesco* (signed also Doamna L, and published in installments in the newspaper *Zimbrul şi Vulturul*, along the year of 1858), and later, the novel *Les Sept montagnes* (*histoire moldave*), signed as Marie Movila and published in Paris in 1863.

Other women writers also used a pen name while signing their writings: Dora d'Istria (Princess Elena Ghica), Smara (Smaranda Gheorghiu), Laura Vampa (Libertatea Bruteanu), or Riria (Coralia Biberi), or more pen names Liliac, Rim (Maria Cunţan), (George Allan) Mite Kremnitz or Ditto and Idem when she wrote with Carmen Sylva (Queen Elisabeth).

The first literary criticism works written by women focused on other women's fictional or nonfictional works, thus we can mention Iulia Aricescu's monographic work *Opera şi viaţa Doamnei Sophia Chrisoscoleu, născută Cocea* (*The Work and Life of Mrs. Sophia Chrisoscoleu, born Cocea*) (1862), followed by Smaranda Gheorghiu who wrote the study dedicated to poetess *Veronica Micle* (1892), Eugenia Scriban (1877–1941) wrote *Femeia în literatură* (*Women in Literature*) (1907) while *Impresii literare* (*Literary Impressions*) (1908), another notable work of literary criticism, is written by Izabela Sadoveanu-Evan. Later, in 1935, Mărgărita Miller-Verghi and Ecaterina Săndulescu compiled an anthology *Evoluţia scrisului feminin în România* (*The Evolution of Women's Writing in Romania*). Helene Vacaresco wrote the preface for the book *Preuves d'amour* (1914), written by Elena Bacaloglu, a volume that compiled the articles and the conference speeches she delivered while she lived in Italy, Elena Stratilescu wrote in 1913 the preface of the social study *Femeia* (*The Woman*) written by Maria C. Butureanu (1871–1919) while Carmen Sylva wrote the foreword for Bucura Dumbravă's novel *Der Pandur*, which was later translated by Elisa Brătianu (1921).

The present article also explores the work of a number of neglected foreign-born women writers: Marie Boucher (penname Doamna L.) born in Paris, Fanny Seculici (penname Bucura Dumbravă) (1868–1926) Bratislava, Maria Rosetti (maiden name Mary Grant) (1819–1893), Guernsey, Mite Kremnitz (born Marie Charlotte von Bardeleben) (pen names George Allan, Ditto and Idem) (1852–1916) Greifswald, Carmen Sylva (Queen Elisabeth), born Elisabeth Pauline Ottilie Luise zu Wied (1843–1916), Neuwied, Germany, Anna de Noailles (1876–1933), Paris, Regina Maria a României (Queen Marie of Romania) born Marie Alexandra Victoria, Princess of Edinburg (1875–1938), Eastwell Park, Kent, Princess Aurélie Ghica (born as Aurélie Soubiran, 1840–1904), Paris, Agnes Kelly Murgoci (1875–1929), Fullarton, South Australia.

2. Women Writer's Foreign Birthplace and Place of Death

There is a number of women writers who were not mentioned in any anthologies or histories of Romanian literature, one of the reasons referring to their foreign birthplace: Fanny Seculici (Bucura Dumbravă) (1868–1926) was born in Bratislava and died in Port Said. She wrote her novels in German: *Der Haiduk* (1907), *Der Pandur* (1912), *Cartea munţilor* (*The Book on Mountains*) (1920), or Romanian *Ceasuri sfinte* (*Holy Hours*) (1921), *Pe drumurile Indiei* (*Travelling across India*) (1927).

Maria Rosetti (maiden name Mary Grant) (1819–1893), was born in Guernsey, she married the radical politician C. A. Rosetti and both of them played an important role in the Wallachian Revolution of 1848. Maria Rosetti set up the journal *Mama şi copilul* (*Mother and Child*): Bucharest, 1865–1866 and she used to write most of the articles.

Mite Kremnitz (1852–1916), (neé Marie Charlotte von Bardeleben) (pen names *George Allan, Ditto and Idem*) (1852–1916) was born in Greifswald and died in Berlin. She grew in Greifswald, London, then, in 1868, she moved to in Berlin. After she married the doctor Wilhelm Kremnitz they moved to Bucharest. In Romania, Marie became a good friend of the Queen Elisabeth and in 1881 she was appointed her maid of honor. They started writing together novels and a drama in collaboration, signing with the pseudonym *Ditto and Idem.* Starting with 1890, Marie changed her pen name to *Mite Kremnitz.*

The following writers lived and died in Paris, they opened literary and artistic salons where the most important writers or artists were invited: Martha Bibesco (1889–1973), was awarded a prize from the French Academy for her début book *Huit Paradis* (1908). Back in Paris after having traveled through many countries she wrote this book where she described eight places from Asia: Rescht, Teheran, Khum, Kashan, Ispahan, Lenkoran, Trapezunt, Constantinople. She was also appointed as a member of the Académie Royale de Langue et de Littérature Française de Belgique.

Elena Vacaresco (1864–1947) was awarded "Archon Despérouse" prize from the French Academy for *Chants d'Aurore* (1886), her début volume of poetry, and Julien Fabre prize for the volume of poetry *Le Rapsodie de Dambovita* (1900), inspired by Romanian folklore themes. During her exile in Paris she was invited to the highest circles of the aristocratic and literary salons, where she met Marcel Proust or André Maurois. Later she will run her own salon.

Otilia Macriş Cosmuţă Bölöni (1873–1951) got the prize "Le Blanc" from the French Academy for her work about the sculptor Antoine Bourdelle, thus certifying her as an important critic of art.

Anna de Noailles, Princess Anna Elisabeth Bibesco-Bassaraba de Brancovan, (1876–1933) was also rewarded by the Académie Française for her debut volume of poems, *Le Coeur innombrable* (1901).

3. Studies Accomplished Abroad, Marrying a Foreign Husband and Living Abroad

The poetess Iulia Hasdeu (1869–1888) was the first Romanian woman who studied at the Sorbonne University, the journalist Ana Marcu Holda (Mimi Pinson) (1877[1879?]–1945) studied at Dresda. When she was eight years old Margarita Miller Verghy (1865–1953) went to study in Switzerland. After she graduated the secondary school she returned to Romania, but later she studied at the University of Geneve where she graduated in Letters and took a Doctorate in Philosophy (1895). Ana Conta-Kernbach studied in France and Italy and she received her PhD in Aesthetics. Adela Xenopol studied at the Sorbonne University and *Collège de France* in Paris.

Hermiona Asachi (1821–1900) married the French historian Edgar Quinet, Lucreţia Suciu (1859–1900) married the German historian Wilhelm Rudow who supported her in writing poems and promoted his mother-in-law, Maria Suciu (1841–1891) as a writer naming her the first Romanian poetess from the Northern Romania" in *Geschichte Des Rumänischen Schrifttums Bis Zur Gegenwart* (*The History of Romanian Literature*) (1892). Both of the poetesses, mother and daughter ran a literary salon where they invited foreign and Romanian writers.

Elena Bacaloglu (1878–1947) attended lectures of philosophy, literature and arts in Brussels and Paris. After having been married with the critic and historian Ovid Densuşeanu as a second husband, she left Romania and married an Italian man (Italy). While living in Italy she was an acquaintance of Benito Mussolini and under his influence she became a supporter of Italian fascism and formed the movement *Movimento nazionale fascista italo-rumeno*, Milano, 1923.

4. Romanian Women Writers as Correspondents for Foreign Journals, Travelogues Observers, and Invited Feminist Lecturers Abroad

Emilia Lungu Puhallo (1853–1932) used many pen names Bănăţeanul, Bănăţeanul Călător, Bănăţeanul June, Bănăţeanul Moş while signing the articles for *Familia* (*The Family*), *Biserica şi şcoala* (*The Church and School*), *Amicul familiei* (*The Friend of Family*), *Drapelul* (The Flag). She married a Croatian officer Isaac Puhallo and moved to Sarajevo, and then to Mostar (Bosnia-Hertzogovina). In Sarajevo she met Milena Mrazavatz, who was

running the local journal *Die Post* (in German). They became friends and Emilia wrote many articles for this journal for four years. Elena Văcărescu wrote for the French *Echos de France*, *Les Annales*, *Le Figaro*, *Revue des deux mondes*, *Revue de Paris*, *L'Illustration*, and the British publication *The Contemporary Review*, Alexandrina Scriban wrote for *Das Kräentzchen*, during her studies in Germany. Fanny Seculici (Bucura Dumbravă) (1868–1926) was a correspondent for *La Revue roumaine*, *Eclair des Balkans* while Coralia Biberi (pseudonym Riria) (1869–1951) wrote for the French journal, *Revue blanche*. Otilia Macriş Cosmuţă Bölöni (1873–1951) was a permanent correspondent for the journals *Budapesti Naplo*, *Uj idök*, *Szatmarnemeti Közlöny*, *New York Herald Tribune*. She was friend since their childhood with Kaffka Margit (1880-1918), the famous Hungarian writer. The spirit of adventure carries her in Japan, the Indies and the East. She makes stops in Port-Said, Bombay, Colombo, Calcutta, Singapore, Hong-Kong, Shanghai, Yokohama and Tokyo. From Calcutta and Singapore she sends an important ethnographic collection to the National Museum in Budapest and in Tokyo she was allowed to photograph the imperial thesaurus and six centuries old engravings from the Imperial Museum.

Smaranda Gheorghiu was one of the first women in the world to escalate glacier Buée from Mont Blanc and she was the first woman in Romania who climbed the Omu Peak (Bucegi Mountains in The Carpathians), she wrote *Schiţe şi amintiri din Italia* (*Sketches and Memories from Italy*) (1900), *De la Bucureşti la Capul Nord* (*From Bucharest to the North Pole*) (1905), *Schiţe şi amintiri din Cehoslovacia* (*Sketches and Memories from Czechoslovakia*) (1925), *O româncă spre Polul Nord* (*A Romanian Woman at the North Pole*) (1932).

Adela Xenopol (1861–1939) wrote 14 episodes of *Impresii din Elveţia* (*Impressions from Switzerland*), in the journal she was running at that time *Românca* (*The Romanian Woman*).

Ecaterina Racoviceanu (1873–1920) had as pen names Fulmen, Laura, Lorica. She was considered the first professionist Romanian woman journalist – she wrote for *Adevărul* (*The Truth*), *Dimineaţa* (*The Morning*), *Clipa* (*The Moment*), *La Depeche*, *Facla* (*The Flame*), *Realitatea ilustrată* (*Reality in Illustrations*), *Revista noastră* (*Our Magazine*), *Sfetnicul mamelor* (*Mothers' Adviser*), *Revista scriitorilor şi scriitoarelor* (*The Journal of Writers*).

In her capacity of president of Asociaţiei de Emancipare Civilă şi Politică a Femeii Române (The Association of Romanian Women's Civil and Political Rights), Elena Buznea-Meissner took part into the congresses of The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, in Rome (1923), Paris (1926), Berlin (1929) and Istanbul (1935).

In 1908, in Jassy, it was founded 'The Union of the Romanian Women Teachers'. It was run by a Central Committee: Emilia Humpel, Eleonora and Tereza Stratilescu, Aneta Socol, Maria Buţureanu, and so on. They issued

the journal *Uniunea Femeilor din România* (*The Association of Romanian Women*) where they published valuable studies on Romanian and international feminist sociology.

Maria Baiulescu (1860–1941) was the president of *Reuniunea femeilor române din Braşov* (Romanian Women Society from Braşov). While she strongly militated for the women's rights she delivered speeches in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden, and Romania trying to make an international network of women's movements as Faye Dudden suggested that "the blossoming confidence of the women's rights movement sprang in part from the preeminent place women writers had come to occupy in the literary marketplace. The writers and their readers used the cultural scene to explore and critique existing gender roles. Their popular fiction, while sentimental and melodramatic, often contained implicit messages about women's strength, wisdom, and capacity for self-support" (Dudden, 21).

5. Women Translating Women

Most of the first Romanian women writers stepped on the public stage as journalists or translators and their writings were addressed especially to women as Fraser, Green, and Johnson remark that interestingly enough, "the profession of writing itself offered opportunities for a kind of higher order cross-dressing that was acceptable, whereby men might appropriate the more feminine attributes associated with their reputedly enhanced emotional and spiritual powers and women aspire to a share in men's intellectual gifts" (Fraser, Green, Johnson, 10).

Their first translations covered a wide range of topics and genres: poetry, drama, prose, and non-fictional works such as speeches, memoires or newspaper articles. Constanţa de Dunca-Schiau (1843–1924?) (pen names E. D'Albon, Constantia Dunca de Sajo, Camille d'Alb) ran the feminist newspaper *Amicul familiei* (*The Friend of the Family*) Bucharest, 1863–1865, drawing the readers' attention toward women's emancipation by presenting a comparative approach of this issue, the Western influence upon the Romanian Principalities. Adela Xenopol (1861–1937) set up the journal *Dochia*: Bucharest, 1896–1898, a real tribune for feminist debates and at some point she wrote most of the articles for it. Later she ran other three journals where she militated for women's social, cultural and political rights: *Românca* (*The Romanian Woman*), Bucharest, 1905–1906, *Viitorul româncelor* (*The Future of Romanian Women*), Bucharest, 1912–1916, and *Revista scriitoarei* (*The Woman Writer's Journal*), Bucharest, 1926–1928. In 1914, Adela Xenopol handled to the Deputy Assembly a petition asking the right to vote for women writers and teachers. We may say that the situation of the Romanian women's political rights was almost identical to that described by Jennifer

Newby while she talks about the British women's situation who "were unable to pursue their own political careers, many meddled in the careers of male relatives and influenced events. […] As property owners or friends or relatives of candidate, elite women were uniquely close to power and used their connections to help – and sometimes to meddle. Women's involvement might have been satirized as 'petticoat politics', but it could be effective. Upper-class women wrote letters, gave dinners, canvassed voters for male relatives standing in elections and wheeled patronage from influential friends" (Newby, 127).

Eliza V. Cornea edited the journal *Rolul femeii* (*The Woman's Role*), Bucharest, 1883. Constanţa Hodoş, published between 1905–1907, and then, 1914–1916, in Bucharest, *Revista noastră* (*Our Journal*), a literary, artistic and social journal. We may compare these journals to the American journal *Woman's Tribune*, ran by Clara Bewick Colby for twenty five years and in whose pages women readers found as Bloomberg remarks that "they did not have to give up their families or their femininity. They did not have to divide the parts of themselves or give up what it meant to be a turn-of-the-century "woman" in order to also be a "feminist." The vision of the comprehensive new woman promulgated in the *Woman's Tribune* was one that could incorporate all the parts of women's lives, creating new definitions of what "woman" could mean in the dawn of a new century" (Bloomberg, 60).

As a result, towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, an increasing number of educated women involved in the writing business and contributed to periodicals and newspapers with articles, stories, translations of women's writing, because as Lorna Shelley remarks: "the female journalist was frequently upheld as a positive role model in journals aimed at young educated middle-class girls who may have been contemplating a writing or journalistic career. Persuasive periodical accounts of women journalists emphasized both the rigors and attractions of the profession, often casting the female journalist as a heroic New Woman figure adaptable to modern and challenging work environments" (Shelley, 2009: 4).

In her journal *Femeia română* (*The Romanian Woman*), "a social, literary and domestic" journal (1879–1881), Maria Flechtenmacher wrote many reports on international conferences (e.g. The Debates and the Resolutions of the International Congress on Women's Rights, Paris, 1878) concerning women's emancipation and translated into Romanian the keynote speeches delivered by important feminists from France, England, and United States, e.g. Eugénie Potonié-Pierre (1844–1898) who was a member of the Congress of Women in Paris and she founded the Federation of French Feminist Societies in 1892. Some of her articles were translated by Maria Flechtenmacher: "Mama" ("The Mother") 121(1879), "Un răspuns" ("An Answer") 124(1879), "Femeia medic" ("Medicine Woman") 133(1879), "Munca şi salariul" ("Labor and Salary") 157(1879).

There are a lot of anonymous translations published in installments that may be attributed to Maria Flechtenmacher, such as *Florile şi artiştii* (*Flowers and Artists*), a short story written by Madame de Genlis, 3–7(1878) or *Bancherul* (*The Financier*) by Mary Elizabeth Braddon, 180(1879)–200(1880).

We can also focus our research on finding the translations accomplished by women writers while the author is not mentioned and the title of the work is only in Romanian, e.g. Maria Duport and her translation (*Sora de caritate* (*The Charity Sister*) 33(1878) in the journal *Femeia română* (*The Romanian Woman*).

From the chronological point of view Catinca Faca, Elena Ghica's mother, is considered the first Romanian woman translator. We learn that she translated Jeanne Louise Henriette Campan's *Thoughts on Education* (1834).

Maria Rosetti (1819–1893), who ran the journal *Mama şi copilul* (*Mother and Child*) for which she wrote most of the articles, translated Madame Genlis' *Zuma* (1866). In 1852, when she was only 13 years old, Sofia Cocea (1839–1861) translated Madame de Genlis' novel *Palminia şi Flaminia sau Secretul*. In accordance with Nicolae Iorga's confessions, his mother, Zulnia Iorga (1842–1934) translated Marie Maréchal (Mlle), the short story *Nepoata preşedintelui* (*Madeleine Green. Suivi de La Niece Du President*), but, unfortunately, none of the manuscripts can be found today.

Mărgarita Miller Verghi (1865–1953), a prodigious writer and translator who attended the university of Geneva where she took her Doctorate in Philology (1895), translated, besides many other books, poems from English writer Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1912) and from English-born Romanian Queen Marie of Edinburgh, the volume *Visătorul de vise* (*The Dream Dreamer*) in 1914 and *Patru anotimpuri din viaţa unui om* (*Four Seasons from a Man's Life*) in 1915 while Elena Bacaloglu (1878–1947) translated from German-born Elizabeth of Weid, Queen of Romania, *Robia Peleşului* (1867); she signed the translation with the pen name Elena Radu Rosetti.

In 1872, Eufrosina C. Hommoriceanu (1853–?) translated Caroline de Barrau's *Femeea şi educaţiunea* (*La Femme et l'Education*) while Coralia Biberi (pseudonym Riria) (1869–1951) translated in 1875 *Elena Clara sau Victima Virtuţii*. A drama in 5 acts, 3 pictures and a prologue written by Helena Baitler (from Mme Genlis' Writings).

In 1897, Carmen Sylva and the British writer and translator Alma Strettel (1856–1939), later Harrison, translated the book *The Bard of the Dimbovitza, Roumanian Folk-Songs Collected from the Peasants* written by Hélène Vacaresco. In 1912, Elisa I. Brătianu translated the novel *Der Pandur* written in German by Fanny Seculici (Bucura Dumbravă) (1868–1926). Taking into account the translations made by the nineteenth Romanian women writers and the large range of languages (French, Italian, Greek, Latin, German, English) we may come to Gillian Dow's conclusion that "the practice of

translating, interpreting and mediating other worlds for monolingual readers has long been an activity that women writers held dear." (Dow, 18)

6. Conclusions

The present article focused on the works of the nineteenth century neglected women writers, journalists, and translators. Unfortunately, I have to admit that the present research fails sometimes in finding biographical data about the female authors since a lot of them used pen names (few writers used even more than three pen names) or signed their writing or translations only with the initials of their names. There is a significant amount of research in order to bring to light all the works of women writers since most of them can be found only in (incomplete) issues of journals, almanacs, literary magazines, theatre's journals, or manuscripts.

Even though one of the most recent dictionary of feminine personalities (Marcu, Ilinca, 2010) has compiled few biographies of famous Romanian women through the time history and there have also been published some articles in national and international journals concerning the feminist aspects of women's writings, but a literary research on 19th century women writers is still in its early stage as Adalgisa Giorgio and Julia Waters also add "as a result of the recent opening to the west of the former Communist countries of central and eastern Europe, academics and writers from these areas have recently begun to discover feminist theoretical and literary texts that have been long "canonical" in western Europe. The notion of female literary tradition is now beginning to be explored in their literatures too" (Giorgio, Waters, xi) and while conducting our research in this direction we should take into consideration Joan Wallach Scott's remark that feminism's history is "both a compilation of women's experiences and a record of the different strategic interventions employed to argue women's cause. It can, of course, stand on its own; but it is best understood as a doubly subversive critical engagement, both with prevailing normative codes of gender and with the conventions and – since history's formation as a discipline I the late nineteenth century – rules of historical writing. Feminism's history has been a variable, mutable endeavor, a flexible strategic instrument not bound to any orthodoxy. The production of knowledge about the past, although crucial has not been an end in itself but rather – at certain moments, and not always in the service of an organized political movement – has provided the substantive terms for a critical operation that uses the past to disrupt the certainties of the present and so opens the way to imagining a different future" (Wallach Scott, 33–34).

NOTES

All the references to the Romanian books or publications are in my translation.

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Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 2(1), 2012, pp. 152–156, ISSN 2164-0262

Tourists and Travellers: Women's Non-fictional Writing about Scotland, 1770–1830

Author: Betty Hagglund
Bristol-Buffalo-Toronto: Channel ViewPublications, serie "Tourism and Cultural Change", 2010, 181 p. ISBN: 978-1-84541-118-3

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Une petite merveille que cet ouvrage de Betty Hagglund sur les femmes voyageuses et touristes britanniques en Écosse, à la fin du 18e et au début du 19e siècle. Un livre convaincant et un nouveau regard ethnographique et sociologique.

Betty Hagglund sait de quoi elle parle. Spécialiste de l'écriture de voyage et des femmes voyageuses britanniques, Professeur à Nottingham Trent University, Betty Hagglund fait partie d'un projet de recherche de la même Université sur: "Graham Maria: la femme écrivain et les cultures de Voyage, de la science et la publication en début du 19ème siècle". Elle a publié de nombreux articles sur l'écriture de voyage et l'écriture féminine des 18e et 19e siècles, et a dirigé trois volumes sur l'écriture féminine de voyage du 19e siècle sur l'Italie publiés par Pickering et Chatto.

Dans *Tourists and Travellers* and *Women's Non-fictional writting about Scotland*, Betty Hagglund nous apprend qu'à la fin du 18e et au début du 19e siècles les voyages et le tourisme en Écosse ont radicalement changé. Alors que jusqu'à cette date il y avaient très peu de voyageurs, du fait qu'il n'y avait surtout pas de dispositions pour les voyageurs, voyage et tourisme en Écosse changent complètement à la fin du 18e siècle. L'émergence de l'Écosse est décisive. Elle devient une destination touristique à part entière avec l'attirance physique paysagiste et l'infrastructure économique. L'expérience de voyage en Écosse change, et les voyageurs – et voyageuses – commencent à visiter l'Écosse, et écrire leurs expériences.

Tourists and Travellers explore la nature changeante de voyage et de déplacement en Écosse et étudie l'écriture de voyage à partir des écrits de cinq femmes: Sarah Murray (plus connue ultérieurement comme Sarah Aust),

Anne Grant of Laggan, Dorothy Wordsworth, Sarah Hazlitt, ainsi que l'auteur anonyme d'une voyageuse dans les Highlands d'Écosse. Le livre décrit également les moyens spécifiques dont disposait chacune de ces femmes pour voyager et parle de leur condition sociale. Il examine la relation de voyage comme genre d'écriture, étroitement lié aux questions de production et de réception, et à la problématisation du discours.

L'ouvrage de Betty Hagglund est une étude lucide sur les femmes en liaison avec la géographie, à laquelle Hagglund insiste particulièrement, une étude profonde sur les conventions littéraires et les significations historiques du tourisme anglais en Écosse entre 1770 et 1830.

Recherche exhaustive des archives, étude scrupuleuse des écrits de voyage, et une analyse personnelle et nuancée de plus récents débats théoriques dans le domaine, l'ouvrage de Betty Hagglund est une contribution importante à l'écriture du voyage et aux études féminines.

Il explore la nature changeante du voyage et des récits de voyage, en se concentrant spécifiquement sur la façon dont les cinq femmes voyageuses représentent leurs voyages. Ces cinq femmes n'ont pas été les seules femmes qui ont voyagé et ont écrit leur voyage en Écosse à cette époque. Mais ces femmes ont un rôle représentatif dans le voyage et l'écriture de voyage. Chaque femme est différente, et chacune parle d'une façon qui lui est propre. Comme Tim Young souligne "Les voyageurs peuvent écrire leur expérience à titre purement individuel. Les descriptions et les jugements révèlent les valeurs de la classe, du sexe et de la nationalité" (1004: 209; cité par Hagglund: 1). Et à Betty Hagglund d'ajouter : la localisation géographique des voyages peuvent être aussi influencés par la classe, le sexe et la nationalité de l'écrivain. Le thème est nouveau pour l'Écosse des années 1770–1830. Huggland démontre dans son livre que les cinq femmes étudiées, situées en Écosse dans un chronotope bien précis, la géographie du lieu et de l'espace a eu une grande influence sur les sujets dont elles traitent et leurs descriptions, mais aussi sur l'écriture et le style.

L'ouvrage est très bien agencé dans sa structure formelle. Constitué de huit chapitres, dont le dernier tient lieu d'épilogue, il explore la typologie du voyage des femmes dans la période définie. Il pose des réflexions et des hypothèses diverses qu'il tend à analyser dans chacun des chapitres.

Dans le premier chapitre: "Les touristes et les voyageurs: écriture des femmes non fictionnelle sur l'Écosse" qui est l'intitulé de l'ouvrage, Hagglund pose la problématique et la méthodologie de son travail et les attentes de sa recherche. C'est un sujet nouveau, et pour ce faire Huggland s'est investie pendant des années dans un travail méticuleux, minutieux dans les bibliothèques et les Archives Nationaux dans le Royaume-Uni, en Écosse, en Pennsylvanie, à Kensington, à Portorico, à Chelsea et ailleurs.

Le deuxième chapitre est consacré à "La croissance du tourisme anglais en Écosse dans les 18e et 19^{e} siècles", Huggland montre que les conditions

d'hygiène durant le voyage étaient difficiles, Murray rapporte que bien qu'elle transportait avec elle literie, couvertures et oreillers, les hébergements étaient 'sales', 'inconfortables', 'bondés' et 'bruyants' (16) alors que qu'en en 1807, Millicent Bant, le compagnon de Lady Wilson décrit les hébergements où ils logeaient, comme 'horribles', 'terribles' ou 'très mauvais' (16).

Dans le troisième chapitre: "Voyager pour Critiquer: Un voyage vers les Highlands d'Écosse", Hagglund focalise sur le journal d'une femme anonyme écrit en 1777 en Écosse, une anonyme 'Lady' en duel avec le très renommé Dr Johnson et qui écrit son voyage pour défendre les Écossais des insultes de ce Dr Johnson. Mais ce qui est intéressant dans son récit, ce sont les descriptions des femmes locales comme un moyen pour représenter et interpréter ce qu'elle a vu, souligne Huggland (40).

Dans le chapitre 4, Hagglund se penche sur le cas de Sarah Murray, une veuve de 52 ans, et son compagnon et guide utile. *Sarah Murray's Companion and Useful Guide* est le titre du livre de Sarah, publié pour la première fois en 1799.

Le cinquième chapitre fait la lumière à Anne Grant of Laggan et le mythe créateur de Highlands. Comme un écrivain qui prétendait être 'un véritable Highlander', et qui a pris sur elle la tâche de l'interprétation des paysages et des cultures qu'elle a trouvé à ceux de l'extérieur, le Grand-même apporté une contribution significative au processus par lequel l'image romantique de l'Écosse a été formé (77). "Anne Grant et ses écrits ont joué un rôle dans ce mythe créateur" (77).

Le chapitre 6 est consacrée à une voyageuse d'exception: Miss Dorothy Wordsworth qui est plutôt touriste que voyageuse. Un voyage de six semaines en voiture ouverte, calèches ouverte irlandaise à deux roues que conduisait son frère William, et dans laquelle ils parlaient de poésie.

Le septième chapitre s'attache au "*Journal* de Sarah Hazlittet: Interrompre l'esthétique". Sarah Hazlitt, épouse du très renommé critique William Hazlitt, a voyagé en Écosse, en 1822, en bateau. Elle était sur son chemin vers Édimbourg pour établir la résidence et demander le divorce en vertu du droit écossais. Le *Journal* de Sarah n'a pas été publié de son vivant mais il a n'a pas été aussi écrit pour être publié, c'était un journal à usage privé. Ce qui est intéressant à décrypter dans le *Journal* de Sarah c'est qu'elle "ne fait aucune tentative pour identifier les personnes qui ont nommé dans le journal ou d'expliquer des allusions deux événements. Le sujet est vaste et comprend des notes de réunions avec des avocats, des copies des documents juridiques, les dossiers de la procédure judiciaire, les bâtiments et les coutumes sociales [...]" (127).

Le chapitre 8 vient en guise de conclusion su les femmes voyageuses en Écosse de 1770 à 1830, la période définie par Huggland pour des raisons historiographiques, culturelles et économiques, et les récits des voyageuses explorées. Dans ce chapitre épilogue, Hagglund conclue: "à cette période,

l'Écosse n'a attiré que très peu de voyageurs de loisirs venant de l'extérieur de ses propres frontières, et rarement sont ceux qui ont voyagé pour le plaisir" (142). Mais à la fin de cette période, à la fin du 18e siècle, Écosse s'est vue transformer en destination touristique par excellence, attirant de plus en plus un grand nombre de visiteurs.

"L'approche de voyage que fait chacune de ces cinq femmes est différente, tout comme leur manière d'écrire. Bien que cela soit partiellement attribuable à des différences individuelles propres à elles, et à leurs voyages qui on été aussi différents, leur écriture peut néanmoins être considérée comme emblématique de la façon dont l'expérience du voyage en Écosse s'est vue changer" (142).

Alors que l'auteure anonyme L. qui venait certainement des classes supérieures et qui a voyagé en Écosse pour le plaisir, ce qui est strictement très rare à l'époque, Sarah Murray qui a visité de nombreux endroits en Écosse et des propriétaires fonciers locaux en fournissant de nombreux détails, écrit pour le public de sa revue. C'est une écriture professionnelle. Très différente est la perspective d'Anne Grant dont l'écriture est appuyée entièrement sur son expérience de s'installer dans les Highlands et d'être simultanément un participant et un observateur d'une culture. L'expérience de Dorothy Wordsworth en Écosse était considérablement différente de l'expérience des autres voyageuses ayant contribué à une augmentation rapide des auberges Ses relations de voyage ont servi pour les suivants comme des guides de poche, et les gens n'avaient plus besoin de recourir à des guides personnels, très chers, et qui, pour la plupart, ne parlaient pas anglais.

Le contexte culturel dans lequel écrivent les femmes à la fin du 18e et au début du 19e siècles est très différent de celui des hommes à la même période. Les contraintes de l'écriture de voyage et leur publication étaient aussi différentes par rapport aux hommes. Néanmoins, l'effet du sexe sur le discours ne peut pas être séparé de l'influence des autres facteurs, notamment la classe, la nationalité, la période historique et géographique de l'écrivain et le public visé. Sans nier la réalité et l'importance du sexe, la critique qu'apportent les femmes voyageuses doit éviter d'assumer les différences que, lorsque les textes de femmes sont lus parallèlement aux textes de voyage des hommes de la même période historique et la situation géographique, prouvent pas exister, conclue Hagglund.

Évidemment un livre ne peut pas analyser tous le cas de figures de femmes voyageuses, et dans le sens de la de la minutie, de la transparence, et de l'honnêteté qui caractérisent Betty Hagglund, plus ses analyses et recherches, elle fournit, à la fin de son livre 4 Appendices détaillées sur les comptes de voyage en Écosse par les femmes, en procurant la liste de tous les manuscrits et de tous les noms de femmes, éponymes ou anonymes, que Betty Hugglund a inventorié dans les nombreuses bibliothèques qu'elle a fréquenté durant des années. Dans le même esprit d'honnêteté et de recherche,

elle fournit aussi la liste des guides en Écosse avant 1826. Dans un troisième Appendice, elle fournit la liste de la paternité des voyage à Highlands d'Écosse, sujet très controversé et 'compliqué' puisqu'il a été attribué pendant des années à Mary Ann(e) Hanway, ainsi que l'indique encore The British Library catalogue, ce qui est très discutable selon Betty Hagglund qui argumentant ses hypothèses. Une dernière liste sera généreusement fournie, dans le quatrième Appendice sur la lecture des livres de voyage de Dorothy Wordsworth, dans l'intention de reconstruire la lecture et la pensée de cette femme voyageuse à propos de livres de voyage relatifs à l'Écosse.

Le livre est complété par une Bibliographie détaillée de 12 pages, et un très utile Index, qui concourent à la qualité incontestable de l'ouvrage.

Un ouvrage scientifique d'exception, fruit d'un travail de recherche de longue haleine, mené par une passionnée des récits des voyages et des femmes voyageuses – et des femmes touristes. Petit par son format, grand par sa qualité, le livre de Betty Huggland est une grande contribution à la littérature viatique, à l'écriture féminine, et pour les sciences sociologiques et ethnographiques.

Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 2(1), 2012, pp. 157–167, ISSN 2164-0262

Du nouveau sur l'esclavage antique?*

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En l'absence de documents inédits, il relève à priori de la gageure d'apporter du neuf sur l'esclavage antique, tant ce thème a déjà fait l'objet d'une très abondante littérature dont on pourrait légitimement penser qu'elle en aurait exploré presque tous les aspects.[1] Malgré cet état de fait, l'ouvrage écrit par U. Roth présente, en dépit de son allure modeste et de son épaisseur contenue selon les canons de compacité anglo-saxons, un titre des plus ambitieux : « Thinking tools », lequel relève à l'examen du calembour bien senti. D'un côté, cette expression prise sous l'angle des «outils de réflexion», ne viserait à rien de moins qu'à proposer de nouveaux fondements méthodologiques pour aborder l'esclavage antique à l'époque républicaine et durant le Haut-Empire. Le défi est de taille et l'initiative mérite d'être saluée, au moins pour le souffle nouveau qu'elle pourrait apporter, tant les recherches sur la question ont globalement tendance à se focaliser sur les seuls rapports entre maîtres et esclaves, voire sur le statut (ou plutôt l'absence de statut) de ces derniers, en favorisant ainsi une approche extérieure tendant à jeter le voile sur certaines subtilités du monde servile dans sa dimension communautaire.[2] D'autre part, la séquence « Thinking tools » met en évidence la position socio-juridique des esclaves dans l'ancienne Rome. Ils formaient une classe sociale composée d'individus caractérisés par l'absence quasi totale de droits qui avaient comme commun dénominateur, et ce bien que leurs réelles conditions d'existences furent très disparates suivant les époques et les lieux, de dépendre de maîtres dont ils intégraient le patrimoine. Du point de vue juridique, les *servi* appartenaient à la taxinomie des biens (*bona*), plus précisément à la catégorie des *res corporales* (Gaius 2.13) et des *res mancipi* (Ulpien, *Reg.* 19.1 ; Gaius, 1.119–120). Ces dernières *res*, réputées particulièrement utiles à l'univers agraire, entretenaient par conséquent un lien intrinsèque avec les productions rurales et la présence de l'esclave au sein de cette ramification catégorielle des choses commerciables mettait en évidence l'importance de la main d'oeuvre servile dans l'économie agricole antique. Au sein de leurs *responsa*, les juristes de Rome employaient divers termes pour désigner l'esclave : *servus, homo, puer, ancilla* (femme esclave) ou

mancipium (comme chose acquise en toute propriété). La variété de ces mots et l'emploi du vocable *homo*=homme, associés à d'autres paramètres dans le détail desquels il est impossible d'entrer ici,[3] montrent que leur humanité était reconnue[4] – elle en garantissait même toute la valeur – bien qu'ils fussent juridiquement asservis et patrimonialisés. Pour faire court, le *servus* était donc un homme réifié ou, ce qui revient au même, un outil humain et par là pensant, lequel était inséré dans la sphère transactionnelle de l'échange. Il convient à présent d'examiner l'argumentation de l'auteur et sa présentation d'une nouvelle grille de lecture pour aborder l'histoire de l'esclavage dans les campagnes romaines. Pour réaliser ce dessein, l'ouvrage se découpe, après un rapide prologue intitulé «How ill really was», en cinq chapitres qui s'organisent de la manière suivante :

Chap. 1 Thinking Tools – Texts, Gaps, and the Female Slave (p. 1–24)

Le postulat de départ formulé est tel : dans l'approche de l'agriculture romaine et de l'exploitation des esclaves afférente, la lecture des sources archéologiques, épigraphiques et littéraires aurait fait l'objet d'une focalisation sur «the labour force» qui était la plus représentée dans la documentation. Une autre omission importante dans l'historiographie concernerait la femme dont le rôle joué – bien qu'admis – aurait été largement sous-évalué et réduit le plus souvent aux niches sociales familiales et religieuses. Pour contribuer à une réhabilitation, U. Roth propose de repenser la part prise par la *mulier* dans l'histoire romaine, en particulier dans le cadre de l'esclavage, domaine dans lequel la place occupée par les protagonistes féminines aurait été fortement sous-évaluée. Elles reçurent en effet très souvent une attention des plus minimes de la part des historiens comme K. Hopkins[5] pour qui le *servus* agricole type était un homme célibataire. Le *corpus* documentaire utilisé par U. Roth pour étayer le fil de son récit n'est pas nouveau puisque l'auteur entend s'appuyer, pour l'essentiel, sur les fameux traités d'agronomie émanant des écrivains latins. Il s'agit respectivement du *De agricultura* de Caton l'Ancien – premier ouvrage en prose latine subsistant qui nous soit parvenu dans son intégralité[6] – et du *De re rustica* de Varron pour les temps médio et tardo républicains ainsi que du *De re rustica* de Columelle pour le Haut-Empire, sources de référence auxquelles s'ajoutent quelques textes cicéroniens ou pliniens et fragments juridiques du Digeste de Justinien. Ces traités agricoles, qui se révèlent particulièrement riches en informations de toutes sortes, proposaient aux membres des classes favorisées tentés par la ruralité divers préceptes pour mettre sur pied une exploitation susceptible de produire de substantiels bénéfices autour d'une main d'oeuvre servile.[7] En ce sens, le traité de Caton s'adresse davantage aux propriétaires de domaines ruraux qu'à ceux qui cultivent la terre directement de leurs mains pour permettre aux premiers de s'enrichir par l'entremise d'une activité réputée saine[8], à la

différence du commerce ou des affaires bancaires. Celle-ci, organisée dans des *villae* autour d'un couple d'esclaves superviseurs – le *vilicus* chargé de la production agricole et la *vilica* affectée à la *domus* – fonctionnait quasi-exclusivement grâce à une force de travail servile que les agronomes envisagent surtout dans son aspect strictement masculin. Et ce alors même que les femmes semblaient jouer un rôle essentiel, bien que peu apparent dans les sources, dans certaines productions domestiques ou artisanales. Pour tenter de corriger cette approche biaisée, U. Roth entend utiliser un modèle anthropologique de l'exploitation économique des femmes fondé sur la division du travail dans les sociétés préindustrielles émanant de J. K. Brown,[9] ceci afin de brosser un tableau plausible au regard de l'emploi de leur force de travail dès l'époque républicaine. Aussi, il est permis d'envisager le recours à une activité féminine dans diverses productions de l'exploitation[10] (agricoles ou non) et non exclusivement en termes de reproduction biologique. Pour l'auteur, il conviendrait de comparer la place de la femme esclave dans l'ancienne Rome à celle qu'elle occupait dans les grandes exploitations du nouveau monde plusieurs siècles après. Elles demeuraient des agents économiques majeurs car elles étaient à la fois des travailleuses et des mères en participant à la fois aux productions matérielles du domaine mais aussi au renouvellement des effectifs par la parturition. Ce faisant, elles était soumises à la plus complète des formes d'exploitation servile.

Chap. 2 Food for Thought – Family in Cato's *familia rustica* (p. 25–52)

Pour M. Weber[11] et K. Hopkins,[12] malgré la présence d'hommes et de femmes dans le schéma présenté par Caton le Censeur, la main d'oeuvre servile était au premier chef masculine et elle excluait par conséquent toute vie familiale et reproduction dans la mesure où nourrir des hommes seuls aurait coûté moins cher que de sustenter toute une famille. Des historiens tels A. Carandini[13] ont voulu mettre en évidence certaines nuances et établissent un contraste entre la phase républicaine et celle du début de l'Empire, la première se caractérisant par un idéal type de l'esclave mâle sans partenaire et sans progéniture aucune ; la seconde autour d'un modèle intégrant un homme, une femme et deux enfants. U. Roth choisit de s'écarter de ces vues qui seraient, en suivant les conceptions défendues par le sociologue O. Patterson,[14] éronnées et contredites par les données sociologiques les plus élémentaires : l'instinct de reproduction triomphe en général du désespoir inhérent à la condition d'esclave. Pour argumenter sa vision de la vie familiale servile, l'auteur prend appui sur une nécessité naturelle propre à l'existence humaine : l'alimentation. En s'appuyant sur les données alimentaires quantitatives présentes dans le manuel catonien, l'auteur propose ses propres calculs des distributions en grains, vin et huile d'olive préconisées ainsi que des apports caloriques qu'elles impliquent. Pour affiner cette estimation, il faudrait également tenir

compte du fait que les esclaves pouvaient avoir accès, comme c'était le cas au sein des grandes plantations modernes du Sud de l'Amérique, à d'autre(s) nourriture(s) que les ressources de la ferme pouvaient facilement (fruits et légumes divers, lait, fromage, miel ou oeufs etc.). Ce complément appréciable venait éventuellement en sus des provisions de base attribuées par le maître, lequel se réservait la possibilité de les ajuster au besoin d'après Caton, afin de maintenir la bonne santé physique de ses esclaves et par là leur efficacité maximale au travail. Au regard des apports énergétiques requis lors de l'activité physique des travaux des champs (soit environ 3000 calories pour un homme, 2000 pour une femme, entre 1500 et 3000 pour un enfant suivant qu'il s'agit d'un très jeune sujet ou d'un adolescent) mis en rapport avec les rations octroyées par les agronomes, l'auteur indique que ces portions étaient destinées à des entités familiales complètes et non aux seuls esclaves mâles. Suivant cette idée, U. Roth propose différents modèles de sustentation alimentaire, incluant les préparation culinaires de la *vilica* – dont l'importance peut être cruciale pour assurer une nourriture suffisante au plan quantitatif –, en fonction du nombre de composantes de la famille. Il résulte clairement de ces évaluations que la famille de l'esclave agricole devait rester limitée en membres compte tenu du fait que les ressources n'étaient pas extensibles à l'infini. En ce sens, le *dominus* qui décidait de la taille des rations communes disposait indirectement d'un pouvoir de contrôle sur le nombre total d'esclave sous sa coupe et sur la taille des unités. Enfin, l'archéologie accréditerait l'existence de cellules familiales serviles dans les campagnes en ayant mis à jour des ensembles de *cellae*, auxquelles Caton fait référence dans son traité d'agronomie, mesurant environ 6 mètres carrés. Suivant les standards de l'époque, ces cellules auraient pu être utilisées pour abriter de petites familles d'esclaves.

Chap. 3 On Gendered Grounds – Spinning a Different Story (p. 53–87)

L'auteur insiste ici sur les difficultés inhérentes à l'interprétation de la documentation archéologique qu'il est difficile de rattacher, en l'absence de preuves épigraphiques adjacentes confirmatives, de manière sûre à certaines populations déterminées, en l'occurrence serviles. Ces incertitudes font que les fouilles récentes sont abordées, et ce en dépit de leur gros potentiel pour l'érection de nouvelles perspectives en matière d'investigations historiques, sous un angle désormais classique, dans la lignée des travaux socio-économiques de M. I. Rostovtzeff[15] et suivant le modèle en vigueur pour le monde rustique des grandes *villae* exploitées par des groupes d'esclaves agricoles mâles. En termes d'évolution(s) méthodologique(s), se pose précisément l'épineux problème de l'attribution à une production masculine ou féminine des divers artefacts mis à jour. L'enjeu est de taille car il conviendrait d'introduire la notion de genre dans les stratégies de recherche selon les concep-

tions défendues par R. Whitehouse[16] et bien d'autres. Dans la pratique, cette démarche se révèle compliquée à mettre en œuvre car certaines tâches dont on dirait traditionnellement qu'elles relèvent des femmes, à l'image du tissage, peuvent être effectuées par des hommes. Dans les faits, la rareté des artefacts textiles a été interprétée par défaut comme la preuve d'un secteur productif insignifiant à partir d'un principe selon lequel la signification économique d'une activité aurait dû laisser de plus importantes traces archéologiques. Aussi la question n'a que peu été abordée par les archéologues ; à l'image de M. A. Cotton[17] qui considère la production textile comme un facteur économique insignifiant. U. Roth n'est pas de cet avis et pense au contraire que l'identification du rôle et du sexe de chaque agent productif est essentiel dans la mesure où ce secteur productif demeurait fondamental ainsi que le suggèrent les fouilles menées dans les villas de Posto et San Rocco, lesquelles ont généré différentes preuves d'un artisanat textile très diversifié. Ceci conduit l'auteur à proposer trois estimations globales du potentiel économique de cette activité (low, medium and high, cf. p. 82–83 de l'ouvrage) résultant d'un travail mixte ou féminin.

Chap. 4 A Design for War –
A Tale of Men, Women, and Sheep (p. 89–118)

En suivant la droite ligne du leitmotiv de sa démonstration, U. Roth insiste, en prennant appui sur un passage cicéronien emblématique (*De natura deorum*, 1.77), sur le fait que les historiens raisonnent par rapport à une matrice mentale en abordant les données nouvelles et en les classifiant eu égard à des éléments qui leur sont déjà familiers. Il en résulte au final une lecture androcentrique, notamment lors des périodes de l'expension impériale. Des savants tels D. W. Rathbone,[18] K. D. White,[19] K. Hopkins[20] ou encore plus récemment W. Scheidel,[21] indiquent que la femme demeurait un agent économique insignifiant voire improductif en comparaison des travaux accomplis par les individus masculins. Or, seule la reconnaissance avérée du potentiel économique de l'activité féminine pourra affiner notre bonne représentation de l'économie rurale. Par ailleurs, il apparaît que tous les membres de l'unité familiale, ce qui inclut la femme et les enfants, apportaient une aide précieuse, en particulier lors des périodes de moissons et pour l'après-récolte. Cet élément de taille commande de reprendre les divers calculs opérés jusque-là concernant le personnel agricole servile nécessaire à l'exploitation et notamment les coûts corrolaires d'achat, d'amortissement et d'entretien des esclaves car l'existence d'une force de travail "mixte", voire transgénérationnelle, se révèle financièrement plus avantageuse que le recours à des seuls hommes adultes. A tout ceci s'ajoutent les bénéfices nés de la reproduction servile qui viendront à terme grossir les troupes puisque l'enfant né de parents esclaves suit la condition de ses géniteurs et appartiennent de droit au

dominus.[22] Pour les périodes hors labours, l'activité productive des femmes et des enfants se concentre sur la production de tuniques et autres denrées dont la qualité semble attestée par le témoignage de Caton l'Ancien. L'agronome conseillait en effet aux propriétaires de domaines d'acheter des habits à bas prix pour vêtir les esclaves, plutôt que de les équiper avec leurs propres réalisations qu'il convenait de vendre. Enfin, U. Roth indique que l'économie vestimentaire aurait été dopée par les conquêtes et l'expension romaines car l'armée avait de très lourds besoins en uniformes spécifiques. Cette donnée impliquait par conséquent le développement d'une agriculture pastorale destinée à fournir la matière première des vêtements, celle-ci étant utilisée dans le cadre d'une utilisation intensive des femmes esclaves en vue de la réalisation du travail de confection. L'inclusion du genre comme outil analytique de l'économie romaine est ainsi fondamentale dans la mesure où les femmes, exploitées par l'élite aristocratique qui dirigeait la politique romaine, auraient constitué un important rouage du développement de l'Empire.

Chap. 5 Transforming Italy –
Figuring out a Republican Ideal (p. 119–151)

L'auteur souligne l'influence de l'économie rustique des *villae* dans l'approche de l'économie romaine en général et parallèlement le fait que la prise en compte du rôle de la femme en la matière conduit nécessairement à une reconfiguration des rapports intervenant entre libres et esclaves au plan global ainsi qu'à une réévaluation du ratio consommation/production des domaines agricoles. Les modèles d'exploitation classiques nés des traités d'agronomie, et notamment celui de Caton dont la frugalité était le mot d'ordre, représentent pour U. Roth un idéal théorique difficile à atteindre dans la pratique. Pour autant, il lui semble qu'il faut comprendre le manuel catonien comme se référant à une main d'oeuvre mixte, et non essentiellement masculine, afin de bénéficier des avantages de la fertilité naturelle des couples serviles, et ce malgré une mortalité infantile importante et régulière (d'après les simulations opérées, sur 15 enfants nés, moins de 7 parviendront à l'âge de 15 ans) parfois dopée par d'autres facteurs sociaux ou biologiques plus ponctuels (guerres, révoltes, maladies, famines etc.). Même si ces éléments connus minimisaient d'autant le remplacement total des troupes par le biais de la reproduction, il n'en reste pas moins que celles-ci étaient destinées à croître, le maître ayant alors la possibilité de vendre ou de déplacer ses effectifs pour d'autres travaux en fonction du calendrier agricole. Ce constat permet à l'auteur d'affirmer, à la suite de W. Scheidel, que la fécondité naturelle était globalement une source très importante pour générer de nouveaux stocks d'esclaves. U. Roth insiste ensuite sur l'idée que la multiplicité des tâches confiées aux *servi*, qui implique le déplacement de contingents entiers d'esclaves, constitue un sérieux handicap pour calculer avec précision

l'étendue de la population servile. Des parallèles sont ensuite effectués avec l'exploitation négrière en Amérique du Nord et les informations tirées des recommandations de T. Nairne[23] pour organiser la culture des plantations. L'aspect pratique de ces conseils fait immanquablement penser aux préceptes de Caton et il convient de relever que la mixité des personnels est expressément mentionnée (30 negroes, 15 Men and 15 Women[24]…) et qu'il envisageait une large pallette d'activités en suivant les saisons et les cycles agricoles autant qu'il considérait que les cercles familiaux serviles constituaient les différents noyaux unitaires de ses effectifs au tout début du XVIIIème siècle. Pour U. Roth, cette conception devrait s'appliquer à l'esclavage rural romain sous la République. Il s'agit là d'une rupture nette par rapport à la représentation commune selon laquelle le *servus* agraire était avant tout un homme isolé avec qui le destin avait été capricieux. Ennemi de Rome devenu par la force des choses prisonnier de guerre, il fut gardé comme captif et forcé à travailler dans une société étrangère à lui et de laquelle il se sentirait exclu. Ce constat occulte le fait que l'expérience servile étudiée sur la durée implique la (re)construction d'un groupe social à part entière, d'une réintégration incluant l'émergence d'une vie communautaire au sein de laquelle chacun remplissait un rôle déterminé. Les jeunes générations étaient formées à la tâche qu'elles devaient accomplir parmi leur cercle familial proche mais aussi au sein de la communauté servile au sens large. Il en résultait une dimension intime et identitaire, une cohésion spécifique dont la structure pouvait être mise à mal lorsque les familles se trouvaient séparées pour des raisons logistiques. Des réflexions importantes sont entamées p. 149–151 au sujet d'une autre approche de l'histoire de l'esclavage. Sans en nier le caractère inhumain et scandaleux, l'auteur affirme qu'il faut se détacher du prisme de la victimisation absolue qui conduit paradoxalement au fond à aborder l'esclavage du strict point de vue du maître, et à occulter ainsi en grande partie la complexité de l'univers servile. Cette communauté composée d'hommes, de femmes, de pères, de mères, de parents, d'enfants, de conjoints (au sens purement factuel, l'union de deux esclaves appelée *contubernium* ne recevait aucune reconnaissance juridique), de familles mérite mieux que le traitement qui leur a été trop souvent infligé par l'historiographie, laquelle s'intéresse surtout aux *servi* sous l'angle de la productivité économique en les considérant ainsi comme de simples outils humains. La bonne tenue des futurs débats historiques passerait donc nécessairement par une étude nourrie de l'unité familiale servile, dont les agronomes latins tels Caton, Varron et Columelle savaient l'importance.

L'ouvrage s'achève sur une bibliographie (p. 155–170) regroupant pour l'essentiel des références anglo-saxonnes[25] et intègre un très (trop?) court index. Une lecture attentive permet de relever quelques erreurs dont certaines résultent sans doute en partie du fait que l'auteur n'a pas toujours utilisé des sources de première main :[26] le prix d'un esclave nègre mentionné dans le tableau p. 147 n'est pas de 49 mais de 40 livres ainsi qu'il apparaît dans

l'œuvre originale de T. Nairne. A deux reprises, p. 66, Domitius Ahenobarbus est appelé « Ahenorbarbus ». Plus dérangeante pour le romaniste, et pour le juriste en particulier, est l'utilisation récurente de la notion de « famille » appliquée au monde servile sans plus d'explication. On conviendra aisément que le concept latin de *familia* qui désigne la communauté incluant, sous l'égide du *paterfamilias* détenant un pouvoir absolu sur l'ensemble des membres, à savoir diverses personnes de condition libre allant de la femme aux enfants, petits-enfants etc. mais aussi la totalité des esclaves présents dans la *domus*,[27] ne cadre pas avec le tableau brossé par l'auteur. Et ceci pour une raison bien simple : sans rentrer dans d'infinis détails, il faut se borner à rappeler que la *familia* romaine[28] est une institution juridique à vocation spécifique et ne peut s'appliquer de manière isolée aux seuls esclaves qui ne sont pas des sujets de droit mais objets d'un pouvoir exercé par le *dominus*. Ces quelques erreurs et approximations ne nuisent en rien au sérieux et à la qualité de cet ouvrage, porté qu'il est par l'enthousiasme que suscite sa lecture. Certes ce volume pose au final peut-être plus de questions qu'il n'apporte de réponses : quel fut précisément par exemple le rôle de la femme esclave dans le cadre de la production viticole ou d'huile d'olive? Un léger défaut dont l'auteur a par ailleurs pleinement conscience en se situant davantage du côté de la remise en question que dans l'affirmation pure et dure (p. 150 : What is relevant is to recognize the problems inherent in the evidence, as the problems inherent in our interpretation of the evidence…). Mais à bien y regarder, poser convenablement le problème est la première étape pour qui entend le résoudre efficacement au final. Et U. Roth suggère à bon droit des pistes de réflexion fondées sur des approches pluridisciplinaires et parfois même au prix de certaines digressions. Qu'importe, ce livre a assurément la grande qualité de renouveler les problématiques et de mettre le doigt sur certains préjugés tenaces. Au-delà de ce souffle nouveau et salutaire, on ne peut qu'espérer que des documents nouveaux permettront d'étayer encore davantage les thèses défendues par U. Roth et de leur donner toute la consistance qu'elles méritent.

NOTES

***A propos de U. Roth, *Thinking Tools. Agricultural Slavery Between Evidence and Models*, Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 2007.**

1. La bibliographie sur l'esclavage antique est immense : 1107 références recensées chez J. Vogt-N. Brockmeyer, *Bibliographie zur antiken Skaverei*, Bochum, 1971 ; voir aussi N. Brockmeyer, *Antike Sklaverei*, Darmstadt, 1979 ; M. Raskolnikoff, *La recherche soviétique et l'histoire économique et sociale du monde hellénistique et romain*. Strasbourg, 1975, et « Dix années de recherche sur l'histoire économique et sociale du monde romain », in *Ktéma*, 5, 1980, 3–69 ; L. Sichirollo, *Schiavitù antica e moderna*. Naples, 1979, la notice bibliographique est de M. Ventui Ferriolo ;

cf. aussi T. Wiedemann, *Greek and Roman Slavery*. Baltimore, 1981, 252–258 pour la bibliographie ; M. I. Finley, *Esclavage antique et idéologie moderne*, Paris, 1981, 203–212. Des travaux d'ensemble connus et réputés comme ceux de J. C. Dumont, *Servus, Rome et l'esclavage sous la République*, Rome, 1987 ou de W. W. Buckland, *Roman Law of Slavery. The Condition of the Slave in Private Law From Augustus to Justinian*. Cambridge 1908 proposent des vues exhaustives sur la question. Par ailleurs, la base CDDA-DRANT, bien qu'incomplète et ne mentionnant pas le présent ouvrage, fait état de plus de 320 références relatives à l'esclave pour la période 1960–2011; c'est dire l'importance que la doctrine historique et juridique accorde à ce sujet. Il faut aussi rappeler que les chercheurs semblent s'être focalisés en partie sur les formes de dépendances serviles, qu'elles soient juridiques, sociales ou religieuses ; l'originalité de l'ouvrage d'U. Roth est de s'écarter de ce prisme de réflexion.

2. En ce sens, J. Andreau, "Prolétaires et entrepreneurs. La vie d'esclave à Rome," *L'Histoire*, n° 239, Janvier 2000, 88–93, en particulier 88, a mis en évidence le fait que la doctrine historique s'est quelque peu focalisée sur les grandes révoltes serviles et sur la dure condition des esclaves. On aurait donc négligé selon lui de mettre l'accent sur le dynamisme de ces hommes qui pouvaient aussi être des chefs d'entreprise ou de hauts fonctionnaires. J. C. Dumont, *Servus… op. cit.*, 777–778, affirme aussi que, pour bien cerner l'idée que les Romains se faisaient de l'esclave, il faudrait connaître la façon dont fut vécu l'esclavage et également la conscience qu'avait de son « partenaire » à la fois l'homme libre et le *servus*. En même temps, l'auteur insiste, 779–780, sur le fait qu'il n'existe pas d'enquête véritable, à grande échelle, sur la perception du fait servile par la société romaine prise dans sa globalité. De plus, ce type d'étude ne pourrait qu'aboutir à un résultat plus que mitigé, à cause du « jeu » social et de l'hétérogénéité de la condition servile. Ailleurs, 466–469, il souligne que les esclaves entretiennent le plus souvent entre eux des relations fort difficiles.

3. Je me permets de renvoyer à Paturet, A. (2010), "L'individu entre l'homme et la chose. Note sur l'esclave en droit romain," *Droits. Revue française de théorie, de philosophie et de cultures juridiques*, 51, 2, *L'esclavage et la question de l'homme*, PUF, 3–26.

4. Par exemple, la tombe de l'esclave était mise exactement sur le même plan que celle de l'homme libre au sens où elle bénéficiait de la même qualification juridique et intégrait la catégorie des *res religiosae*. Cf. Ulpien *lib.* 25 *ed.* D.11.7.2 pr. *Locum in quo servus sepultus est religiosum esse aristo ait.*

5. Hopkins, K. (1978), *Conquerors and Slaves. Sociological Studies in Roman History*. I, Cambridge, 106.

6. Le livre de Caton aurait été rédigé dans la dernière partie de la vie du Censeur cf. Astin, A. E. (1978), *Cato the Censor*. Oxford, 191, il s'inscrit dans la première moitié du IIème s. av. J. C. Sur le contexte agraire de cette époque, il suffit de renvoyer à une série d'ouvrages : Martin, R. (1971), *Recherches sur les agronomes latin et leurs conceptions économiques et sociales*. thèse de doctorat, Paris; White, K. D. (1973), "Roman Agricultural Writers, I Varron and his Predessessors," *ARNW*, 1, 4, Berlin-New-York: 439–497 ; *Agricultural Implements of the Roman World*. Cambridge, 1967 ; *Latifundia*. Londres, 1967; *Roman Farming*. Londres, 1970 ; Salomon, P. (1964), "Essai sur les structures agraires de l'Italie ancienne," *Recherches d'histoire économique*, Paris, 1–68 (sur l'œuvre de K. D. White, voir Sergeenko, M.

E. (1978), “Les travaux de K. D. White sur la vie agricole des anciens Romains,” *VDI*, 146, 4: 133–148 ; Kolendo, J. (1980), *L’agricoltura nell’Italia romana. Tecniche agrarie e progresso economico dalla tarda Repubblica al Principato*. Rome.

7. Sur ce point, voir l’exposé de Nicolet, C. (1977), *Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen. 1/ Les structures de l’Italie romaine*. Paris, 207–215, en particulier 211 ; l’auteur souligne l’importance considérable de la population servile qui culmine sans doute vers la fin du Ier siècle avant J. C. Dans le traité de Caton, l’esclavage est très présent. L’oliveraie de 240 jugères fonctionne essentiellement avec de la main d’œuvre servile, elle réclame en tout treize personnes parmi lesquelles le *vilicus* et sa femme. Le vignoble de 100 jugères exige seize personnes incluant toujours l’intendant et la fermière. Diverses catégories d’esclaves apparaissent chez Caton (*Agr.*, 10). Les esclaves enchaînés constituaient sans doute la main d’œuvre de base pour les durs travaux des champs. Ils ont droit à des rations alimentaires et de vin plus conséquentes que les autres, en raison de l’énergie qu’ils dépensaient et pour ne pas altérer leur productivité. Des tâches d’encadrement ou de gardiennage étaient aussi confiées à des esclaves qui pouvaient être fermier, surveillant ou berger. Dans divers chapitres de son œuvre, Caton traite de l’alimentation (*Agr.*, 56 et 57) et des vêtements serviles (*Agr.*, 59) : la tunique et les sabots des esclaves doivent être remplacés tous les deux ans.

8. White, K. D. *Roman Agricultural Writers, I, Varron and his Predecessors... op. cit.* 450, considère le *De agricultura* non comme un traité systématique des entreprises mais comme une collection de préceptes pratiques utiles à certains fermiers. Dans la préface de son œuvre, Caton commence par détourner ses contemporains d’activités à tendance spéculative comme le commerce ou l’usure ainsi que l’a souligné Cassarini, A. (1976-1977), *Dominus e praedium in Catone. Elementi di una ideologia*, in *Atti del Ist. Ven. Di Scien., Lett. ed Arti.*, 85, 71–86 ; voir aussi Sabattini, A. (1976–1977), “Tradizione ed innovazione nell’De Agricultura di Catone,” *RSA*, 6–7: 307–313.

9. Brown, J. K (1970), “A Note on the Division of Labor by Sex,” *American Antropologist* 72: 1073–1078.

10. L’exploitation des esclaves au sein de divers secteurs économiques est largement admise. Il faut se reporter ici à Schumacher, L. (2001), *Sklaverei in der Antike Alltag und schicksal der Unfreien*. Munich, 368 p. On s’attardera en particulier sur tout le chapitre 4 où l’auteur décrit des scènes de travail et la production servile dans les domaines primaire, secondaire et tertiaire. La diversité des travaux serviles est mise en évidence dans différents secteurs d’activités : agriculture, construction, production de céramique, textile, commerce, administration et loisirs. L’auteur insiste largement sur ces diverses fonctions occupées par les esclaves en Grèce et à Rome.

11. Weber, M. (1924), “Die sozialen Gründe des Untergangs der antiken Kultur, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sozial und Wirtschaftgeschichte von Max Weber*, M. Weber (éd.), Tübingen, 289–311.

12. Hopkins, K. *Conquerors… op. cit.*, 106.

13. Carandini, A. (1988), *Schiavi in Italia. Gli strumenti pensenti dei Romani fra tarda repubblica e medio impero*. Rome, 109–224.

14. Patterson, O. (1982), *Slavery and Social Death*. Cambridge-London.

15. Rostovtzeff, M. I. (1957), *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*. 2 vol., Oxford, (2nd édition).

16. Whitehouse, R. D. (2001), "Exploring Gender in Prehistoric Italy," *PBSR*, 69: 49-96 ; autres réféences 58 note 16 de l'ouvrage recensé ici.

17. Cotton, M. A. (1979), *The Late Republican Villa at Posto*. London.

18. Rathbone, D. W. (1981), "The Development of Agriculture in the "Ager Cosanus" during the Roman Republic : Problems of Evidence and Interpretation," *JRS*, 71: 10–23.

19. White, K. D. (1965), "The Productivity of Labour in Roman Agriculture," *Antiquity*, 39: 102–107.

20. Hopkins, K. *Conquerors… op. cit.*, 106.

21. Scheidel, W. (2005), "Human Mobility in Roman Italy, II : the Slave Population," *JRS*, 95: 64–79.

22. Et ce même si l'esclave fait l'objet d'un démembrement de propriété, la nu-propriété appartenant à l'un et un autre bénéficiant de l'usufruit. En ce cas spécifique, la doctrine est quasi-unanime pour affirmer que la progéniture de l'esclave va au nu-propriétaire à la différence de celle d'un l'animal qui irait à l'usufruitier. Voir par exemple Wolodkiewicz W. (1967), "Error iuris non nocet ?," *Czasopismo Prawno-Historycze* 19-1: 39–46. *Contra*, sur la base d'un seul texte, Filip-Fröschl, J. (1993), *Partus et fetus et fructus* in *Festschrift für W. Waldstein.* Stuttgart, 99–121, qui conteste l'idée que le *fetus* (petit né de l'animal) soit assimilé à un *fructus* à la différence du *partus ancillae.*

23. Nairne, T. (1710), *Letter From South Carolina Giving an Account of Soil, Air, Product, Trade, Government, Law, Religion, People, Military Strenght, &c. of that Province ; Together with the Manner and Necessary Charges of Settling a Plantation there, and the Annual Profit it will produce.* Londres.

24. Nairne, T. *Letters… op. cit.*, 53.

25. Quelques monographies majeures sont absentes de la liste dressée, telles celles de W. W. Buckland ou de J. C. Dumont indiquées en note 1 du présent article.

26. L'auteur cite la *Letter from South Carolina* de T. Nairne à partir de l'ouvrage de Gray, L. C. (1933), *A History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*. 2 vol., Washington.

27. Il faut insister sur l'importance de ce cadre territorial conçu comme lieu de résidence de la famille et qui représentait l'espace objectif sur lequel s'exerçait l'autorité du *pater*. La tradition romaine prenait la *domus* comme métonymie de la *familia*. Voir par exemple les prières de Caton l'Ancien au *De Agri.* 139.

28. Pour une approche de la notion de famille chez les Romains, cf. Mommsen, T. *Le droit public romain*, Tome 6-1, Paris, 1871–1892 (Trad. P. F. Girard), 6–7. Plus récemment, Guarino, A. (2001), *Diritto privato romano*. Naples, 531–542.

Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 2(1), 2012, pp. 168–170, ISSN 2164-0262

Firms, Boards and Gender Quotas: Comparative Perspectives

Editors: Fredrik Engelstad and Mari Teigen
Volume 29, ISBN: 978-1-78052-672-0, Emerald

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Published in 2012 by Emerald, *Firms, Boards and Gender Quotas: Comparative Perspectives* tackles a hotly debated topic, the one of inequality in business. Norway was the first country to prescribe gender quotas for the board of directors being soon followed by others. The volume is a comprehensive approach to the implications of gender quotas analyzing them from economic, social and philosophical points of view. It has three parts that deal with serious issues connected to the gender and economic power (Part I), firms and families (Part II), and gender quotas to boards of directors (Part III).

According to the editors, most of the studies on gender in economic life focus on "male exercise of power within organizations – visible as well as subtle modes of discrimination, depriving women of promotion and even reaching the top positions in large organizations."[1] The volume approaches this in several directions, taking into account more factors connected to discrimination as such, to women's lack of ambitions or self-esteem, or to other more general factors connected to culture, to the position or image of women, to historical perspectives, religion etc. This situation is mainly dependent upon the role of women in society as being involved more in bringing up children and taking care of the family's wellbeing.

In Chapter 1: *Top Down or Bottom Up? A Cross-national Study of Vertical Occupational Sex Segregation in 12 European Countries*, Andrea Schäfer, Ingrid Tucci and Karin Gottschall (pp. 3–43) look into the role of family relations and the decision-making process within the household. As they argue: "For men being married has a significant positive effect on being in a high-status position. However, this effect is negative for women."[1]

Chapter 2: *Modes of Familism: Gender, Family Capitalism and Family Culture* by Jorun Solheim, Ragnhild Steen Jensen (pp. 47–84) discusses the similarities and differences of two cases of family firms from Norway (shipping

firm) and Italy (silk industry). The authors identify a pattern of marriage and household specific to Norway where both spouses bring property into the marriage. Here, even if women are still legally subordinated to the husbands, they are expected to contribute to the family prosperity. In Italy, on the other hand, they identify the patriarchic desire of men to be succeeded by their sons. According to the authors this desire is "linked to an explicit cultural ideology of masculinity, where economic independence is the central value."[2]

Chapter 3: *Family, Labour Market Structures and the Dynamics of Self-Employment in Three Asian Countries: Gender Differences in Self-Employment Entry in Japan, Korea and Taiwan by Hirohisa Takenoshita* (pp. 85–112), discusses the case of three countries from East Asia. Here, gender inequality appears in the transition into self-employment as being associated with the institutional contexts of family and labor market. According to the author, "female family workers in the three countries had considerable disadvantages in becoming self-employed, which implies that female family workers continue to be exploited by self-employed owners, namely, their husbands. In contrast, the effects of marital status, with both sexes, on their transitions into self-employment differed widely among the three countries, reflecting the various barriers to self-employment and the differing conditions for female employment in each country."[3]

In Chapter 4: *Gender Quotas on Corporate Boards: On the Diffusion of a Distinct National Policy Reform, Mari Teigen* (pp. 115–146) describes the Norwegian reform and analyses the case of other seven countries (Spain, Iceland, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy and Malaysia) that implemented similar gender quotas. If in 2003, The Norwegian parliament adopted a quota law regarding the gender composition of corporate boards, other countries soon followed to take similar measures. This phenomenon is studied in light of diffusion theory that assumes that countries may influence each other's political developments.

In Chapter 5: *Why Gender Quotas in Company Boards in Norway – and Not in Sweden? Vibeke Heidenreich* (pp. 147–183) studies the difference in the implementation of gender quotas in Sweden and Norway, arguing that: "The strong and traditionally socially responsible Swedish business life enjoyed more autonomy than their Norwegian counterpart, making it harder for the Swedish state to interfere in business life. In Norway, on the other hand, the state was a dominant capitalist itself whereas private owners in general were small and dispersed."[4] Therefore, the gender quotas were more effective in Norway where the state can interfere in business.

Chapter 6: *Feminism without Gender? Arguments for Gender Quotas on Corporate Boards in Norway* by Hilde Bjørkhaug, Siri Øyslebø Sørensen (pp. 185–209), the authors discuss that the implementation of gender quotas in board of directors in Norway was the result of political measures. How-

ever, corporate cooperative like the Federation of Norwegian Agricultural Co-operatives (FNAC) voluntarily decided to have a minimum of 40 per cent women or men represented in the their boards beginning with 2009. According to the authors, "In FNAC, we saw that the process of organization-building and modernization played an important role in the decision to voluntarily introduce gender quotas on boards."[5]

In Chapter 7: *Women on Boards of Directors and Firm Performance: Evidence from Denmark and Norway*, Harald Dale-Olsen, Pål Schøne, and Mette Verner (pp. 211–234) examine the impact of quotas on firm performance due to gender diversity in Denmark and Norway. They conclude that the presence of women in boards had no visible impact on performance on long term, even if on short term, it seemed to be rather positive.

Chapter 8: *Limits to State Intervention into the Private Sector Economy: Aspects of Property Rights in Social Democratic Societies* by Fredrik Engelstad (pp. 235–265) tackles the scope of state intervention on property rights in Norway and in other Scandinavian countries. However, according to the author: "Successful reforms introducing employee representatives into health and security committees, as well as to the boards of enterprises, are contrasted to the failed cases of quasi-nationalization of commercial banks in Norway and the wage-earner funds in Sweden."[6]

The volume gives an interesting insight into gender inequality and into the efforts made by the state to promote and implement laws to cover the gender gap. The problem is approached from several angles by examining economic, social, and political factors. Moreover, the volume is a comprehensive study of gender inequality in Europe and Asia, looking into problems of women as a labor force. Tying up some of the current theories, the cases presented in the articles raise sometimes more questions related to the necessary steps taken by the state to correct gender inequality and to the possible positive outcomes of this endeavor. Therefore, the authors arrive at similar conclusions when discussing the fact that women's strive for equal rights is still underway in many countries regardless of state's intervention.

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3. Hirohisa Takenoshita (2012), [1], 85.
4. Vibeke Heidenreich (2012), [1], 147.
5. Hilde Bjørkhaug, Siri Øyslebø Sørensen (2012), [1], 185.
6. Fredrik Engelstad (2012), [1], 235.

Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 2(1), 2012, pp. 171–179, ISSN 2164-0262

Entretien avec Ezza Agha Malak
Paris, 30 Mai 2012

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Ezza Agha Malak est née à Tripoli au Liban, ancien Professeur et Directeur de recherche en linguistique et stylistique françaises à l'Université Saint-Joseph (Tripoli-Liban). Elle quitte Tripoli avec ses deux filles Farah et Jinane en 1975, début de la guerre libanaise, pour entreprendre en France deux thèses de doctorat ès Lettres et en Linguistique, à l'Université Lyon II.[1] Romancière et poète, Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres (2002), et Officier Arts et Lettres de la République française (2011), Ezza Agha Malak est l'auteure de plus d'une vingtaine de romans et de recueils de poésie et d'une cinquantaine d'articles littéraires, sociocritiques et pédagogiques. Écrivaine emblématique de la littérature francophone féminine, Ezza Agha Malak est une écrivaine engagée. Dans ses romans, elle dénonce la condition de la femme arabe et musulmane. Ezza Agha Malak poursuit sa carrière d'écrivain francophone tout en participant à la vie culturelle en France et au Liban. Elle vit entre le nord libanais et Marseille où elle réside.

Efstratia Oktapoda : Ezza, vous êtes connue au Liban, célèbre en France, mais pas assez peut-être aux États-Unis. Est-ce que vous pourriez vous présenter, et nous révéler en quelques mots les détails de votre parcours de femme et d'écrivaine ?

Ezza Agha Malak : Mon parcours est un peu particulier. Je fus une jeune écrivaine précoce. À l'âge de douze ans, je voulais être Rimbaud. J'écrivais beaucoup : des poèmes et des nouvelles en arabe ou en français que je traduisais dans l'autre langue –le français et l'arabe allaient de pair dans le système d'enseignement libanais. Mon premier mini roman *Sans rendez-vous préalable*, je l'ai écrit à l'âge de treize ans et a été diffusé en trois épisodes sur la Radio Libanaise dans les années soixante. Puis, je me suis mariée et j'ai eu deux filles. Il était alors évident que j'arrête d'écrire. Depuis mon mariage, j'écrivais rarement et discrètement comme un voleur. Car dans ma société patriarcale, il n'était pas question qu'une femme de foyer qui a des enfants et un mari, « perde son temps » dans l'écriture. Je me

contentais alors de tenir un journal dans lequel j'enregistrais mes réflexions et des impressions poétiques.

J'avais vingt huit ans lors du décès de mon mari, et la première partie du Bac pour tout bagage culturel. Et comme si le malheur nous munit d'une nouvelle ardeur, j'ai pris mon courage à deux mains et j'ai osé me présenter aux examens de la 2ème partie du Bac que j'ai réussie avec mention. C'est ainsi que veuve de vingt neuf ans et mère de deux petites filles, j'ai commencé une course avec le temps pour rattraper les années perdues. Après une licence ès Lettres françaises à l'Université Libanaise et une maîtrise à l'École des Lettres de Beyrouth –qui n'était en fait qu'une branche de l'Université de Lyon II et ça tombait bien–, je me suis installée en France avec mes deux filles alors que la guerre battait son plein au Liban pour décrocher deux doctorats français. Là aussi j'ai mis de côté mon rêve de devenir « écrivain », prise par la rédaction de mes deux thèses, de 3ème cycle et d'État. Je suis devenue ainsi titulaire de deux doctorats, ce qui m'a permis d'enseigner pendant 26 ans la linguistique et la littérature françaises à l'Université. Je donnais en même temps des conférences et je participais à des Congrès dans différents pays. Le temps matériel me manquait, et l'écriture devenait un rêve futur. C'est pourquoi je m'y suis précipitée, comme un assoiffé sur une source vive. Un peu plus tard, ma détermination à « écrire » est devenue plus grande que faire évoluer ma carrière, mes écrits se sont considérablement multipliés. Je faisais paraître en moyenne, un ou deux ouvrages par an, signés régulièrement au Salon du Livre de Beyrouth et dans d'autres Salons : de Paris, de Provence, de la Bourgogne, Tokyo, etc. Je voulais être « écrivain francophone » et le suis devenue. En janvier 2012, j'ai été promue au grade d'Officier Arts et Lettres. Je crois que je suis la première femme au Liban à avoir cette distinction honorifique. Je suis reconnaissante à la France.

Efstratia Oktapoda : Vous avez écrit un grand nombre de romans, quatorze si je ne me trompe pas, et une multitude de recueils poétiques, neuf recueils si mes calculs sont bons. Pourriez-vous nous parler de votre œuvre et nous révéler les grands thèmes qui le traversent, votre façon d'écrire et les particularités de votre écriture ?

Ezza Agha Malak : J'avoue que je suis une écrivaine prolifique. Ma tête foisonne de thèmes et d'idées que j'ai hâte d'aligner sur le papier. À peine un roman terminé, je commence un autre. Parfois deux à la fois. Jusqu'à ce jour, j'ai à mon actif vingt sept ouvrages, romans et poèmes. Des romans comme *La Femme de mon mari* où il est question non seulement de relations conjugales et extraconjugales, mais aussi d'attitudes féminines et de traditions socioculturelles. Dans *Les Portes de la nuit*, on trouve une analyse et psychanalyse du rêve prémonitoire qui constitue une croyance des sociétés orientales. *La Dernière des Croisés* dénonce le viol, l'égoïsme, le machisme,

et la condition des enfants embauchés très jeunes. *Mariée à Paris. Répudiée à Beyrouth* condamne le divorce unilatéral accordé à l'homme par la religion elle-même et l'attitude injuste de cette religion vis-à-vis de la femme musulmane libanaise. On y trouvera également une comparaison pertinente entre les deux pouvoirs judiciaires, libanais et français. *Qu'as-tu fait de tes mômes, Papa ?* remet en cause l'irresponsabilité de certains pères qui abandonnent leurs enfants. En somme, chaque roman examine une situation différente. Mon dernier recueil de poèmes *Mes Villes. Mes Amours. Mes Solitudes* suit entre autres, une approche politique. Le recueil qui l'a précédé intitulé *À quatre mains et à deux cœurs* est écrit en collaboration avec mon compagnon Gilles Sicard. Il constitue un point de rencontre entre deux pensées distinctes mais qui se complètent, méditant sur les rapports humains et dénonçant les responsables du chaos.

Cette année je signerai au Salon du Livre mon roman *Balafres ou le Silence de la Méditerranée*. À travers une belle histoire d'amour, il raconte l'horreur de la guerre libanaise : comment les Libanais ont brûlé ce qu'ils ont adoré et comment pour éteindre les feux entre Caïn et Abel, ils ont fait appel aux étrangers pour s'immiscer dans leur affaire et occupent le pays. L'œuvre d'un écrivain est avant tout le reflet de sa vie.

Efstratia Oktapoda : Une œuvre multiforme en effet comme votre vie de femme et d'écrivaine. Vous avez été toujours une femme battante et vous vous êtes battue pour des valeurs universelles et la position de la femme orientale et moyen orientale. Mais quelle est en fait Madame Malak la particularité de votre œuvre en tant qu'écrivain, puis comme écrivain francophone ?

Ezza Agha Malak : C'est une triple question !

– En tant qu'écrivain, j'aborde des sujets divers, ceux qui intéressent en général tout écrivain et qui l'interpellent.

– En tant qu'écrivain francophone je crois qu'il y a là quelque chose de particulier : le métissage culturel. Le fait que je suis bilingue et biculturelle a de l'impact sur mon écriture. Je raconte en français ce que je pense en arabe : l'exil, la séparation, l'ignorance, l'oppression, l'injustice, et les problèmes de ma société, machiste en premier lieu.

Une autre particularité culturelle joue en faveur de ce que je raconte ou décris : l'emprunt. À ma langue arabe, j'emprunte (mais sans abus) certaines structures syntaxiques, ou métaphoriques et même pragmatiques qui enrichissent l'aspect stylistique du texte. C'est inévitable quand on est biculturel et bilingue. On ne peut pas occulter complètement ses origines ou encore en faire table rase. Ce qui donnera lieu à un style créatif et novateur.

– À cela, vient s'ajouter un troisième point : la féminité ou encore la *féminitude* (terme créé par Simone de Beauvoir imitant celui de *négritude* utilisé par Aimé Césaire). Je suis *femme écrivain*, c'est-à-dire différente de

l'autre sexe et de ses priorités et qui pose naturellement la dualité fondamentale féminin/masculin. Par là, mes thèmes intègrent cette dualité. Le facteur social joue un rôle important : la structure de la société, de l'histoire, de la confession, de la religion, tout cela a un impact direct sur mon écriture en tant que femme. Mon statut socioculturel diffère de celui d'un homme. J'essaie de reconstruire dans mes écrits un univers féminin afin de défier les normes imposées par une société patriarcale. Mon identité de femme m'a permis de porter un regard attentif sur la réalité douloureuse des femmes qui souffrent dans les différents pays, islamiques en particulier. Celles qui n'ont pas pu se débarrasser du joug masculin. Pour humaniser le monde, il faut d'abord sortir ces femmes de leur féminitude noire, leur offrir un rôle dans la mouvance du monde, les faire participer à la nouvelle marche du siècle. Et ceci n'est possible que quand on dénonce leur condition.

C'est dans ce sens-là qu'on pourrait parler d'une *écriture féminine* parallèlement à une autre masculine. Le débat dans ce sens est toujours ouvert. Sans être féministe, je pense qu'une littérature féminine doit exister dans un concept hiérarchique de sexe si bien qu'on a du mal à établir cette hiérarchie.

Efstratia Oktapoda : C'est très intéressant ce que vous dites Madame Malak et nous aurons l'occasion de reprendre et de continuer ce vaste débat qui est aussi celui des femmes à l'ère moderne. Je voudrais voir avec vous maintenant vos positions sur l'écriture féminine et la spécificité de votre écriture en tant que femme. Vous êtes femme-écrivain. Est-ce que vous élaborez des thématiques particulièrement féminines, modernes, traditionnelles ? des valeurs familiales ?

Ezza Agha Malak : Y a-t-il vraiment une « spécificité » de l'écriture féminine comme le prétend la critique littéraire actuelle ? Et ne faut-il pas se méfier étant donné que certains écrivains hommes réussissent à colorer leurs écrits de *féminité* ?

Comme je l'ai dit, écriture féminine et écriture masculine ne peuvent être confrontées que lorsqu'on entre dans une dialectique sociale des sexes. Il faudrait donc certaines stratégies narratives pour faire valoir dans l'œuvre, l'attitude féminine. Dans mes écrits, je parcours les avatars du monde féminin afin d'exposer des situations, décrire des états et dénoncer. En tant que femme écrivain, je réclame mon droit à l'identité féminine culturelle dans ma société machiste qui désapprouve ce droit. Par les thèmes traités et les idées exposées, je prouve mon égalité ou ma supériorité. Il y a des hommes écrivains culturellement inférieurs, mais ils n'admettent pas cette infériorité. Malgré l'égalité civile entre l'homme et la femme, ce problème persiste même aujourd'hui.

Je crois que mes collègues masculins ne lisent pas mes livres comme le font mes amies femmes. Celles-ci se penchent avec intérêt sur mes romans parce qu'elles y voient leur propre reflet. Pas les hommes qui trouvent que

leur position de supériorité est menacée. Au Liban, la femme écrivain essaie de basculer l'ordre établi et d'égaler l'homme écrivain, sinon le dépasser. De « prendre » la parole qui lui a été refusée pendant des siècles et évoluer vers un monde plus authentique, porteur de valeurs respectueuses.

Bien sûr qu'aujourd'hui, je n'ai pas besoin d'un pseudonyme pour écrire et faire valoir monœuvre. Rappelons que, dans le temps, les femmes sont restées absentes du domaine littéraire, représentées par des hommes. Elles avaient recours à un pseudonyme masculin pour se faire éditer. Mais il me faut de la place, du temps et moins d'engagements. Rappelons aussi que George Eliot, Jane Austin, Emilie Brontë, et d'autres grandes romancières sont restées célibataires afin de pouvoir se consacrer à la création littéraire. Chaque écriture a en fait sa spécificité.

Efstratia Oktapoda : Ezza, vous êtes toujours aussi généreuse que l'on vous connaît. Et impartiale. Et quand est-il de la part autobiographique dans vos œuvres ? Bien sûr on connaît et reconnaît cette part dans tous vos romans, et dans vos poèmes aussi. Pourriez-vous nous dire un peu plus à ce sujet ?

Ezza Agha Malak : Mes écrits dégagent souvent certains traits autobiographiques qui dévoilent mon identité et qui ont un lien avec ma vie. Le fictif est limité. Mon environnement est surchargé de problèmes et d'histoires que tout recours à la fiction s'avère oiseux. Je plonge dans mon univers, dans ma vie, pour repêcher les histoires qui deviendraient romans. On appelle parfois cela du « narcissisme ». Soit. Le narcissisme est lié à l'écriture féminine. On assiste aujourd'hui à l'émergence d'une nouvelle écriture féminine et une sorte de genre littéraire lié à la structure identitaire et qui ne peut plus être séparé de la notion du sexe.

Je dois dire d'abord que l'éducation, l'environnement culturel ou intellectuel, l'appartenance sociale et certaines données sociocuturelles ont leur impact sur les écrits féminins. Une écrivaine qui appartient à une société, machiste, austère, fanatique, ou aliénante n'écrit pas de la même manière que celle qui vit dans une société sans contraintes, libre et ouverte. La vision du monde elle-même change selon les sociétés et les pays.
Dans mes écrits, je touche à des questions délicates :
– <u>*D'ordre social*</u> : Les droits de la femme et les rapports du couple dans *Mariée à Paris. Répudiée à Beyrouth*. Ceux de l'enfant et les rapports fils-père dans *Qu'as-tu fait de tes mômes, Papa ?* Ceux des travailleurs maltraités (à Dubaï, au Liban) et ceux des jeunes bonnes (presqu'enfants) qu'embauchent les riches (même de nos jours) dans *La Dernière des Croisés*. Le divorce et le rejet de la femme accordé à l'homme par la religion elle-même dans *Les Portes de la nuit* et bien d'autres thèmes ayant rapport direct aux droits de la femme et de l'enfant.
– <u>*D'ordre psychologique*</u> : En revendiquant pour la femme, les droits de l'Homme, j'exploite la dimension spatio-temporelle. Je crois que le temps

constitue un élément narratif important dans mes romans. Et c'est normal : la femme, bien plus que l'homme, est sensible au passage du temps et ses avatars. C'est qu'elle le perçoit à travers son corps et son cerveau, tous deux différents de celui de l'homme. La grossesse, l'accouchement, l'allaitement, les règles, la ménopause, etc. autant de facteurs qui concernant la seule femme et qui la rendent sensible au temps. Une sorte d'écriture du corps féminin se dessine, certes.

– *D'ordre religieux et confessionnel* : Dans *La Mallette*, je critique le système de l'héritage et le droit de l'aînesse (chez les sunnites) ainsi que dans *Anosmia*. Le droit donné aux hommes de « répudier » leur femme dans *Les Portes de la nuit* et *Mariée à Paris. Répudiée à Beyrouth* : la liberté « libertine » si je peux dire accordée aux hommes et soustraite aux femmes dans la société orientale. Dans *La Dernière des Croisés* : une femme adultère est passible de prison, ou de lapidation et même de mort dans certains pays islamiques, pas l'homme qui a une supériorité phallique. Lorsque je parle des tabous, j'ai recours à des structures logiques. Cela est plus convaincant. Comme par exemple la question du voile et du tchador, une « double prison » pour la femme des pays du Golf comme je l'ai précisé dans *Les Portes de la nuit*. Dans une de mes conférences, je déclare que ces mesures prises à l'égard de la femme, sont trop dépréciatives pour l'homme lui-même et qu'il incombe à ce dernier de se « revaloriser » en supprimant ces contraintes vestimentaires féminines. Parce que ces pratiques qui veulent que la femme cache ses cheveux ou encore son visage pour ne pas *exciter* l'homme fait allusion directe à l'animalité et rappelle l'image du taureau qui s'excite à la vue de tout tissu rouge qui bouge. Sous forme de syllogisme, je déduis que comme l'homme n'est pas un animal, c'est à lui de revendiquer la libération de la femme. J'ai donné cette conférence dans un pays musulman, le Maroc et elle fut acceptée.

– *D'ordre politique* : Il faut donner à l'écriture une dimension politique.

Mon premier roman *La Mallette* montre la structure clanique de la société libanaise (la mosaïque). Je parle de l'incapacité des responsables, de la corruption, de la société mafieuse d'après-guerre, des marchands d'armes, des mafias tout court. *Dans Bagdad. Des morts qui sonnent plus fort que d'autres* j'évoque l'hypocrisie, la démagogie, les mensonges historiques d'un pays qui se considère le plus puissant au monde, les États-Unis. L'armée américaine a envahi l'Irak sous prétexte de le démocratiser alors que c'est pour mettre la main sur son pétrole. Comme dans toutes les guerres au Moyen-Orient, je démontre que c'est la loi de la jungle qui règne. Dans mon dernier recueil de poèmes *Mes villes. Mes Amours. Mes Solitudes*, je critique la classe politique. Dans les poèmes : « Les élections, c'est demain les gars ! » ou « Mon Liban » ou encore « Les voilà, nos protecteurs protégés ! », j'accuse le gouvernement de pousser nos jeunes en dehors des murs du pays.

Efstratia Oktapoda : Comment construisez-vous vos romans ?

Ezza Agha Malak : Un schéma narratif précède toute construction romanesque. À la base, il y a une histoire d'amour (inspirée de ma vie ou de mon entourage). Comme je privilégie l'extradiégétique en restant à l'extérieur de mon histoire racontée (par un autre), il me faut un narrateur qui parle à ma place. Il peut être moi-même ou un autre choisi dans la diégèse. À partir de cette architecture, je peux donner au récit toutes sortes de dimensions : féminine, politique, religieuse, ou purement narrative. Dans les histoires d'ordre intimiste, je trace des lignes rouges : l'aspect pornographique est exclu donnant lieu à une certaine retenue. Bon nombre d'écrivaines libanaises se plaisent à plonger dans l'aspect pornographique. Moi je préfère la discrétion même dans certaines évocations érotiques que nécessite le récit. Mon but est de transmettre un message de tolérance, d'amour, de justice, ou autre, et non d'exciter le lecteur.

Efstratia Oktapoda : Peut-on parler de littérature engagée dans vos écrits ?

Ezza Agha Malak : Peut-être, dans la mesure où c'est pour servir une cause que j'écris. Quelque soit le degré d'audace et de liberté, je vise à faire entendre ma voix. Aujourd'hui, la voix des femmes est importante à entendre et faire valoir. Il faut appeler les choses par leur nom et rester fidèle à la réalité.

Efstratia Oktapoda : Dans vos œuvres, je parle plutôt des romans, il y a une extravagance extraordinaire des styles et des personnes. Je pense à votre dernier roman *Qu'as-tu fait de tes mômes, Papa ?* où Éric le narrateur parle à la première personne, ce qui est plutôt rare dans une diégèse. Pouvez-vous nous donner quelques mots sur le style narratif et le développement romanesque de vos œuvres ?

Ezza Agha Malak : Dans ma conscience profonde, je suis encline à la **fonction expressive** de la première personne. L'épanouissement du JE est libérateur. Mais je trouve que cette manière de faire touche à l'autobiographique alors que ce n'est pas là mon objectif littéraire. Pour me marginaliser en tant qu'auteure et laisser parler les « autres », j'utilise souvent la troisième personne du singulier parce que c'est le pronom de « l'absent » comme on dit en arabe. Et quand tu parles d'une personne absente, tu ajoutes une dimension spatiotemporelle qui donne libre cours à l'imagination du lecteur. Mais ce n'est pas toujours le cas. Dans mon dernier roman, *Qu'as-tu fait de tes mômes, Papa ?* les **deux fonctions**, expressive et conative se répondent. Il s'agit d'un JE qui s'adresse à un TU pour le juger et l'accuser. C'est plus vivant, plus fort, plus présent. Il y a donc plusieurs formes de discours et tout dépend du sujet traité et du personnage que je vais mettre sur scène. Chaque création littéraire a sa spécificité et ses procédés narratifs. Souvent, je privilégie **le dialogue** comme procédé narratif. Quand le narrateur ou

l'auteur cède la parole à ses personnages et que le dialogue gagne du terrain aux dépens du récit, plusieurs visions du monde se dessinent. Le dialogue donne de la vivacité au texte et l'anime. Il copie le réel en le dramatisant.

Une autre particularité de mon style c'est l'utilisation du ***flash back*** (**analepse**). Ce procédé narratif est souvent présent dans mes romans. J'essaie de l'amener d'une façon naturelle sans interrompre le fil de l'action. Je place d'abord mon personnage principal au moment présent, en instance de rêve et de mémorisation et je le laisse faire des retours en arrière. Du dialogue, le récit glisse vers le *flash back* et un retour au passé est ainsi effectué. Pour moi, c'est un procédé efficace pour combler un vide et ajouter des informations à l'intention du lecteur. Évoquer un fait passé et l'insérer dans le présent tout en restant dans la ligne chronologique, brise la linéarité (et la platitude) du récit en ajoutant à sa dimension psychologique. Cette *déchronologie* qu'amène le *flash back*, m'intéresse en tant que procédé narratif – ça fait un peu cinéma ! On peut entendre la voix intérieure du personnage qui se souvient.

Le roman que je viens de finir *Balafres ou le Silence de la Méditerranée* reprend cette technique avec des voix *off*. Beaucoup d'événements importants sont relatés en faisant appel à la mémoire du personnage. Des épisodes du passé s'entrecroisent ou s'entrechoquent avec des épisodes du présent. Ceci constitue un chevauchement heureux. Insérer le *flash back* dans la continuité de l'histoire, c'est changer de temps et de ton et rendre le récit plus nuancé.

Efstratia Oktapoda : Est-ce que c'est le style qui prime pour vous, ou bien les valeurs défendues, qui sont d'après moi profondément féminines et qui saisissent toute femme sans parole, sans voix, sans droits ? Une littérature révolutionnaire en fin de compte puisque dans vos romans, plus que dans votre poésie, vous vous insurgez et vous faites insurger toutes les femmes privées de droits et avec elles la société entière.

Ezza Agha Malak : Mon écriture ne prétend pas briser le discours phallique de l'homme comme l'a fait Marguerite Duras. Si je revendique dans mes écrits mon identité sexuelle en déclarant ma « féminitude », c'est afin de pouvoir parler des droits arnaqués de la femme, de la volonté de l'homme à la soumettre, d'occulter ses facultés et son intelligence. C'est moins une quête personnelle qu'un dévoilement ouvert.

Efstratia Oktapoda : Et sur le style et les valeurs défendues dans votre œuvre ?

Ezza Agha Malak : L'acte d'écrire se place au centre de mes préoccupations littéraires. Je donne bien sûr de l'attention au style, mais ce sont surtout les valeurs défendues qui occupent le centre de mes réflexions. Il faut « accrocher » dès le début. Le style joue un rôle important dans la

transmission du message. Parfois il y a une « recherche » d'écriture féminine qui domine les différentes sortes de textes : narratifs, descriptifs, analytiques, psychanalytiques et poétiques. Dans *Qu'as-tu fait de tes mômes, Papa ?*, le style est très poétique. Certains passages s'apparentent à la poésie et peuvent constituer un poème. C'est un adolescent qui, ayant eu des blessures, essaie de dénoncer l'égoïsme de son père parti avec une femme en abandonnant son foyer et en obéissant à ses instincts (histoire fréquente de nos jours). La douleur et le chagrin s'expriment poétiquement dans le roman. Le choix du « style » narratif dans un roman (ou en poésie) dépendra donc du thème choisi.

On ne peut pas étudier l'écriture d'une femme comme une généralité. C'est un phénomène inhérent au caractère même de l'écrivaine et à sa culture, mais aussi à sa position de femme contestataire ! Ainsi, pour mieux défendre les valeurs citées plus haut, je prends soin de mon style. Avec un style attachant, je peux inviter le lecteur à adhérer à mes intentions dans la défense de mes valeurs de femme. Ainsi j'aborde toutes sortes de sujets et particulièrement ceux de la femme (réduite encore de nos jours, dans certains pays arabes, à un fantasme sexuel et un « corps ». Revaloriser la femme est la première de mes occupations culturelles.

Efstratia Oktapoda : Un dernier mot sur vos romans à venir ?

Ezza Agha Malak : Mes deux prochains romans portent sur la pédophilie et les gigolos arnaqueurs : deux sujets timidement débattus aujourd'hui sur les chaînes libanaises et interdits sur les autres chaînes arabes. Ils restent des sujets tabous. Et je reste par rapport à beaucoup, une écrivaine audacieuse.

Efstratia Oktapoda : Merci Ezza pour cette œuvre généreuse, féminine et profondément humaine.

NOTES

Voir le Site officiel de Ezza Agha Malak, écrivaine libanaise d'expression française : <http://www.ezza-agha-malak.com/> qui contient plusieurs liens Web. On peut voir aussi le Site de Wikipedia: <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ezza_Agha-Malak> ou encore l'ancien Site libanais de l'auteure: <http://www.lb.refer.org/malak/index.htm>

Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 2(1), 2012, pp. 180–184, ISSN 2164-0262

Women's Writing and the East-West Connections within Europe: Visualizing the Channels

Spiru Haret University, Bucharest
25–28 April 2012

The workshop ***Women's Writing and the East-West Connections within Europe: Visualizing the Channels*** took place on 25–28 April 2012, in Bucharest, at Spiru Haret University, on behalf of the Central Institute of Research. As it was announced from the argument of the Call for Papers, the workshop aimed at "reflecting on what kind of factors (Increasing travelling possibilities? Need for money? Increasing education? Feminism? Political developments? Growing curiosity?) were at stake when women put themselves to writing, publishing and entering into contact with readers." On the technological level, the concept of *Visualizing* covered the terms of "maps, trees, graphs" (cf. Moretti) in showing influences going from West to East and vice versa, making visible proportions and percentages and illustrating influences exerted by a work, an author, a group of authors.

Being a member of the Group 4 within the COST project, Ramona Mihaila tried to disseminate information concerning the workshop in Bucharest and she sent invitations to Romanian institutions of higher education, to the Romanian Academy, to other foreign institutions and she promoted the event with posters (see poster), flyers, announcements in print media (see www.opinianationala.ro), a radio clip (H2.FM), a video clip broadcasted on national TV channels (Etalon TV) and the university channel (see http://centralresearch institute.weebly.com/evenimente-iccs.html).

The workshop had also media partners, the television channels H2O, Etalon TV that recorded the presentations delivered by the participants and interviewed professor Suzan van Dijk, the director of the COST project, and associate professor Ramona Mihaila, the organizer, (see the interview: http://centralresearchinstitute.weebly.com/evenimente-iccs.html)

The workshop was organized on seven sessions dedicated only to the members of the project, two workshops focused on database tools, and a key-note presentation. The new thing concerning the workshop was the presence of faculty members and students from the Spiru Haret University among the members of the project. There were also guests from other foreign universities

around Europe. The workshop was opened by Professor **Manuela Epure**, Vice Rector on Research, Spiru Haret University and Professor **Suzan van Dijk**, the director of the COST Project. They gave the floor to **Ramona Mihaila** who tried in her presentation, *(In)Visible European Connecting Channels: Mapping Nineteenth Century Women's Writings*, to find European (in)visible connections by mapping the activities of the 19th century women writers and taking into account: their birthplace, death place, their studies accomplished abroad, their writing travelogues etc.

On the first day, all the participants visited the Castle Mogosoaia (http://www.ghidinfoturism.ro/obiective_turistice/muntenia/judetul_ilfov/mogosoaia/palatul_mogosoaia/) that belonged to Marthe Bibesco, a very important international Romanian-French author. While visiting the museum/castle, **Onorina Botezat** talked about this fascinating writer's life and writing during a speech entitled *Martha Bibescu: A Muse of Wisdom and a Sculptor of Words.*

The keynote lecture, *The Romanians in Paris. Romanian-born French Women Authors: Dora d'Istria, Anna de Noailles and Marthe Bibesco*, given by Professor **Efstratia Oktapoda** (Sorbonne University) aimed at offering a French approach to three prominent Romanian writers, Dora d'Istria, Anna de Noailles and Marthe Bibesco, who lived in Paris and wrote in French.

The first session, **Comparing between East and West**, focused on mapping Europe in the nineteenth century by finding connections between writers from Eastern and Western countries of Europe: *West European and East European Women Travellers in Istanbul* **(Nadezhda Alexandrova)**, *The Reception of Female Authors from East and West European Countries in 19th-Century Slovenia* (**Tanja Badalič** and **Aleš Vaupotič**) and *Mapping Europe: Ida Hahn-Hahn's travel writing (East and West)* (**Kerstin Wiedemann** and **Elisa Müller-Adams**).

The second session, **"Female" Spaces and Places**, due to its three presentations allowed the audience to become familiar with customs and traditions of European cities in the travelogues of women writers: *Venice: International Connections as Seen through Elisabetta Caminer Turra's* Europa Letteraria (**Marianna D'Ezio**), *Between Vienna and Prague: Slovene author Zofka Kveder and Her Cultural Connections* (**Alenka Jensterle-Doležal**), *East and West in Serbian Women's Writing* (**Biljana Dojčinović**).

The third session, **International "Female" Influences**, brought into attention four important 19th century European women writers, George Sand, Fanny Seculici, Dragojla Jarnević, and Sofía Casanova and their influence upon transnational connections: *George Sand and the Rottová Sisters* (*Bohemia*) (**Corinne Fournier Kiss**), *Fany Seculici Connecting Romania to Europe* (**Luiza Marinescu**), *European Romanticism and Dragojla Jarnević* (**Ivana Zivancevic-Sekerus**), *Sofía Casanova: Transnational Point of a View of a Spanish Woman in Russia* (**Begoña Regueiro**).

The fourth session, **International Reception Networks**, intended to underline the international dimension of authorship as women writers on export *Internationalizing Authorship: the European Circulation of Mme de Villedieu's and Mlle de La Roche-Guilhem's Works* (**Amelia Sanz**), *The French Enlightenment Seen from Eastern Europe: Reassessing Mme Leprince de Beaumont's Impact* (**Alicia C. Montoya)**, *Swedish Women Writers on Export* (**Yvonne Leffler** and **Gunilla Hermannson**)

The fifth session, **Looking from the Outside**, dealt with the dissemination of Eastern European literature in 18th and 19th century through 'networking texts, tools and researchers': *Giustiniana Wynne: Inventing Eastern Europe in Italy* (**Nancy Isenberg)**, *Looking from Spain: Emilia Pardo Bazán and the Dissemination of Russian Literature* (**Henriette Partzsch**), *Networking Texts, Tools and Researchers* (**Madeleine Jeay**).

The sixth session, **The Influence of Western Ideas**, offered perspectives of transferring 19th and early 20th century western notions to Central and Southern European countries through educational practices, ideas, or concepts of feminism: *Two Women Transferring Western Educational Practices to the Ottoman Greek System)* (**Katerina Dalakoura**), *Neither East Nor West: Zeyneb Hanoum, An Ottoman Woman without a Home* (**Senem Timuroglu**), *The refusal of Western Ideas Expressed by a Woman* (*Isidora Sekulić*) (**Sofija Nemet**), *East, West and the Concept of Feminism in Jelena Dimitrijević's Prose* (**Magdalena Koch**)

The last session, **International Figures (19th Century)**, pinpointed the transcending boundaries through the works of four important 19th century women writers: Dagny Juel Przybyszewska, Carmen Sylva, Alexandra Papadopoulou, and Mme de Genlis: *Dagny Juel Przybyszewska: a Norwegian Woman Transcending Boundaries* (**Toril Steinfeld**), *Queen Elizabeth of Romania (ps. Carmen Sylva): Her Role and Influence* (**Michaela Mudure**), *Alexandra Papadopoulou's Peregrinations as a Means of Disseminating Ideas* (**Aspasia Vasiliki**), *Mme de Genlis Present all over Europe: The Romanian Case* (**Ileana Mihaila**), *Translating Culture, Translating Gender: Mid-19th Century Romanian Women's Translations of French Novels and the Cultural Shift of Modernity* **(Carmen Duţu)**.

The panel chaired by **Astrid Kulsdom** (Database Editorial Board) focused on ways of working in the *WomenWriters* database: demonstration and discussion and andling the large-scale sources, as used (and to be used) in the database.

Gertjan Filarski, developer Huygens ING, chaired a workshop that tried to find ways to visualize project members' research material into maps and networks. Together with his discussion partners, **Henriette Partzsch** and **Madeleine Jeay**, they tried to find methods to face the further away future: research to be planned, connections to be created, proposals to be/being

formulated. In the end, **Biljana Dojčinović** introduced the participants to the *Knjizenstvo* project and Database for Serbian Women's Literature.

At the conference there were participants affiliated to other institutions from Romania or abroad and their presentations covered a span of time starting with the 18th century and ending with the 20th: *The Ladies' Relation to Literary Reading and Writing in the Romanian 18th Century* **(Lia Brad Chisacof)**, *Sonya Kowalevskaya's Writing from Russia to Sweden* **(Ma Li)**, *Matilda Cugler-Poni and Heinrich Heine: Poetry and Translation* (**Mihaela Hristea)**, *The Feminine Images of Bessarabean Press of 1911–1914* **(Valentina Enachi**).

There were two sessions dedicated to presentations delivered by the faculty members and students from the Spiru Haret University. All of the contributors talked about Romanian women writers and their connections with Europe of 19th century: *Nineteenth Century Romanian Women Translators and Their Contribution to Promoting Romanian Culture in Europe* (**Ruxandra Vasilescu**), *Dora d'Istria and Bucura Dumbrava: Parallel Destinies, Geographic Congruences. Literary and Scientific Contribution to the Development of Connections between East and West* (**Mihaela Frăsineanu, Dragoş Frăsineanu, Liliana Guran**), *Martha Bibesco and the Virtues of Preserving the Ancestral Past* (**Sebastian Chirimbu** and **Adina Barbu-Chirimbu**), *Anna de Noailles between La Belle Epoque Femme Fattale and Nietzschenian Philosophy* (**Carmen Ghinea**), *The Feminine Mythology of Early 20th Century in Romania: Queen Marie* (**Nicoleta Doina Teodorescu**), *Alexandrina Cantacuzino and Elena Vacaresco: Two Princesses between East and West* (**Cristina Păiuşan-Nuică, Teodora Stanciu-Stănescu**), *Elena Bacaloglu, between Literature and Politics across Europe* **Cătălin Radu** (Central Research Institute, Spiru Haret University).

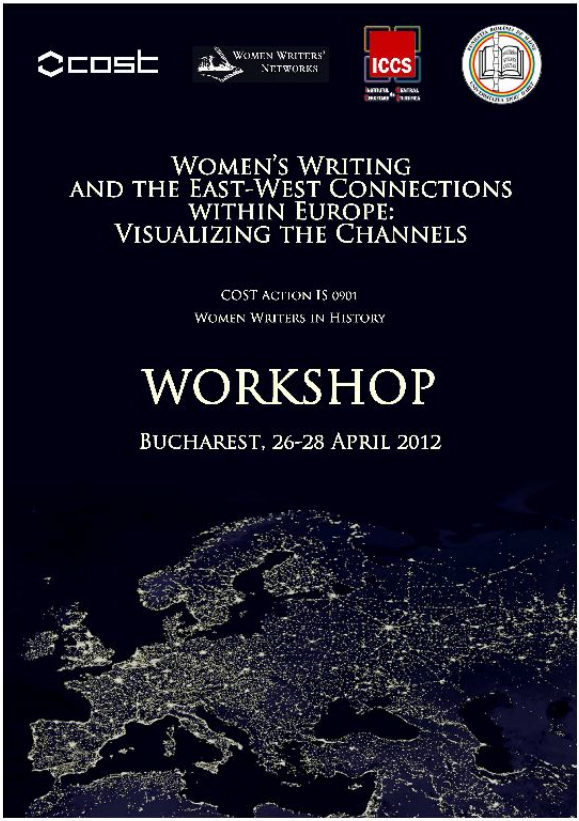
A small number of faculty members from the Center of Multilinguistic and Interdisciplinary Research, Faculty of Letters, Spiru Haret University, talked about the French influence upon Romanian women writers: *Dora D'Istria: le tremplin roumain vers la condition de la femme / de l'intellectuelle modern* **(Andreea Vladescu)**, *Traduction et autotraduction dans l'oeuvre de Julie Hasdeu* (**Tamara Ceban**), *L'identité rhizomatique de Dora D'Istria* (**Mihaela Chapelan**), *Isvor ou le Pays des Saules - un retour à la source* (**Galina Florea**), *George Sand: A la recherche de ses ailleurs* (**Cătălin Simion**)

As it concerns the students, with two exceptions, *East and West Feminism: Similarities and Differences in Adela Xenopol's Writing* **(Ioana Ion)** and *Crossing Borders: Smara Gheorghiu's Travelogues* **(Cristian Valentin Gherghely)**, the rest of them delivered their speeches in pairs: The students presented most of them in pairs: *Orient Versus Occident: Elena Ghica (Dora d'Istria) and Her Cosmopolitan Views* **(Vasilica Paun Gheorghe** and **Florin Andrei)**, *Crossing Boundaries: Maria Rosetti and Her Militant Writings*

(Aneta Petrof Turcu and **Isabela Brănescu)**, *Poetry, Love and Coincidence in Vienna: Veronica Micle and Mihai Eminescu* **(Laura Dudău Galan** and **Marin Codreanu)**, *Connecting Little Paris of the East (Bucharest) to Paris: Hulia Hasdeu the First Romanian Woman to Study at the Sorbonne* **(Ileana Duţă** and **Andrei Haţegan)**.

The workshop ***Women's Writing and the East-West Connections within Europe: Visualizing the Channels*** had 66 participants from 19 countries around Europe and was preparatory to the conference which will be held in Poznan in November 2012, organized by Magdalena Koch.

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ISSN: 2164-0262