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Journal of Research in Gender Studies

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Applications are invited for one-month Visiting Fellowships at Chawton House Library (CHL) to be taken up between October 2013 and the end of August 2014 (please note: no Visiting Fellowships will be awarded during December 2013 and January 2014). Deadline for applications: **19 March 2013.** All Fellows will be offered accommodation and office space in the main Library building. They will also be given library rights at the University of Southampton, including access to both electronic and archival resources at the Hartley Library.

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The University of Southampton has particular strengths in the long eighteenth century. The Southampton Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies (SCECS) runs a successful interdisciplinary MA, and organizes seminars and conferences throughout the year. All visiting fellows will be encouraged to take part in SCECS activities, and will be invited to present short papers of their work in progress at an afternoon seminar during their time at CHL. For more information about SCECS, including the research interests of individual members, please see http://www.soton.ac.uk/scecs/ For information about Special Collections at the Hartley Library, see http://www.southampton.ac.uk/archives/about_us/index.html

The aim of these Fellowships is to enable individuals to undertake significant research in the long eighteenth century. In keeping with the mission of CHL and the special qualities of the library's collection, projects that focus on women's writing or lives during the period are warmly welcomed. Any proposal, however, that promises significant research on the long eighteenth century will be given careful consideration. We

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• One confidential letter of recommendation to be **emailed** separately by the referee before the deadline.

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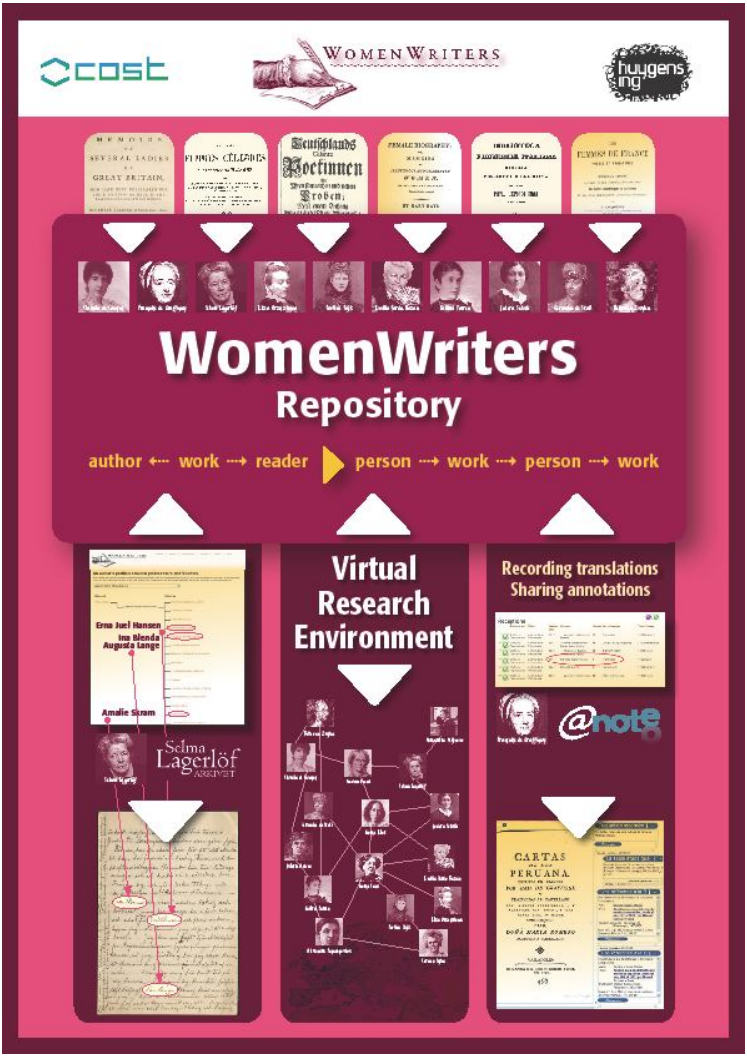
Documents should arrive no later than 19 March 2013. Any late or incomplete applications will not be considered.

All applicants will be advised of the outcome of their application by the end of June 2013.

The scheme is run on behalf of the University of Southampton and Chawton House Library, and the selecting committee is made up of colleagues from both institutions.

The Library catalogue is online and can be accessed via the library website http://www.chawtonhouse.org/library/index.html

Visiting Fellows will be expected to donate a copy of the manuscript or published work resulting from their stay at Chawton House Library to the Library collection, and to publish a short article in the Library newsletter, *The Female Spectator*.


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COST Action IS0901

Women Writers In History

Digital Humanities 2012

Data Sharing, Virtual Collaboration, and Textual Analysis: Working on Women Writers In History.

The European COST Action "Women Writers In History" plans to give women their due place in transnational literary historiography, from the Medieval period up to the early 20th century. Six Action members illustrate the collaboration as going on in and around a data repository.

1. Data Sharing

Hilde Hoogenboom, Arizona State University

Different kinds of large-scale sources contain information about these authors' early reception, and provide the data we work on. They include in particular *bio-bibliographic compilations* of European women writers, compiled after the example of Boccaccio's *Famous Women* (1361-75) as the databases of their time. They allow us to understand and describe the presence of women authors (as a category, or taken individually) over the centuries both using numbers and studying the tropes by which these women are represented.

WomenWriters, the only transnational database of women writers that brings together the whole spectrum of sources for literary markets and literary fields of small and large nations, can itself be considered as the ultimate bio-bibliographical compilation.

2. Structuring Research

Suzan van Dijk and Gertjan Filarski, Huygens ING The Hague

The WomenWriters database helps researchers to generate *new knowledge* about women's impact on their contemporary readers. Thanks to large-scale data entry about their works' reception, without focusing on particular authors, we "provoke" serendipitous findings about authors we often did not know as yet. The tool currently contains over 20.000 manually processed reception data, which we will gradually complement by using technological solutions, and collaborating with other online projects. The *WomenWriters* database is currently being developed into a broader Research Environment. The present data model, which focuses on the communication between Author and Reader through the Work, will be replaced by a model presenting literary communication as being a series of texts generating each other through the intervention of a *Reader* turned *Writer*. At the same time interconnectivity will be created with related projects, such as the two shown here (see 3 and 4).

3. Comparative Textual Analysis

Jenny Bergenmar and Leif-Jöran Olsson, University of Göteborg

For *WomenWriters* it is important to include as many data as possible on the production and reception of those authors who may have been role models for writers all over Europe – in particular as these data already exist in digital form and are interconnectible.

The *Selma Lagerlöf Archive* aims to create such a broader (gender) historical context that includes the intensive contacts within networks of European translators and writers that were important for Lagerlöf's success in Europe. These can in particular be traced thanks to our participation in the COST-WWIH Action, which has facilitated, and will continue to do so, the discovery of unknown connections between European women and Lagerlöf. Standardizing the different entities will allow, by way of micro services currently developed, exchanging information on these levels.

4. Sharing Annotations

Amelia Sanz, Complutense University Madrid

Complutense University teams are now testing *@Note*, an annotation tool capable of supporting collaborative work on texts, using women's European reception as a case study.

This innovative annotation method will be used in the collaborative project for specifying and formulating significant relationships between the texts we are studying. These texts can be annotated using a shared annotation schema; adding new terms and relationships to the schema as they are required during the annotation process; making it possible for authorized users to edit and to restructure the schema.

As an example, we present the outcome of an experience of collaborative annotation, with the help of students, of the Spanish translation of Françoise de Graffigny's famous novel *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* (1747): *Cartas de una Peruana* (1792, 1823) by María Romero, both translations available in Google Books and Hathi Trust, and included in the *WomenWriters* database.

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Action IS 0901 2009 - 2013

Women Writers In History

ISCH

Participating countries: BE,BG,CH,CZ,DE,DK,ES,FI,FR,EL,IE,IL,NL,NO,PL,PT,RO,RS,SE, SI,TR,BA,UK,HR,IT

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COST Science Officer: Geny Piotti, Geny.Piotti@cost.eu

www.costwwih.net



Figure 1: Margareta Carlson, translator and translated author.

Objectives:

- To create international networked collaboration between researchers in women's literary history.
- To renew women's literary historiography by using a transnational perspective, dodging the biases of the national canons.
- To develop electronic tools and create a virtual collaboratory for the investigation of the international reception of women writers.
- To create the technical conditions for a more systematic analysis and use of online editions of / data about women writers.
- To produce a roadmap outlining future large scale research into women writers' role in European culture.
- To promote a more accurate perception of their historical participation in the public sphere and the literary field.

Working Group 1

This WG ("Models and Theories") provides a theoretical framework to be used within the ICT tool where quantitative and qualitative study of women's literary history is to take place. Appropriate terminology is discussed, which is needed in view of the structure of the tool (itself developed in connection with WG 2). Definitions and research questions are prepared in view of classifying and investigating the source material selected in WG3: how is female authorship to be defined? what (gendered) modalities of transnational reception and circulation should be investigated?

Working Group 2

WG 2 ("Tools and Interconnectivity") contributes to the development of the online database *WomenWriters* into an appropriate Virtual Research Environment. This should support different types of workflow, and allow researchers to approach their own source material within the larger context of European women's literary production. Through visualizing of the material it will help generate and handle new research questions. WG 2 members are the ideal test users, commenting upon the structure, and comparing it to other database systems.

Working Group 3

WG 3 ("Selection and Use of Relevant Sources") inventories, classifies and prioritizes, per country, the broad variety of source material necessary to study women's participation in the literary field from the reception side. In Training Schools, Early Stage Researchers will learn use the ICT tool to handle these sources and model the data in function of their research questions. Particular attention is being given to the category of paratextual sources.

Working Group 4

WG 4 is responsible for the "Dissemination and Extension of the Research Network". Dissemination concerns both the technological and the historical aspects. Use of an online tool for addressing literary-historical questions is innovative, and is presented as such in relevant conferences. Anticipating on future outcome and "new knowledge" about women's role in literary Europe, activities addressing a larger audience are also prepared: teaching material, a (virtual) exhibition and series of lectures in different countries.

Main Achievements:

- Consciousness created of the need of putting together individual research about individual women authors, and using electronic tools for this Humanities research normally approached on a much smaller scale.
- Collaborations created between colleagues in Eastern and Western Europe, and working on authors as well known as Jane Austen and as little known as Talvj.
- New collaborative and sub-projects in women's literary history generated in Slovenia, Serbia, Portugal, Spain, Romania, Netherlands.
- Started creating interconnectivity between eight online projects in women's literary history.

COST is supported by the EU RTD Framework Programme

ESF provides the COST Office through an EC contract



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Global Studies in Education at the University of Waikato explores and researches the educational dimensions in distinctive forms of global processes, interconnectivity, and intercultural education and dialogue on the model of open science, open education and open knowledge production. It includes but is not limited to the following areas:

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- the new global ecologies of learning
- open education
- global citizenship and education

Global Studies in Education will help educators prepare students to navigate our complex, globalised world; to internationalise their curriculum and pedagogy; and help their students to critically reflect and understand what it means to be globally informed, aware and compassionate human beings – "citizens of the world."

Global Studies in Education is headed by Prof. Tina Besley (t.besley@waikato.ac.nz) and Prof. Michael A. Peters (mpeters@waikato.ac.nz), international scholars with a wealth of book and journal publishing experience who were formerly based in top research universities in UK and USA.

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Nonconsensual Insemination and Pornography: The Relationship between Sex Roles, Sex Crimes, and "STRT," "Gay," and "Shemale" Films on Youporn.com

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University of Alaska Southeast

MATTHEW WARANIUS
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ABSTRACT. This research sought to discover whether heterosexual, homosexual, and transsexual pornographic films contain nonconsensual insemination or other sex crimes, condom use, or intimate partner violence in pornographic films, and what ideas about gender roles, sex and patriarchy are communicated to the audience. With respect to pornography, each of these categories has been related to patriarchal attitudes in feminist philosophy, politics, and clinical studies. Recent studies show that commercial, mainstream pornography may not directly cause sex crimes, despite the fact that this has been the main feminist antagonism of pornography in recent decades. Nevertheless, patriarchal attitudes may exist in pornography, irrespective of whether the pornography depicts sex crimes or whether viewers emulate the pornographic films and commit sex crimes. Patriarchal attitudes were evident in heterosexual, homosexual, and transsexual films. Manifestations of patriarchy, exhibited by nonconsensual insemination, sex crimes, condom use, or intimate partner violence, sometimes played out differently in heterosexual, homosexual, and transsexual films, but sometimes they were the same. One striking difference between genders was that there were no sex crimes in transsexual films, but public sex occurred in ninety percent of the homosexual films. Another significant difference is that there was no rape in heterosexual films, though there was nonconsensual insemination. Thirty percent of homosexual films featured rape, but condom use was high. Researchers analyzed thirty films and the significance of their findings in this article.

Keywords: transsexual, gay, straight, rape, nonconsensual insemination, pornography, money shot, ejaculation, sex crime, violence

1. Introduction

This work researched and analyzed whether heterosexual, homosexual, and transsexual pornographic films contain nonconsensual insemination or other sex crimes, condom use, or intimate partner violence in pornographic films, and what ideas about gender roles, sex and patriarchy are communicated to the audience. The specific interest of this work is nonconsensual insemination, a criminal form of intimate partner violence that relates to gender roles. The broader interest of this work is how sex crime, gender, and violence in pornography express patriarchal attitudes through sex roles.

This research is conducted through the feminist lens and through the eyes of two somewhat liberal viewers. The viewers participate in a social paradigm that includes the LGBT community, women's liberation, and the right to sexual privacy and freedom. This research depends on the perception that the artistic depiction of violence in pornography could possibly influence viewers. This literature review discusses recent studies that have attempted to determine whether pornography degrades women and whether it influences viewers to commit acts of sexual and intimate partner violence in European nations and the U.S. Degradation may exist in violence, in an absence of sexual agency, or in a more abstract form. Many of these studies argued that pornography does not inspire violence irrespective of whether it degrades women. Though feminist theory has been generalized and globalized, the scope of this study and analysis applies to paradigms that are similar to the American paradigm of sex, gender roles, and crime. This study inquired whether pornography includes gender-relative depictions of violence and criminal activity. We asked, do heterosexual, homosexual, or transsexual sex roles correlate with the depiction of nonconsensual insemination and other sex crimes, condom use, or intimate partner violence? Among less significant findings, there were four major findings. First, nonconsensual insemination only occurred in heterosexual films. Second, violence against women was not more prevalent than violence against homosexual men. Third, sex crimes were very common in homosexual films. Fourth, transsexual films did not include sex crimes. These findings shed new light on how patriarchy, power, and gender roles affect heterosexuals, homosexuals, and transsexuals differently.

2. Literature Review

Pornography has been correlated to sex crime (Salmon & Diamond, 2012; Hald, Malamuth, Yuen, 2010). Direct correlations have been made (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). Scientists and activists have suggested that sexually deviant fantasies are inflamed by pornography (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). Viewing pornography stimulates and insights a desire to actually fulfill the

criminal act (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). Indirect correlations have been made as well (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). It has been suggested that patriarchal themes in pornography contribute to the degradation of submissive sex partners (Salmon & Diamond, 2012; Bridges, Wosnitzer, Scharrer, Sun & Liberman, 2010). This degradation correlates to rape myths and rape supportive attitudes as well as date rape and other acts of marginalization or control (Salmon & Diamond, 2012; Ryan, 2011).

Some argue that pornography does not correlate with sex crime (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). Like the idea that "Guns do not kill people. People kill people," the fact remains that pornography is a two-dimensional expression of imagination (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). Sex crimes are a three-dimensional activity (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). This difference has been stated or researched in a number of ways that all similarly conclude that pornography is inappropriately blamed for social and interpersonal maladies (Salmon & Diamond, 2012; Diamond, 2009). This literature review is restricted to the past five years because with the rise of the internet, the proliferation of amateur and professional pornography, the changes in obscenity and pornography legislation and prosecution, the development of more stringent and gender neutral sex offender legislation, and the semantic shifts about orgasm, sodomy, and sex in recent years, past research cannot be proven to be relevant (Johnsdotter, 2011; Mehta, 2001).

In 2012, Salmon and Diamond reviewed sixty pornographic films. They hypothesized that there would be no major differences between the sex acts performed by heterosexual pairs and homosexual pairs (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). Their hypothesis centered on the idea that if pornography degrades women, then pornographic films that exclude women would differ from films that include women (Salmon & Diamond, 2012; Bridges, Wosnitzer, Scharrer, Sun & Liberman, 2010). They stated that most pornography is not violent and that when coercion exists, there is no difference between male and females (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). The researchers believed that men generally see pornographic sex as less degrading than women (Salmon & Diamond, 2012).

Salmon and Diamond chose 30 best seller pornographic heterosexual films and 30 best seller pornographic homosexual films (2012). The films were encoded by two females, who were between the ages of 20 and 25 (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). They reported that virtually no coercion existed in these films, and that male and female sexual activity and gratification was equally initiated (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). Salmon and Diamond's (2012) work raise a question. Is commercial, best-selling pornography the kind of pornography that could potentially influence people to become sexual criminals (Salmon & Diamond, 2012)? If these films are not degrading, from any objective perspective, then perhaps they are not the kinds of films that have been the subject of scrutiny and blame, such as fetish films (Salmon & Diamond, 2012; O'Donohue, 2008).

There were more external ejaculations in homosexual films (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). Of the external ejaculation scenes, facial ejaculation occurred more often in heterosexual films, and ejaculation on the body occurred more often in homosexual films (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). Overall, they concluded that the films were not simply about male pleasure (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). "Anti-pornography feminists have suggested that the "money-shot," or external ejaculation, is evidence of male contempt for women" (Salmon & Diamond, 2012, 198). They attribute it to the focus on the "importance of visual proof of satisfaction…the only proof of male satisfaction is ejaculation" (Salmon & Diamond, 2012, 198). The researchers claim that female pleasure can be proven by facial expressions (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). This analysis seems to be blatantly sexist, as if men do not express satisfaction with their facial expressions or voices, or women do not express satisfaction with ejaculation (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). These researchers claim that "if the male ejaculates inside the female costar, the audience does not see it" (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). Then they claim that the reason for facial ejaculation in heterosexual pornography is that it established identity (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). Showing the woman's face during ejaculation shows that she was the unique cause of this event (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). This interpretation clearly suggests that homosexual pornography is more reductive (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). It is also sexist because it does not account for male satisfaction in receiving anal sex (Salmon & Diamond, 2012).

The researchers struggle to prove their hypothesis by claiming that external ejaculations are not profane and that internal ejaculations are not sacred (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). They never analyze the actors' desire or consent to be inseminated (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). They merely work against antiquated paradigms without examining the consensuality of the acts that they claim are or are not violent (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). They must assume that because sexual activity is being filmed that it is not coerced (Salmon & Diamond, 2012). Clearly they ignore or are ignorant about the real possibility of sex trafficking and coercion problems in the adult film industry (Salmon & Diamond, 2012).

Moore, Weissbein, and Boyle (2010) considered what kind of narrative is created by male ejaculation and ejaculate function in consumer pornography. Amateur videos posted on X-tube and commercial porn both focused on male pleasure and money shots (Moore, Weissbein, and Boyle, 2010). Facial money shots do not represent the majority of mainstream heterosexual porn, but it was the subject of this study (Moore, Weissbein, and Boyle, 2010, 84). Moore, Weissbein, and Boyle connected ejaculation-based narratives to explicit degradation (Moore, Weissbein, and Boyle, 2010). Clearly, if Moore and Weissbein observed that ejaculation, male pleasure, and female degradation were connected, then it is possible that consumers are observing and internalizing these same messages (Moore, Weissbein, and Boyle, 2010). By

extension, it is conceivable that viewers, who have internalized a connection between degradation and ejaculation in pornography, are recycling this message by degrading their partners with nonconsensual insemination (Moore, Weissbein, and Boyle, 2010).

Whether pornography directly or indirectly inspires social violence remains the subject of debate (Ferguson & Hartley, 2009). Ferguson and Hartley published a literature review of correlational studies, experimental studies, and violent crime statistics (2009). They concluded that there is no solid evidence supporting the political claim that pornography correlates with sexual aggression of sexual crime (Ferguson & Hartley, 2009). Ferguson and Hartley reported that violent pornography is rare (2009). There is no consistent relationship between violent pornography and crime rates (Ferguson & Hartley, 2009). They state that violent crime throughout the world has decreased since the 1970s, which is when pornography began to increase in accessibility and quantity (Diamond, 2009; Ferguson & Hartley, 2009). Though Ferguson and Hartely correlate these statistics and make the claim that this relationship disproves the theory that violent crime increases with the use of pornography, they report that they cannot prove that the alleviation of aggression due to the use of pornography upon the body and psyche lowers crime rates (Ferguson & Hartley, 2009). Their conclusion seems a bit hasty (Ferguson & Hartley, 2009). One could easily assume that crime rates would have decreased more significantly but for the existence of pornography as sex and violent crime fighting techniques have improved (Ferguson & Hartley, 2009). Another question is that if violent pornography is rare, and pornography is abundant, why would violent pornography effect crime rates more than or similarly to nonviolent pornography (Ferguson & Hartley, 2009)?

Nonconsensual insemination is a sex crime (Cusack, 2012). Physically, it may require no more force than frotteurism, or it may be as aggressive as rape (Cusack, 2011; Ryan, 2011). The defining feature is the absence of expressed consent (Cusack, 2012). Even though ejaculation and insemination may be central themes of some pornographic movies, or nonconsensual insemination may be a fetishistic focus of some films, pornography may not be a contributory factor in any sex crimes, as much as a poor influence on people who are already prone to commit sex crimes (O'Donohue, 2008, 448, 257). Pornography may likely influence sexual attitudes and correlate to personal morals more than inspire aggression (Ryan, 2011; O'Donohue, 2008, 448).

Youth are less socialized, less aware of the law and consequence, and held to a lower standard of culpability (Cusack, 2012). Increased pornography use among youth may correlate with increased sexual victimization of youth (O'Donohue, 2008, 448). Perhaps pornography use among young people correlates with increased sexual abuse, but by adulthood morals are more solidified (Flood, 2009). Nonconsensual insemination is likely to occur among

youth who want to mark each other or exercise sexual autonomy or control because they may not know that it is illegal (Cusack, 2012; Miller, Jordan, Levenson, & Silverman, 2010).

Pornography is a source of information for adolescents (Flood, 2009; Ekstrand, Tydén, Darj & Larsson, 2007). Ekstrand, Tydén, Darj & Larsson (2007) found that for teens, teen-fatherhood is perceived as being catastrophic, though they are ambivalent about abortion (Ekstrand, Tydén, Darj & Larsson, 2007). Teen respondents also believed that sex education in school is good because it gives provides knowledge from a legitimate source, rather than "pornography…which gives you a totally twisted picture of sex" (Ekstrand, Tydén, Darj & Larsson, 2007, 115). Even where violence is scripted and not real, a more experienced viewer, e.g. older viewer, may be able to decipher subtleties that a younger viewer may not (Salmon & Diamond, 2012).

Because of their inexperience, youth may fail to perceive the practical and legal consequences of nonconsensual insemination or any sex crimes adequately (O'Donohue, 2008, 448). Scholars debate this (Cusack, 2012; Flood, 2009; O'Donohue, 2008, 448). Does the legal difference between a 17-year-old and an 18-year-old reflect a scientific difference in the human psyche (Foubert, Brosi & Bannon, 2011)? If not, at what age do youth cease to be vulnerable and does the risk of victimization decline (O'Donohue, 2008)?

Pornography may be a medium for learning sexually abusive behavior, and that orgasm resulting from pornography use reinforces cognitive rehearsals of sexual behaviors or aggression generated from memories of sexual victimization. The masturbatory fantasies that are stimulated by pornography thus lead to cognitive distortions about sex, possible sexual partners, or potential partners for sexually aggressive behaviors (O'Donohue, 2008, 79).

For one group, compulsive masturbators, there is typical reliance on pornography, and they may completely substitute masturbation for sex (O'Donohue, 2008, 280, 448). These people do not stand to victimize others with nonconsensual insemination (O'Donohue, 2008, 280, 448). For another group, paraphilic behaviors frequently correlate with compulsive masturbation and pornography use (O'Donohue, 2008, 79, 297). Pornography use does not correlate more with very violent sex crimes than it does with victimless sex crimes, but this group does pose a greater threat for nonconsensual insemination as a paraphilic act (Flood, 2009; O'Donohue, 2008, 218).

Negligent or reckless nonconsensual insemination may result from indiscretions and misinformation gathered from fanciful, pornographic education and sexual experience (O'Donohue, 2008, 445). This may be due to the indiscretions of youth (O'Donohue, 2008, 445). Cyclical and abusive nonconsensual insemination may correlate with pornography dependence and other paraphilic activities that could have a number of causes including brain injuries, repression, sexual deviance, or patriarchal attitudes (Malamuth, Hald & Koss, 2012; Ryan, 2011; Flood, 2009; O'Donohue, 2008, 445; Walker,

1999). These recidivists would be more likely to use pornography and commit nonconsensual insemination because of their deviance (Malamuth, Hald & Koss, 2012; Flood, 2009; O'Donohue, 2008, 445). If prevention is possible in some cases, then to prevent reckless or ignorant youth from becoming recidivists, it is important to educate youth about the signals of sexual aggression and rape supportive attitudes as soon as they begin viewing pornography or having sex (Ryan, 2011; Flood, 2009; O'Donohue, 2008, 612). Recidivists may be amenable to treatment such as domestic violence therapy or sex offender treatment (Flood, 2009; O'Donohue, 2008, 612).

Another context in which pornography directly relates to nonconsensual insemination is pornography production (Dworkin, 1999). The production of pornography has involved victims of sex trafficking (Dworkin, 1999). Some pornography actors are under contract and are rarely the victims of coercion. Most pornography actors are not under contract (Dworkin, 1999). Some may be coerced into sexual activity due to drug addiction or alien status, or forced to perform as sex slaves and victims of kidnapping (Dworkin, 1999). They may be inseminated against their wills. To the viewer, victims may be indecipherable from amateurs (Dworkin, 1999). Thus the most direct relationship of concern between nonconsensual insemination and pornography may not be between the viewer and the public, it may be between the actors.

Research Question

Does gender, e.g. heterosexual, homosexual, or transsexual sex roles, in pornographic films differently correlate with the depiction of nonconsensual insemination and other sex crimes, condom use, or intimate partner violence?

Hypothesis

Gender roles differently relate to how or whether nonconsensual insemination and other sex crimes, condom use, or intimate partner violence are depicted in pornographic films.

Methodology

Two viewers watched thirty pornographic films on Youporn.com ("Youporn"). Youporn is a site where amateurs can upload their videos for free public viewing, similar to Youtube but for pornography. One viewer was male, one viewer was female. Ten of the films were "Strt" (straight, i.e. heterosexual/ straight orgy), ten of the films were "Gay" (gay, i.e. male homosexual/ gay orgy), and ten of the films were "Shemale" (she-male, i.e. transperson/ mixed

orgy). Films were chosen by selecting one of these Youporn categories, then choosing the first film that was suggested for viewing by Youporn. When the first suggested film exceeded thirty minutes, viewers selected the next suggested film that was under fifteen minutes. No preference was given to titles, actors' appearance, or content. The process was repeated for each film.

Viewers watched the films together. Viewers noted visible sexually transmitted infections, condom use, sex crimes (not including nonconsensual insemination), nonconsensual insemination, whether women orgasmed, and where male-ejaculation occurred if it occurred (inside/outside). "WC" was jotted down when a woman orgasmed. Some women orgasmed more than once per film, and some experienced numerous orgasms including squirting. However, researchers did not account for the total number of orgasms, only the total number of films that included female orgasms. This behavior was encoded in order to discover whether there was a relationship between women's pleasure and heterosexual gender roles since feminist theory suggests that pornography is about male orgasm. "Pitcher Cumming" and "Catcher Cumming" were used in homosexual and transsexual films to denote whether recipients of penetration or penetrators were ejaculating. This system accounted for all instances of ejaculation in homosexual and transsexual films. These categories, which are not mutually exclusive, were encoded to determine if there was a relationship between penetrating or penetrative sex roles and nonconsensual insemination. "STI", sexually transmitted infections, were encoded because researchers thought that there may be a relationship between condom use and STIs that related to gender or sex roles. "I" was used to note ejaculation that occurred inside the partner. "O" indicated that ejaculation occurred outside. Oral, vaginal and anal were written next to the "I" or "O" if they were relevant. These categories were encoded in order to determine whether any insemination had occurred. "C" was written down when an actor wore a condom and "NC" was used when a no condom was used. Anal, vaginal, and oral were included next to each "C" or "NC". Expressed consent to be inseminated was recorded as "Yes", "N/A" or "No". Researchers also wanted to include the use of condoms in order to gauge whether internal ejaculation resulted in insemination, or whether gender differences existed in condom use. This does not suggest that nonconsensual insemination could not have occurred with condom use. It could. Condom use and noncondom use are not mutually exclusive since different penetrative acts in the same film could have occurred with or without condoms. This category also served to demonstrate how homosexual films involved condoms for some partners, but not others. Observations were identical between viewers except the record of one woman's orgasm. A male viewer believed that she orgasmed, but the female viewer believed that she did not. With the exception of this one film, the measured Cohen's Kappa for our results was one for every category.

Each viewer marked down occasions of self-inflicted violence or partner-inflicted violence, and specified the type of violence. Violence could have included insults, spanking, choking, aggressive penis tapping, and other acts. In the reviewers' notes, "P" was used to note an instance of physical violence. "V" represented verbal abuse or insults. An "S" before either of these represented self-inflicted violence, e.g. "SP" or "SV". Researchers wanted to distinguish self-inflicted violence from partner-inflicted violence since viewers may perceive the degradation involved differently. The perception of degradation is subjective, which is why degradation is not a specific category in this study. This research generalizes psychological violence to include words like "bitch" or "punk". These words are not universally degrading. They are only degrading in English. Not every film was in English, and could have included more degrading language than was noted. Degrading words may or may not be objectively degrading when uttered during sex, but for the purpose of this study, any insult or verbal abuse was flagged as a type of psychological violence because of the feminist approach in this research.

At the end of each film, viewers reviewed the instances and the quality of the violence and rated the films' violence on a scale of 1–10. A rating of one approximated to a single, light, self-inflicted slap on the buttocks, and a rating of ten identified acts like punching or consistently severe violence. Viewers did not discuss their violence ratings. Once all of the films were viewed and rated, researchers took an average of the viewers' final ratings. There was no consistent difference between the viewers' ratings that could be correlated to the viewer's sexes. At the furthest, the viewers rated one film three points apart (3 and 6). The measured K value, for the viewers' rating was 0.83 (95% CI: [0.61, 1.05]), indicating strong reliability.

The correlation between sex crime and pornography has been the focus of many feminist analyses. Here we explored whether sex crime correlated with other factors that were influenced by gender or influenced gender, such as condom use and ejaculation [Table 1, *Sex Crime Comparison*]. When sex crimes occurred the viewers noted the crimes by writing down, "rape", "coercion," "exhibitionism," and other technical names for crimes. These were objective terms. The objective terms did not factor into the rating, but the viewer's perception of the degree of violence did. Both viewers labeled the criminal events identically for every film. Viewers also included their own, unstructured notes about the films. If researchers had any questions about notes, they could verify the occurrence of events in the films by searching for the film name on Youporn. The names of the films were included in the encoding, but were removed from the table.

Data

There were several interesting discoveries. Sex role differences between heterosexual, homosexual, and transsexual films were significant. No men used condoms ("NC") with women during vaginal, anal, or oral sex, even in one instance when the woman had a visible anal wart. Transpersons did wear condoms when penetrating women and men anally ("C"). No gay men or transpeople were inseminated orally or anally ("O"). Thirty percent of the heterosexual films depicted men ejaculating inside their partners' mouths ("I" oral). Of these thirty percent, sixty-six percent of the films depicted the woman orgasming ("WC"). There were no depictions of vaginal or anal insemination in heterosexual films ("O").

Of the three heterosexual films depicting oral insemination, one clearly depicted expressed consent. One was a foreign-language film that likely depicted consent. The man speaks, and concludes his statement with the word "yeah?" She replies with "uh huh," meaning "yes" just before he concludes his masturbatory activity by ejaculating into her open mouth ("Yes"). Viewers were not fluent in the same language as the actors ("N/A"). In the third film, consent is not expressed, and in this film the woman does not orgasm ("No"). The female actor masturbates the male actor to climax with her mouth open and her tongue on his penis. There were no other acts of violence or sex crimes in this film. This couple, whose scenes revolved around a "room service" scenario, did not use a condom, even though the female actor had a visible infection (STI). The gender implications of this film are analyzed in the discussion section. In heterosexual films, the total average violence rating was 1.7.

Women were depicted orgasming in fifty percent of the heterosexual films. One woman appeared in one of the transsexual films. She did not orgasm. In homosexual films, only sixty percent of those who were penetrated ejaculated. In transsexual films, recipients of anal penetration, usually transsexuals, only ejaculated in forty percent of the films. Sex crimes, like exhibitionism, occurred in thirty-three percent of the heterosexual films that included women orgasming. Sixty-six percent of films that included women orgasming did not depict sex crimes. There was no depiction of sexual coercion or rape in the heterosexual films. There was courtship disorder/ exhibitionism in which a man solicited a mate by exposing his erect penis to a stranger in public outside an actual restaurant on a busy street. There was also a depiction of violent and psychologically degrading sex in which a woman dominated her male intimate partner (P, V).

Sex crimes were by far more prevalent in gay pornography. Public sex occurred in ninety percent of the films. Rape occurred in twenty percent. Coercion, differentiated from violent rape, occurred in ten percent. There was no nonconsensual insemination. One film, representing ten percent of

the films, likely included urination. We do not know if the man excreted some other substance or what the chemical composition of the substance was. It appeared to be urine and was included in a film about humiliating, lewd sex. The depiction of urine could be classified as a crime, though it is not objectively degrading.

In one of the homosexual films no one achieved orgasm. This was the only film in the study in which no one achieved orgasm. There was no violence in this film, but a sex crime of public sex did occur. In homosexual films, the total average violence rating was 2.4, and in transsexual films it was 1.1. Almost all anal penetration of gay men included condoms, but only sixty percent of the films used condoms ("C" / "NC"). Ninety percent of people used condoms when anally penetrating transpersons ("C" / "NC"). No sex crimes were noted in the transsexual pornography.

Discussion

Heterosexual, homosexual, and transsexual pornographic films contain nonconsensual insemination or other sex crimes, condom use, or intimate partner violence in pornographic films, that correlates differently with gender roles, sex and patriarchy. These themes are communicated to the audience. Homosexual and transsexual gender films depicted condom use, especially for anal sex, yet heterosexual films never depicted condom use, even for anal sex. This is a highly gendered message. Based on patriarchal AIDS myths, one may assume that condom use for anal sex among gay men is more encouraged. Increased condom use would have a positive effect on the prevention of AIDS among gay men, but AIDS myths have a very negative effect on gay communities and heterosexuals or bisexuals health and communities. Heterosexual female gender roles in these films reinforced the idea that casual sex may not require condom use. The message in these films is that men do not have to wear condoms with women. If men and women believe that condoms do not need to be used, then perhaps they also buy into myths that insemination need not be consensual. Though, this statistical correlation was not discovered by our research. Women viewers observe the absence of condom use reinforced throughout the majority of heterosexual films and could come to expect condomless sex. This may place them in a prime position to violate men through reproductive coercion and unwanted sexual contact, also. However, it cannot be overstated that condomless sex does not cause victimization. There is never any excuse for committing sex crimes or blaming victims. No films depicted condom use during vaginal sex, even in a transsexual orgy film with women and men. But, in the transsexual orgy film, a condom was used during anal sex with the woman. This could reveal myths about vaginas beings less infectious than anuses or perhaps vaginas,

because of their connection to reproductive organs, are prime for insemination at the inseminator's whim. Nonconsensual insemination only occurred in heterosexual gender films. The nonconsensual insemination was not vaginal in our findings. It was oral. If people emulate the oral nonconsensual insemination that they observe in films, then it would not lead to same consequences as vaginal nonconsensual insemination, e.g. pregnancy, but it could still nonconsensually infect women with disease. Since homosexual men did not wear condoms during oral sex, disease could also be transmitted to either partner.

The form of nonconsensual insemination that occurs when a partner forces a man to ejaculate inside was not viewed in these films. One man was dominated, but one of his only exercises of control occurred just prior to ejaculation. His submission waned slightly when he delayed ejaculating immediately on command. He did place the ejaculate where he was commanded to, so, as a person, he may be susceptible to nonconsensual insemination though his gender role in this film did not open that door. He may also cause other males to emulate his coerced submission and fall into a submissive gender script that leads to victimization. However, his subjugation was consensual and he was not victimized, and submission cannot be described as inviting victimization since victims are never to blame. Condom use in films may not have related to gender roles if the jurisdictions in which some films were produced required condom use. However, the potential to contract an STI orally, voluntarily or through force, is equal among the homosexual, transsexual, and heterosexual actors if condom use is only required for anal sex.

Homosexual films demonstrated more sex crimes than all other films combined. The most common sex crime was public sex. Of the ten homosexual films, nine occurred in public and one occurred in a bedroom between a couple who engaged in public sex in another film. The couples' appearance in multiple films could suggest a real romance. This may explain the use of the bedroom. The use of a bedroom bucks the predominant sex role for gay men discovered in these films, which is to have public sex. However, this couple engaged in public sex fifty percent of the time. This was the only pair of people who appeared together in two separate films in this study so a comparison cannot be made between this couple's particular sex roles and the other actors' tendencies to have sex indoors. Outdoor sex among homosexuals in these films may reflect social attitudes that correlate homosexual sex with covert activities or sexual deviance, or it may very well be the product of a society in which gay partners could not share homes until recently or still may be forced by society to engage in clandestine public sex. Yet, the gender difference between private heterosexual sex and public homosexual sex mirrors our nations' history with making homosexual conduct a matter

of public debate, and restricting heterosexual conduct to the private sphere where women were traditionally minimized and abused.

It should be stated that what appears to be public sex in some films may not be lewd. The sex may actually occur on private and remote ranches where the sex essentially becomes private since there are no neighbors or witnesses to complain. Sex that appears to have occurred outside or in a public place may have taken place in a sound studio where that behavior is lawful. However, as the average consumer, we must imagine the most likely and relatable scenarios. We are subject to what the director wants us to believe is happening. These films, without a doubt convey the fantasy of public sex.

In many of the films, violent scenarios reflected power struggles and domination, not crime. Crime and violence were not highly correlated in transsexual films, which did not contain sex crimes. Including nonconsensual insemination, sex crimes occurred in only thirty-three percent of films. Because public sex was so prevalent in the homosexual films, it correlated with violence. Since eighty percent were violent and ninety percent included public sex, there was a seventy percent overlap. Homosexual films were more violent than other films, on average also. Thirty percent were very violent, containing rape and extreme degradation. The one homosexual film that did not contain public sex had a very low rating of violence, .5. This film, which took place in a bedroom, included many close-ups of the anally-penetrated partner's facial expressions of pleasure, and only depicted face-to-face love-making. Thus this film may have depicted a romance. The gender message may be that public sex is a way to demonstrate power over partners and authority, but private sex is an expression of love and intimacy.

In our paradigm, these numbers seem to misrepresent homosexual gender roles in society. Homosexual men outside of pornography are typically associated with feminine gender qualities not sex crimes, aggression, or violence. It is strange that homosexual pornography depicts crime and violence so prevalently. Perhaps the glorification of hypermasculine gender roles sexually satisfies men who are feminine. The gender compliment or the aspiration to become masculine could be the root of this pornography. We realize that pornography does not provide an intimate lens into the sex engaged in by the actors. What we see is the product of editing and the director's vision. It reflects a combination of artistry, performance, market demands, and production limitations. In this purview, we can suggest that this pornography may be produced by and for someone other than typical homosexuals. Perhaps it is produced by heterosexuals who want to degrade and criminalize gay men. It could also be a message to gay men that they ought to be more masculine. This violent and criminal pornography may not be in demand by homosexual men as much as closeted, heterosexual, bisexual or bicurious men who live and fantasize about masculine sex roles. What we labeled as homosexual pornography may not be homosexual pornography. Some or all of the actors

could be bisexual men who inflict dominant, masculine gender scripts on each other or on homosexual actors. It may also be pornography that features homosexual victims of coercion or sex trafficking. In this case, the violence is real and the degradation is far worse than what the unsuspecting viewer may perceive. Also, these films may represent a fetish, in which case, they may actually inspire violence in those who are prone to enjoy fetishistic messages or commit sex crimes and acts of intimate partner violence.

The sequences in these films do not disavow feminine homosexual identity, as much as exploit masculine homosexual empowerment. Three homosexual films were about butch men in the military, and all three included public sex. Perhaps the public sex is flagrant rebellion against a patriarchal society that would sweep gay soldiers under the rug. In this sense, the sex crimes may be politically charged. However, this does not serve to strengthen gay identity in the military in reality, and instead it demeans the uniform and the masculine gender role that the uniform represents because public sex is a serious act of misconduct.

In the military, power roles have often been scrutinized in the context of sexual coercion. A specific problem has been senior male officers using power, authority, and status to sexually harass, coerce, and rape women—in some instances without much consequence. The theme of domination and submission is highlighted by the most violent of these three films that occurs behind a climbing wall on an obstacle course with both men dressed in green camouflage fatigues. The submissive-gendered partner seems to be sequestered. Though his facial expressions convey desire, the acts are intended to subjugate him and the audience does not know whether the desirous expressions are authentic or coerced. He never verbalizes his consent.

Echoing the power struggles in the military-themed film, another homosexual film, which was about oral and anal rape, depicted an employee/ employer relationship with the employee being “kitchen help”. Sexual harassment has been outlawed because of power differential. In patriarchal contexts, gender scripts bolster rape-supportive attitudes. Domesticity has been thoroughly explored as an arena for patriarchy. Patriarchy is not intrinsic to the domestic sphere, but it has pervaded it. Kitchens represent the territory where servitude is cultivated and enforced. This gender role is enforced in this film with rape—the ultimate expression of control and the ultimate punishment for failure to be of service in the kitchen.

Another very violent homosexual film that was about rape included a storyline about two wrestlers. One was fighting in the ring for his sexual integrity. He lost and was anally raped by the victor. This film enflames the American feminist perception that hyper-masculine and aggressive sports correlate with sex crimes. Even though all of the participants in sports are exhibiting aggression, dominant figures still rape less aggressive figures both on film and in reality.

This wrestling film raises an interesting issue, which is that male rape victims may be portrayed as enjoying rape. This phenomenon was identified during the women's liberation movement. Feminist observed that pornography portrayed women as enjoying rape. In this film the rape victim orgasms, but the victor does not. The victim is forced to ejaculate on his own face. This could be a form of degradation for him that is specific to being raped, and it could be a form of degradation for the male body, which is capable of ejaculating during rape, even though the rape is not being enjoyed. This film demonstrates how heterosexual or homosexual men could become victims of nonconsensual insemination during rape. In this film the victim is degraded by his ejaculate and is portrayed as enjoying rape because he ejaculates, which is degrading. Perhaps this correlates with male gender scripts, like men should enjoy every sexual experience, that men cannot be raped if they have erections, or that men cannot be raped when they are powerful. Some of these are more humiliating of male vulnerability and some of these reasons are more aggrandizing of aggressive masculinity, but all of them degrade the reality that males are human citizens who can be raped and victimized. Interestingly, all of the men who were sexually abused exhibited some sort of power, except for the man who was raped in the kitchen, which is the traditional sphere for women's work. Even in the film where the woman completely dominated the man, the premise of the film was that the man had hurt her with excessive anal sex the previous evening. In order to make amends, she sweetly asks him to submit to her request for domination. He willingly agrees. The woman is a victim who exhibits the same degree of hyper-aggression inflicted on her. Collectively, these themes reinforced gender roles in some form or another.

There were many sex crimes and acts of violence that were frequently committed, but nonconsensual insemination was not one of them. It seemed to be relatively rare in average, accessible, amateur, mainstream pornography. From this study, it cannot be concluded that teens or other susceptible viewers will witness nonconsensual insemination in typical "Strt," "Gay," or "Shemale" consumer pornography on Youporn and emulate it. However, the audience at large is very likely to witness coercive, violent, and illegal behaviors. Since nonconsensual insemination is a coercive and illegal behavior, then it stands to reason that if people learn how to have sex from pornography on Youporn, then they may learn behaviors that could relate to nonconsensual insemination. However, it is unknown whether what people learn from pornography will superseded their knowledge, if any, about the law, and if it does, whether what they learned in pornography would sufficiently mitigate their personal prohibitions, e.g. consent, unintended pregnancy, or disease transmission, to allow them to engage in it.

We found that the classic feminist contention that pornography is about male ejaculation and not female pleasure is somewhat true. Statistically male

ejaculation was more prevalent, but this was for two reasons. First, we did not include lesbian or bisexual female-based pornography in this study. Thus, more men were viewed. Second, the men ejaculated more, but not always in conjunction with a male gender role. It is true that in homosexual films, both men, one man, or no men orgasmed; in transsexual films, ejaculation always occurred and men ejaculated more than transsexuals and women; and in heterosexual films, men always ejaculated. Yet, giver or receiver gender roles played no part in determining who would ejaculate. Even though only half of the women orgasmed in heterosexual films, in homosexual films only sixty percent of those who were penetrated ejaculated. We realize that they may have also experienced anal orgasms, which were not encoded. In transsexual films, recipients of anal penetration, usually transsexuals, only ejaculated in forty percent of the films. Overall, in the films, actors would take turns giving and receiving, leading and following, and pleasuring and receiving pleasure. These specific instances were not encoded, but based on notes and "pitcher/catcher" encoding, films seemed to include role changes about who was giving sex and who was receiving it, and situations in which simultaneous pleasure through sex or mutual gratification occurred. This category is the most nebulous. Since it is difficult to associate ejaculation or orgasm with gender roles, the relationship should be studied further.

In some films, women command/ask men to abstain from ejaculating until they have orgasmed. This does not imply consent to be inseminated following ejaculation. Yet, we believe that it exhibits sexual equality, sexual agency, and enough empowerment to open dialogue about ejaculation. This discourse is very healthy and could have very positive effects on audiences. It could teach women to direct, consult, and negotiate with their partners prior to ejaculation, and it could demonstrate to men that the male actors are receptive to women's directives and subject to their discretion about the timing and placement of ejaculation. This dialogue was not found in the homosexual and transsexual films, which mainly demonstrated collaborative masturbation of partners in lieu of or following other penetrative sex acts.

In the film in which nonconsensual insemination occurred, the woman held her mouth open. However, in the film, she did not verbally express consent. Here, the power dynamic was also evident. Since this is the only occasion of nonconsensual insemination, we could conclude that in these films, it is a gendered problem affecting women and perpetrated by men engaging in heterosexual activity and gender scripts of dominance and selfish sexual agency. This film did not contain violence, but the theme was that the woman was a lingerie-wearing "room service" server who delivered breakfast. She is said to serve as "dessert". She is an object, food, and a powerless employee, a domestic servant. The role of food service correlated with rape in the gay film and contextualized nonconsensual insemination in this film. Personal food service exclusively from one partner to another is

the classic patriarchal scenario. Legalities aside, within such a patriarchal scenario, implied consent is blatantly insufficient. As viewers and members of the public, we need to witness the voluntariness in every sexual event, but especially those where power is so imbalanced. Consent for sexual activity must be expressed.

It should be noted that in many of the films, the sexual activity itself may have occurred without verbal assent. Unfortunately, those actors who are coerced or are the victims of sex-trafficking may be indecipherable from those who are voluntarily compensated or are volunteer amateurs. In this regard, the public would benefit tremendously from legislation that required videos to specify that all actors consented and participated willingly under industry guidelines or submitted amateur videos consensually. Increasing the documentation of assent for specific sex acts could be as simple as requiring actors to propose their sex goals and ask "would you like that?" or "does that sound good?" on film, which is included in the editor's final cut. Society at large would benefit tremendously from that and the potential good that could come from differentiating coercive fantasies from reality.

Limitations

We did not search for any fetish porn about nonconsensual insemination. The genre likely exists. Studying this genre may be useful for learning about the act, but it is not useful for understanding the relationship between gender, sex crimes, and commercial/mainstream pornography because research already shows that the consumption of violent fetish porn correlates with sexual deviance and criminality, especially against women and children.

Conclusion

Heterosexual, homosexual, and transsexual pornographic films contain nonconsensual insemination or other sex crimes, condom use, or intimate partner violence in pornographic films, and produce different ideas in the viewer about gender roles, sex and patriarchy. To learn more, clinical studies should be conducted of sex offender and the public. The importance of requiring the films to include testaments of consensuality cannot be overstated. Producers could simply include a message on websites or at the beginning of each pornographic film. Amateur actors could speak on film to express their consent. The mere possibility that a brief message could help audiences and actors separate the fantasy of gendered or sexual oppression from actual sex crimes is compelling enough to warrant further investigation. Perhaps there are First Amendment issues that would need to be addressed before policies like these

could be implemented, but the government should design the least restrictive law possible in order to do what is necessarily in the public's interest. Even if sex crimes cannot be reduced and these messages are not legislatable, the overt inclusion of empowering messages about consent may attract a new wave of viewers who are turned-on by healthy power and sexual liberty.

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The State and Gender Ideologies: A Framework to Understand Anti-human Trafficking Politics

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ABSTRACT. The purpose of this paper is to provide a new theoretical perspective to understand anti-human trafficking policy by making visible the role of the state in shaping gender ideologies which influence the improvement of gender equality and women's empowerment. In this paper, gender is being analyzed as a coherent institutional power relationship of the state, globalization, and civil society. This paper delivers two important messages. First, gender ideologies are the root of the state policy as they influence the way the state perceives gender roles, women's identities, and the gender structures within a relation of the state and women in a given socio-economic, political cultural context. Second, as human trafficking is widespread in the global context, anti-human trafficking should be analyzed as a power with the state as the main actor regulating the power relationship with others including women, men, the market, and civil society.

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

1. Introduction

In recent years, discourses around trafficking in women have been discussed in line with state interventions, gender issues, and socio-economic development (Farr, 2005; Segrave, Milivojevic, & Pickering, 2009; Sharma, 2005). In her book *Female sex trafficking in Asia: The resilience of patriarchy in a changing world*, Samarasinghe (2008) offers a comprehensive framework to study female trafficking which examines the gendered power dynamics of dominance and vulnerability. At the heart of the model are women, whose vulnerabilities are caused by inequalities, and influenced by socio-economic and political forces. She emphasizes the role of the state, the impacts of the military, and the effects of globalization in reinforcing the patriarchal norms in society which create a dichotomy of gender inequalities. This paper, how-

ever, brings into focus the role of the state in shaping gender policy, and gender ideologies. It also highlights the impact of globalization and civil society on the state's capacity and power which influence women's lives, and the effectiveness of the state's responses to human trafficking. For these reasons, an analysis of the state, its gender discourses, socio-economic discourses, and the discourses of the construction of women's identities are the focus for understanding gender policy and anti-trafficking politics.

2. The State[1] and Gender Discourses

The state and its gender dimensions have remained at the center of feminist analysis for several decades. There is a growing body of literature and discourses articulated around the state and its role in influencing gender relations and gender identities. The state has attracted the attention of feminists because according to Craske (1998, p. 103) "for feminists the role of the state has always been a matter of disputes."

The different feminist perspectives on the state include liberal, radical, Marxist, dual-theorist, post-structural, and non-western. However, none of these approaches is sufficient on its own to describe the states across regions and continents (Kantola, 2006). Thus, a combination of several feminist perspectives would provide an overall picture of the Third World state and its role in shaping gender identities given that the Third World encompasses countries with different economic, political and historical characteristics.

To understand the Third World state, we need to know what it is. The Third World state has often been referred to as the post-colonial countries (Rai, 1996; Rai, 2008), developing or under-developed countries in Africa, Asia and Latin-America (Goulbourne, 1979; Jayawardena, 1986), or over-exploited geopolitical entities (Johnson-Odim, 1991). In his paper "The Caribbean and the Third World," Manley (1979) offers an integral concept of the Third World state:

> By the Third World one means that *entire range of countries*, mainly tropical, that were the scene of the great *colonial explosion* which reached its crescendo in the latter part of nineteenth and the first part of the twentieth centuries... Without exception, these territories entered upon political independence suffering from *enormous economic disabilities* (emphasis added) (p. 272).

As a whole, the Third world states are economically poor and have a colonial past. It is worth noting that like many other world states, the Third World state is patriarchal. Looking at the state apparatuses, it is easy to recognize that men dominate the top political positions so states and governments "look like men's clubs" (Enloe, 1993, p. 446). Such a male-dominated structure,

both in the state machinery and in its internal organizations, constitutes the social order in the interests of men and tends to treat women from the masculine point of view (MacKinnon, 1989). In the society, although women dominate the private sphere, their status is much lower than that of men because they earn less, have less access to social services, and are also subject to rape, human trafficking, domestic violence and sexual harassment (Dahlerup, 1987; Rai, Bari, Mahtab, & Mohanty, 2008; Vlachova & Biason, 2005). Women's subordination is not easy to eliminate because "the oppression of women does not derive from a single set of social relations but from a complex system of interrelated structures and relations" (Dahlerup, 1987, p. 102). Patriarchal characteristics in state structures and embedded gender biases in the society are manifested in state institutions, laws, policies, socio-economic structure. In this hierarchy, women bear double oppression due to their subordinated status. Samarasinghe (2008) argues that, the incidence of human trafficking nowadays shows the power and resilience of patriarchy in its new form: patriarchal gender relations between individuals, and patriarchal ideologies imposed by the state.

Unlike Western states, the Third-World state is "weak."[2] Rai (1996) argues that, the Third World state has a weak infrastructural power to centrally coordinate the activities of civil society through the state's structure, and leads to a lack of ability to enforce state laws and policies. Patrick (2006) links weak states with poorly performing developing countries and believes that these states often suffer humanitarian catastrophes, mass migration, regional instability, global pandemics, and international crime. Many Third World countries are unable to provide safety networks for women, that makes women to be removed further from the regulatory power of the state than Western women are (Rai, 1996). For that, she further argues: "Both the upper class ... women and those of the lower class do not fall within the ambit of state functioning" (p. 57). A high level of corruption has been recorded as a common practice in the Third World bureaucracy which negatively impacts on the implementation of the state's laws and policies. Being a weak state with weak legitimate governing institutions, poor management skills, lack of political will and commitment, state in the Third World highly embeds in civil society and becomes fractured and fraught terrains for women (Rai, 1999; Rai, 2008).

The state formulates and implements policies; however, the way the Third World state constructs gender policies is problematic. Rai (1996) demonstrates that the Third World state considers itself as an agent of social and economic transformation. A legal framework is set up with constitutions, laws, and legislations as guidelines for regulating society. By doing so, the state regulates, defines, provides, and monitors the lives of people (ibid.). Thus, the notion of the state's power over women here is different from that of Western state. In the Western case, the power is in the hands of the state

and merely distributed to the state through state mechanisms. In the Third World case, the state power is exercised through cooperation, tension and negotiation. However, this technocratic top-down approach in policy making is unlikely to result in effective policy outcomes and impacts. The state considers women and men as passive objects or the recipients of state policy, therefore pays little attention to the role of gender relations and their impacts on the implementation of state ideologies and policies (Jacka, 1996).

Lastly, the state plays an important role in shaping gender ideologies and gender divisions of labor. It has been reported that both colonial and post-colonial states utilize the image of women to legitimate colonial rules and to symbolize the new nation (Rai, 1996; Rai, 2008). Women are marked with different ideologies that originate from the state's strategies, such as the emphasis on women's roles as mothers and housewives, and the crucial contribution of women for the family or women also can undertake a lot of men's tasks (Jacka, 1996). Those ideologies become social norms that all people expect women to perform well, even if the gender ideologies are being abused by the state itself. Samarasinghe (2008) argues that the states in the South abuse the existing norms of female subordination in society to provide low skilled and cheap, low-wage labor to attract foreign capital and in turn, aid the exploitation of labor and female sex trafficking. The state's intervention in shaping the gender division of labor is more obvious in modernization. The state with its reforms and globalized policies has created a considerable shift in gendered division of labor with more women moving from unwaged labor to paid work, especially in cheap-labor industries like textile and garment or footwear production. In some areas, where employment opportunities are not available, the location of labor is different with men working in industry, and women, especially older women are left with agriculture and care work.

3. The Third World State in Globalization

Globalization, according to Bairoch and Kozul-Wright (1996) is:

> [A] process in which the production and financial structures of countries are becoming interlinked by an increasing number of cross-border transactions to create an international division of labor in which national wealth creation comes, increasingly, to depend on economic agents in other countries, and the ultimate stage of economic integration where such dependence has reached its spatial limit. (p. 3)

Two points can be made from this definition. First, globalization links national states with the international environment to increase international trade, growth

of foreign investment, international migration, and technological development. Second, the country's economic development depends not only on the state's efforts but also on the exterior objective factors.

Although globalization threatens the survival of the state,[3] many countries have adopted globalization as a target of state action or a driving force of economic development (Ong, 2006). Globalization started in the Third World countries in the late 1980s with market privatization, liberalization; import substitution production used foreign direct investment, Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs), and a range of reforms to promote rapid market-driven economic growth and globalization. Such an important renovation of the economy, in the words of Beneria (2003) becomes a powerful source of change to drive national economies, deepens international connections between countries, and affects many aspects of people's social, political and cultural lives. Additionally, globalization has diverse impacts on the state.

Lentner (2004) suggests that the impacts of globalization depend on the state's capacity. The stronger the state, the less vulnerable, and the more resilient the state is to cope with disruption[4.] Patrick (2006) believes that, in globalization, weak states easily suffer humanitarian catastrophe, mass migration, regional instability, global pandemics, and international crime. Farr (2005) also notes that the weakening of the state along with poor economic and political conditions provides favorable conditions for organized crime like human trafficking to widespread. Third World states and states in economic transition are often being challenged with the degradation in social policy and social welfare, increase in unemployment, decrease of wages and working conditions through greater flexibility of labor market, and the growth in inequality and insecurity (Mishra, 1999). Additionally, in globalization, the Third World states are less powerful and autonomous. As the forces of globalization increase, the power, capacity and autonomy of the state erode away. In the globalized context, capitalism moves freely throughout the globe, and the production of goods and services becomes international with the cooperation of transnational firms; so the nation states no longer can control these global relationships (Hirst & Thompson, 1996). Brecher and Costello (1994) also argue that to encourage investment and attract capitalism, to influence macroeconomic outcomes, the nation-state gives foreign enterprises a free hand in investing and organizing production with the least intervention and restrictions from the state. By doing so, the state 'looses' its power. For Potter (1992), the reduction of the state power and autonomy lies in the fact that, the state has to integrate with the external market and the global economy and follow the trends of the world markets. However, the development of a country does not only depend on whether that state has power or not, but also on the power of several states involved in the globalized processes. Clearly, such deterioration in the state power and autonomy becomes a great challenge for the Third World state to achieve its development goals.[5]

One more point to be noted is that globalization poses threats for the security agendas of the state. As Karakasulu (2006) asserts, in globalization security is re-conceptualized into a broader and deeper term, covering both non-military threats (such as environmental degradation, over-population, refugee movements, and terrorism) and human security. Globalization of transportation, communication, and technology negatively impacts on both military and non-military aspects (ibid.). Cha (2000) argues that in a deep integration in the global world, the nation-states can no longer control their non-physical security such as the protection of information and technology assets. To protect national and international security, the states worldwide apply different strategies. One among those policies that evokes feminist controversy is anti-illegal migrants' policy. Sharma (2005) emphasizes that such an anti-trafficking practice ignores the vulnerability of migrants while solely represents them as victims.

4. Civil Society Organizations and Public Policy

In this study, the term civil society is used to denote a set of gender relations that lies between the economic structure and the state (Gramsci, as cited in Urry, 1981). Although civil society is not equated with non-governmental organizations (NGOs),[6] NGOs are chosen to be the main focus of civil society in this particular study, given that they are playing an important role in human trafficking politics and they have been defined to respond effectively to the needs of people at grassroots level (Jackson & Pearson, 1998; Moghadam, 2005; USDOS, 2009).

Within the last decade, there has been an increasing amount of literature on the role of civil society, civil society organizations and their influences over state policy in the entire world (Carter, Plews, & Echenberg, 2005; Foller & Thorn, 2008; Putzel, 2004). Civil society organizations are important actors in "non-state-centered public spheres" and become valuable spaces for "contesting state-centered frames" in policy making (Fraser, 2008, 154). Civil society organizations engage in the policy-decision making process of the state in different ways. They propose policy solutions through research and analysis; join in policy dialogues to the state as a part of "good governance" process; bring together the perspectives of particular population groups; or help strengthen the voice of citizens at grass-roots level. Civil society organizations are advantageous in the policy-making process because of their mobilization which helps provide a framework of freedom of speech, initiatives, interaction, and also accelerate the state's accountability (Putzel, 2004). Additionally, civil society organizations provide women with opportunities for debates, communication, critical reflection, and actions towards creating feasible policy solutions.

There are two main standpoints relating the cooperation of the state and civil society organizations. One shows that the relationship is in tension because of being a combination of social networks; civil society carries different values and goals. State and civil society are two tracks of politics, one is formal, institutionalized and the other is informal and cannot line up (Fraser, 2008). Having different interests and goals, civil society organizations have different views on the same issue and their views can conflict with the state's views. Bevis (2001) asserts that civil society and state can be in conflict, especially when the state is weak in capacity or rampant with corruption. In contrast, the second standpoint asserts that it can be a win-win relationship. Civil society organizations can be more effective in shaping public policy if the state has coherent powers for setting and enforcing policy. However, the state needs to create a comprehensive framework for the NGOs sector under principles of transparency, accountability and good partnership (Carothers, 1999).

In the anti-human trafficking domain, civil society organizations are mainly NGOs, undertaking the role of non-state actors, actively providing supportive services to human trafficking returnees, and raising women's awareness through advocacy or trainings. The role of NGOs in eliminating trafficking in women has been emphasized in the Beijing Platform of Action as an important social agent to provide social, medical and psychological care for victims, and to organize advocacy. NGOs frequently mentioned in anti-trafficking campaigns worldwide are the Coalition against Trafficking in Women (CATW), USAID, Oxfam, and ILO. In Vietnam, NGOs have been reported to have active engagement in anti-trafficking crime, especially in prevention and protection activities. The TIP report 2009 (USDOS, 2009) confirms that in Vietnam, the NGOs sector has been actively assisting the state in providing psychosocial counseling and vocational training to run "shelters," establishing referral system for identifying trafficking survivals, and supporting them with reintegration into the community.

5. Women's Identities[7] and the Third World State

The ideology of women's identities in the Third World has been discussed in terms of women's citizenship, women's relationship to neo-liberalism, to nationalism, and to women's movements (Waylen, 1998; Rai, 2008). It covers broader areas than those of women's identities in the western state which rely on the dichotomy of the public and private spheres. Women's identities in Third World states today engage more with the dominant development discourses in contemporary times, such as globalization, industrialization, and modernization; however, their identities still cannot be separated from the cultural and historical context.

As noted earlier, most Third World states have a colonial past. Women's identities in the post-colonial states therefore strongly relate to the process of nation-building and nationalism. On one hand women are considered to be 'mothers of the nation', as 'signifiers of national differences', 'a focus and symbol in ideological discourses used in the construction, reproduction and transformation of national categories' (Yuval-Davis & Anthias, 1989, p. 7); on the other hand, they are members of the nation. In short, women's identities are constructed in ambivalent ways of nationalist discourse. Women's identities are even bound up with national identities in a chaste, immutable relationship and women's role is depicted within the boundary of the home and the nation. According to Pettman (1996, p. 51) 'only the women of the nation are the beautiful ones. Other men's/nations'/state's women... are not beautiful like the home/national women is'. Rai (2008) also emphasizes that women are made invisible through universalized discourses of citizenship and economic development. Women are circumscribed as care takers, housewives in the home, as reproducers of the national populations and have indirect relationship to the state. There are two reasons that make up this gender stereotype. First, in the process of nation-building, only 'political men' were citizens and 'economic men' were crucial contributors to development discourses (Rai, 2008). Second, women's work within the home was not accounted for national income. The ideology of women as bearers of cultural identity and bearers of national identity has been challenging women's progress in contemporary society. It makes women difficult to enjoy full-fledged citizenship due to too many roles imposed on women's shoulders. Further, women's participation in public space is limited because "this fact affects the nature of nationalism itself" (Rai, 2008, 14). More importantly, the contours of citizenship in the Third World countries which emphasize equal rights for men and women are hardly to be fulfilled because, as discussed above, citizenship is differently constructed for men and women; further, due to the state's weak infrastructural power, the gap between law and reality remains enormous.

The above discussion on women's identities and their links with nationalism shows that the Third World women are traditionally engaged with the private domain. Scholars have challenged the construction of women's identities in relation to households. Kandiyoti (1998) emphasizes that households are important sites for the reproduction of gendered identities and inequalities, and construction of women's identities is compared to a bargaining with patriarchy within and beyond the households. For Gonzalez (2008) negotiating women's own identities with others is an increasingly important task. As a bargaining model, households are seen as a locus of cooperation and conflict where intra-household allocation is negotiated between household members, normally between men and women. In developing countries, women are much more disadvantaged than men in access to land, to micro-credit,

education and health care (Mauro & Pallas, 2009; Stewart, 1992). Their already poor access to those necessary assets has worsened due to the state's diminution of social services and land reclaiming policies to serve mega-urbanized projects. As a consequence, there is a "feminization of poverty"[8] in female-headed households, in particular, and in society in general (Thibos, Lavin-Loucks, & Martin, 2007). Women's in development literature also points out the link between women's public-private status and shows that women's participation in productive work brings better bargaining power for women in the households, enhances their perceived entitlements, gives them better control over their lives, and even leave behind the worst excesses of patriarchal oppression (Perrons, 2004; Vargas, 2006).

Joining in the labor force, women help the state to achieve its most supreme interest: achieving economic growth.[9] Women in fact get closer to the state when undertaking a productive role because their economic status is controlled and regulated by state policies. The women–state relationship in globalization becomes an economic political relationship. Women's cheap labor is the focus of the state's development strategy as an important comparative advantage to attract foreign investment and to reduce an unemployment situation which is normally serious in the Third World countries. By integrating into the productive sphere women are given financial autonomy and chances to join in and be protected by labor organizations, trade unions or workers' networks. However, women's work in the Third World is often unstable, low-skilled, poorly paid with inadequate social protection. It is obvious that women become prime victims of the process of capitalist globalization and Third World women are among the most exploited labor of the global factories (Mayo, 2005). High demand for female labor in manufacturing industry in developing countries, crisis of service work in developed countries, economic insecurity in globalization, all together create a feminization of labor, and as a consequence, a feminization of migration[10] nationally and internationally in various sectors of economy. In such a feminization of human exchange, new women's identities are developed. In the contour of female migration for domestic care work, new gender identities are constructed for the women who pay for care work and there is also re-institutionalization of traditional gender identities for female migrants who replaced those women in domestic domain. Women's desires to migrate for paid work have been pushed up by the state development strategy. As Samarasinghe (2008) remarks, the states from Global South utilize their competitiveness in labor surplus to export female laborers to serve the growing demand for cheap labor in the richer countries. In contrast, Sharma (2003) notes that such a high wave in women's cross-border migration originate from the global process of displacement which leave many women become homeless, landless, and jobless. In the search for migration opportunities and in the migration process, women are vulnerable to trafficking crime.

Further, women's identity politics are manifested in women's collective action[11] to pursue their own articulated interests, to challenge their subordinate position, and to make demands upon the state agendas (Rai, 2008). Mayo (2005) and Moghadam (2005) emphasize the needs of "globalization from below" that takes into account collective mobilizations of women to establish new order of life, contribute to wider policy changes, and react to inequalities and injustice of "globalization from above." Evidence shows that women in the South and in developing countries actively form self-help groups or support groups at local level to demand the state on their practical and strategic gender interests,[12] especially the practical interests of women's welfare such as land rights, reproductive rights, the rights for decent work (Bacchus, 2005; Mayo, 2005). Such cooperation networks create firm coalition of women towards a common goal in achieving more rights and help increase awareness of women's needs throughout the community. By joining in intentional collective actions, women in fact, actively take part in what Fraser (2008) calls "the politics of framing" to reflect their real interests and make their needs become the focus of attention and potential reconstruction. In addition to women's collective actions, DAWN[13] has been known as an important feminist alliance to reflect the voices of Third World women, to make demands on their governments and international organizations. Such a feminist network however is still invisible to many women in the Third World while it is "a network of highly educated and prominent women" with main focus on research and advocacy (Moghadam, 2005). In general, women's political engagement in the state arenas is still limited in the Third World countries. The reasons are that women in the Third World have little knowledge about the state and many women are even unaware of the state legislation due to the state's poor infrastructural power (Rai, 1996; Rai, 2008).

Women's relationship to the state is still manifested on the state development strategies. The nation states, including developmental states have been paying attention to mainstream gender into neo-liberal policy agendas, especially after the Beijing UN Conference on women in 1995.[14] However, women are simply "added on" to development projects or women's projects are subjectively integrated into existing development agendas (Mayo, 2005). Such a way of gender mainstreaming just tends to emphasize the central importance of men and masculinities, cannot promote women's sustainable development, and even leads to the marginalization of women in development (Mayo, 2005; Rai, 2008). In fact, while embracing globalization, state's interests and women's interests are conflicted. To achieve its goals for socio-economic development, the state acts against the interests of marginalized groups including women. Jacka (1996) notes that although the Third World states applied a range of reforms aimed at promoting market-driven economic growth and modernization, impacts of the reforms on women's development are limited because the states tend to serve their own interests or the interests

of multinational capital, and "what the state wants cannot be what women need" (p. 146). For more evidences, Sharma (2003, 2005), Samarasinghe (2008) argues that while encouraging female migration to solve unemployment problem and get back foreign currency, the Third World states "turn a blind eye" to women's lives and their security in the destination countries. Women's movements or women's collective actions, as discussed above are useful as a means to create pressure on the state to engage with gender equality agendas.

6. The Vietnamese State and Women

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a single-party state which was founded in 1945 after a long colonial history. It can be said that the Vietnamese state agglomerates characteristics of different types of state like socialist state, communist state, patriarchal state, and post-colonial state. However, the name "developmental state" may be most suitable to the Vietnamese state nowadays given that the country is following market economy and the state has strong intervention over the economy. As noted by Hirata (2002), in a developmental state the bureaucracy plays a crucial role in promoting national economic growth. The Vietnamese state has been successful in its Renovation Policy which turns the centrally planned economy into the market economy. Vietnamese is defined to be one of Asia's fastest growing economies with an average growth of 7.4% within the period of 1989–2008 (Asian Development Bank, 2009). In the last one decade, Vietnam is less visible in international economic and political arenas. It was accepted to be the 150th member of WTO in 2007, currently is one of the worldwide leading exporters of rice, crude oil, and textile-garment products.

The Vietnamese state can be defined to be both 'strong' and 'soft'. As a socialist state which plays the role of the bureaucratic-military oligarchy (Alavi, 1979), the Vietnamese state is strong by holding a centralized power system, controlling the whole territory with a distinct relative autonomy to freely decide on and pursue its own goals. However, ineffectiveness has been found in some aspects of social, political and security domains such as the increase of crimes such as smuggling and human trafficking, high level of corruption, weak law enforcement capacity, and complicated administrative procedures.

The image of Vietnamese women has been building up along with nationalist agendas. There was a legend telling that the country was born by Au Co Mother and her husband Lac Long Quan. They had 100 children, half of them followed the wife to live in the sea land, and the other half lived with the husband in forest areas; they formed a multi-ethnical and multi-religious nation. Thus, the image of Vietnamese women was built up to be "biological reproducers of members of ethnic collectives, as 'mothers of the nation', as

reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic/ nation groups" (Yuval-Davis & Anthias, 1989, p. 7). Vietnamese history also noted legendary struggles of Trung Trac and Trung Nhi sisters who successfully resisted Chinese invaders in the first century AD. Tetreault (2000) also remarks that in the Vietnam War millions of women actively engaged in combats, local struggle movements, or in the transportation of weapons. Nationalism as an ideology, in the case of Vietnam, plays an important role in the construction of women's identities within the national space. Gender ideologies of nationalism, according to Rai (2008) can define the ways in which women's labor should be configured, counted, assessed and rewarded. The ideologies of considering women as reproducers of future generation, as carers for the others have been clearly manifested in casual life and in the state policy. The Constitution of Vietnam (1992) emphasizes that women play an integral role in caring their children, nurturing their family happiness. Such an over-emphasis creates a gender-stereotype which makes women to be the sole or primary caregivers for children and other family members and endorse their subordination (Afshar, 1987). Gender discrimination in the country was originated and affected by strict Confucian rules which circumscribe women's lives in the framework of "Three submissions" (the so-called *tam tong* in Vietnamese language): submission of father when living at home, submission of husband in marriage, submission of son when husband died; or the moral idea which emphasizes that girls must be virgin before marriage. Those feudal principles are less valid in contemporary life, however; still negatively shape the attitudes of men towards women.

As women in any parts of the Third World, Vietnamese women are perceived to undertake majority of domestic tasks. In addition, they are also active economic agents. In the last three decade, after Renovation, women's citizenship has been constituted a long two main images: (1) Women as daughters, as wives, as mothers in private domain; and (2) Women as participants in national socio-economic and political development. Their second citizenship's task has been actively fulfilled by Vietnamese women. McCarty, Corner, & Guy (2009) note that Vietnamese women participate in the formal economy of the country to almost the same extent of men, 75% and 81% respectively. Significantly, they undertake most of family work and household tasks which are uncounted or unrecognized as having economic value. In reality, household tasks are hardly shared by men who are deeply affected by Confucian ideologies; women's progress is much challenged by their multiple roles. Although women account for a large part of the workforce, they mainly work in manufacturing and informal sectors which offer low wage and low entitlement. Women comprise 81% of low-skilled jobs on the production line (ibid.) while most of high positions are occupied by men.

Women's interests have been incorporate in the state's development strategies with equal opportunities to men in entering waged work, equal pay,

and non-discrimination. However, negative results are reported in different economic sectors. Empirical study of Liu on gender waged gap in Vietnam shows that females earn 25% less than their male counterparts, and government sector employees earn 24% less than those in private sector (Liu, 2004). This considerable waged gap is caused by gender discrimination embedded in a patriarchal society where women are subordinate and less competitive to men (Cyrus, 2007). Further, as noted by McCarty et al. (2009), the state, along with emphasizing gender equality, needs to explicitly incorporate gender analysis in the design of public policy and recognize different impacts of policy on men and women, at the same times, women's domestic and care roles should be seriously considered.

Vietnamese women's collective actions are still limited as their desires and demands made to the state are mostly transmitted through mass organizations or NGOs. Among those actors, the Vietnamese Women's Union plays a key role in assisting women to claim their legitimate rights and interests. Many women, however, think that it is men's task to involve in political actions. The research done by VWU shows that most of women perceive the interaction with local authorities is not a women's job (Vietnam Women Union, 2008). Additionally, feminist alliances and feminist networks are almost absent in Vietnam where gender studies have not been incorporated in university education, and even many people do not know what gender is and why gender equality is important. Women's representation in the state arenas is quite impressive in ASEAN with nearly 30% seats in political institutions are occupied by women, however, there is only one female leader in the state cabinet; the other political seats are at local political bodies. Further, this achievement is still based on a quota mechanism which designs a fix percentage to achieve rather than to abolish gender stereotypes and discriminations and pave the way for women to gain their political position in the state. To assure the effectiveness of political quota provisions in practice 'women's struggles need to focus on the issue of redistribution of resources if power relations in society are to be fundamentally changed' (Rai et al., 2008, 112).

It is clear when looking at discourses of the Vietnamese state and women's development that although the state has paid considerable efforts to the development of women and construction of women's identities, Vietnamese women still suffer lower status than men both in public and private spheres. Women has been included in the public sphere, however traditional patriarchal views still persist and pose limitations on state laws and policies (Afshar, 1987). There are spaces for women for retrieving, reconstructing and regaining control over the meanings and signifiers in their lives; however, women themselves still cannot grasp chances available to them due to gender ideologies embedded in their lives which make the state and women to be far from each other.

7. Women's Identities and Trafficking in Women

Schiller & Fouron (2003) consider that globalization and neo-liberal capitalism, as mode of production, distribution, and consumption creates violence in two forms: direct violence and structural violence. Human trafficking is among cases of structural violence – a less visible form of human life destruction that affects large numbers of women all over the world and the entire societies. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in 1995 emphasized violence against women as one of twelve main concerns and pointed out a set of measures to eliminate trafficking in women which highlights the importance of both the state and non-state actors in the era of globalization.[15]

Trafficking in women has been defined as a consequence of poverty, discrimination, inadequate legal protection and political attention paid to the issue, and negative impacts of globalization (Danailova-Trainor & Belser, 2006; Matsui, 1998). My theoretical discussion so far suggests that trafficking in women is universally caused by women's weak identities: women's oppression in society, women's lack of engagement with the state, women's low status in the household and in the community, or persistent patriarchal norms and gender stereotypes in the society. This explains why the majority of trafficking victims are Third World women, as the most exploited and most oppressed in a globalized world. As an initiator of public policy, the state plays an important role in interpreting gender ideologies into policy decisions which in turn influence and shape women's lives and identities. Effectiveness of state's responses to trafficking in women therefore depends much on how the state perceives gender ideologies, how those ideas inform state actions towards problems, and how they contribute to the development of a good society in which the problems are solved.

8. Conclusion

Clearly, in the context of globalization Third World states play a considerable role in shaping gender ideologies which in turn contribute to the construction of the state policy. The analysis above shows that Third World states have adopted globalization as a core development solution to improve economic growth. Globalization with its wide international connectivity, however, challenges the state's ability to maintain its power and identity to achieve development values and goals, without creating any conflict of interest between women and state entities.

In an endeavor to counter the negative impacts of globalization, civil society has contributed to the state policy agenda in different ways such as promoting research activities, conducting community support projects or

participating in policy dialogues on different socio-economic issues hosted by the state. Civil society, especially NGOs, continues to collaborate with the state to end the crime of human trafficking. Their different interests and goals make it difficult for both the state and NGOs to maintain a win-win relationship. However, the institutional framework of cooperation between the state and the NGO community can be sustainable if they work in the ways that draw on their distinctly different comparative advantages, and maintain transparency, accountability, good partnership as core development principles.

It should be noted that women's weak identities are both a cause and a consequence of human trafficking. The State's responses to human trafficking, therefore, can be seen as a prolonged solution, to reduce women's vulnerability to the crime, and to increase women's empowerment in different aspects of life.

Furthermore, it is important to stress that the state's anti-trafficking policy needs to be understood in the wider context of globalization, in a causal link of the state and civil society relationship, and even in a triangular relationship of state, globalization, and civil society. A progressive approach by the state towards gender equality and women's empowerment will create a good cooperative mechanism between actors involved in the relationship, and extend the effectiveness of anti-trafficking policy processes. Policy evaluation, therefore, must take into account the analysis of gender ideologies which informs the state's responses to human trafficking crime.

NOTES

1. For the purpose of this study, the state is to be understood as 'a site of struggle, not lying outside of society and social processes, but having on the one hand, a degree of autonomy from which varies under particular circumstances, and on the other, being permeated by them' (Waylen, 1996, p. 15).

2. A "weak" or "soft" state, according to Myrdal (1970) has general inclination of people to resist public controls and their implementation.

3. It has been argued that in globalization, the state itself being internationalized (McGrew, 1992). National economy, security, social welfare much relates to international institution and the state cannot define its own development.

4. Weak state is impossible to compete in international agenda to take advantage of investment, trade flow, and political position. Further, weak states also face biases in participation in the worldwide capitalist order to achieve prosperity and preferences.

5. Jackson & Pearson (1998) reveal that in globalization the state acts the role of development agency, most of the activities undertaken by the state before are privatized. The success of the state development goals therefore depends much on objective factors.

6. NGOs are among different non-profit organizations within civil society

7. By women's identities this study means the self-identification as a woman, where woman do not merely designated a perceived biological difference, but also a

set of social roles and expectations which constitute a symbolic order associated with that difference (Gonzalez, 2008).

8. Feminization of poverty was first emphasized in the Beijing Conference on Women in 1995 to denote female-headed households as a particularly vulnerable group and increasing burden of poverty on women. Approximate two thirds of the world's poor are women; in 2005, the poverty rate among male-headed households was approximately 17.6%, while the rate for female headed households was 36.9% (Thibos, Lavin-Loucks, & Martin, 2007). Women and children are most negatively affected by feminization of poverty (Moghadam, 2005).

9. According to Randall (1982) the state always has three main interests: economic growth, internal political stability, and a secure international position.

10. Feminization of migration refers to the fact that more women are migrating independently in search of jobs, not to disproportionately number of women engaged in migration.

11. Women's collective action can be demonstrating, lobbying, going on strike, or other such forms to reflect on strategies for pursuit of women's interests (Rai, 2008), or forming solidarity nationally or internationally.

12. Strategic interests reflect needs relate to women's subordination to men in the society, practical gender needs refer to what women perceive as immediate necessities such as accommodation, food, and water

13. DAWN stands for Development Alternative with Women for a New Era.

14. The Beijing UN Conference on women in 1995 called for gender mainstreaming in development process as a strategy to promote gender equality between men and women and to institutionalize women's interests in all areas and sectors of policy at all level.

15. The measures are: (1) Punishment of perpetrators; (2) Dismantling trafficking networks; (3) Cooperation with NGOs in supporting victims; (4) Organizing educational campaigns.

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A Study on Gender Portrayals in Advertising through the Years: A Review Report

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ABSTRACT. The gender portrayal in advertising has always been much debated and extensively researched topic in many developed and developing nations. This article reviews the academic research conducted on portrayal of female in advertising, research approaches used in the past studies and focus of study. In addition, it is hoped that this review will help the researchers to identify the gaps in the studies and provides them a platform to fill those gaps in the academic research.

Keywords: gender, portrayal, content analysis, advertisement, communication

1. Introduction

Gender has not only been used as one of the basis of market segmentation but also emerged as one of the most preferred advertising strategy to market products. Therefore, the study of gender, gender-related behavior and its role in marketing communication is very important for marketing communicators. A comprehensive literature review of four decades of gender portrayal related research is undertaken wherein most of the research articles are taken from premier research journals from marketing, psychology, sociology, and communications field. Previous studies indicate that both men and been portrayed in stereotypical way in magazine and television advertisements. Most of the research on gender representation had been conducted in the USA, UK and European Union as compared to Asia-Pacific region especially in case

of India (See Table 1). The researches which were conducted in India are somewhat limited in scope. In one of the studies, Mathew (1990) focused only on how the Indian male market could be segmented and the kind of male role portrayals preferred by each segment. Munshi (1999) examined the portrayal of Indian housewives in television ads in India whereas Mallika (2000) examined the portrayal of men and women in Indian magazine advertisements. In another study by Das (2011), representation of female in television advertisements were reviewed and analyzed.

Table 1 Country wise Gender Role Portrayal Research

Year	Authors	Country
1971	Courtney and Lockeretz	USA
1974	Edgar & McPhee	Australia
1975	McArthur & Resko	USA
1975	Marquez	Philippines
1980	Santa Cruz & Erazo	Mexico
1981	Manstead & McCulloch	USA
1981	Manstead & McCulloch	England
1985	Lysonski	England
1985	Sebastian et al.	Spain
1986	Fumham & Schofield	England
1986	Livingston & Green	England
1988	Bretl &Cantor	USA
1988	Gilly	Mexico
1988	Gilly	Australia
1989	Furnham & Voli	Italy
1990	Lysonski & Pollay	Denmark
1990	Mitchell & Taylor	England
1990	Lysonski & Pollay	Greece
1990	Gendall & Blakeley	New Zealand
1990	Lysonski & Pollay	New Zealand
1990	Ferguson, Kreshel & Tinkham	USA
1991	Ford, LaTour & Lundstrom	New Zealand
1992	Mazzella et al.	Australia
1993	Ford and LaTour	USA
1994	Ford, LaTour, Honeycutt & Kramer	USA, Japan, Thailand, New Zealand
1996	Mwangi	Kenya
1996	Neto & Pinto	Portugal
1996	Ford & LaTour	USA
1997	Fumham and Skae	USA
1997	Furnham, Babitzkow & Uguccioni	Denmark
1997	Fumham et al.	France
1997	Fumham, Mak & Tanidjogo	Hong Kong
1997	Kolbe &Albanese	USA
1998	Browne	USA
1998	Jones, Stanaland & Gelb	USA
1998	Ford, Voli, Honeycutt & Casey	Japan
1999	Lavine, Sweeney & Wagner	USA
1999	Ford, LaTour & Middleton	USA
1999	Maynard & Taylor	Japan and USA

2000	Furnham & Farragher	Great Britain and New Zealand
2000	Milner & Collins	Japan, Russia, Sweden, USA
2000	Mallika Das	India
2000	M. Munshi	India
2001	Bower & Landreth	USA
2001	Bower	USA
2001	Bresnahan, Inoue, Liu & Nishida	Malaysia, Japan, Taiwan, USA
2002	Hupfer	Canada (USA)
2002	Erdogan Koc	Turkey
2004	Bert J. Kellerman & Mary Ann	USA
2004	Kellerman	Czech Republic
2005	Ulrich R. Orth & Denisa Holancova	Australia
2005	M.Harker, D. Harker & Svensen	Bosnia & Herzegovina
2007	Muris Cicic, Nenad Brkic, & Amra	Spain
2008	Skrobo	USA
2009	Vela, Manzano, Boluda and Lopez	India
2009	Zimmerman, Amanda & Dahlberg	USA
2011	Dwivedy, Patnaik & Suar	India
2011	Durriya H.Z. Khairullah, Zahid Y. Khairullah Mallika Das Shahzad Ali & Deeba Shahwar	Pakistan

Developed from Furnham and Mak, 1999; Ford, LaTour, Honeycutt and Kramer, 1994; and Literature Review

The general consensus of the research on gender role stereotypes in advertising over the past four decades is that: women in ads are portrayed as (1) being dependent on men, (2) needs protection of men, (3) not making important decisions, (4) homemakers, (5) mainly represented in home-settings, and (6) sex objects (Belkaoui & Belkaoui, 1976; Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971; Sullivan & O'Connor, 1988). Similar results found in studies of ads from countries such as Italy (Furnham & Voli, 1989), Australia (Mazella, Durkin, Cerini, & Buralli, 1992), Japan (Ford et al., 1998), Korea (Cutler et al., 1995), Hong Kong, (Sengupta, 1992), and Portugal (Neto & Pinto, 1998). Most of the studies only focused on different aspects of female stereotypes depicted in advertisements; and very few studies have examined male stereotypes (Kolbe and Albanese, 1997).

If we look at decade wise assessment of gender portrayal research, a similar pattern of gender stereotyping is acknowledged and yielded slightly different results. The gender portrayal research started during early 1970s and during this period it was found that men and women are depicted in highly stereotypical roles. "The overall conclusion of the studies of sex role portrayals in advertisements conducted in the 1970s is that women were portrayed differently from men" (Gilly, 1988). It was also forecasted that advertisements of 1980s would depict men and women in more contemporary and non-traditional roles. But the studies conducted during 80s, contradicted the forecast made by researches in the last decade. Both male

and female continued to be represented in stereotypical role. In fact findings of researches undertaken during 1990s and 2000 were again consistent with the findings of previous year's researches though few researches observed slight changes (less stereotypical stance) in gender stereotyping particularly in case of women. In one of the studies by Cutler et al. in 1995 revealed that though female stereotyping is prevalent in Korean print advertising but they were less shown as sex objects.

Table 2 Decade wise Portrayal Assessment in Advertising

Year	Assessment
1970s	Representation of male and female were stereotypical. It was predicted that 1980s would see more ads in contemporary & non-traditional role.
1980s	Male and Female were continued to be in stereotypical role and contradicted the assessments made in previous research on gender representation.
1990s	Researches in this period were almost consistent with the findings of previous research and noted very slight changes in the way male and female were depicted in the ads.
2000s	Most of the researches continued to analyze gender representations and found some slight changes in the representation of gender in ads.

2. Focus of Gender Portrayal Research

A majority of studies focused on how a woman is depicted in advertising (stereotyping characterization in advertisements) and its impact on their self perception and on body dissatisfaction. Some of the studies focused on cross cultural representation of gender in advertising while few studies examined preference of women with regard to their representation in advertising. Belkaoui & Belkaoui (1976) conducted a comparative analysis of roles portrayed by women in advertising from the year 1958, 1970, and 1972. Another study by Kerin, Lundstrom, & Sciglimpaglia (1979) examined women portrayal in the past advertisements as well as looked ahead to the future of advertisements. It was concluded that dominance of sex in advertisement will be continued in future as well. It is very much evident (see Table 3) that not much progress have been taken place in the area of gender representation in advertising. There is varied number of areas which needs to be explored. Based on the extensive literature review, previous studies can be broadly categorized in the following focus areas:

(a) Gender representation in print and television advertising – Courtney & Lockertz (1971), Edgar & McPhee (1974), McArthur & Resko (1975), Peterson & Kerin (1977), Manstead & McCulloch (1981), Lysonki (1985), Furnham & Voli (1989), Mazella et al (1992), Mwangi (1996), Ford, Volley, Honeycutt & Casey (1998), Das (2000), Dwidey, Patnaik & Suar (2009), Ali & Shahwar (2011), Das (2011), Chan & Cheng (2012);

(b) Cross-cultural gender representation in advertising – Gilly (1988), Ford & LaTour (1993), Vitall et al. (1994), Milner & Collins (2000), Oedekeren et al (2002);

(c) Comparative study on Gender representation over the years – Sexton & Haberman (1974), Venkateshan & Losco (1975), Belkaoui & Belkaoui (1976), Michell & Taylor (1990), Vela et al. (2007), Khairullah & Khairullah (2009);

(d) Sexual representation of gender – Lundstrom & Sciglimpaglia (1979), Lavine et al. (1977), Severn, Belch & Belch (1990), Zimmerman & Dahlberg (2008);

(e) Perception of male and female towards their representation in advertising – Lundstrom & Sciglimpaglia (1977), Ford, LaTour & Lundstrom (1991), Harker et al. (2005), Zimmerman et al (2008).

Table 3 Focus of Article of Selected Literature

AUTHOR(S)	FOCUS OF ARTICLE AND RESULTS
Courtney & Lockeretz (1971)	The study examined analyzed the roles portrayed by men and women in general audience magazines ads. The results found that ads reflected stereotypical roles for women.
McArthur & Resko (1975)	The study examined the portrayal of men and women in American television commercials. It was concluded that women were portrayed as products users and defined them in terms of their relationships with others, whereas men were portrayed in authoritative roles in commercials.
Lundstrom & Sciglimpaglia (1977)	The study examined whether men and women are critical the way they are portrayed in advertisements and its impact on their attitudes for products. The results showed consumer dissatisfaction among younger, better educated, upper status women but not affected their purchase intentions.
Lysonsk (1985)	The study examined the depiction of men and women in print advertisement. It was found that women continue to be portrayed as housewives, dependent upon on men, and as sex objects.
Gilly (1988)	The study compared gender portrayals in television commercials of Australia, Mexico and the U.S. The findings indicated that Australian commercials show fewer gender role differences and Mexican commercials show slightly more gender role differences than American commercials.
Ford, LaTour & Lundstrom (1991)	The study used an upscale female sample to extend previous research on women's perceptions of their role portrayal in advertising. Results indicated that serious disenchantment with perceived portrayal of women still exists.
Vittal, Rallpalli & Desborde (1994)	The study analyzed the role portrayal of women in magazine ads India and the US. The results found that in India, women were portrayed more in traditional roles

	while in the US women were depicted in a professional or work role.
Milner & Collins (1998)	This study compared television advertisements from Japan, Russia, Sweden, and the U. S. It was found that television ads from feminine countries featured more depictions of relationships for male and female characters than did masculine countries.
Das (2000)	This study examined the portrayal of women and men in Indian magazine ads from a wide range of magazines in 1987, 1990, and 1994. Results indicated that although the gender portrayals in Indian magazine ads have changed over the period, they are still portrayed in stereotypical ways.
M. Harker, D. Harker & Svensen (2004)	The study examined community attitude of Australians towards gender portrayal in advertising. The results indicated that gender portrayal in advertising is not of major concern to many Australians.
Vela, Manzano, Boluda & Lopez (2007)	The study examined male and female stereotypes in Spanish magazine advertising during the last three decades of the twentieth century. The results found that male and female portrayals have undergone significant changes in the last 30 years though gender stereotypes persist.
Zimmerman, Amanda, & Dahlberg (2008)	The study examined attitude of young women to sexually objectified advertising. The results indicated significant changes in attitudes of young, educated women. Results also indicated respondents were less offended by these portrayals as sex objects.
Das (2011)	The study analyzed Gender Role Portrayals in television ads from India (from 2004) in three different languages (English, Hindi, and Tamil). Results indicated that there are more male than female central characters and voiceovers in Indian ads.

3. Research Method used in Gender Portrayal Research

An extensive literature review of gender role portrayals studies indicates that content analysis has been used widely to evaluate stereotypes and other issues related to advertising (McArthur & Resko, 1975; Lundstrom & Sciglimpaglia, 1979; Manstead & McCulloch, 1981; Lysonski, 1985; Furnham and Schofield, 1986; Gilly, 1988; Furnham and Voli, 1989; Michell & Taylor, 1990; Tjernlund & Wiles, 1991; Mazzella, Durkin, Cerini & Buralli, 1992; Ford & LaTour, 1993; Vittal, Rallpalli & Desborde, 1994; Mwangi, 1996; Furnham & Skae, 1997; Siu & Au, 1997; Ford, Voli, Honeycutt & Casey, 1998; Milner and Collins, 2000; Das, 2000; Furnham, Babitzkow & Uguccioni, 2000; Khairullah & Khairullah, 2009; Plakoyiannaki and Zotos, 2009; Acevedo, Ramuski, Nohara & Trindade, 2010; Das, 2011; Ali & Shahwar, 2011). Moreover, some researchers also incorporated survey and focus group

method to know the consumer responses towards sex role stereotyping in advertisements (Lundstrom & Sciglimpaglia, 1977; Mittal & Lassar, 2000; Koc, 2002; Harker et al., 2005; Ford, LaTour & Lundstrom, 2007; Zimmerman et al., 2008; Dwivedy et al., 2009). Experiment method was also used in few studies on gender role portrayal (Ford, 1991; Ford et al., 1998; Jaffe & Berger, 1994; Nilaweera and Wijetunga, 2005; Orth & Holancova, 2004; Liu et al., 2006).

4. Conclusion

It is very much evident that most of the research studies have concentrated only on the depiction of gender in advertising across nations. None of the studies examined gender role portrayal in its entirety. It has also been observed that researchers have mainly analyzed the gender portrayal in print advertisements, less in case of television commercials. This review also suggest that there is a gap in terms of gender portrayal research in the Asia-Pacific region which needs to be filled as most of these studies have mainly undertaken in western countries. In addition to this, there is also a lack of literature on the impact of gender role stereotyping on marketing communication. Brokaw and Lakshman (1995) noted that there is a general paucity of research on marketing communication effectiveness. Therefore, researchers should extend research on gender role stereotyping amongst both the gender by assessing the impact of such portrayals on marketing effectiveness of the messages with respect to their emotional and behavioral responses to advertisements.

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Gender Analysis of Selected ICT-based Learning Materials of the Continuing Education run by NGOs in Bangladesh

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ABSTRACT. In Bangladesh, NGOs run open basic education (Grade: 1–5), and skills training and lifelong learning (L3) programs: continuing education (CE) through non-formal setting in their own innovative way where there are mix of delivery mode such as face-to-face (f2f), distance education (DE) using primers, and in some cases, learning CDs. CE programs are run under ODL setting which is known as open non-formal education (ONFE) in the NGO literature where appropriate gender-sensitive materials (primers) are used because these are especially important for women who live in countries where they are seen principally as homemakers and careers of children, and where their social and cultural norms make attending face-to-face sessions difficult. Few NGOs use ICT materials for livelihood skills training and L3 programs which require looking whether they are able to manage the principles of gender-sensitivity which are: avoid stereotyping, tokenism and using male-only authority role models. This technology-mediated learning expands access to quality education and training for girls/women and boys/men non-formal settings and to promote the development of gender-sensitive policies, systems and materials. This paper investigates integrating of gender concerns in all initiatives and gender-related activity in the selected ICT-based learning materials.

Keywords: NGOs, Non-formal, Learning, Gender, ICT

1. Introduction

Gender is the economic, social and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being male or female, which vary among cultures and change over time. To implement gender is very important because it is of great benefit to every nation if the female becomes the partners in development. That's why; in Bangladesh, both national and international development agencies have the priority agenda of implementing gender in every aspects of life. Bangladeshi non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are very active in imparting literacy, post-literacy and continuing education (CE) programs for the disadvantaged people using primers as self-learning materials (SLMs) and in some cases, ICT materials (Rahman and Das, 2007). That's why; the role of NGOs in supporting gender-sensitive changes in education is well-documented in Bangladesh. Yet how to make their engagement in education using gender-sensitive ICT materials more effective remains under-researched. This technology-mediated learning expands access to quality education and training for girls/women and boys/men through non-formal settings and to promote the development of gender-sensitive policies, systems and materials. This paper investigates integrating of gender concerns in non-formal education (NFE) initiatives and gender-related activity in the selected ICT-based learning materials. This analysis attempts to assess ability to perceive existing gender differences, issues and inequalities and to incorporate these into strategies and actions. The aim of the study is to evaluate the gender sensitivity and balance of selected ICT materials in the curriculum the NFE in Bangladesh.

2. Gender Responsive NGO Education

NGOs, in Bangladesh, are very self-motivated in imparting the non-formal education (NFE) program using their innovative approach in different categories which are mainly conventional in nature. But NGO-run program entitled continuing education (CE) uses face-to-face (f2f) contacts for limited times and learners complete their learning through self-learning materials (SLMs). Therefore, CE is completely run under open and distance learning (ODL) mode. In NGO literature, this is called open non-formal education (ONFE) which has the characteristics of both ODL and NFE (Rahman & Panda, 2012). NGOs possess gender responsive values to help women in Bangladesh for coming out their conventional surrounds so that they can be the partners in development through engendering them using different advocacy initiatives and implementing different programmers. NGOs normally work for women who are really marginalized; where gender concerns are very relevant and extremely significant. Social norms, believes, values, behaviors, mindsets, policies, processes etc. all disclose gross discrimination against

women. It is reported that textbooks in the formal schooling and academic settings are found a further set back in promoting gender-based discrimination in the overall processes and performance of educational institutions. That's why NGOs take advocacy initiatives for preparing gender sensitive learning materials and educational settings so that gender mainstreaming is possible. At the same time, NGO run non-formal education programs influence the gender roles of their students thus impacting their educational outcomes. When considering Education for All (EFA) goal 5, which aimed to eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 and now aims to achieve gender equality by 2015, it should be realized that teachers are a critical force for meeting the goal as in (UNESCO, 2005). Educational materials define gender roles in learners' minds and as a consequence those contents are practiced in society. It is, therefore, imperative that leanings need to be reviewed with the gender perspective in mind in order to provide a balance and gender-sensitive education (Maluwa-Banda, 2004; Mutekwe & Modiba, 2012). Useful and ideal learning materials should therefore contain: gender balanced coverage; gender appropriate illustrations; gender fairness in language; gender fairness in illustrations; and gender fairness in content. NGO primers, booklets, and other learning materials are subjected to gender audit in their internal process and always been well-researched because most of the NGO programs are donor funded where there are conditions of implementing gender-sensitive initiatives. ICT-based learning materials are limited in CE component of the NGO run NFE education and few NGOs introduced as supplements of the primers and research has not been begun to reveal inequalities in a variety of ICT-based education materials, to date there has been no published research on content analysis of gender traits or sex bias in CE ICT-materials. Students who use are repeatedly exposed to visual and aural messages about what it means to be masculine and feminine. Similarly, normalized social values have largely gone unchallenged by the NGOs. Given the country's current Women Development Policy 2011 which demands sexual equality in education and given the recent attention to diversity in male-female within learning materials, (MOWCA, 2011) it seems that the need to closely examine what adults are reading is of great importance to NGOs.

3. Objective of the Study and Research Questions

The study sought to examine the gender sensitive and gender balanced nature of selected ICT-based learning materials used in the CE component of the NGO run NFE education and the impact of the gender representation had on learners' on learners. The study specifically addressed the question "To what extent are ICT-based CE materials at the NFE level gender sensitive?"

4. Methodology

In an attempt to examine what types of gender traits or sexual bias entering NFE learners might be exposed to in their ICT-based learning materials of two NGOs were selected: Dhaka Ahsania Mission (DAM), second largest NGO in Bangladesh, and Campaign for Popular Education (CAMPE), an NGO-coalition. 5 learning CDs of CE program of the DAM and 3 of the JSC program of BOU-CAMPE joint initiatives were selected for the current study. These materials offered separate livelihood and life skills for disadvantaged children. This allowed a unique opportunity to study what types of information male were presented in their role in comparison to what female learned in their materials published by these NGOs. The materials were analyzed for the number of male main characters in comparison to female main characters represented in the activities. Any noticeable occurrences of linguistic bias and stereotypes found in the activities were recorded. Lastly, the materials were examined for invisibility of women within it. DAM materials were randomly selected and all of JSC materials. Content and discourse analysis were deployed in this study to check various levels or dimensions of discourse, such as sounds (intonation, etc.), gestures, meanings, speech acts, strategies, turns, and other aspects of interaction used in the CDs. The selected CDs were watched carefully and noted the representations of the male-female in the activities and finally come out of with the conclusions whether the CDs are gender-sensitive or not.

Visual analysis, extension of the principles of discourse analysis to visual representations (images, diagrams, and video), was done for this study. According to Fairclough (2003), discourses always involve more than language and encompass coordinating language with ways of acting, interacting, valuing, believing and feelings. As such in this study the researchers took them to include representations of how things are and have been as well as how things might or could be. In this study discourses were considered as occurring at three levels: action, representation and identification. The discourse analysis employed in this study focused on materials as encompassing both the spoken and written modes of communication in the CDs. Using this analysis attempt has been given to identify the gender stereotyping that is social or psychological characteristics attributed to women or men on the basis of gender. These characteristics shape expectations of gender behavior. Examples of gender stereotyping of women include being caring, submissive or weak; and of men, being rough, assertive and strong. It is also used to identify the gender issue exists when access to societal goods, benefits or services are denied on the basis of gender, or when male or female needs are met at the expense of the other's needs. First two authors jointly did the analysis and report was developed under the supervision of the PhD supervisor of the

first author. His authority in the field of gender sensitive ODL delivery was of great value to this report. In addition, two key persons were interviewed: Mr. Mohammad Mohsin from DAM and Mr. Tapon Lumar Das from CAMPE. Their opinion is of very significant in this study.

5. Discussions and Results

DAM produced life skills CDs entailed: Air & its importance, Contribution of science and Science for better life aim to improve quality of the daily life at the non-formal level. These CDs are used at the community learning centers (CLCs) of the CE component of the literacy programs. It reported that these materials were represented by the both gender roles (Table 1) and no stereotypes are found. There were actually supplement of the primers used as prints and well regarded in the ICT-based CLC, as was reported by Mohammad Mohsin, the material developer of the DAM. A complete gender-based analysis of the CE materials was made as a whole, to explore how DAM policies can affect men and women differentially.

Table 1 Men and Women's Roles as Exposed in Learning CDs: A Content and Discourse Analysis

Serial	Publish-ers	Form of ICT Material	Title	Gender Ideology and Biases Disseminated
1	DAM	Animated CD	Air & Its Importance	12 minutes 30 seconds CD, only twice there are appearance of women.
2	DAM	Animated CD	Contribu-tion of Science	12 minutes 30 seconds CD, women are projected as house wife, nurse, laboratory assistant; whereas the men are shown as head of the family, doctor etc.
3	DAM	Animated CD	Science for Better Life	12 minutes 24 seconds CD, no important role of the women are shown.
4	DAM	Animated VCD	Candle Making	25 minutes candle making animated CD has given importance to the role of the women.
5	DAM	Multimedia Video CD	Power Tiller for Agriculture	The entire 18 minutes CD has not included the presence of any woman.
6	CAMPE-BOU	Animated CD	Fish Culture	The entire 40 minutes CD has activities of 7 units from pond fish farming to marketing. Of these only 1 show woman and the remaining show men. Women only at the kitchen cooking and serving fish curry at the dining table.

7	CAMPE-BOU	Video CD	Beauty Culture	Entire CD has full of activates to learn different methods for smartening female with the beauty experts who are also female; no male representation was found.
8	CAMPE-BOU	Video CD	Mushroom Culture	CD focused on teaching the production and marketing of mushroom; activities are represented by both male and female where gender roles were explicit.

Candle making CD is produced to provide knowledge on production and marketing of candles for learners' livelihood which has clearly presented how the women come out of their traditional roles of baby raising and household works. This attempts to engender the women and motivates to make money for their families and bears the theme of Professor Mohammad Yunus's remarks 'families do better where women control the household finance'. Another CD entitled 'Power Tiller for Agriculture' is prepared for livelihood program where no representation of women; it absolutely shows the stereotypes scenario of the country what that is women are for household works – not for agriculture work. The same is found in the BOU-CAMPE prepared animated CD entailed 'Fish Culture"; as it shows woman only working as serving the cooked fish to her husband and kid what is very stereotype in respect to Bangladesh culture. Kibria et al. (2004) found from his field survey in Vietnam that women and men working together successfully managed grow-out ponds, nurseries, hatcheries, rice/fish and cage culture, and integrated agriculture/ aquaculture farms. Fish farming placed additional demands for time and labor from women who were already stretched to the limits; yet they, to some extent, were more involved than men in the pond farming activities even though men enjoyed more leisure time as there was minimal sharing of household chores. Despite this higher involvement, women were usually reluctant to attend the training programs often due to heavy responsibilities at home (Mowla and Kibria, 2004). In relation to the CD entitled 'Beauty culture' stereotypes most often manifest in women being portrayed in traditional roles, or relegated to the domestic domain? In most of the examples describe above we see gender stereotyping in play. Whether it is women portrayed in the home or in menial work, women portrayed as teachers, nurses or in other helping professions, or women portrayed as passive actors in the background, we see negative stereotypes throughout the curriculum resources. Likewise, the stereotype of women in traditional roles reinforces oppressive and restrictive conceptualizations of gender and paints a limited picture of the skills, abilities and interests of women.

6. Conclusions

Gender-sensitive learning materials are of beneficial for obtaining a successful process of gender mainstreaming. ICT is now the demand for the era and the country is now implementing the digital-Bangladesh agenda. Therefore, NGOs have to have the option for the use of ICT-based learning materials and put emphasis on the content development for the NFE education where some preconditions need to be fulfilled – these are the sufficient technical capacity, a gender friendly organizational culture, accountability and will. Some of the ICT-based learning materials of the literacy, numeracy and life skills-based education of the NGOs are of discrimination and stereotypes reinforced. In addition, they include gender dimension: girls/females often invisible in content and images, and often excluded from taught curriculum. Gender stereotypes are reinforced and eventually gender inequalities perpetuated in a wider context. It is required to promote skills-based, gender-sensitive educational content the ICT-enabled literacy, numeracy and life skills-based learning areas, including rights, gender equality, health, nutrition, peace and respect for diversity. Relevant, gender-sensitive materials that do not reinforce stereotypes are expected. To ensure that men and women have equitable access to education in this context, it will be important to apply Gender-Based Analysis frameworks to the policies of the NGOs so that ICT-based CE materials achieve the highest grade of gender-sensitiveness. Future research is recommended on what impact the current gender representation has on learners.

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Sexism in Nigerian English

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ABSTRACT. It is evident from linguistic research that in many societies of the world, sex/gender is a linguistic variable. In some cases the differences are quite small and are not generally noticed or probably taken for granted. Past studies placed too much on the study of feminine versus masculine linguistic variety (in many languages) to the neglect of other factors such as regular use of each variety, domains of use, and the unconventional use of gender markers in a particular variety. Thus, this paper examines issue of gender-sensitive items in Nigerian English. Findings reveal that Nigerian English belongs to a culture which is male dominated, hence, the tendency to coin lexical items which are gender sensitive, especially when a female is now being made to perform a role that is traditionally reserved for men. Two lexical innovation processes deployed for use are inter- and intra-lingual compounding and suffixation. Thus, the study further confirms that variations occur among English language users in their speech habits.

Keywords: Sex/gender, language and gender, Nigerian English, Standard English, Lexical Innovation

1. Introduction

The global spread of English with its resultant diverse forms has given rise to the variety of English in Nigeria with the controversial name Nigerian English (NE). Nigerian English has been perceived differently by scholars. Adetugbo (1979: 137) equates it with 'the English used by educated literate Nigerian speakers especially University graduates which is devoid of regional features or which is not regionally restricted.' Odumuh (1987) describes Niger-

ian English as one of the new varieties of English language developing all over the world. According to Igboanusi, Nigerian English is the

> variety of English, which is peculiar to Nigerians – words borrowed from the many languages of Nigeria, English words, which have acquired new meanings in Nigeria, and words coined for local situations. A few words and phrases which are not Nigerian, but which have particular significance for Nigerians … have been included (Igboanusi, 2002: 1)

Evident from Igboanusi (2002) is the fact that Nigerian English relishes in peculiar features deeply rooted in our cultural experience, at the phonological, syntactic, semantic and stylistic levels. Thus, it is expedient to explore its data with a view of determining whether sex/gender actually contributes to the unique characteristics of NE as a result of its mode of acquisition and the Nigerian socio-cultural setting in which English is now being acquired in Nigeria. In any event, the variety known as Nigerian English is a sure manifestation of the urge within Nigerians not to compromise their identity in spite of their desire to embrace the use of the English language in expressing their culture due to the many benefits associated with its use.

Advocates of Nigerian English based on the intrusion of the mother tongue (MT) and Nigerian culture into the use of English of Nigerians include: Adamo (2007), Adegbija (1989), Adekunle (1974, 1985), Akere (1982), Ajani (2007), Adetugbo (1977, 1979), Atoye (1991), Awonusi (1990, 2004), Balogun (1980), Bamigbose (2004), Bamiro (1991, 1994), Banjo (1971, 1974, 1979), Bokamba (1982, 1991), Dada (2010), Dadzie and Awonusi (2004), Fakoya (2006), Goke-Pariola (1993), Igboanusi (2002), Jibril (1982), Jowitt (1991), Kachru (986, 1992a, 1992b), Kujore (1985), Odumuh (1987), Okoro (1988), Ogu (1992), Owoeye (2010), Walsh (1967), just to mention a few.

To be sure, efforts have been made in the past to document the essential features of NE, from its prosodic features (Amayo, 1980; Atoye, 1991, 2005; Bamgbose, 1971, 1982; Demola, 2006; Eka, 1985; Jibril, 1986; Jowitt, 2000; Udofot,1997), to its syntax features (Banjo, 1969, 1995; Bamgbose, 2004; Kujore, 1985; Odumuh, 1984, 1987; Tomori, 1967) and even to its lexico-semantic features (Adegbija and Bello, 2001; Bamiro, 1994; Dada, 2010; Wenreich and Oladeji, 1990). Very recently, emphasis has shifted to issues like Codification of Nigerian English (Banjo, 2005; Owoeye, 2010) and even to less prominent topics such as Gender in Nigerian English (Yusuf, 1993, 1999, 2003; Odebunmi, 2009). It will be assumed here that since the concept of a 'whole' language is so vast and heterogeneous, it is therefore desirable to have a framework of categories for the classification of the features of Nigerian English. The present study is one of such attempts.

For quite some time now, the study of language and sub-language or varieties, especially by Noam Chomsky and psychologists like G.A. Miller

has been concerned with the innate and, in many respects, infinite capacity the human being has for language, and much light has been thrown by such scholars both on the nature of language and on the nature of being human. Such an approach, emphasizing 'what the speaker knows' and concentrating on 'language as knowledge', has been characterized as an intra-organism approach by Halliday (1974). Nevertheless, from another point of view (Hymes, 1967), it has to be remembered that in many respects (such as 'what the speaker does' and 'language as doing') what is more important is not so much that 'man talks' as that 'men talk'; that is, that language is essentially a social, an inter-organism activity.

Thus, from this perspective we study what is involved in the language people really use talking or writing to each other at different times, in different places, for different purposes, in different social and personal contexts. In addition, studies from this perspective are concerned with the mutual relations that can be seen to exist between different human social situations and different varieties of a language. In other words, there is a match between language and social context. The present study will largely benefit from this approach to language study.

2. Statement of the Problem

Language and gender is a sociolinguistic phenomenon that has received much scholarly attention, not only because of its importance in communication but also because of political and demographic considerations that have led many studies to brand some language items as belonging to men and some others as belonging to woman depending on the linguistic settings in question. This study observes that too much weight has placed on the study of feminine versus masculine linguistic variety (in some languages of the world) to the neglect of other factors such as regular use of each variety, their domains of use, and the unconventional (i.e. domesticated) use of gender markers in particular variety.

Thus, the present study contends that this particular feature (sexism) is another probable distinctive feature of Nigerian English worth investigating. What is more, in studying language and gender, we are forced to consider it as something entirely relative because the point at which the language user makes the distinction between masculine and feminine gender is either arbitrary or difficult to determine. Hence, another potential variation between British English (BE) and Nigerian English with respect to gender usage is the main thrust of the present study.

3. Sexism versus Feminism

Two language related concepts that can easily be confused in a study like this are sexism and feminism. Sexism is the unfair treatment of people, especially women, because of their sex. However, by sexism here, we simply mean that emphasis is laid on sex/gender.

Sexism is a grammatical notion associated with gender in language studies. What is more, it is language-specific. If by sexism, emphasis is laid on sex or gender, that means, the roles of morphemes are being distributed in a language on the basis of sex. Invariably, sexism/gender is in a Universal Grammar. Feminism, on the other hand, is an ideology which synthesizes women's experience world-wide in the same way that Marxism has a core ideology which has been domesticated universally. Feminism, however, just like sexism is being interpreted or domesticated differently by the different nations of the world (cf. Ademokoya, 2011).

Evident from the foregoing is that feminism deals with women related-issues whereas sexism focuses on gender related issues. Issues bothering on women according to Akorode (2005) include: oppression, marginality and persecution. Gender simply means the fact of being male or female and of a grammar point. Sexism affects or involves all language users that comprise a speech community whereas not every member of a speech community subscribes to the idea of feminism. Every feminist believes that women are being oppressed. Thus, the movement aims at women liberation.

Oyewumi (2003:1) defines feminism as a term which 'usually refers to a historically recent Europe and American social movements founded to struggle for female equality.' Betty (1983) considers feminism as a theory that renounces the traditional sex abused role stereotypes assigned to women. In other words, feminists frown at sexism in all its senses. According to Adeleke (1996: 22) 'Feminism denotes the activities of women and male sympathizers and its aim is to combat all forms of discrimination social, personal, economic, legal, literary which women suffer simply because of their sex.'

Apparently, the only common denominator between sexism and feminism is that feminism as an ideology highlights gender-based oppression. That is, gender/sex happens to provide the movement with a framework.

We end this section with Obafemi's (1994: 85) submission which states that 'feminism as an active ideological preoccupation does not really exist concretely in Nigeria.' It is observed that this cannot really be said of sexism/ gender distinction in Nigerian English until our investigation is concluded.

4. Aims and Objectives

The study is centred on sexism in Nigerian English, that is, an examination of gender polarity at the lexical level of this variety of English. After all,

'we have come to understand in recent years how the English language is riddled with sexism. NE although a variety of the English language, cannot be called a sexist language simply because English is one until the lexicon of this variety has been thoroughly investigated.

The specific objectives are:

(1) To isolate sexist items in NE;
(2) To describe the formation of sexist items in NE;
(3) To establish, through sexist items, another distinction between British English and Nigerian English;
(4) To support the view which says no language or sub-language is completely genderless;
(5) To look into the impact of sex or gender with respect to the choice of lexical items among Nigerian English users;
(6) To continue the investigation of NE research through this study of grammatical sub-category.

5. Research Design and Theoretical Framework

The study continues the investigation of the varieties of English language research using samples of oral data taken from free speech (such as media programmes, advertisements, conversations, speeches and songs) as well as data drawn from written texts (such as official and literary documents).

Two important approaches to English morphology exemplified by Hockett (1954) are item-and-arrangement and item-and-process (cf. Aronoff and Fudeman, 2008). According to Aronoff and Fudeman (2008: 47):

> Item-and- arrangement and item-and-process represent two distinct points of view. Item-and-arrangement proceeds from a picture of each language as a set of elements and the patterns in which those elements occur. The item-and-process picture gives no independent status to the items, which arise instead through the construction of the patterns.

Item-and-arrangement approach to morphology proffers that a word, such as, *boys* results from the concatenation of the two morphemes *boy + s* from which it was composed. These component morphemes are the items. An item-and-process framework on the other hand is an approach to morphology in which complex words result from the operation of processes on simpler words. Thus, within the framework, *boys* results when the lexeme *boy* undergoes the function 'make plural'. Hence, item-and-process theory is a process of word formation which yields one form out of the other. It is an attempt at explaining the process a particular root or base undergoes rather than representing a morpheme with a morph as is done within the item-and-arrangement theory.

According to Aronoff and Fudeman

> Item-and-arrangement and item-and-process are almost equivalent to one another mathematically. Everything that you can express in item-and-arrangement can be expressed in item-and-process, and almost anything that you can express in item-and-process can be expressed in item-and-arrangement. It just depends on what you regard as an item (Aronoff and Fudeman, 2008: 47).

Since the two theories explicated here are both relevant to English grammar (see Nida 1965, Quirk et al. 1972, Tomori 1977, Katamba 1993, Matthews 1993, Fromkin, et al. 2007), the current data gained insights from the two without necessarily being tied down to either, since flexibility is required in handling the complexities of an innovative item.

6. Sexist Items in Nigerian English

Isolating sexist items or gender-specific items in Nigerian English becomes interesting in view of the fact that Nigerian languages themselves really make an overt gender distinction in their lexis beyond ones common to nouns in all languages of the world.

Examples of items laying prominence on gender/sex difference in NE include the following:

Female related items

Dr (Mrs) Janet	woman leader
Prof. (Mrs) Shittu	woman friend
Pastor (Mrs) Daodu	female novelist
Lady evangelist	thick madam
Lady-singer	chairlady
Rev. Sister	security woman
Chief Mrs	wayo woman
Directress	sugar mummy
Janitress	bad girl
Monitress	

Male related items

Security man (watchman)	medicine-man
Wayo man	woman wrapper
Sugar daddy	area boy

Evident from the data above is the fact that roles of morphemes in NE are being distributed on the basis of sex. Thus, Dr (Mrs), Prof. Mrs, Pastor (Mrs), Rev. Sister, Chief Mrs, lady evangelist, woman leader, etc., are compounds with female nomenclature either placed after or before the real occupational

names traditionally reserved for men, but now being practised by women. This procedure usually indicates that emphasis is laid on sex. Why? This attitude is to deliberately show that women are now performing roles traditionally reserved for men. Thus, the female gender morphemes attached to these professional titles serve as an index of the presence and recognition of women in such endeavours now. In this regard, Nigerian English has only taken a cue from its source, the British English.

As for the male-oriented items above, they are used to encourage rather than to discourage gender inequality in NE. They are actually working to promote gender disparity since the intent behind their use is to pitch men with such labels with women. It is observed that they are used for men who behave like women or who are dominated one way or the other by women. After all, women are known as the weaker sex. According to *Encyclopedia Americana* (2003:111a):

> Traditionally, women and men alike accepted the fact that men have rights that women do not. Male behaviour has been considered the norm, and women have been viewed, to some degree, as inferior. These attitudes are part of the stereotypes that shape thinking about women and women's behaviour. Ultimately, they help determine status in the society.

The attitude just described above is the one being reflected in the lexical inventory of nouns denoting both male and female genders in NE. Hence, the sexist items in NE are all (male or female-oriented) targeted at presenting women's lot in the Nigerian society as second-hand to that of men.

British English, no doubt, is a sexist language. On this, Lucas (1998: 40) declares as follows:

> …the English language is riddled with sexism. Most blatant is the generic 'he', which excludes women from whatever group is being discussed – as in, 'When a college student studies for an exam, he should be sure to review all his lecture notes.' Not only does this statement imply that women do not attend college, but it overlooks the fact that women now outnumber men on most campuses. There are also countless words and phrases that convey negative, stereotyped, or misleading views of women. Some disparage, patronize, or ridicule ('little woman', 'chick', 'dumb', 'blonde'); others imply second-class status ('the other sex', 'the weaker sex'); still others classify women in ways that are seldom applied to men ('coed', 'woman pioneer', 'unchaste').

The English language, in its bid, to respect the dignity of diverse groups in contemporary society has adopted neutral words like humanity for man, the human race or human beings for mankind, police officer instead of policeman or woman, spokesperson instead of spokesman or spokeswoman.

In addition to the above, the suffix-ness in names of occupations such as actress, hostess, and waitress shows that the person doing the job is a woman. In recent times, many people now avoid these by using actor or host (although actress and hostess are very common) or a neutral word, such as serve for waiter or waitress. The trend in recent times is to use language that is not offensive in that it includes both men and women equally.

In view of the foregoing, the current style of Nigerian English is a clear departure from the norm of Standard English. Today, British English is de-emphasizing gender sensitive items by its use of neutral, non-gender sensitive words to describe and address people.

According to Igboanusi (2001:1–2), Nigerian English is stuffed with the following processes of lexical creation: loanwords, coinages, acronyms, intra-lingua compounding, semantic extension, semantic shift, translation equivalent, register, analogical derivation, ellipsis, collocation extension, reduplication, functional conversion, 'wrong' pluralization, prepositions, phrasal verbs, modal verbs, idiom and style. Of these nineteen processes only two, intralingua compounding – words shared commonly e.g. admission fee, go slow (traffic jam), head-tie (scarf), motor-park (bus station) – and analogical derivation are deployed for use with respect to sexism in NE.

Virtually all the examples in the data (except thick madam) – Pastor Mrs Daodu, Rev. Sister, woman-friend, chairlady, etc. – are made up of existing two or more nouns in British English. In addition, interlingua compounding, e.g. wayo-man (trickster) is featured in the data. 'Wayo' is a Hausa word meaning 'being cunning'.

The compounds in the data, which are all derived nouns (irrespective of syntactic category of the roots forming them, N + N = N, Adj. + N = N) appear simple and straight forward when compared with the British English compounds with formatives such as: Adj. + N = N (black bird), N + Adj. = Adj. (jet black), N + V = V (baby sit). Thus, sexist compound nouns in NE have compositional meanings (meanings determined in the usual way by their parts (cf. Dada, 2010)) whereas meanings of compound nouns in English are sometimes idiomatic (not predicted in regular ways by the meanings of their parts), e.g. baby sit. To solve this problem of determining the meaning of English compound, The Right Hand Head Rule (Williams, 1981) had to be introduced. That is, the element that determines the category of the compound is the head. The Right Hand Head Rule says the right most element of a compound is the head of the compound. Peradventure, Nigerian English also requires a rule of formation just like we have in British English, then, the British English right hand head rule (RHHR) seems to adequately capture the Nigerian English situation as far as compound word concatenation is concerned (see Dada, 2010:7).

It is evident in the foregoing that sexist items formation strategies in NE are patterned after that of the British. For instance, -ess suffix in examples

like monitress is a direct borrowing from BE. Few as these items may appear, a process is already initiated which if left unchecked may escalate beyond that of the proportion witnessed in BE.

What is more, one of the challenges of language study is to keep discovering or rediscovering those unique (socio) linguistic features associated with particular varieties of a language. This is true of sexism in NE which is another mark of the domestication of English in Nigeria in that it is a sure manifestation of the fact that Nigeria culture supports sexism. NE is only propagating a process that has already had its full toll on BE.

To some analysts, the presence of feminine items in NE celebrates women virtues. They sometimes create the impression that women can do what men can do. On the other hand, it may be argued that these feminine items are simply coined in NE to give value to traditional male qualities and not to celebrate the female in a universalistic and essentialist manner. After all, 'that women have suffered discrimination and deprivations in the past is no longer news or debatable' (Egunjobi, 2008: 3). These discrimination and deprivations cut across all spheres of life, language and culture. For instance, education for so many years in the medieval Europe was considered the domain of men. Even when women were given access to education, they were restricted to certain fields/disciplines that have to do with the humanities. This action, no doubt, had its toll on lexical inventory in English language with respect to nouns denoting male versus female activities.

Again, the first college of medicine was established in America in 1767. Females were not admitted into the college until 1847. The implication of this is that men have been graduating as medical doctors in the school for almost seventy-four years before their women counterparts. This was because the College Administration doubted the suitability of women as medical doctors (Akorede, 2005).

In spite of the late admission of women into College of Medicine almost 80 years after establishment, 'women were excluded from the American Medical Association until 1915' (Olaluwoye, 2007:193). Law was equally considered a masculine field in America in the past. Harvard University and Notre Dame University did not admit women to study Law until 1950 and 1969 respectively.

Nevertheless, this expression of femaleness and the struggle for self-assertion in language use did not come from Western Europe. The fact that there are more masculine gender nouns than the feminine ones in all languages is a reflection of the subordinate position accorded to women in the society. Thus, sexism in language use is as old as the society itself. Indeed, this is the traditional point of view, hence, attempts to build up a unisex gender nouns or equal male/female gender nouns in many languages of the world are a departure from the tradition and should therefore be viewed as one of the new trends in language use.

Historically, women have been labelled physically weaker than men, more emotional, less reasonable, less able to learn and dependent (*Encyclopedia Americana*, 2003:111a). This belief has influenced the assignment of roles and the placement of priority in the society over the years. What is more, it has influenced lexical inventory of our language globally with respect to male/female gender distinction, with most of the inventory representing the male gender.

Thus, the present analysis is either a reflection of a change of attitude towards the traditional impression about women or a true reflection of the African society where women have always been underrated.

7. Conclusion

The study has established another distinction between British English and Nigerian English. Thus, Nigerian English is a variety that reflects phonological, structural and semantic and even cultural properties of Nigerian languages. These innovative female- gender-items are better accommodated in African culture and traditional practices since they are already present in the socio-cultural values and traditional heritage of Africa. It then implies that the social, economic, political, cultural and traditional realities in a society determine to a large extent the form of lexical items that will be coined in a society.

The present data evidently supports the fact that the variety called Nigerian English is different and easily distinguishable from both the native variety and all other varieties. This results from the fact that language and culture are closely intertwined and since Nigerian languages and cultures differ from that of others the world over. Thus, it is hardly out of place that Nigerians have created their own variety of the language to express their values, their worldview and their distinctive orientation and experience.

The English language which was introduced to Nigeria through colonialism has grown beyond being a mere by-product of trading or religion or colonialism. Today, it is part of our lives and our entire system. The language has gained its prestige in Nigeria as in many other parts of the world since the colonial era as the interpreters were the next important people to the colonial masters.

The role of English language in Nigeria is very important because it is the official language. Hence, by implication the language of education, politics, government, etc. Thus, virtually every sector of the polity strive to gain mastery in the language. Culture is dynamic, nevertheless, language is one of the major vehicles of its dynamism and expression. Also, language is dynamic and amenable to domestication, so English in Nigeria is undergoing a process of acculturation both at the national and even within each ethno-linguistic

context. That is why we have the Nigerian variety of the English language currently examined here. One of the important ideas developed in this study is that Nigerian English exists as a distinct variety from all other varieties of English. But more importantly, how this has been carried out thus far has been laid bare in the study.

The present study has once again justified NE as an independent variety with its own phonological, morphological, syntactic and discourse features. Hence, it cannot be dismissed with a wave of hand as a corrupt form of the English language. Nigerian English continues to draw from both the English language, its original source and the hosts, the many Nigerian languages for renewal and development. Nigerian English emerged because of various reasons, one of which is probably due to the fact that Nigerians cannot speak the language the way natives do due to the physical distance between the world of the two communities of speakers. Thus, the British English has become adopted and modified to reflect the indigenous worldview of Nigerians. Yet, NE is strikingly similar to the BE in many respects. The processes of lexical innovation in NE take after that of the British.

What is more, the ever increasing importance of the English language in the global domain attests to the fact that the language has more or less taken the wind out of the sail of other international languages. It is the language adopted in almost every sphere of human endeavour with little or no cultural restrain. Apart from the Mandarin Chinese, no other language is spoken by as many as the number of people that speak English today.

There is the fear that as the language spreads across the globe and continues to be indigenized to reflect local situations it may not be able to maintain its original form. No living language is static in form. Even from its land of origin, English has undergone different stages which have altered its original form from the one spoken by its original owners. The old English form is significantly different from its middle and modern English forms. Even the modern English still continues to be enriched by new vocabularies to reflect modern and current realities. Such is the state of every living language, thus, Nigerian English cannot be an exception.

In conclusion, the paper has contributed in a little way to the existing literature on NE. The significance of this work resides in its relevance to English studies in general and to Nigerian English in particular. Again, it reflects the interface between language and society. That is, although sociolinguistics focuses on the individual to be able to get through to the society. Yet, in any language choice of expression, words or speech style is regarded primarily as a matter of individual intent or a reflection of a person's attitude or psychic state. Observe, however, that the society determines what an individual should say, thus, we have language meant for varying ages, sex, and various social relations and social sanctions are imposed on a person's language and this imposition forces people to confirm to use certain words

and expressions in some societies. Some expressions are restricted to a particular occasion, time of the day, places or variety as evident here. Thus, speech communities demand conformity from individuals, by setting up implicit and sometimes explicit social and linguistic norms and standard of communication competence by which success or failure is measured.

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Gender and Society: The Current Dominance of Law in the Field of Human Rights

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ABSTRACT. The paper generates insights about the conditions of women in the Arab world, the empirical linkage between interests and identities, and the interpersonal experiences of ethnic minorities. This paper seeks to fill a gap in the current literature by examining individual and team performance, the rights of Arab women, and the combination of personal and organizational ethnic discrimination.

Keywords: neighborhood ethnic density, the rights of Arab women

1. Introduction

Our paper contributes to the literature by providing evidence on the relationship between the prescribed role of women in Islamic theology and law, women's relative lack of economic power, and the context of neighborhood ethnic density.

2. The Rights of Arab Women

The rights of Arab women are not sufficiently protected in the Arab world. Overgeneralizations about the conditions of women in the Arab world, their rights, and their empowerment are dangerous. Different groups of women need different reforms. Promoting women's rights means promoting democracy. The growth of Islamist movements in many countries is creating new obstacles for women.[1] There are many obstacles that affect Arab women's status in society. The Arab media should portray women as productive members of the work force. Activities to empower women are underway throughout the Arab world.[2] Women in the Middle East are underrepresented in the workforce and in government because of oil. The failure of women to join the nonagricultural labor force leads to higher fertility rates. Export-

oriented manufacturing can draw women into the labor force.[3] The Egyptian state has created secular organizations dedicated to the advancement of women. The importance of women's Islamist groups has increased with the retreat of the Egyptian state. Underprivileged women are a common target for vote-buying schemes.[4]

Many women in the Arab world prefer to be repudiated by their husbands than go to court themselves. It is difficult for women to assert their rights (they have limited access to the judicial system).[5] The Taliban's radical fundamentalist form of *sharia* (Islamic rule) banned women's education and activism. Societies that promote violence against women tend to be violent in other ways as well. Violence against women heightens economic instability (some women participate in or encourage terrorism). Violence may be an acceptable part of a society that undermines a country's stability.[6] To understand the roles and status of women it is necessary to examine economic development and political change. Stability and change in the status of women are shaped by several structural determinants. The prescribed role of women in Islamic theology and law is a major determinant of women's status. The status of women in Muslim societies is neither uniform nor unchanging nor unique. Women's relative lack of economic power is the most important determinant of gender inequalities. Modernizing revolutionary states have enacted changes in family law. Political conflict or war can bring about social change. Middle-class Middle Eastern women *demand social and political change, participate in movements, and take sides in ideological battles*.[7]

3. Shaping the Everyday Social Experience of Ethnic Minorities

Ethnic accomplishment is a privileged metric for the national ranking of ethnicities. Ethnicity may prove an economically non-viable product in the mainstream.[8] A strong ethnic identity can lead to adverse labor market outcomes. Having a strong identity can be harmful to ethnic minorities.[9] The context of neighborhood ethnic density is pivotal in shaping the everyday social experience of ethnic minorities. Social context can play an important role in the etiology of schizophrenia.[10] Consociational peace agreements entrench or institutionalize ethnic divisions. The rationale of forms of post-conflict government influenced by consociationalism is to normalize ethnicity. Cultural identity is the regime of the person through which influential forms of governmentality work.[11]

Parades offer occasions where political and cultural differences are emphasized. People caught up in conflicts intuitively understand the empirical linkage between interests and identities. Ritual provides reassurance that future relationships will be less threatening than past ones, redefining ethnic conflict away from incompatible differences and threatened identities. The

psychocultural drama is an excellent tool for the analysis of identity in ethnic conflict. Psychocultural dramas identify points of emotional fissure in the relations between groups, producing reactions that are emotionally powerful.[12] The rationality model provides the basic framework for the teaching and practices of consumer behavior across ethnic groups. Ethnic beliefs are an important determinant of ethnic product choices, tastes, and consumptions.[13] A valuable outcome of diversity training is its effect on the interpersonal experiences of ethnic minorities. Individual experiences of discrimination can affect important outcomes. Individuals' experiences are affected by the combination of personal and organizational ethnic discrimination. Discrimination may give rise to opportunities for self-verification and external attributions. Diversity training can have positive implications for organizational experiences in part through its effects on discrimination.[14]

4. Shaping the Perception of Social Situations

Standard explanations provided by evolutionary biology do not sufficiently consider the role of empathy. Empathy is a motive of altruistic behavior, and a source of human altruism that evolved as a by-product of strategic thought, including cognition-based empathy, taking others' perspectives and playing others' roles.[15] We can use empathy as a way to determine what is in another person's mind – a form of *inner or mental imitation for the purpose of gaining knowledge of other minds.* Reenactive empathy plays a central epistemic role in understanding other agents.[16] The nonverbal behavior plays a major role in shaping the perception of social situations. Automated analyzers of human social signals and social behaviors should be multimodal. Humans appear to be literally wired for social interaction. Roles actually bring order and predictability in turn-taking. People display social signals in terms of aggregates of nonverbal behavioral cues. Using multiple cues is the only way to improve robustness of understanding approaches.[17] The whole family's economic security is a function of the main earners' job security. On average, women experience more labor market transitions than men. Gender does not affect individuals' preferences for job security.[18] Various harms either are or are not *empirically* real or *morally* worthy of recognition. When victims are incapacitated physically or suffer economic losses, those who depend on them for support will bear losses as well.[19] Psychoanalysis is a set of concepts and assumptions about how the mind works. Constructs of ethnicity and ethnic identity become mobilized in group conflicts. Traumatizing incidents typically activate a broader collective memory of traumatization.[20]

Management should encourage people to be dissatisfied with the way things are currently done. Process management sits at the heart of a success-

ful change program. Leadership has a key role to play, inspiring change throughout the organization and ensuring that change is implemented.[21] Zhang et al. say that the credibility of a leadership claim may be reciprocated or granted by others in a shared vision context. When team shared vision is low, there is fractionalization within the team. Training systems could involve workshops whereby an entire team works on the development of shared values and vision. Individual managers and organizations can enhance emergent and shared leadership in work teams. Team performance involves bottom-up processes. The simultaneous formation of in-groups and out-groups may limit the extent of leader emergence and disrupt positive aspects of group processes. Effective, hierarchical team leaders help to build relationships among team members, share power, and encourage team members to be involved in vision creation. Emergent leadership is predictive of both individual job performance and team-level performance. Emergent leaders are more motivated to achieve high performance.

> It is incomplete to examine informal team leadership without considering effects on the emergence process stemming from formal leadership. […] Through a strong relationship with the hierarchical leader, a team member may be privy to resources or information about the team, such as the various skills, capabilities, and motivation of other team members. […] Due to the consensus upon team's goals, members are more likely to claim leadership for themselves, as well as grant such claims to others who can help to realize the team's vision.[22]

Explaining organizations where humans are at work often demands the use of statistical probabilities. The diverse theoretical base of organization theory creates more possibilities for effectively designing and managing organizations. Paradigm differences become practical when knowledge is used to create a more desirable reality or better ways of organizing.[23] Recognition, identity, and rules define how the individual makes decisions in organizational settings. The power of individuals, groups, and organizations take into consideration alternatives when making decisions. Corporate is defined by behaviors that emerge from a group of people that take part in organizational activities.[24] Regardless of the pension regime in place, men receive substantially more from private sources than women. The share of private pensions does not seem to be influencing lower pension results among women. Most OECD countries have a long way to go before reaching equality in their pension distribution schemes.[25] Pension reform may involve both governance of markets and direct administration of public schemes. The current crisis has put great pressure on the finances of pension systems, making reform even more of a priority. Current pensioners are rarely affected by

pension reforms. Pension reform in many countries has advanced by changing one segment of the pension system at a time.[26]

5. Conclusions

The findings of this study have implications for Arab women's status in society, stability and change in the status of women,[27] and the everyday social experience of ethnic minorities.[28] The current study set out to identify the relationship between the perception of social situations,[29] constructs of ethnicity and ethnic identity, and decisions in organizational settings.

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Les Roumaines à Paris. Écrivaines françaises d'origine roumaine : Dora d'Istria, Anna de Noailles et Marthe Bibesco Ou Comment peut-on être Roumain dans l'Europe des Nations?

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ABSTRACT. In this paper I will discuss on three Romanian and French born women writers, illustrious authors of high repute: Dora d'Istria, Anna de Noailles and Martha Bibesco. Three women and as many cultural routes of exceptional women, Romanian women, women of letters and lounges, French women-writers. Three interesting and convergent cases, since all three chose to write in French texts that relate, in their great majority, of Romania. More than Anna de Noailles, who was born in Paris of Romanian parents in exile, Dora d'Istria and Martha Bibesco, both from Bucharest, chose the Parisian scene, leaving Romania, writing in French and becoming French writers. Paris, the capital of literary phenomenon and cultural crossroads, a city of excitement and fervor, was producing a surge of creativity, the privileged space of a permanent bubbling. Literary capital in the nineteenth century, Paris attracted the Romanian intelligentsia of the nineteenth century, moreover Francophone and Francophile. I will consider Paris as part of my presentation to compare my three Romanian-born French writers, and I will study their exile in terms of biographical and autobiographical aspects. From Bucharest to Paris, the Romanian Dora d'Istria and Martha Bibesco who seize this space and internalize it. From Paris to Bucharest, the opposition being done this time by the Romanians in Paris, Dora, Martha, but also Anna de Noailles, around whom there is grouped Romanian high society attracted by Bucharest, the road runs in the double meaning of the space works by bipolarity.

Keywords: French Women writers, 19th Century, Europe, Paris, Bucharest, Dora d'Istria, Anna de Noailles, Marthe Bibesco

1. Pérégrinations et médiations interculturelles de trois femmes des lettres

Je me pencherai dans cet exposé sur des femmes écrivaines françaises d'origine roumaine, des écrivaines illustres de grande réputation : Dora d'Istria, Anna de Noailles et Marthe Bibesco.

Trois femmes et autant d'itinéraires culturels de femmes d'exception, des femmes roumaines, des femmes des lettres et des salons, des écrivaines françaises. Trois cas intéressants et convergents, puisque toutes les trois choisissent d'écrire en français des textes qui ont trait, dans leur grande majorité, de la Roumanie. Même dans le cas d'Anna de Noailles qui naît en France de père roumain, ses textes sont imprégnés d'une tristesse profonde, et de quelque chose de lointain, perdu à jamais. On ne sait pas ce que c'est, on le devine. Mais plus qu'Anna de Noailles, Dora d'Istria et Marthe Bibesco, Roumaines de naissance, choisissent la scène parisienne, quittent la Roumanie, écrivent en français et deviennent écrivaines françaises.

Paris, phénomène des capitales littéraires et carrefour des cultures,[1] ville d'exaltation et de ferveur, est à l'origine d'un « déferlement créatif »,[2] l'espace privilégié d'un « bouillonnement permanent ».[3] Capitale littéraire au XIX^e^ siècle, Paris attire l'*intelligentsia* roumaine du XIX^e^ siècle, elle est la destination rêvée des intellectuels roumains, de surcroît francophones et francophiles. Dans cette itinérance de déplacement et de déterritorialisation, je prendrai Paris comme cadre de mon exposé pour comparer mes trois écrivaines françaises d'origine roumaine, que j'étudierai du côté de l'exil, du biographique et de l'autobiographique.

Deux axes constituent l'épicentre de mon étude. Premièrement, celui de l'identité nationale et les identifiants multiples, polymorphes et plurilinguistes. Sous le paradigme de l'identité nationale, on a à faire à des patriotes ferventes, des aristocrates de naissance, dont les parents sont ambassadeurs ou princes régnants, des époux des princes Russes, elles-mêmes princesses et châtelaines, qui viennent résider en France et vivent dans l'entre-deux. Des aristocrates cosmopolites qui aspirent à la vie culturelle française, anglaise aussi (Dora d'Istria). Elles quittent le pays, elles reviennent, elles repartent, vivent dans les salons en France et côtoient des écrivains de renom (Proust, Claudel, Gide, Cocteau, Paul Valéry, Loti). Elles sont tout de même en situation d'exil et à l'exil elles éprouvent le *nostos*, rongées par le retour au pays, le plus souvent mortes en terre étrangère – ce qui est le cas de trois écrivaines ici présentées.

En second lieu, il faut faire la part entre la *persona* et l'écrivain, la personne qui part, qu'elle souffre ou pas, et la personne qui écrit. D'une part, l'exil de l'être, délibéré ou imposé, on verra, de l'autre, l'exil littéraire. D'une part, la déterritorialisée (Dora, Marthe, peut-être aussi Anna dans la

souffrance de son être et de par ses origines multiples de ses parents en exil), de l'autre, la vie déterritorialisée.

2. L'itinéraire-connaissance des trois femmes des lettres

Entre Paris et Bucarest, entre tentation du voyage et contraintes politiques et sociales, les écrivaines roumaines partent à Paris. Entre voyage et exil, le départ sera une source d'émerveillement et d'auto-connaissance, tentation aussi pour l'autobiographie et incitation à l'acte d'écrire. L'obsession des contraires fascine toujours et le devoir de mémoire se superpose sur la vision cosmopolite des écrivains qui vivent loin du pays.

3. Dora d'Istria (1828–1888)

Elena Ghica, connue sous le pseudonyme de Dora d'Istria, est une écrivaine roumaine de famille illustre de l'aristocratie roumaine de Bucarest. Fille de *Marele Ban* Mihai Ghica dont les deux frères étaient les Princes Régnants de la Valachie, Elena Ghica est née à Bucarest et a passé les premières quatorze années de sa vie dans la grande maison familiale, la plus grande de Bucarest, sur les rives de la Dambovita. À la suite de la destitution par les Turcs du trône de la Valachie de son oncle Alexandru Ghica Voda, en 1842, la famille s'exile à l'étranger. Elena passe sa vie entre Vienne, Berlin, Dresde, Venise ou encore Florence.

L'exil volontaire se termine en 1849 quand la famille rentre à Bucarest. Elena a 21 ans. Je ne me référai pas aux événements politiques de l'époque qui font rage, avec les Révolutionnaires, les principautés, les troupes d'occupation, ce qui m'intéresse c'est le parcours d'Elena.

Il faut dire qu'Elena épouse un prince russe, Alexandre Kolzoff-Massalki, le suit en Russie, à Saint-Pétersbourg, où Elena Ghica-Kolzoff-Massalski écrit beaucoup. Obligée de quitter le pays sous avertissements, elle trouve refuge en Suisse. En 1855, elle a 27 ans. Elle choisit d'écrire sous le pseudonyme de Dora d'Istria (amour du Danube/amour du pays), donc un pseudonyme patriotique.

Elena voyage beaucoup, écrit beaucoup. Entre 1855 et 1860, on la trouve en Suisse, Grèce, France, Belgique, Allemagne, Italie. Dès 1860 elle reste en Italie, en 1870 elle s'installe définitivement à Florence. Tout cela est connu.

Elle déploie ensuite une extraordinaire activité ethnologique et folklorique qui puise dans le folklore balkanique (roumain, albanais, serbe, bulgare et grec) avec comme sujets principaux le nationalisme albanais, les chansons populaires, les coutumes suisses et les antiquités grecques.

Dora d'Istria-Ghica n'a écrit qu'en français. Toute son œuvre est en français, même les lettres adressées à son frère en Roumanie sont en français. Ce n'est pas mon but ici de parler de la langue française, mais je suis convaincue qu'Elena n'est pas seulement Roumaine, elle est avant tout un citoyen du monde œuvrant pour son cher pays. J'y reviendrai.

Par sa plume prolifique, Dora d'Istria fit connaître la cause roumaine de la future Roumanie dont elle décrivit au moindre détail les mœurs et coutumes. Mais Dora a parlé aussi du problème des nations, des nations des Balkans (roumaine, grecque, albanaise) sous occupation ottomane et de leur émancipation.

Mais plus qu'écrivaine nationaliste ou folkloriste, Dora d'Istria est aussi une *écrivaine féministe* qui a écrit sur la condition des femmes (*Femmes en Orient* (1859 et 1860) [4] et *Des Femmes par une femme* (1865).[5] Que ce soit les femmes de l'Orient ou de l'Occident, Dora d'Istria parle du vrai rôle de la femme dans la société, l'émancipation, les préjugés. Elle dit :

> Si l'on met en regard une Anglaise et une Grecque, une Hollandaise et une Roumaine, on trouvera sans doute que nos pères n'ont laissé à leurs compagnes qu'une part d'action et d'influence trop peu considérable...[6]

Dans ses récits de voyage en Turquie, en Grèce ou en Albanie, Dora d'Istria parle de la femme orientale et des droits de la femme. Elle devient ainsi une écrivaine féministe avant la lettre, contestant le discours colonial et la domination de l'Orient et par là même de la subordination de la femme.

4. Anna de Noailles (1876–1933)

À la différence de Dora d'Istria et de Marthe Bibesco, Bucarestoises toutes les deux, Anna de Noailles est Française, née à Paris, en 1876, de père roumain et de mère grecque.

La comtesse Anna-Elisabeth Brancoveanu, née Bibesco Bassaraba de Brancovan, est une poétesse et romancière d'origine grecque et roumaine, issue d'une grande famille comptant des poètes et des gens de lettres.

Descendante des familles de boyards Bibescu et Craiovesti de Roumanie, elle est la fille du prince Grégoire Bibesco de Bassaraba lui-même fils du prince valaque Georges Bibesco et de la princesse Zoë de Brancovan. Sa mère est la pianiste grecque Raluca Moussouros. La princesse Hélène Bibesco était sa tante, et Marthe, sa cousine.

À l'âge de 19 ans elle épouse le comte Mathieu de Noailles, fils du duc de Noailles. Le couple fait partie de la haute société parisienne de l'époque. Elle grandit entre Paris, le Bosphore et la Savoie. Tout cela est aussi connu.

Elle fut la première femme commandeur de la Légion d'honneur. L'Académie française nomma un prix en son honneur. Elle est aussi la première femme reçue à l'Académie royale de Belgique.

Anna de Noailles a écrit trois romans (dont *Visage émerveillé*, 1904; *La nouvelle Espérance*, 1903) et *La Domination*, 1905), un recueil de nouvelles sur les relations entre hommes et femmes (*Les Innocentes, ou La Sagesse des femmes*, 1923; rééd. Buchet-Chastel, 2009), une autobiographie (*Le Livre de ma vie*, 1932), un recueil de proses poétiques, neuf recueils de poèmes (dont le premier *Le cœur innombrable*, 1901). De verve lyrique et romantique, Anna de Noailles exalte dans ses œuvres les thèmes de l'amour, de la nature et de la mort.[7]

Le lyrisme féminin est à son apogée à cette période de l'avant-guerre, « les femmes veulent s'exprimer dans et par l'écriture », écrit Nicole Michel-Crépat.[8] Des œuvres comme *Le cœur innombrable* d'Anna de Noailles le confirment grandement, la poétesse apparaît comme « l'image stéréotypée » des femmes des lettres et des salons.

5. Marthe Bibesco (1886–1973)

Marthe Bibesco, née Marthe Lahovary, princesse par son mari, est une écrivaine, femme politique et femme de lettres d'origine roumaine née à Bucarest.

Elle a six ans lorsque son père Jean Lahovary est nommé diplomate à Paris où il s'installe avec sa famille. Marthe parle déjà le français avant d'apprendre le roumain. Elle épouse le prince Georges Valentin Bibesco, issu de l'une des familles les plus distinguées de Roumanie. Elle décède en 1973 à Paris.

Elle publie en français un roman consacré à la Roumanie, *Isvor, le pays des saules* (Plon, 1923 et Christian de Bartillat, 1994). *Isvor* est un ouvrage imprégné du folklore roumain, des traditions et des superstitions de son peuple. Sa carrière commence l'année d'après, en 1924, avec *Le Perroquet vert* (Grasset, 1924), peinture de milieux russes en exil. Elle a écrit beaucoup, plusieurs sortes de récits, récits de voyage, feuilletons populaires, contes, nouvelles, articles, essais. Tout est écrit en français.

La princesse a une vie fulgurante entre Bucarest et Paris, délaissée par son mari qui multiplie les liaisons, mais qui lui cède pourtant en 1912 son château familial, le château de Mogoshoaïa. Elle même est éprise d'une liaison amoureuse avec le prince Charles-Louis de Beauvau-Craon qui dura dix ans.

La princesse Bibesco retourne souvent en Roumanie où elle s'installe finalement, mais retourne souvent à Paris où elle aime vivre.

La Seconde Guerre mondiale la trouve dans son pays, puis erre d'Istanbul à Bucarest, avant de se fixer à Paris en 1945. Elle ne possède plus rien, sa

maison à Posada est détruite par les bombardement des Allemands, et tous ses biens sont confisqués par les communistes en 1948. Elle parvient à fuir son pays en 1945 devant l'avancée de l'Armée rouge qui chasse les Nazis.

Après la guerre, elle mène une vie parisienne cosmopolite. Jusqu'à la fin de sa vie elle a habité un appartement au 45 quai de Bourbon, à l'Île Saint-Louis, que lui a laissé son cousin, le prince Antoine Bibesco.

Marthe Bibesco est élue à l'Académie Royale de Belgique en 1955, place tenue auparavant par sa cousine Anna de Noailles. Elle est nommée Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur en 1962.

Marthe Bibesco a entrepris un vaste projet d'écriture sur l'histoire de l'Europe dont deux seuls verront le jour : *La Nymphe Europe* (1960), livre en partie autobiographique, et *Où tombe la foudre*, ouvrage posthume (1976). Ses œuvres sont un témoignage de l'histoire littéraire française et européenne.

6. De Bucarest à Paris et de Paris à Bucarest. Exil et *nostos*. Nostalgies cosmopolites, mélancolies indéfinissables

Nostalgies cosmopolites, titre que je dois à Liviu Bordas (2008), grand spécialiste de Dora d'Istria, et mélancolies indéfinissables, du mot « doru » comme Dora, les écrivaines françaises d'origine roumaine se caractérisent par une tristesse et une mélancolie, patriotique (dans le cas de Marthe), folklorique (dans le cas de Dora) et romantique (dans le cas d'Anna).

« À mes frères roumains », ainsi dédie Dora d'Istria son ouvrage en 1856 *La Suisse allemande*.[9] Sa dédicace, plus qu'émouvante, montre l'amour ardent d'une patriote fervente. L'auteure le dit elle même, c'est cet amour à la patrie « qui l'a guidée et l'a soutenue tout au long de sa vie ».

> Éloignée par le sort, depuis mon enfance, des bords chéris de ma Dambovitza, je n'ai jamais cessé d'appartenir à la terre natale, dont les destinées étaient l'objet des mes constantes méditations. Tous mes rêves ont été pour elle, toutes les routes que j'ai engagées, toutes les souffrances auxquelles j'ai résisté n'ont eu q'une seule cause : un ardent patriotisme, auquel je ne renoncerai qu'avec la vie. Lutter pour mon pays m'était aussi doux qu'aux premiers martyrs de combattre pour la sainte cause de l'Évangile.[10]

Dora d'Istria, grande intellectuelle cosmopolite se penche sur les destinées des peuples balkaniques, chante la liberté des peuples, l'émancipation et la dignité des femmes, et se fait le chevalier errant de l'Indépendance des chrétiens d'Orient, des Valaques et des Hellènes, écrit Charles Yriarte.[11]

Sans vouloir insister sur le caractère francophone de l'œuvre des trois écrivaines, qui n'est pas le but de cette étude, il faut dire que la francophonie dans son sens large constitue la famille culturelle et le paradigme commun des trois écrivaines roumaines, ou d'origine roumaine, ici étudiées. Les

écrivaines "voyagent" dans l'entre-deux et s'attachent à une zone de rencontre parcourue dans les deux sens.

De Bucarest à Paris, les Roumaines Dora d'Istria et Marthe Bibesco s'emparent de cet espace et l'intériorisent. De Paris à Bucarest, dans le chemin inverse qu'effectuent cette fois les Roumaines de Paris Dora, Marthe, mais aussi Anna de Noailles autour de laquelle est groupée la haute société roumaine sous l'attrait de Bucarest, le chemin fonctionne en sens double et l'espace par bipolarité.

De Bucarest à Paris ou de Paris à Bucarest, les écrivaines françaises d'origine roumaine deviennent passeurs des langues et des cultures, jettent les ponts entre les deux pays et créent un espace réel, ou symbolique, entre la Seine et le Danube. Ce qui est particulièrement singulier pour la Francophonie roumaine et les écrivain/e/s roumaines, de surcroît de l'aristocratie roumaine, qui vit et évolue en dehors des frontières.

Par ailleurs, l'écriture des écrivaines roumaines à Paris, est une écriture idyllique, folklorique, qui dépeint aux couleurs les plus nostalgiques le bonheur et les traditions du pays. Les écrivaines roumaines exposent un pays, un savoir, une écriture, tout en se faisant exposer elles-mêmes. Plus que l'écriture ou le savoir, Roxana Verona parle d'un « discours de l'entre-deux, suscité par de multiples médiateurs culturels qui ont créé un véritable corridor francophone entre les deux pays ».[12]

Tristesse et mélancolie, même dans le cas d'Anna de Noailles, –parisienne aux ancêtres hospodars –, font un, sautent du vers, s'enjambent et s'emparent des cœurs.

> Je sentais en les regardant que depuis des siècles je les avais quittés... Ce riche décor citadin me désolait de mélancolie,

écrit Anna devant la galerie de portraits des ancêtres qui double le salon de son enfance sur toute sa longueur.[13]

Roumaines de naissance et Françaises par la plume, Paris demeure le pôle culturel, topographique et symbolique pour ces écrivaines. Exilées, déterritorialisées, les écrivaines françaises d'origine roumaine renouvellent le mythe du nouvel Ulysse, de l'errance et de l'exil. Entre centre et périphéries, ce sont les périphéries finalement qui offrent aux Roumains « le degré maximum d'ouverture », selon Monica Spiridon qui écrit : « Presque chaque fois que l'on pense à Mircea Eliade la philosophie du *Double* s'impose, d'une façon ou d'une autre ».[14]

C'est cette dualité qui distingue les Roumains, dont parlait Eliade, souligne Monica Spiridon, « descendance culturellement périphérique et respiration universelle ».[15] Double est aussi l'image de Proserpine dans *Isvor* de Marthe Bibesco, la déesse vivant la moitié de l'année sous la terre et l'autre moitié sur la terre. Deux mondes donc diamétralement opposés qui servent de paradigme à la narratrice et à sa double quête, trait commun pour toutes les

écrivaines françaises d'origine roumaine qui s'interrogent dans leur œuvre sur leur véritable identité.

Dora d'Istria, Anna de Noailles et beaucoup plus la princesse Bibesco ne sont pas seulement roumaines, ne sont pas vraiment françaises, ce sont des personnalités européennes à part entière. Polyglottes, cosmopolites, elles vivent dans l'entre-deux et elles sont parfaitement doubles : doubles de conviction, doubles de nation, doubles par l'écriture. Dans leurs veines coule le sang mêlé de plusieurs nations.

Dans les veines de Marthe Bibesco « coulait le sang roumain, français, grec, italien et, par un effort d'anamnèse, elle s'était remémorée l'histoire de toutes les familles, de principautés et des peuples de l'Europe... », écrivait Eliade.[16]

Avec *Isvor*, Marthe Bibesco « symbolise la différence » souligne Monica Spiridon. « Comment ne pas aimer la Roumanie, après *Isvor* ? » s'exclamait l'écrivain Rainer Maria Rilke (cité par Eliade).[17] Alors que Charles de Gaulle lui-même en visite d'État en Roumanie en 1968, emportait avec lui un exemplaire d'*Isvor* déclarant avec fierté à la princesse : « Pour moi, vous personnifiez vraiment l'Europe ».[18]

Si les pages autobiographiques de Bibesco se réfèrent aux traditions et coutumes roumaines qu'elle a défendues et promues dans ses écrits, celles de Dora d'Istria se réfèrent à ses sentiments, à ses pensées et à ses rêves liés au pays. Dans le tourbillon d'exil et de séjours dans nombreux pays, Dora a vécu longtemps loin de la Roumanie, et elle est décédée en Italie sans voir son pays. Le pays pour elle est une coquille protectrice du corps et de l'âme, un lieu de réconfort. La mémoire de l'écrivaine sera profondément marquée par les espaces sécurisants de son enfance et de sa maison natale près du fleuve Drambovita, lieux d'enracinement et d'identification aux origines.

Dans ses œuvres, d'essence toutes autobiographique, on a toujours le point de vue de la narratrice. La description des lieux et l'exaltation du pays sont perçues à travers son regard, subjectif et sentimental, essayant d'entraîner le lecteur à compatir. La connivence et la familiarité s'instaurent dès lors entre le lecteur et le narrateur, ou plutôt la narratrice.

« [L]es rapports du sujet écrivant à son écriture ne sont pas ceux d'un appareil enregistreur à une voix montant de la bouche d'ombre », écrit Claude Abastado.[19] « L'écriture féminine est une écriture du Dedans », écrit Hélène Cixous.[20] Dans l'écriture autobiographique, la relation entre moi/monde prend la forme d'un dedans/dehors. Chez les autobiographes, une pensée consciente prend l'écriture en charge. Dans le cas de Dora, elle assume le 'Moi' et ses confidences.

Épreuve difficile et pénible, douloureuse aussi, l'acte autobiographique doit faire face à l'imaginaire personnel et débordant de l'auteur, doit aussi redresser le passé de l'écrivain qui à présent est en train de découvrir sa nouvelle identité.

De toute évidence, dans le cas de Marthe ou de Dora, l'œuvre autobiographique vise un public. La confidence a lieu dans l'espoir secret d'être lue par des lecteurs dignes de cette révélation. Marthe Bibesco et beaucoup plus Dora d'Istria retournent à leur lieu d'enfance et avec elles le lecteur qui devient témoin. Les deux écrivaines s'exposent ainsi au regard du futur lecteur dont elles essaient d'en faire leur complice.

Mythe de l' "éternel retour", Dora d'Istria et Marthe Bibesco retournent dans le pays d'enfance et à leurs origines, en entraînant le lecteur. Entre Bucarest et Paris, les deux écrivaines font vite le choix. Quoi qu'elles adorent la vie parisienne et culturelle, Bucarest restera le lieu du cœur. De surcroît, Dora aura pour cette terre bien aimée une grande verve poétique. Dans cet état d'âme particulier, nostalgique et mélancolique, la mémoire et les souvenirs guident l'écriture de l'auteure. Bucarest devient ainsi l'espace mythique et l'archétype du paradis sur terre.

7. Conclusion

Si l'identité nationale est le paradigme déterminant de l'homme, identité nationale et identifiants multiples se croisent, s'entrecroisent et s'emboîtent, ce qui oppose l'identité nationale à l'identité surnationale. On a en effet autant d'identités que d'appartenances ou des langues. Dans un extraordinaire amalgame de brassages, de codes et de registres, l'identité surnationale et multiculturelle se dresse comme l'axiome de l'homme moderne plurilingue et pluriculturel.

Entre géopoétique, biographique et autobiographique, les écrivaines roumaines voyagent, émigrent, se déplacent. Elles assument leur double identité, française et roumaine, et prennent l'Europe comme modèle.

Elles abandonnent aussi leur langue maternelle, ou deviennent bilingues. « Et comme l'identité menacée cherche à s'affirmer, la modalité la plus directe et la plus efficace est l'écriture, l'écriture sur la condition de l'exilé, sur l'identité mise en cause », écrit Elena Prus.[21]

Les trois écrivaines, Dora d'Istria, Marthe Bibesco, et aussi Anna de Noailles par son père et sa mère exilés en France, font partie de grandes écrivaines roumaines en France et représentent la formule de succès des exilés dans le pays adoptif.

« Pour les Roumains, la France et la langue française ont eu durant l'époque moderne la force d'un modèle et d'un centre de gravitation », souligne Elena Prus.[22] Située à grande distance de la France, la Roumanie a été, spirituellement, plus éloignée de trois empires qui l'encerclaient – autrichien, russe et ottoman – que la France, au point de devenir « une colonie culturelle française (formule de B. Fundoianu/Benjamin Fondane, reprise par

Ionesco) »,[23] cite Elena Prus qui ajoute : « Sans être consacré en France, un penseur, un écrivain roumain n'accédait pas à l'universalité ».[24]

Comment peut-on être Roumain ?, ou seulement Roumain ?, pour faire ainsi référence à Cioran, écrivain-monument roumain et français, qui posait déjà la question tranchante pour les Roumains qui s'obstinaient contre « le ridicule de leur existence particulière » ? et comment ne pas être attirés vers l'Europe des nations et des cultures, surtout dans le contexte cosmopolite et intellectuel du XIX^{e} siècle ?

Marthe Bibesco et Anna de Noailles incarnent « une pléiade de Roumain/e/s qui se sont sentis chez eux partout en Europe », souligne Monica Spiridon.[25] De points de vues et des démarches sans doute différentes, toutefois ces écrivaines « défendent des options culturelles complémentaires ».[26]

Le fait qu'elles ont deux patries, joue un rôle primordial dans leurs écrits qui renforçe le caractère national de l'écriture. Même s'il n'y avait pas de retour réel au pays, leur écriture, descriptive et lyrique, idyllique et onirique, opère ce retour au pays. Les écrivaines françaises d'origine roumaine font l'hymne du pays, créent par delà tout une littérature nationale et transnationale, et deviennent les Ambassadrices de la Roumanie en terre étrangère.

Elles enrichissent la culture française par la spécificité de leur œuvre littéraire qui est traversée par l'amour du pays. Ce qui est aussi significatif, qu'elles soient nées en Roumanie ou en France, c'est que toutes les trois écrivent en français.

Langue de la culture, « le français s'est avéré un outil de connaissance mutuelle »,[27] écrit Anca Pintea. Le français permet la connaissance du pays au monde, et se connaître aussi dans le monde.

Si je reviens maintenant à *l'exil*, le paradigme dominant de cette analyse, bien que de connotation explicite négative, l'exil dans le cas de trois écrivaines Dora d'Istria, Anna de Noailles et Marthe Bibesco, devient positif, créatif, littéraire. L'exil devient expression, langue, littérature, source d'inspiration par extrapolation, par projection onirique et par un retour en arrière topographique et sentimental. L'espace dramatique devient démiurgique, sens et plaisir, texte et poésie.

On ne peut se demander, et à juste titre, exil ou non-lieu de l'exil ?

Trois figures illustres de l'aristocratie roumaine, trois femmes et trois écrivaines et une trilogie de l'exil qui n'en est pas vraiment une.

La sentence prononcée par la Princesse Bibesco pourrait être celle de tous les Roumains et Roumaines de France :

Rien ne pourra faire de moi une exilée en France ! [28]

Entre l'Europe de l'Est et de l'Ouest, entre Bucarest et Paris, entre espace français et espace roumain, les frontières ne sont pas vraiment imperméables ni réellement fermées. On est dans l'auto-exil culturel, et non pas dans l'exil politique forcé. Et on est devant une littérature nationale qui domine les

partages et toute une « littérature d'exil ». Tous les exilés roumains ont transformé leur destin littéraire en mission patriotique. Les écrivaines ici étudiées, bien que multiculturelles, sont uniformisées par un sentiment étrange d'appartenance à la communauté d'origine.

Par delà alors du concept d'exil en tant que déracinement, errance ou souffrance, l'exil chez les écrivaines roumaines Dora d'Istria et Marthe Bibesco est « un choix libre, et un projet créatif que l'homme fait dans la condition déracinée »,[29] écrit S. Trigano. Aussi, « tout exil exige-t-il un retour »,[30] remarque le même Trigano. Ce retour pourrait être par l'écriture. L'entre-deux de l'exil devient ainsi un espace prolifique.

Les écrivaines françaises d'origine roumaine deviennent ainsi les représentantes de Soi et de l'Autre, ce qui est le rêve le plus profond et le plus intime du peuple roumain.

NOTES

1. C'est le titre même d'un Congrès « Paris et le phénomène des capitales littéraires. Carrefour ou dialogue des cultures » tenu à la Sorbonne (Paris IV), le 22–26 mai 1984 et dont les Actes ont été publiées dans *Paris et le phénomène des capitales littéraires*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de Paris-Sorbonne, 1990.

2. L'expression est de Pierre-Christian Taittinger, Ancien Ministre, Sénateur – Conseiller de Paris, dans « Paris et la Révolution », *Paris et le phénomène des capitales littéraires. Carrefour ou dialogue des cultures*, Actes du premier Congrès international du CRLC, 22–26 mai 1984, Volume III, Paris, Presses Universitaires de Paris-Sorbonne, 1990, 2.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Dora d'Istria, (1859 et 1860), *Femmes en Orient*. 2 vol., Zurich, Meyer et Zeller.

5. Dora d'Istria (1985), *Des Femmes par une femme*. 2 vol., éditions Lacroix, Paris-Bruxelles.

6. Cité par N. Iorga, 1932. URL: www.ghyca.org, 4.

7. Sur Anna de Noailles et les autres écrivains roumains on doit signaler une œuvre monumentale, *Blouse Roumaine. An Anthology of Romanian Women*, selected and edited by Constantin Roman, Professeur à l'Inalco. Il s'agit d'une collection d'essais biographiques de 160 femmes roumaines de l'Antiquité, du Moyen Âge, à nos jours avec une emphase sur les femmes modernes et contemporaines ; il est écrit en anglais, français, allemand et roumain.

8. Nicole Michel-Crépat, « Des auteurs de 1900 à 1914 : Une Belle époque, entre fureurs et ferveurs », in *Acta Fabula*, 30 mars 2010. URL: www.fabula.org. Consulté le 30 mars 2012.

9. Dora d'Istria (1856), *La Suisse allemande*. 4 vol., Cherbuliez.

10. « Elena Ghica – Dora d'Istria », in le Site de la famille Ghica. URL: www.ghyca.org, 5. Consulté le 30 mars 2012.

11. Charles Yriarte (le Marquis de Villemer) (1870), *Portraits cosmopolites*, Paris, 165–178, à propos *Des Femmes par une femme*, dans « Elena Ghica – Dora d'Istria », in le Site de la famille Ghica. URL: www.ghyca.org. Consulté le 30 mars 2012

12. Verona, Roxana (2011), *Parcours francophones : Anna de Noailles et sa famille culturelle*. Paris, Honoré Champion.

13. « Anna de Noailles l'éblouissante ». In http://lefildarchal.over-blog.fr. Consulté le 30 mars 2012.

14. Spiridon, Monica (2005), « "Europe" ou Contre Sainte-Modèle. La "Nymphe Europe" ou Contre Sainte-Modèle », *Lingua Romana*, revue électronique de Brigham Young University 4(1), Fall URL: http://linguarimana.byu.edu

15. *Ibid.*

16. Eliade, Mircea (1986), « Marthe Bibesco et la Nymphe Europe », *Briser le toit de la maison. La créativité et ses symboles.* Paris, Gallimard, 67.

17. *Ibidem*, 71.

18. « Marthe Bibesco ». In *Wikipedia*. URL: http://fr/wikipedia.org. Consulté le 2 avril 2012.

19. Abastado, Claude (1981), « Écriture automatique et Instance du sujet », in *Revue des Sciences humaines*, 4, N° 184, 63.

20. Cixous, Hélène (1969), *Dedans*. Paris, Grasset.

21. Prus, Elena (2007), « L'affirmation de l'identité-palimpseste par l'écriture », in *La Francopolyphonie*, « Langues et identités », Actes du Colloque international, ULIM, Chisinau, 23-24 mars 2007, Chisinau, 196.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Idem.*

24. *Idem*.

25. Spiridon, Monica, « "Europe" ou Contre Sainte-Modèle. La "Nymphe Europe" ou Contre Sainte-Modèle », *op. cit*.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Pintea, Anca « Francophonie et mondialisation : Le rouge et le noir ». Cité par Constantin Sterian (2009), « La tentation d'écrire en français chez les écrivains français », *Écrivains d'expression française de l'Europe du Sud-Est. Dialogue des cultures chez les écrivains balkaniques*. Bucuresti, Editura Fundației România de Mâine, 97.

28. Mircea Eliade, « Marthe Bibesco et la Nymphe Europe », *op. cit.*, 76.

29. Trigano, Shmuel (2005), *Le temps de l'exil*. Paris, Payot et Rivages, 31.

30. *Ibid.*

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Pour un engagement littéraire au féminin chez Vénus Khoury-Ghata

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ABSTRACT. Among Khoury-Ghata's abounding work, the novel *Sept pierres pour la femme adultère* (*Seven Stones for the Adulterous Woman*) is considered a major piece because of its particular literary form of commitment. The Lebanese writer who lives in Paris treats a moving drama of the death sentence of women convicted of adultery, a sentence that still persists in certain regions of the world. She denounces courageously the rigidity of secular values and the abuse of the masculine power which condemn women's submission, silence, total marginalization, or even pure and simple ostracism. Khoury-Ghata's writing which blends skill and credibility, fiction and reality constitutes a true indictment against human barbarism, and brilliant engagement for the freedom of women.

Keywords: women's writing, stoning, adultery, denunciation, condemnation, revolt

Sept pierres pour la femme adultère[1] trente-cinquième livre de Vénus Khoury-Ghata,[2] traite du drame bouleversant de la condamnation à mort des femmes coupables d'adultères, qui continue à sévir dans certaines régions du monde. C'est un sujet délicat et violent ancré dans un contexte social, politique, culturel et religieux, dont s'est inspirée l'écrivaine pour réaliser une œuvre surprenante, à la fois tragique, innovatrice et courageuse. Son écriture qui mélange avec habilité et crédibilité, réalité et fiction constitue un véritable réquisitoire contre la barbarie humaine et « la maladie de l'islam »,[3] ainsi qu'un plaidoyer sans fard en faveur de la liberté des femmes. C'est un acte littéraire engagé qui marque un tournant majeur dans la production, abondante et imposante,[4] aussi bien poétique que romanesque de cette écrivaine, née au Liban, et partagée entre la culture orientale et occidentale. Avec courage et lucidité, elle élève sa voix pour dénoncer la lapidation, une pratique barbare et cruelle qui perpétue un pire châtiment à l'égard des femmes en les réduisant à une « condition infra-humaine ».[5]

Certes, Khoury-Ghata aborde un thème révoltant qui n'a pas manqué de susciter de virulentes réactions, présentes dans des témoignages douloureux,[6] mais son écrit se distingue par une variation romanesque très originale. D'emblée, le titre est brutal qui annonce ce recours au « culte des pierres »,[7] pour commettre un crime odieux au nom de « l'honneur » collectif. Aussi, le choix d'un mode narratif, auquel le lecteur est peu habitué, à savoir le tutoiement, illustre-t-il justement l'aspect innovateur dans le style d'écriture de l'écrivaine par rapport à son œuvre précédente. En fait, par l'utilisation de la narratrice du pronom de la deuxième personne du singulier pour conter une histoire terrifiante, se tutoyant elle-même, elle vise à mettre à distance les faits qu'elle décrit. Mais en structurant la trame narrative de son récit par l'emploi du présent de l'indicatif, elle demeure dans cet état de permanence pour rapporter des événements tragiques et habituels, plantés dans l'espace-temps d'ailleurs, mais au demeurant toujours d'actualité.

Le roman présente la condition de la femme en Occident et en Orient à travers la rencontre de deux femmes, de cultures et de religions différentes. L'une vient du Nord, une Française anonyme et l'autre, nommée Noor, « lumière » en arabe, habitant un village « planté au sud de tous les suds » (65). Le récit se déroule à Khouf, « peur » en arabe, village fantomatique d'Asie aux portes du désert, loin des bruits de la construction d'un barrage et séparé de la ville et des lois de la République. Mère de trois garçons Zahi, Zad et Zein, épouse de Moha, Noor est violée par un Blanc, un ingénieur occidental, venu travailler dans ce pays. Une grossesse succède à cette agression alors qu'elle avait été délaissée et abandonnée par son mari. Déclarée coupable d'adultère, elle est condamnée par une *fatwa*[8] et doit être lapidée.[9] Ce sont ses trois fils qui l'ont dénoncée au cheikh et ont témoigné contre elle, la désignant de « *gahba* » (15), c'est-à-dire « prostituée ». Avec la complicité du kadi, le cheikh n'hésite pas à appliquer sur elle la sentence divine selon la *charia*.[10] Ainsi que le souligne, Patrick Banon, « la relation sexuelle non autorisée par la loi, l'autonomie sexuelle d'une femme, voire l'adultère, équivalent à une trahison, un apostat »,[11] mérite la mort. De fait n'ayant de contact qu'avec l'étrangère et Amina, une « fille de personne » (37), abattue par le désespoir de sa vie brisée, Noor attend son châtiment, telle une apatride, vivant à l'écart du village, dans la marginalisation totale, voire l'ostracisme pur et simple :

> Les femmes qui lui apportaient les restes de leurs repas avec leur sale linge à laver ne lui adressaient pas la parole. Elles posaient leur balluchon au pied de la haie de cactus et le reprenaient le soir au même endroit – l'assiette léchée et les vêtements propres. Noor, tout le monde le sait, n'a pas d'amis. Les rares qui avaient pitié d'elle lors de sa condamnation ont grossi le nombre de ses ennemis depuis qu'elle a mis le feu à sa masure. (172)

Alors que le village se prépare à la lapider, et que sur la place, les sept pierres,[12] destinées à laver dans le sang son honneur, et surtout celui de son mari et de ses enfants, sont déjà prêtes pour son exécution, Noor semble être détachée et totalement résignée. Elle sait que rien ne peut la soustraire à la justice et aux traditions ancestrales. Ayant péché, elle doit payer pour sa faute sachant que les villageois n'attendent que le moment de sa lapidation pour partager ses quelques modestes biens. Tout le monde est prêt pour passer à l'acte, lançant sur elle des pierres qui ne doivent pas être trop grandes pour ne pas la tuer rapidement, mais pas trop petites non plus. Et Noor ne réagit pas, acceptant sans révolte ce qui lui arrive, indifférente même à l'instant fatidique de l'application de son châtiment :

> Noor se sent aussi sèche que les feuilles flétries qui collent à ses semelles, que son puits déserté par l'eau. Elle s'alimente le moins possible, ne fait plus de feu pour chasser le froid accumulé sous sa peau, s'attache à ne rien modifier autour d'elle. Ils viendront accompagnés d'enfants et de chiens teigneux qui s'en prendront à sa chèvre utile pour le repas traditionnel prévu d'avance. Ils mangeront après avoir lancé les sept premières pierres appelées les salvatrices. Sept, répète-t-elle en s'aidant de ses doigts. Sept, comme les jours de la semaine, comme les cailloux qui fixent le toit de la réserve. Sept pierres pour fêler sa tête comme une grenade mûrie au soleil de l'été. (11–12)

Quant à la Française, elle n'est jamais nommée, mais tutoyée par une narratrice qui, tout au tout long de la trame narrative, enchaîne sur le déroulement des événements marquants son séjour dans ce lieu oublié par Dieu et les hommes. Fuyant un chagrin d'amour et la mort de son chat, elle s'est engagée dans une mission humanitaire pour apporter de l'aide aux villageois. Elle se prend d'affection pour Noor et refuse la *fatwa* qui la condamne. Elle décide d'agir et d'employer tous les moyens possibles pour la sauver et l'enfant qu'elle porte. Ce qui lui attire l'antipathie et la haine de la part des habitants de Khouf aussi bien hommes que femmes :

> Personne au douar n'est prêt à t'écouter. Femme et chrétienne, chaque jour t'amène un ennemi de plus. Les hommes t'accusent de dresser leurs femmes contre la charia. Ta tête découverte est une provocation, rien ne différencie les cheveux de la tête de ceux de la fente ; on te soupçonne de te servir de Noor pour régler ton problème. Un homme t'a répudiée. Noor est ton arme contre le destin qui t'a humiliée, sinon tu n'aurais pas traversé autant de terres et des mers pour venir t'enterrer dans ce village oublié d'Allah et de ses prophètes. (54)

Même Amina, une célibataire, qui s'est engagée à ses côtés dans l'humanitaire un peu par hasard à la suite d'une déception amoureuse, et qui, seule contre tout, continue à parler à Noor, la dissuade de vouloir se lancer dans cette

aventure risquée et dangereuse de vouloir défendre une femme dans sa situation.

> Un conseil : Laisse-la à son sort. Tuer est une pécheresse n'a rien d'exceptionnel. Il y en a des milliers dans son cas. Tu n'as qu'à interroger les sépultures. (29)

La déception s'empare de l'étrangère qui compatit au malheur de Noor, alors que celle-ci ne « semble nullement affligée, même pas triste » (137). Elle constate amèrement dans son attitude passive une facilité de capitulation déconcertante face à cette situation de terreur et ne comprend absolument pas sa résignation devant la perte de sa vie. Ce qui apparaît plus déroutant, c'est que, soumise au diktat du cheikh et du kadi qui décident que la mort attend les coupables d'adultère, Noor parait plus préoccupée, en tant que lapidée, par son « droit à la *Fatiha* mais pas aux *chawaheds*[13] réservés aux croyants » (17). Elle se soumet à un comportement de servilité qui dépasse l'entendement envers la codification de l'ordre social et religieux dans le village qui, d'après elle, émane du pouvoir divin :

> Il faut respecter les traditions. Tout est écrit dans les livres. Rien n'est laissé au hasard par celui qui a créé toutes choses : les montagnes en haut, les déserts en bas, l'aigle en haut, le serpent en bas, les nuages en haut, le brouillard en bas. Sans compter le cheikh, l'œil d'Allah au douar, et sa liste d'interdits ; celui qui les enfreint sera bien attrapé le jour du grand jugement. (22–23)

Plongée dans une atmosphère horrifiante et suffocante, où règnent l'intimidation, la répression, la peur et la mort, Noor n'admet pas qu'on l'éclaire sur les sources du mal qui sont générateurs de violence et de terreur dans sa vie. Par contre, elle éprouve de la honte et de la culpabilité, sentiments qui la rongent au plus profond de son être, et la pousse à se méfier de la présence de la Française, même à refuser la main tendue pour l'aider. « Vous ne comprenez rien à notre nourriture, rien à nos coutumes, s'exalte-t-elle. J'ai trahi mon sang, je dois donc payer. Inutile de vous démener pour moi, et chaque chose en son temps » (17). Se refusant à transgresser un tabou, sa voix s'érige comme une croyance inébranlable, suivant à l'œil et au doigt, la loi religieuse qui domine, qui n'est en réalité, qu'une idéologie machiste régnant au village, avancée par les deux autorités suprêmes, afin de servir leurs ambitions du pouvoir. À cet égard, Banon indique que :

> La lapidation de la femme promet de rétablir l'ordre social déstabilisé par le viol, l'adultère ou la pratique d'actes sexuels non autorisés par les tuteurs masculins. Sous prétexte d'appliquer la loi transmise par la divinité aux hommes, les sociétés patriarcales combattent le désordre social par la victimation des femmes, seules coupables évidents de leur désintégration annoncée.[14]

Il est vrai qu'il n'est facile pour une femme venant du Nord, signifiant par ses gestes, ses pensées, sa liberté d'être, non seulement confrontée à une extrême misère et à une hostilité manifeste de la population à son égard, mais aussi à des coutumes et des lois archaïques. En dépit du fait que son statut d'étrangère lui interdit formellement de s'immiscer dans les affaires du village et sa mission humanitaire ne l'autorise pas à critiquer « la culture du sang »,[15] ancrée dans les mentalités et les mœurs des villageois. Et pourtant, elle entreprend une démarche auprès des autorités religieuses et politiques de la région. Ce faisant, son action amène à découvrir la férocité du pouvoir intégriste, qui a bâti son système sur le totalitarisme « afin de faire plier et réduire la société dans la peur, l'insécurité et la tricherie ».[16] À vrai dire, sa démarche fort utile pour sauver Noor, apparaît préjudiciable à l'expression de la féminité de cette dernière. Étant donné qu'elle était violée, par une nuit de vent violent, le khamsin, où elle était partie à la recherche de son chat, Noor refuse de porter le blâme sur l'étranger venu de l'autre côté de la montagne en jeep. Certes, il l'a prise contre son gré, comme une chèvre, mais il lui a procuré du plaisir, comme elle révèle elle-même :

> Contrairement au violeur qui fait son affaire puis prend la fuite comme un voleur. Le mien a recommencé trois fois de suite. Je lui plaisais. Il devait me trouver aussi goûteuse qu'un agneau cuit dans son jus, qu'un poulet nourri au grain, qu'un... (58)

Cette révélation éminemment surprenante, voire dérangeante est intentionnelle. C'est sa manière de contrecarrer son état d'infériorité en affirmant que dans cette transgression, elle s'est avérée détentrice de ce pouvoir de séduction de l'homme qui, dans le discours traditionnel, inscrit l'essence et l'existence des femmes dans cette contrée lointaine :

> Dire qu'il l'a prise une seule fois est pire qu'un mensonge, une gifle. Les femmes du douar se moqueront d'elle, les mauvaises langues feront courir des rumeurs. Elles diront que sa toison est hirsute, que son poil es aussi dru que celui d'un âne battu par son maître. (58)

Parce que son but est de libérer Noor de la menace de la *fatwa*, parce qu'elle n'accepte pas l'écrasement et la répression de la femme, la Française déploie tous les moyens possibles allant jusqu'au bout de ses convictions. Elle sollicite une « audience au ministre de la Répression du vice, puis à l'imam protecteur de la vertu » (55). Sa volonté de dépassement et de remise en cause de la léthargie du temps, sa détermination de frapper à toutes les portes et de mener cette affaire aux plus hauts sommets de l'autorité religieuse se heurtent au scepticisme de la victime concernée. En effet, Noor est habitée par le doute et l'incertitude « qu'un mollah ou un ministre acceptent de se pencher sur son cas » (56). Elle justifie son découragement par les aspects réels et

tragiques qui entourent sa situation de femme, sans liberté, sans droit de parole, sans même d'identité propre :

> Pour eux, elle n'existe pas. Ils ne la connaissent pas, ne l'ont pas rencontrée, ne l'ont jamais vue en photo puisqu'elle n'a jamais été photographiée, qu'elle n'a pas de carte d'identité. (56)

Le déplacement en ville qu'elle effectue en compagnie d'Abdul, le seul homme dans le village animé d'humanisme et de tolérance, est un voyage au cœur de la découverte de l'intégrisme instauré par une « théocratie islamiste « moyenâgeuse », ennemie de toute liberté de pensée ou d'expression ».[17] Dans ce contexte, le maintien de l'ordre sociétal se fait par la force et la répression des gardiens du mollah qui s'assurent de l'application des ordres donnés par le ministre de la vertu. Vu le désavantage de la femme dans cette société rigide et sanglante, Abdu tient à l'avertir des risques à courir et que sa tentative de vouloir négocier la clémence d'autorités religieuses pour une condamnée à mort pour adultère peut se retourner dangereusement contre elle :

> Le mollah, le ministre, te recevront-ils ? Seul Allah le sait. Peut-être te battront-ils ? Te casseront-ils une jambe ? Te crèveront-ils un œil ? Nous ne pouvons rien prévoir. Les vigies ont la main aussi lourde qu'une batteuse de blé, les dents aiguisées d'un tigre. Ne pas oublier que le mollah qui est un saint homme ne serre pas la main d'une femme alors qu'il en a épousé quatre, par soumission au Coran et nullement pour le plaisir de la chair, qu'il les traite en égales. Pas de favoritisme : même pointure et modèle de chaussures, même épaisseur du hijab pour qu'elles voient le monde sous les mêmes contours, même nom à toutes, Aïcha, celui de la dernière épouse du Prophète. (74)

À la surprise de tout le monde, sa requête est acceptée et donne à Noor une sécurité temporaire, retardant sa lapidation de quelques mois jusqu'à son accouchement. La Française retourne au village fière de la réussite de sa mission, prête à surmonter toutes les difficultés qui ne tardent à se dresser sur chemin. Ayant contesté les lois et les règles religieux qui assurent l'ordre social et moral dans le village, son attitude va accroître la haine et l'antiphatie que lui portent déjà les habitants, depuis son arrivée. Le vieux médecin breton qui conduit la mission humanitaire, venu lui aussi dans cet endroit désolant, pour fuir un deuil, suite à la mort de sa fille, tente de la raisonner et de la mettre en garde :

> Tu ne tiendras pas le coup face au cheikh qui désapprouve ton entêtement à vouloir sauver Noor de la mort, au kadi qui t'accuse de détournement de la charia. Les deux t'ont fermé leur porte au nez quand tu leur as rapporté la lettre du mollah. « Laisse-la sur le seuil ».
> Le même ordre et leurs voix grondaient d'une colère millénaire. (115)

Ces propos ne la découragent pas. En tant que femme libérée, instruite et engagée, elle s'estime détentrice d'un devoir d'éveiller les consciences et de contribuer à l'émancipation des femmes qui sont réduites à des ombres vivant dans l'effacement total. En fait, leur éternelle soumission au sort, identique à celle de Noor, domine partout à telle enseigne que les « femmes de Khouf ont rayé l'apitoiement sur soi de leur vocabulaire » (137). La démission qu'elles affichent devant leur vie confisquée est liée à une fatalité divine fortement ancrée dans la mentalité collective : « Pas un seul cheveu de ta tête ne tombera sans la permission du Créateur » (229). Force est de préciser qu'à travers les réflexions et les paroles d'autres femmes, la Française se rend compte de la dureté et de la cruauté du monde machiste dans lequel elles vivent. Il s'agit en effet d'Amina, solitaire et marginalisée, qui a été ignoblement abusée par Gonzaguès, l'un des membres de l'organisation humanitaire ; de Jalila, une misérable créature « qui ment avec la même facilité qu'elle mendie » (94) et Aïcha-Kristine, « l'Irlandaise convertie à l'Islam par amour » (199), mariée à un homme de Khouf, passée pour morte, en se cachant dans le village « pour échapper aux recherches de son père, un archéologue » (199). Ce qui frappe dans leurs propos, c'est le comportement unanime des hommes, refoulant depuis la nuit du temps le féminin, l'humiliant, ne le considérant qu'un objet de leurs désirs et de leurs plaisirs, qu'on peut passer facilement de mains en mains :

> Dieu merci ! fait-elle en se tapant la poitrine d'un poing fervent. Nos hommes sont peut-être sales, paresseux, fornicateurs mais ils se conduisent en hommes. Le droit de répudier leur appartient depuis que le monde est monde, quitte à nous reprendre s'ils en ont envie, et si tout se fait dans les règles. L'épouse répudiée revient chez son mari après un passage obligatoire sous un autre. « De sous Ahmed à sous Ali, puis de nouveau sous Ahmed », note le cheikh dans son registre et le problème est résolu. Yoyou-youyouyou, les voilà remariés comme avant. (22)

Le mâle a tous les pouvoirs sur la femme, pouvant disposer d'elle à sa guise et à chaque moment qu'il manifeste le désir car, elle est sa possession. Elle doit être docile et obéissante, puisqu'il dispose de tous les droits sur elle, comme le dicte la loi, qui prévoit « [c]ent coups de bâton pour celle qui se refuse à son époux » (103). En fait, comme l'indique Ghassan Ascha, « la femme est traitée comme un objet sexuel et non en tant qu'être ayant des sentiments propres, des désirs sexuels et une sensibilité autonomes ».[18] En plus de la violer, de la battre, de la répudier, de la reprendre après le rituel de passation entre hommes, il peut même la massacrer, voire la tuer. L'exemple effarent de ce père qui a égorgé sa propre fille est terrifiant. Après le meurtre, il « l'a jetée dans le puits sans *Fatiha* et sans linceul. Comme une chienne » (162). Le pire, c'est que ni le cheikh ni le kadi ne pourront le traîner devant la justice : « la vie de sa fille lui appartient. Libre à lui de la supprimer »

(162). Un autre élément de discrimination que subit l'être féminin, c'est dans sa capacité de reproduction. En fait, la femme ne peut avoir de place au sein de la société que quand elle enfante, donnant naissance à un « oueled », un garçon. C'est que :

> [...], la fille n'est pas considérée comme un enfant. Pourtant ce sont les filles qui pèsent lourd dans les mariages. Certaines sont troquées contre un troupeau de chèvres, d'autres contre un mobilier pour les parents, et d'autres encore sont payées comptant.
>
> Ce sont des femmes que tu as vues piocher la terre craquelée à la recherche de racines bonnes à cuire, des femmes que tu as vues pétrir boue et paille pour rafistoler les murs. Les hommes palabrant autour d'un arbre lançaient un conseil, parfois un caillou sur une tête lorsqu'elles n'entendaient pas. (88)

Pour l'étrangère, ces signes de résignation qu'elle observe dans le quotidien de ces femmes soumises au bon vouloir des hommes tout puissants, recèlent une autre vérité amère. L'interdiction totale de se plaindre de leurs conditions, de parler contre la doxa islamique. Elles doivent éviter tout contact avec « l'Autre », « les autres » qui viennent de l'ailleurs, hostile à leurs coutumes tribales :

> Une épouse, même répudiée, n'a pas à se plaindre de son sort à une étrangère et surtout à contester une fatwa émise par le cheikh. Une musulmane digne de ce nom réfute toute intervention en sa faveur contre les lois de sa tribu. (87)

Prisonnières dans leur village, leur pays, dans leur lieu d'habitation et dans leur corps, elles doivent refouler leurs sentiments et leurs désirs, vivre dans le caché et le refoulé, interdites de nommer l'innommable, se contentant comme Noor, du passage du temps, avec son lot de privations et de frustrations :

> Noor est plus que veuve parce qu'elle n'a plus de souvenirs de sa vie de femme mariée. Moha, absent de la journée, ne rentrait que pour écumer son raki, battre ses fils et accuser sa femme de lui avoir jeté le mauvais sort : il perd au jeu depuis qu'il l'a épousée. (67)

Ce qui est remarquable, c'est qu'elles sont conscientes de leur situation insoutenable dans leur société qui célèbre le sang, le châtiment et le meurtre, mais sont incapables d'agir ou de réagir, se sentant éternellement impuissantes. Leur malheur est bien réel, nourri au quotidien par la tyrannie et le totalitarisme. À travers les agissements de l'étrangère, elles mesurent son degré d'autonomie et surtout d'être née ailleurs. Dans les propos d'Amina qui révèlent cette blessure d'être « [s]ortie au monde au plus mauvais endroit » (40), elle sait que « Naître au nord du monde est certainement plus avantageux qu'au sud ou le soleil transforme le cerveau en bouillie » (65). L'étrangère

représente ce qu'il lui serait impossible d'être et de devenir. Elle incarne le rêve impossible :

> Oui, je donnerais la moitié de ma vie pour être l'étrangère dans une autre vie, pour ne plus avoir honte d'être née femme avec un corps de femme nanti d'un trou supplémentaire pour les besoins de l'homme qui jette son jus comme on crache, comme on vomit, et de lui servir de gant pour son doigt principal, d'étui pour son nay, alors qu'il ne sait pas jouer du nay et que la musique pour lui n'est que bruit pareil à d'autres bruits. (64)

Il est évident que dans ce roman, Khoury-Ghata dénonce l'état de servitude féminine en présentant des femmes abattues, aliénées, humiliés et martyrisées qui font sentir la souffrance physique et morale, à travers des témoignages intimes et des propos durs, qui révèlent l'ampleur de leurs peines et leurs angoisses. L'écrivaine pointe le chauvisme mâle et les attitudes machistes qui étouffent l'être féminin lui interdisant le droit à la parole et le cheminement vers l'affirmation de soi. La voix narrative qui est « l'instance racontante non représentée »[19] qui, avançant tout au long de la progression du récit le « tu » adressé à la Française, multiplie les exemples pour assurer, autour de la lapidation, le développement cohérent du thème constant de l'oppression féminine et de son écrasement sous le joug d'une misogynie à outrance. Le rôle que joue l'étrangère pour mener des exclues de l'ordre moral et social à prendre conscience des maux qui rongent leur existence devient, au fur et à mesure de la lecture, très déterminant.

> Censée être là pour aider une population vouée à la mort, tu t'es trouvée engluée dans la cruauté des mœurs venues du Moyen Âge. Tu leur as apporté la révolte au lieu de la nourriture. Noor t'a entraînée dans on malheur avant d'y entraîner Amina. (227)

Il est à noter que dans le village Khouf, le temps est rythmé par l'appel aux cinq prières quotidiennes et le maintien de règles archaïques qui rétrécissent les joies de vie pour ses habitants qui « ont le cœur aussi pierreux que le sol foulé par leurs pieds » (116). Ce qui renforce l'étouffement de la population féminine, meurtrie par la volonté des hommes, tiraillée « entre la ville et le désert, entre le gel et la canicule, entre la sécheresse et les pluies diluviennes » (116), qui tente de survivre dans cette bourgade miséreuse, enserrée par une sécheresse dévastatrice et un froid meurtrier. Dans l'espace romanesque, l'écrivaine insiste à plusieurs reprises sur la sévérité de la nature et surtout sur la présence des vents corrosifs et ravageurs :

> Le vent glacial depuis ce soir fait espérer la pluie, mais il semble se suffire à lui-même, pas un seul nuage ne l'accompagne. Vent qui souffle dans toutes les directions, plie les palmiers jusqu'à terre, piétine les arbres démuni du moindre feuillage, du moindre fruit. [...]

> Un vent pareil en tout point au khamsin, mais qui a tronqué son feu contre des glaçons. À la fois belliqueux et généreux, capable de tous les excès, des bons comme des mauvais, il peut durer trois ou trente jours. Le vent à quatre roues comme l'appellent les chameliers. Il a la force d'un coup de poing, d'un marteau brandi par un géant. Il décape les montagnes, rajeunit les rochers mais vieillit la plaine et les femmes. (24–25)

ou encore,

> Le vent qui a souffle cette nuit-là sur Khouf ajoute à leur trouble. Aussi violent qu'un khamsin mais glacial au lieu d'être brûlant. Les oiseaux égarés en plein ciel tombaient rigides, pareils à des pierres, la peau bleuâtre, le bec ouvert sur un long cri. (136)

En dépit de tout cela, la Française décide de rester auprès de femmes qui ont besoin d'elle, ne les abandonnant pas, surtout Amina et Noor, qui désirent sa présence et ne veulent pas qu'elle parte. Ceci dit, elle refuse de partir avec les membres de la mission humanitaire qui, pris d'une terrible peur, fuient la tension dans le village, devenue autant pesant qu'électrique. Elle ne veut pas quitter Khouf en laissant Noor à son sort, à la lapidation qui se prépare. Mais les villageois manifestent une farouche hostilité à sa présence et exigent son départ définitif afin de garder leur monde clos et fermé. Ils l'accusent d'avoir déréglée une communauté qui n'avait pas besoin d'elle. Son crime, c'est qu'elle a monté la tête à deux femmes, faisant « croire à la première qu'elle avait le droit d'aimer, à la seconde qu'elle pouvait prédire l'avenir ». Et dans ce lieu du silence et de l'oubli où elles ne sont que des mortes-vivantes, elles « se sont crues des femmes alors qu'elles sont des femelles, sœurs de ce qui met bas, vêle, pond » (221). Elle veut être utile et continue à œuvrer pour améliorer le statut des femmes. Et comme elle est capable de parler trois langue ce qui lui permet de se lancer dans une autre aventure, celle d'enseigner. Pour elle, donner les mêmes chances aux filles qu'aux garçons, est le seul moyen de lutter contre la pauvreté, l'ignorance et les inégalités. À ce titre, elle pense combattre les préjugés et chasser les stéréotypes offrant aux enfants des deux sexes une éducation qui privilégie la liberté et l'égalité pour tous et toutes. À vrai dire, son intention est appropriée à un espace du Nord dont le contrat politique fonde sa cohésion sociale en spécifiant qu'elle repose « sur une République laïque garantissant l'égalité entre les hommes et les femmes ».[20] Or, elle est isolée et coincée dans un village répressif où les femmes n'ont aucun rôle à jouer que celui de procréer, satisfaire les besoins sexuels de l'homme ou s'atteler aux tâches, maintenues à l'écart, voire enfermées dans les maisons :

> Comment lui expliquer qu'à Khouf la madras n'accepte que les garçons, qu'il y apprennent à lire le Coran, à écrire des phrases, tandis que les filles restées chez elles lisent dans les intentions et

> fabriquent des talismans bénéfiques ou maléfiques selon l'offre et la demande. (64)

Sa tentative échoue terriblement. L'école reste déserte et les quelques aventuriers ou curieux ne reviennent plus après quelques leçons car, « [q]uel besoin de lire dans un douar qui ne compte qu'un seul livre, propriété du cheikh ? » (140). En plus, ce dernier « les a convaincus que le seul enseignement valable est dispensé par le kitab » (193). Cet état de fait renvoie aux restrictions imposées par les fondamentalistes et les intégristes dans ces régions éloignées, qui visent à anéantir l'esprit des femmes, en leur interdisant de fréquenter l'école ou tout organisme éducatif, les privant, ainsi, de toute existence humaine. Mais ces contraintes et l'ambiance hostile ainsi que les soupçons qui pèsent sur elle concernant Noor ne réussissent pas à la décourager. L'étrangère demeure toujours valable pour enseigner à qui vient chercher de l'instruction, continuant par sa présence, à défier le pouvoir religieux qui a poussé les habitants à terrifier ses collègues, les poussant à fuir dans un départ précipité, qui a mis fin à la mission et aux activités de l'organisation humanitaire. D'ailleurs, celle-ci a été sévèrement critiquée par le mollah qui, lors de leur rencontre à propos de sa requête en faveur de Noor, lui a lancé les propos suivants :

> -Votre organisme fait plus de mal que de bien. Vous êtes les vrais responsables de la famine. Nos paysans se contentent de votre farine et de votre riz au lieu de cultiver leur terre. D'hommes fiers, vous faites des mendiants, des paresseux. (80)

Amina a aussi des réserves au sujet du travail réalisé par l'organisation. Pour elle, « ceux qu'elle appelle les humanitaires donnent à manger, à boire et vaccinent, rien de plus » (100). Toutefois, elle sait faire la part des choses en jugeant le comportement des personnes étrangères rencontrées et observées dans leurs rapports avec la population locale. Alors, si le vieux docteur Breton s'avérait être « un saint homme, aussi saint que le marabout qui guérit les aveugles, que l'eau de zamzam qui purifie de tous les péchés » (39), Gonzagues, quant lui, c'est un jeune arrogant, un horrible abuseur qui non seulement l'a humiliée, mais l'a détruite à jamais. Son témoignage est dur et douloureux en révélant le côté sordide de ces pratiques malsaines des êtres sans scrupules venus du Nord envers des gens pauvres, miséreux et impuissants dans certains pays du Sud :

> Gonzagues aime me voir à quatre pattes, cul en l'air comme une jument prête pour la saillie. Je me crache à la figure quand il me demande de me mettre dans cette position pour qu'il se soulage un peu alors que ce ne sont pas les chèvres qui manquent à Khouf, ni les trous dans les murs ou dans les troncs des palmiers. (39)

Cette description est révoltante à plus d'un titre. Par l'évocation de cette scène, l'écrivaine manifeste son engagement, scandalisée par le comportement

arrogant de certains membres d'organisations humanitaires, venus apporter de l'aide à une humanité brisée, se transforment en cruels conquérants et en rein de colonialisme aussi. Par le biais de la présentation des sentiments de colère qui se bousculent dans l'esprit de la Française, la voix narrative inscrit son rejet du pouvoir abusif de l'homme et de la permanence de la violence envers la femme. Elle dénonce son maintien sous le poids d'une réalité humiliante, de même que le regard de l'homme sur elle, empreint de désirs souvent vicieux, la traitant comme un objet, sans dignité et sans honneur.

> Tu penses plutôt à Gonzagues qui a abusé de la confiance d'une fille soumise à tous ses caprices. Des réminiscences te reviennent par bribes, en images morcelées. Tu entends le jeune stagiaire donner à Amina l'ordre de passer la serpillière sous ses chaussures, mais il se garde bien de soulever ses pieds. Un jeune arrogant de vingt-cinq ans à peine écrasant de son mépris une fille de quarante ans. Mépris, tyrannie, plaisir de voir l'autre à quatre pattes devant lui. Le colonisateur perçant sous l'humanitaire. (130)

Il reste qu'avec le départ des humanitaires, la situation sociale s'est dégradée. Pour les villageois, ils « ont emporté la baraka avec eux. Pareils à un vol géant de sauterelles, ils ont semé la pauvreté derrière eux » (178). Une révolte populaire gronde et, affamés, les manifestants ont vivement réagi, entraînant le village dans un chaos total. Ils ont semé la panique et le désordre exprimant leur colère en saccageant tout ce qui se trouve sur leur chemin. Parmi leurs actions terribles et destructrices, ils ont

> mis le feu aux bibliothèques et aux librairies : le savoir ne sert plus à rien lorsqu'il se révèle incapable de résoudre les problèmes vitaux. Des milliers de livres carbonisés. Les émeutiers se réchauffèrent à leurs flammes sans la moindre pitié pour les manuscrits anciens qui grésillaient de douleur. (179)

Pour mettre fin au mécontentement et à l'insoumission populaires, les autorités créent un nouveau « poste de Premier ministre affublé d'un titre inconnu jusqu'à ce jour : ministre du Discernement entre le bien et le mal » (180). Le champ de manœuvre est réduit par l'instauration de règles rigides qui encerclent et étouffent tous les habitants de Khouf. On exige du peuple obéissance totale et prosternation devant leur suprématie totalitaire. Aussi, pour appuyer leur domination et leur hégémonie, le cheikh et le kadi, relancent-ils l'affaire de la lapidation de Noor « qui aura lieu comme prévu, mais après la naissance de l'enfant comme le sous-entend le mollah dans sa lettre » (157). Pour eux, une fois le châtiment accompli, la victime, lavée de sa souillure et de son déshonneur, devra être prête pour rencontrer le Créateur. Ils avancent que : « Allah accueille uniquement le repentir de ceux qui commettent le mal par ignorance et qui se repentent jusqu'à voir l'ange de la mort à leur chevet. Allah est omniscient et sage » (158). Leur recours à

des dires religieux selon *la charia*[21] pour justifier la validité de la condamnation à mort et l'exécution de Norra avec une hargne terrifiante, prouve, comme le signalait Mimouni, que « chez les islamistes, la femme est l'objet d'une fixation obsessionnelle, comme le juif pour Hitler ».[22] Ils citent le verset coranique 15 de la *Sourate des femmes* :

> Celles de vos femmes qui forniquent, faites témoigner à leur encontre quatre d'entre vous. S'ils témoignent, confinez-les dans votre maison jusqu'à ce que la mort les rappelle ou qu'Allah décrète un autre ordre à leur égard. (158)

Mais le solide de leur argumentation réside dans le rappel des hadiths du prophète, ordonnant de lapider la personne mariée qui commet une fornication, une tradition rapportée dans plusieurs récits[23] qui constitue la base solide pour l'accomplissement de leur acte sanguinaire.

> Les autorités religieuses multiplient les discours fracassants et menacent les contrevenant(e)s aux ordres d'Allah des châtiments de l'enfer. Elles se réfèrent à des hadiths et affirment s'appuyer sur la tradition établie par les anciens et suivie par leurs successeurs, tradition de laquelle elles font d'ailleurs découler toutes leurs règles de jurisprudence dite musulmane.[24]

À ce niveau, il est important de préciser que la lapidation n'est pas prescrite par le Coran. Elle ne figure pas non plus comme peine prévue contre la femme. Le très célèbre verset 34 de la sourate IV, prescrit à l'homme d'admonester les femmes dont il craint l'infidélité, en les relèguant dans des chambres et les frappant.[25] Le délit de fornication est également bien décrit et encadré dans les versets coraniques 15 et 16 de la *Sourate des femmes*.[26] Le texte coranique ne prévoit, dans les versets 2 et 3 de la *Sourate des Lumières*,[27] le pire des cas qu'une peine de flagellation pour châtier les fornicateurs, aucune précision n'étant apportée sur le statut conjugal des coupables.

Ce qui est évident, c'est que les détenteurs du pouvoir religieux ne citent « pas le Coran qui constitue pourtant, pour les musulmans, l'unique parole divine, dictée mot à mot par Allah à son prophète ».[28] Sachant qu'en tant que responsables religieux, ils ne sont pas légitimes en proposant un moratoire pour un supplice, pratiqué comme coutume revendiqué au titre d'une tradition religieuse, ne relèvant guère de l'islam. Ce faisant, ils ont recourent à la simple tricherie religieuse :

> Ils ont sacralisés leurs hadiths. Ils les ont placés au-dessus du Coran. Ils ont préféré des dires à la parole d'Allah ; ils ont bafoué la parole d'Allah avec ces dires. Ils en ont fait leur veau d'or.[29]

Pourquoi donc la *charia* ordonne-t-elle la lapidation des femmes adultères, alors que ce châtiment ne figure nulle part dans le Coran ? C'est là une manifestation apparente de la domination des femmes par « la gent masculine et les diktats sociétaux sous couvert d'arguments fallacieux le plus souvent

véhiculés par les hommes pour les hommes avec l'appui, en outre de la religion omniprésente ».[30] C'est une stratégie perverse de mouvements intégristes et d'États totalitaires qui suscite la révolte et l'indignation, comme l'a bien indiqué Mimouni :

> Il est évident que les hommes utilisèrent le sacré pour légitimer leurs privilèges. En terre d'Islam, cela se fit de manière scandaleuse. On superposa les coutumes préexistantes, les dispositions coraniques et les interprétations restrictives pour limiter le droit des femmes au plus petit espace commun.[31]

Au fil du roman se précise l'urgence de procéder à la lapidation qui sauve à tout prix le pouvoir religieux menacé de perdre sa force et son autorité incontestables. Mais un événement imprévu intervient qui bouscule tous les plans. Après avoir donné naissance à une fille qu'elle nomme Baslic, Noor s'enfuit s'échappant à cette épée de Damoclès qui pouvait frapper à tout moment. La nouvelle de son départ cause une sérieuse perturbation dans le village et nécessite des réactions urgentes pour remédier à cette situation inattendue :

> La fuite de Noor suscite la colère et les pierres entassées sur la place doivent être utilisées. Il faut trouver une autre coupable. Le choix porte sur l'étrangère, accusée d'avoir aidé Noor à s'enfuir. D'autres optent pour Amina, considérée comme l'unique coupable, une sorcière qui ne prédit que le mal pour les gens de Khouf. (181)

On offre une récompense à celui qui capture la fugitive en gagnant un coq. Toutefois, pour sauver l'honneur de Khouf qui a été bafoué, il faut que la *fatwa* soit exécutée sur Noor ou sur une autre. Ainsi, les hommes réinventent les règles les plus archaïques à la recherche de sources où étancher leur soif de vengeance. Menacée par des forces obscurantistes qui ne cessent de l'attaquer, la Française risque de perdre sa vie. Elle est sauvée et part en ville à la recherche de Noor. Quant à Amina qui était toujours dans la marge, elle quitte le village vers la montagne portant avec elle ses malheurs, ses peines et ses blessures. Elle veut s'éloigner des humains et vivre en solitaire, mais sa sortie du village, seule non accompagnée par un *mahram* (parent masculin), constitue un grave délit. Elle est perçue comme la source de tous les tourments, une sédition (*fitna*), car, pour les villageois,

> Une femme non accompagnée d'un père, d'un mari ou d'un frère est vouée au malheur. Elle est bonne pour les assassins et les loups. C'est comme une chèvre non attachée à un piquet. Les femmes, [...], sont faites pour vivre entre les murs. (191)

Ayant besoin d'une victime expiatoire, la communauté a fini par en trouver une. À tel point que l'exécution d'Amina intervient paradoxalement comme un soulagement, susceptible de conforter le pouvoir totalitaire des bourreaux :

> Les hommes de Khouf ont décidé de sévir. Leur autorité est en jeu. Qu'elle soit Noor ou Amina peu importe. Toute *hourma* qui quitte le douar sans la permission d'un homme à prendre. (216)

Le rationnel et l'irrationnel s'entremêlent dans l'esprit d'hommes arrêtés dans le temps, qui cherchent à justifier leur cruelle action envers une femme démunie et impuissante. Ne tolérant aucune déviation comportementale de la part des femmes, ils considèrent celles qui choisissent des unions impures, comme des démones dangereuses qui incarnent le mal et le choix de leur vie s'apparente à une trahison. Leur sexualité illicite menace le groupe tout entier. Mais derrière ce maintien dans le sang et le meurtre, de principes et de valeurs rigides et séculaires, apparaît, en réalité, la manifestation de leur peur de perdre leur statut de maîtres, dominateurs au sein de la communauté de Khouf :

> Noor ou Amina, peu importe le nom. Leur autorité est en jeu. Qu'adviendra-t-il d'eux si leurs épouses, filles ou mères se mettent à chercher le plaisir ailleurs qu'en eux, que des étrangers se mettent à les chevaucher à cru telles des juments sans licou et sans selle ? (217)

Dès lors, la lapidation est en voie de réalisation pour l'assassinat collectif d'une victime d'injustices et d'abus dont le seul crime commis est d'être femme. Il est clair que la perpétuation d'une telle pratique qui insiste sur le meurtre « d'honneur » pour renforcer la prescription des lois religieuses et morales, légitime la violence et concrétise la barbarie et la cruauté de ces mâles qui s'acharnent à coups de bâtons et de pieds sur une femme abandonnée à ses malheurs trop faible pour se défendre. Et quand la horde sauvage ramène le corps d'Amina gisant dans le sang, elle est accueillie avec des intonations de *Allahou Akbar* (Dieu est grand) scandées par la foule. La rage déchaînée a effacé la honte qui entachait la réputation morale de Khouf, qui a trouvé sa dignité. Les sept pierres « salvatrices » sur la place n'ont plus aucune raison d'êtres gardées. Elles peuvent être dispersées en attendant la prochaine victime car, Allah dans sa grandeur a accepté le repentir d'Amina. « - Tout a été fait dans les règles, enchaîne le kadi. Nous avons écouté quatre témoignages de l'adultère comme l'exige la charia. Ceux des trois fils de la repentante et un quatrième que nous gardons secret pour le moment » (219).

Au lieu de la vraie coupable, la f*atwa* a été appliquée sur une autre, toute innocente, qui s'est trouvée au mauvais moment et au mauvais endroit. Les déclarations des habitants du village sont cruelles et inhumaines. Cette attitude est tellement enracinée dans les mentalités et révèle un comportement dangereux et subversif, voire menaçant pour la libération de la femme :

> Il fallait qu'une femme meure sous les pierres. Peu importe son nom. La place de Khouf a bu le sang, les pierres n'ont plus qu'à s'éparpiller. Une *hourma* a payé pour une autre. Il n'y a de quoi

> en faire une histoire. Allah dans sa grande mansuétude saura la dédommager. (236)

Cette mort aussi sacrilège que sacrée redonne au village son honneur perdu légitimant la logique et le pouvoir des autorités religieuses. L'ordre est rétabli et les habitants du village peuvent retrouver leur sécurité et leur certitude, résistant aux vents de l'extérieur qui n'ont pas réussi à ébranler leurs structures figées dans le temps.

> Le cheikh et le kadi peuvent domir tranquilles maintenant qu'une femme est morte sur la place face au monticule de pierres amassées par les habitants du douar. Leur pouvoir n'en sort que plus renforcé, kouf étant éloigné de la ville. Ils n'ont pas à se soumettre aux lois d'une république qui les oublie. Khouf appartient au désert. Ses habitants ont d'autres soucis que ceux des villes qui se battent pour le pouvoir et la richesse. Eux se battent contre le sable qui envahit leurs masures, contre le khamsin qui les enferme chez eux comme des rats, contre la sécheresse qui esseule les puits. Kouf réfute les lois de la république. (226)

Dans le village de Khouf, le « déshonneur des hommes résultant toujours de l'impureté des femmes »[32] a été lavé dans le sang et le meurtre. Une telle exécution est un acte non seulement barbare, mais malsain et répugnant. Mimouni qui avait dénoncé le mal intégriste, s'est justement demandé au sujet de la lapidation : « pourquoi procéder de la façon la plus violente, et pourquoi vouloir cultiver chez les gens leur instinct sanguinaire ? ».[33] Toujours est-il que l'application de ce supplice atroce aux femmes confirme l'omniprésence et la continuité de

> [...] l'héritage d'un système de pensée magico-religieux, ancré dans l'inconscient collectif depuis plus de dix mille ans. Enterrée vivante ou frappée à coups de pierres, la victime est tuée par la terre et non directement par l'homme. La distance maintenue par les lapideurs, protège la collectivité du risque d'être souillée par l'impureté de la victime.[34]

Il va de soi que l'application de la lapidation est une indication forte de la tradition qui s'est transformée en loi immuable et intouchable :

> La pression populaire impose, pour le propre malheur du peuple, son jugement à celui des juges et des sages. Depuis des millénaires donc, la pratique de la lapidation trace la frontière entre ignorante sauvagerie et tentations humanistes, et aujourd'hui entre totalitarisme et démocratie. Cette violence rituelle doublée d'une violence sociale se drape dans la dignité d'une légitimité défense devant les menaces de disparition portées par la globalisation des cultures. La violence des hommes envers les femmes n'est que l'expression de la peur de l'Autre.[35]

En s'appuyant sur ce verset coranique : « O ! gens Craignez votre Seigneur qui vous a créés d'une personne unique, et d'elle son épouse, et qui des deux a fait foisonner profusion d'hommes ainsi que des femmes » (*Les femmes*, V.1, sourate 4), J. Badaoui avance que l'arrivée de l'Islam a mis fin à l'obscurité qui régnait dans le monde en apportant un « message nouveau, noble et universel pour l'humanité ».[36] Cependant, l'histoire présentée par Khoury-Ghata dans ce roman bouleversant de cruauté et de barbarie, indique l'autre face tragique et obscure de cette religion. La lapidation montre clairement la nature inhumaine du mouvement de l'islamisme politique, ses partis et gouvernements. Elle confirme l'existence de cette malédiction qui s'abat sur les femmes, qui, battues, insultées, violentées,[37] vivent dans la peur et la frayeur. À travers le drame de Noor et d'Amina, il paraît clairement qu'elles sont maintenues dans une « oppression millénaire »,[38] et que leur vie est marquée de larmes, de douleurs et de souffrances, subissant à travers le temps qui passes des violences physiques, psychologiques et juridiques entourées de silence et d'ignorance.[39]

En effet, Vénus Khoury-Ghata réalise un roman dur et dense qui parle de la condition féminine dans un monde musulman dans lequel tant de femmes sont victimes d'aberrantes injustices. Sa langue précise, poétique, violente parfois fait découvrir le quotidien de ces femmes, enterrées vivantes dans un village, nommé Khouf, à la bordure du désert, où les habitants sont obligés d'obéir à la toute-puissance du mollah qui prêche la parole d'Allah. Une parole façonnée intentionnellement pour justifier les inégalités, les violences, et la soumission des femmes. En fait, les intégristes invoquent le strict respect de la tradition et des lois religieuses. L'écrivaine montre que c'est un argument fallacieux en exposant la dichotomie entre les textes fondamentaux, à savoir le Coran et l'interprétation qu'en font les hommes.

Si la lapidation en constitue la colonne vertébrale, l'essentiel du roman se compose aussi d'observations, de descriptions de la triste réalité des femmes soumises à des coutumes barbares qui ne laissent rien échapper d'une culture d'un autre temps. L'écrivaine présente des images déroutantes de la brutalité et de la férocité à l'égard des femmes qui marquent l'éternel constat de la violence révélant l'animal en l'homme et l'être féminin massacré, voire sacrifié. Elle aborde également d'autres aspects en particulier la critique du système des humanitaires. À travers la trame romanesque, elle montre l'incapacité des membres de la mission de s'impliquer réellement dans l'amélioration de la vie des habitants du village à l'exception de la Française. Celle-ci se détache du groupe, ne fuyant pas devant le danger menaçant, refusant de rester silencieuse fermant les yeux sur des pratiques en rupture avec les valeurs fondamentales de respect humain et d'égalité homme/femme. En alliant la puissance de son sujet à une écriture sensible et engagée, elle dénonce l'hypocrisie de l'Occident qui « porte le poids sur son dos » (104), et qui, au nom du refus d'ingérence, ou encore du respect de cultures différ-

entes, laisse dominer dans certaines régions du monde la rigidité et la cruauté de certaines mœurs choquantes et incompréhensibles aujourd'hui, de nos jours, actuellement.

En brossant les portraits des femmes au destin au destin tragique, placées dans la marginalisation et l'infériorité, écrasées sous le poids de traditions révoltantes, l'écrivaine sonne l'alarme du totalitarisme islamiste[40] qui se répand. L'ampleur de ce phénomène accentue les autorités abusives des oppresseurs qui sous couvert de morale religieuse enchaînent les opprimées par des règles archaïques faisant « craindre un retour en arrière qui sera préjudiciable pour les femmes, mais aussi pour celles qui se battent encore dans leur pays pour obtenir – la même vie que leurs consœurs occidentales ».[41]

Imprégnée de deux cultures, l'écrivaine illustre l'impossible entente la pensée radicale des intégristes qui rendent leur univers clos, extrêmement codifié et celle évolutive des esprits libres qui œuvrent pour le droit à la différence et la liberté pour tous les humains. L'opposition de l'univers de la Française avec celui de Noor et d'Amina est apparente. Cependant, il faut dire que le rapport de ces dernières à leur espace est marqué de luttes constantes pour sortir du carcan pesant et étouffant, un monde verrouillé par les hommes dans lequel ils commettent, en toute impunité, des crimes odieux qui soient, contre l'être féminin. Par le contenu événementiel qui forme la toile de fond de cette lutte, l'écrivaine se situe clairement est clairement du côté des femmes, les opprimées, les victimes du pouvoir abusif des hommes, les impuissantes déchirées entre soumission et liberté, entre traditions et modernité, entre contraintes sociales et revendications du droit à la liberté et à l'épanouissement humain. La situation est consternante de ces êtres féminins brisés et anéantis, livrés au bon vouloir des hommes, et dont la raison d'être est d'assurer leur bien-être et de procréer en assurant de donner un nombre d'enfants nécessaire au développement de la communauté. Elle dénonce avec virulence l'état de soumission dans lequel elles sont maintenues et leur écrasement sous le joug de la peur et de la terreur, obéissant malgré elles, « à l'injonction coranique : les femmes sont soumises aux hommes et les hommes à Dieu ».[42] Elle les exhorte à la révolte et à la rébellion, de transgresser les tabous, de ne pas demeurer silencieuses et marginalisées. Il va de soi que la continuité de l'application d'une telle barbarie constitue un crime contre l'humanité et une sérieuse atteinte à leur dignité ainsi qu'à leur droit d'existence. Cette réalité amère et cruelle existe encore dans de nombreux pays et cela reste inadmissible :

> Il ne pourrait donc être question d'accepter sous le couvert d'un principe de relativisme culturel, des entailles aux principes aux principes fondamentaux des démocraties contemporaines. Le moindre signe d'inégalité entre l'homme et la femme, la remise en question du principe de mixité, du droit à avoir un visage, tout ace visant à bannir la femme de l'espace public, serait un

> encouragement à perpétuer un système patriarcal archaïque. Aucune circonstance atténuante n'est possible pour ces lapideurs du féminin, car chaque pierre lancée à la face d'une femme est une pierre jetée à celle des démocraties.[43]

Il y a aujourd'hui encore des femmes qui meurent par lapidation pour avoir eu des relations sexuelles hors mariage. En pointant du doigt cette tragédie insoutenable dans une fiction qui parle mieux que le reportage sur le drame féminin, Vénus Khoury-Ghata apparaît très courageuse et sensible. En abordant ce thème déroutant, elle plonge dans la profondeur des sentiments et des descriptions en vue de montrer la méchanceté et la cruauté des rapports de force qui s'exercent sur les femmes. Son profond combat pour la justice, le respect et l'égalité l'ont poussée à réaliser une écriture plurielle qui s'inscrit dans cette littérature de femme. Une littérature de refus, de dénonciation et de lutte qui confirme son engagement littéraire pour aborder les injustices et les discriminations que subissent les femmes. Son écrit sur des êtres humiliés et dépossédés qui se débattent dans une précarité extrême contre la tyrannie des intégristes apporte un éclairage particulier sur la condition féminine et les jeux de domination du pouvoir masculin.

NOTES

1. Khoury-Ghata, Vénus (2007), *Sept pierres pour la femme adultère*. Paris, Mercure de France, réédité par France Loisirs en février 2008. Ce roman a été sélectionné pour le prix Renaudot. Toutes les citations prises de ce roman sont indiquées par des chiffres entre parenthèses.

2. La poétesse et romancière Vénus Khoury-Ghata est née en 1937. Elle débute d'abord en tant que journaliste à Beyrouth, puis est consacrée miss Beyrouth en 1959. En 1972, elle s'installe en France et fréquente le milieu littéraire de l'époque, dont fait partie Louis Aragon. Marquée par la guerre civile au Liban et la mort de son époux en 1981, ses poèmes ont souvent pour thèmes les sentiments, l'exil, et la mort.

3. Abdelwahab Meddeb indique dans « L'intégrisme, maladie de l'islam », que : « Si le fanatisme fut maladie du catholicisme, si le nazisme fut la maladie de l'Allemagne, il est sûr que l'intégrisme est la maladie de l'Islam », in Isabel Taboada Leonetti (s. la dir. de) (2004), *Les femmes et l'islam. Entre modernité et intégrisme*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 165–179.

4. Vénus Khoury-Ghata est une auteure très prolifique qui a su s'imposer dans le monde des lettres grâce à une carrière riche de plusieurs prix récompensant plusieurs recueils de poèmes et de nombreux romans.

5. Mimouni, Rachid (1992), *De la barbarie en particulier et de l'intégrisme en général*. Belfoud, Le Pré aux clers, 43.

6. À citer à titre d'exemple : Sahebjam Freidoune (1990), *La femme lapidée*. LGF/ Livre de Poche, 126; Haddaoui Monia et Anne Becart (2007), *Ils ont lapidé Ghofrane*. Paris, Éditions des femmes, 153 ; Fatiha Maamoura et Rahmouna Salah, Nadia Kaci (co-auteur) (2010), *Laissées pour mortes – Le lynchage des femmes de Hassi Messaoud*. Paris, Max Milo, 256.

7. Banon, Patrick (2010), *Ces femmes martyres de l'intégrisme*. Paris, Armand Collin, 36.

8. La fatwa consiste en une interprétation (ou une compréhension) du texte traditionnel en vue de statuer sur un sujet ou émettre un ordre légal, c'est le domaine exclusif des savants compétents.

9. La République Islamique d'Iran base son système judiciaire sur la loi islamique qui stipule qu'avoir des relations sexuelles hors du mariage est passible de la peine de mort. En vertu de l'article 83 du Code pénal iranien, l'adultère par une femme mariée avec un homme adulte est puni de la mort par lapidation. Ce sont les articles 102 et 104 du code pénal de la République Islamique d'Iran qui régissent les conditions d'une lapidation. Texto : « Les pierres utilisées pour infliger la mort par lapidation ne devront pas être grosses au point que le condamné meure après en avoir reçu une ou deux. Elles ne devront pas non plus être si petites qu'on ne puisse leur donner le nom de pierre. La taille moyenne est choisie généralement afin de faire expier la faute par la souffrance ». L'article stipule clairement que : « La lapidation jusqu'à ce que mort s'ensuive est le châtiment pour les adultères ».

10. La charia est un ensemble codifié de normes émanant de la volonté divine, dictant la conduite d'un fidèle sur une voie pure et claire. Les systèmes judiciaires des États islamiques contemporains ont l'obligation d'être en conformié avec les principes de la charia, elle-même issue du Coran et des hadiths.

11. Banon. *Ces femmes martyres de l'intégrisme*, 36.

12. Dans la lapidation ("*Rajam*" en arabe), le lancement des pierres est essentiel. Le but est de tuer lentement la personne avec le plus de douleur possible. Durant le pèlerinages, les fidèles doivent accomplir le rituel de la lapidation de Satan (*Ramyat-Jamarat*), terme qui signifie littéralement lancer des pierres sur les cibles.

13. « Les chawaheds, c'est les deux pierres drigées vers La Mecque, la première marque l'emplacement de la tête du défunt, la seconde celui de ses pieds », 17.

14. Banon. *Ces femmes martyres de l'intégrisme*, 38.

15. Nous empruntons ctte expression de l'essai réalisé par Zaoui, Amin (2003), *La culture du sang. Fatwas, femmes, tabous et pouvoirs*. Paris, Le Serpent à Plumes, 153.

16. *Ibid.*, 12.

17. *Ibid.*, 10.

18. Ghassan, Ascha (1989), *Du statut inférieur de la femme en Islam*. Paris, L'Harmattan, 54.

19. Patrick Charaudeau et Dominique Maingueneau (2002), *Dictionnaire d'analyse du discours*. Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 485.

20. Voir Pierre Barraca, Amandine Briffaut, Anne-Gaëlle Cogez, Danielle Delmaire, Faïza, Malika Messad (2009), *Les animateurs face à l'intégrisme religieux et l'oppression des femmes*. Paris, L'Harmattan, 268.

21. La *charia* est un ensemble codifié de norms émanant de la volonté divine, dictant la conduite d'un fidèle sur une voie pure et claire. Les systèmes judiciaires des États islamiques contemporains ont l'obligation d'être en conformié avec les principes de la charia, elle-même issue du Coran et des hadiths.

22. Mimouni. *De la barbarie en particulier et de l'intégrisme en général*, 29.

23. Plusieurs hadiths et récits constituent la preuve que pour le prophète Muhammad (bénédiction et paix sur lui), « Celui qui a commis l'adultère doit être lapidé ».

24. Lubna Ahmad al-Hussein avec Djénane Kareh Tager (2011), *Suis-je maudite ? La femme, la charia et le Coran.* Paris, Plon, 21.

25. « [...] Les femmes vertueuses sont obéissantes (à leurs maris), et protègent ce qui doit être protégé, pendant l'absence de leurs époux, avec la protection de Dieu. Et quant à celles dont vous craignez la désobéissance, exhortez-les, éloignez-vous d'elles dans leurs lits et frappez-les. Si elles arrivent à vous obéir, alors ne cherchez plus de voie contre elles, car Dieu est certes, Haut et Grand ! », (34⁄4).

26. « Les deux d'entre vous qui l'ont commise [la fornication], sévissez contre eux. S'ils se repentent ensuite et se réforment, alors laissez-les en paix. Allah demeure Accueillant au repentir et Miséricordieux », (V. 16 de la *Sourate des femmes*).

27. « La fornicatrice et le fornicateur, fouettez-les chacun de cent coups de fouet. Et ne soyez point pris de pitié pour eux dans l'exécution de la loi d'Allah – si vous croyez en Allah et au Jour dernier. Et qu'un groupe de croyants assiste à leur punition » (V. 2) et Le fornicateur n'épousera qu'une fornicatrice ou une associatrice. Et la fornicatrice ne sera épousée que par un fornicateur ou un associateur ; et cela a été interdit aux croyants » (V. 3).

28. Ahmad al-Hussein. *Suis-je maudite ?* ... 21.

29. *Ibid.*, 170.

30. Samson, Florence (2010), *La femme objet de la gent masculine et des diktats sociétaux*. Paris, L'Harmattan, 18.

31. Mimouni. *De la barbarie en particulier et de l'intégrisme en général*, 39.

32. Banon. *Ces femmes martyres de l'intégrisme*, 96.

33. Mimouni. *De la barbarie en général et de l'intégrisme en particulier*, 27.

34. Banon. *Ces femmes martyres de l'intégrisme*, 38.

35. *Ibid.*, 39.

36. Badaoui, J. (2002), *Statut de la femme en Islam*. Deuxième édition. Paris, Éditions IGRA, 55.

37. Voir Sahebjam Freidoune (2003), *Morte parmi les vivants : une tragédie afghane*. Paris, Grasset et Fasquelle, 323. Voir aussi le récit bouleversant de Jacky Trevane, Luc Baranger (traducteur) (2008), *Fatwa : Condamnée à mort pour les siens*. Paris : Archipoche Éditions, 339.

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39. Voir Chantal Brunel (2010), *Pour en finir avec les violences faite aux femmes*. Paris, le cherche-midi, 261.

40. Voir Alexandre Del Valle. *Le totalitarisme islamiste à l'assaut des démocraties*. Paris, Éditions des Syrtes, 463.

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Robbe-Grillet's View of Women's Sexuality

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ABSTRACT. The mainstay of the paper is formed by an analysis of the multi-tiered structuring ambiguity of Robbe-Grillet's novels, the nature of Robbe-Grillet's filmic works, the role of the symbol in Robbe-Grillet, and the norms of naturalistic modes of narration. The results of the current study converge with prior research on the blatant victimization and suffering of women in Robbe-Grillet's work, the viewer's capacity to perceive different realities and other truths, the limitations and confusions of our human sensory perceptions, and phenomenological explanations of sexuality in Robbe-Grillet's work.

Keywords: Robbe-Grillet, female sexuality, language, film, novel

1. Introduction

Scholarly research reveals strong correlations between the nature and function of the mythological elements in Robbe-Grillet's work, discussions of sexuality in Robbe-Grillet's films or novel, the economy of Robbe-Grillet's prose, and the metaphorical processes of Robbe-Grillet's language. This paper aims to analyze and discuss the notion of blood and female sexuality in Robbe-Grillet's work, the singularity of Robbe-Grillet's novels, character and reader consciousness in Robbe-Grillet, and male-female relationships in Robbe-Grillet's art. The theory that I shall seek to elaborate here puts considerable emphasis on Robbe-Grillet's phantasy of the repression of the female body of the text, his depiction of sexuality, his use of cultural stereotyping to subvert western culture, and his inclusion of scenes of sexual violence in his films and novels.

2. The Metaphorical Processes of Robbe-Grillet's Language

According to Fragola and Smith, Robbe-Grillet's films are intimately related to their cultural milieu (traditional filmic realism and narrative are challenged). Conventional realism has never served as a test of worth for Robbe-Grillet. Robbe-Grillet's fiction is a mirror reflecting back upon the narrative itself, exposing and dissolving the arbitrary conventions of narration. Robbe-Grillet requires that his reader share in creating the work, and is a visionary who seeks to discover unfamiliar ways of seeing.

It is worth noting that Robbe-Grillet's novels and films reject the use of the narrative conventions[1] that the public is accustomed to (*the conventional insistence on immediate reality that controls and thwarts creative energy must be exposed and subverted*). Fragola and Smith argue that the material Robbe-Grillet uses to organize the narratives of films is essentially ideological, incorporating fragments of discourse that contemporary society attempts to impose. The nineteenth-century realistic fiction's language and structure reflect an arbitrary view of the world. *Nothing* exists outside the world of images (*nothing* happens prior to the first images on the screen). The actors should recite the text exactly as it is written, and the viewer must be an active participant in the work. Film technique is like a musical score containing frequent reprises with variations (film belongs to plastic art).

Fragola and Smith hold that critics interpreted *Trans-EuropExpress* as an example of the difficulties of the creative process (anyway, at a certain point the character in the story acts independently of the prescribed actions). This film within a film is rich in ambiguities, innuendo, and contradictions. The increased depiction of sexual violence towards women engenders negative reaction. The scenes of rape and bondage are so highly stylized as to render them "unreal." The depictions are to be thought of as a means of undermining male-dominated narratives that depict violence against them. In *The Man Who Lies*, Robbe-Grillet manipulates our perceptions of reality through montage (the putative narrator is an actor who seeks meaning for his life). An actor portrays fictional characters, and he lies, whereas *the essence of good acting is to make these lies convincing* (the actor tells many stories with numerous variants). The narrator's stories lead us away from what the story may be about to *how* it is told. The "truth" of the film is in the telling. The actor's contribution is ultimately determined through writing and montage. On Fragola and Smith's view, the main character in *The Man Who Lies* is interested in creating himself through his own words, speaking in order to be, and telling stories to various people so that he might be believed and justified. The reference to the actor on stage is made several times with precision. One character speaks, while all of the others, men and women, are ghosts (he must convince all of the nonexistent ghosts of his existence). The

role of Don Juan requires that the young women's sexuality be emphasized. In *Eden and After*, the shooting is based upon a grid whose cells are formed by the intersection of twelve themes and ten narrative series (many factors contribute to the enrichment and modifications of his anticipated structures). The representational object is secondary to the materials and the manner employed to represent it. *The Progressive Slidings of Pleasure* explores the problems and pleasures of storytelling. The real crime is the restrictions that the world of church, law, and order places on the imagination and the individual creative spirit. Fragola and Smith note that, in *La Belle Captive*, Robbe-Grillet uses images from the paintings of Magritte and Manet as a means of generating both images and narrative (*the events that take place in the realm of the imagination are more clearly defined than those that occur in conventional reality*). Women dominate sexually, psychologically, and within the hierarchy of political groups. Robbe-Grillet's choice of visual style circles back to his initial conception of the quality of his images, emphasizing *the recurrence of visual style, motifs, and consistent interplay between the eroticism of the male vision and creativity*.[2]

3. Phenomenological Explanations of Sexuality in Robbe-Grillet's Work

Newton thinks that, for Robbe-Grillet, time and space are always perceived through the here and now. A phenomenological analysis of time elucidates Robbe-Grillet's concerns in depicting time as lived. Robbe-Grillet's treatment of time fails to conform to expected conventions in literature and film. What Robbe-Grillet presents is time as it is lived, rather than the time measured by clocks or calendars. Robbe-Grillet's foregrounding of lived time at the expense of chronological time makes his work understandable in phenomenological terms. Time is organized around the present in Robbe-Grillet's films and novels. The viewer cannot re-view sections of the film, or linger over certain episodes, in the same way the reader of a novel can. The presentation of any temporal dimension in film necessarily unfolds before the viewer's eyes in the present (*the viewer should allow him/herself to be carried along as if watching his/her own mental film unfolding*). A truly realistic cinematic story corresponds to the reader's senses, perceptions and emotions. Robbe-Grillet's film and fiction is an articulation of bodily existence.

Newton maintains that what *La Jalousie* presents the reader with are the perceptions of an intentional consciousness: the perspective from which it is narrated is suggestive of an unmentioned protagonist. Sexuality is scarcely suggested (the boundary between the sexual and the non-sexual is blurred). The elements making up *Glissements progressifs du plaisir* are the conventions with which we are overfamiliar (they are divested of their usual meaning in

the context of the film). The flow of blood is associated with sexuality and religion. The themes of blood and religion are connected via the crucifixion. Myth and danger surrounding womanhood is of major importance in *L'Immortelle* (the portrayal of the female is bound up with the theme of exoticism) that plays on the myths surrounding womanhood, re-inforcing the partriarchal view of woman as other, as danger. Certain moments in the relationship between the two main characters can be understood in a sexual or a non-sexual sense.

The findings above reveal that the here and now of Robbe-Grillet's film and fiction is that of the intentional consciousness, the phenomenological body-subject. Perception must be presented as being experienced from the perspective of a given body. Sexuality is a topic closely linked to perception and to a bodily awareness of the world. Women use their bodies to enslave men, to control them. Newton claims that a phenomenological understanding of sexuality can explain the proliferation of sexual and eroticized images[3] and descriptions in Robbe-Grillet's novels and films. The issue of sexuality has caused the most controversy in terms of critical responses to Robbe-Grillet's oeuvre. The inclusion of images of exaggerated sexual violence is part of Robbe-Grillet's project of subverting the hackneyed sexual stereotypes of western popular culture. Robbe-Grillet's work abounds with references to sexuality. The graphic and explicit detailing of erotic or sadomasochist scenes constitutes their development into something more unsettling, more violent. Robbe-Grillet is well informed about the debates concerning sexuality that have ensued from his work, *including sadistic images in full knowledge of the way they are likely to be received*. Female sexuality is depicted as dangerous, treacherous, to men (the men in Robbe-Grillet's films and fiction respond with fetishistic behavior). Robbe-Grillet selects elements of popular culture that are instantly recognizable, challenging the way in which we attempt to understand film (a film's meaning is a process of cultural construction).[4]

4. Male-Female Relationships in Robbe-Grillet's Art

As Reader puts it, Robbe-Grillet's work is notorious *for its suspect wallowing in violent sexual fantasy*.[5] Richardson asserts that Robbe-Grillet's first stories are unconnected, hyper-objective acts of pure description,[6] playing with different facets of perception. In *La Jalousie*, the epitome of either narrational objectivity or subjectivity, Robbe-Grillet employs the *je-néant* or absent-I narrator. All the events are perceived through the eyes of a figure who is never named or referred to. We have individualized perception without an identified perceiver, whereas the inferred perceiver is the sole focalizer of the text.[7]

Giles states that the "negativity" of Robbe-Grillet's novella *Jealousy* includes the reader and author in a dialogue, addressing the core issue of human perceptions:[8] the narrative is geometric, static, and devoid of humanity. Objects exist solely for themselves and are not implicated in any human situation. Robbe-Grillet attempts *a way of looking at the world that is free of the imposed meanings that humans attach to objects in order to give them a comprehensible function* (a "negative image" of this text, created by the reader, is what is real), emphasizing the unbearable human need to comprehend and to categorize what we see and hear.

What seems to be a reasonable generalization to draw from our discussion is that Robbe-Grillet attempts to create a distance between the reader and the real world, weaving an "inhuman" world *that lures the reader to find links, attach meanings, and categorize the text into logical pieces*, and drawing attention to flawed human senses *by driving readers into a frenzy trying to understand what is going on within the text*. Giles contends that Robbe-Grillet constructs narrative in such a way *as to make the reader understand and acknowledge the limits of our perceptions through active engagement with the text*. Robbe-Grillet induces an obsessive mania that draws attention to the negation of a "human-less" perspective, and takes the reader into the unnerving realm of the uncanny (negativity plays a key role in interpreting and understanding his work).[9]

Ramsay holds that Robbe-Grillet's creative work *is a perilous personal textual adventure*[10] *through the turbulent zones of the unknown*[11] *and the aleatory*. Myth designates constantly its own artificiality and its "nature" as "construct." Robbe-Grillet discusses his work in terms of a dialectical movement between order and disorder. The material from which Robbe-Grillet creates is the body of the conventions of the novel and the collective representations imposed by the society around him. The world abstracted is a provisional and limited reduction to human order of fragments of a reality that is strange, monstrous, or unassimilable to humankind. Changes in our knowledge of the world affect our relations with it. The writer is embedded in a mental civilization and in a literature *which can be only those of the past*.

> The writer's cell is the secret room of female sacrifice, the medieval dungeons of the convent in *Glissements progressifs du plaisir* where young girls are whipped and tortured in sado-mystical rituals, or the prison of classical Pompeii where beautiful young captives or recalcitrant female adolescents are kept sequestered in *Topologie*. […] In Robbe-Grillet's work, there is a conscious rejection of feminist pretensions and a less conscious defense of male separateness and cultural power against the swirling tides and rising waters that signify the dangerous attraction of the feminine.[12]

5. Conclusions

The current study extends past research by elucidating Robbe-Grillet's fictional worlds, his exposing of the socially and sexually repressed, his contribution to the development of cinema, and his concept of the shot as the organizing unit of *L'Immortelle*. My paper contributes to the literature by providing evidence on the nexus between Robbe-Grillet's depiction of eroticism and sexuality, his passage from ambiguous depictions of sexual situations to explicit and violent situations, his formal strategy of subverting literary and cinematic conventions, and his interest in depicting scenes of a violently erotic nature.

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BOOK REVIEW

CARO MEMMO, MON CHER FRÈRE
Seduzioni epistolari di una giovane angloveneziana in viaggio per l'Europa nel tempo di Casanova

L'inedito carteggio di Giustiniana Wynne ad Andrea Memmo (1785–1760)
a cura di Nancy Isenberg. editrice Elzeviro, Treviso, 2010

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Intéressée à la question de l'identité dans le contexte européen, aux études shakespeariennes, à la culture du début de la période moderne et surtout à la métamorphose des textes littéraires dans d'autres formes de représentation, particulièrement dans le ballet, l'Américaine Nancy Isenberg enseigne la littérature anglaise à l'Université Roma III, faisant elle-même partie de ce monde où tout joue sur la question identitaire.

Ce volume est le fruit de 30 ans de recherches sur les lettres de Giustiniana Wynne à Andrea Memmo que le professeur Isenberg a intégralement publiées en 2010 aux Éditions Elzevire de Trévise. Toujours sur les pas de cette extraordinaire Comtesse de Rosenberg, Nancy Isenberg a utilisé les manuscrits de nombreux archives et bibliothèques : Florence, Paris, Venise, Padoue, Londres, Prague etc. Nous devons au professeur Isenberg ce travail de chercheur acharné qui a reconstitué la figure d'une femme européenne prenant les devants de son époque.

La célébrité mondiale de Giustiniana Wynne (1738–1791), figure de proue de son siècle, qui dédia sa vie au grand amour de jeunesse pour Andrea Memmo, un puissant homme politique de la Venise du XVIII^{e} siècle, est due à la publication de l'*Histoire de ma vie* par Giacomo Casanova qu'elle avait connu à Paris et qui la fit revivre dans la conscience du public. La beauté et l'intelligence de Giustiniana Wynne ne séduisirent pas seulement le libertin Casanova, mais aussi d'autres hommes puissants de l'époque : deux princes russes et un mousquetaire français, le Consul Smith, le richissime

Alexandre La Riche de la Pouplinière, et son mari, Ambassadeur impérial de la Cour autrichienne à Venise, le Comte Philip Joseph Rosenberg Orsini.

Ecrivaine, Giustiniana Wynne captiva un public cosmopolite, essayant sa plume dans plusieurs genres littéraires tels romans, nouvelles, épistolaire, essais et poèmes. Bien que sa notoriété tardât, sa carrière d'écrivaine commença à vingt ans, à partir de la correspondance avec son bien-aimé, Andrea Memmo. Sa production littéraire attira l'attention des grands hommes de lettres: Goethe, Madame de Staël, Melchiorre Cesarotti, Charles Nodier, Horace Walpole, William Beckford.

Moitié Anglaise, moitié Vénitienne, fille d'une mère avec des ancêtres grecques, qui cacha toujours l'origine du père naturel de Giustiniana, elle publia ses livres en français sous le nom autrichien de son mari. C'est ainsi que Nancy Isenberg explique la mésaventure de Giustiniana Wynne dans le monde des lettres. Sa notoriété continua jusqu'au XIX^{e} siècle lorsque son identité rendit difficile sa distribution dans les histoires littéraires. Oubliée jusqu'en 1911, Giustiniana Wynne fut redécouverte par un chercheur autrichien qui l'identifia à la mystérieuse Madame XCV, protagoniste d'un des épisodes érotiques les plus intrigants des mémoires de Casanova. Révélée au public, elle serait en outre l'inventrice du roman anthropologique *Les Morlaques* (1788), œuvre narrative présentant l'histoire des peuples slaves formant la partie septentrionale de la Molarquie, contrée située à cette époque-là à Vénice et en Croatie.

La vaste étude de Nancy Isenberg présente les lettres que Giustiniana Wynne avait adressées à Andrea Memmo, le jeune héritier d'une des familles les plus vieilles de Venise. La correspondance est précédée par une introduction argumentée et pertinente que le chercheur avait intitulée *Seduzioni epistolari*, saisissant les moments-clé de l'existence et de l'écriture de Giustiniana Wynne. *Il Carteggio* comprend une description des personnages, de la trame et une note nécessaire à la transcription de l'épistolaire, ainsi que les lettres que Giustiniana Wynne avait envoyées à son bien–aimé, classées en deux périodes : octobre 1758–mai 1759 et juin 1759–novembre 1760. Nancy Isenberg y a introduit un épilogue *Gli anni a seguire* sur la vie et l'activité de Giustiniana Wynne après l'interruption de sa correspondance avec Andrea Memmo. La *Postface* rend compte de l'intérêt du chercheur pour l'épistolaire de la Comtesse des Oursins, ainsi que de son travail immense afin de dévoiler les mystères enveloppant cette femme fatale du XVIII^{e} siècle : "Ho lavorato per anni in maniera discontinua, tra frustrazioni e incertezze, ma anche con un'ostinazione che sorprendeva persino me stessa. Ora, a conti fatti, posso dire che quella tenacia è stata ampiamente ricompensata." (Isenberg, 2010: 214). Les *Note all'introduzione*, *Note all'epilogo* et *Note alla postfazione*, très opportunes, expliquent les événements majeurs de l'époque, les personnages, les mots et expressions de l'italien du XVIIIe siècle etc., éclaircissant les éventuelles lacunes culturelles du lecteur. Il y en a aussi un chapitre

dédié aux *Traduzioni dal francese* où le chercheur a traduit en italien les expressions françaises, parfois difficiles à cause du français de l'époque, que Giustiniana Wynne avait largement utilisées dans son épistolaire.

Qui a était donc cet homme auquel Giustiniana Wynne dédia sa vie et son œuvre ? Andrea Memmo, outre sa descendance nobiliaire, "era un giovane di spirito dai modi spregiudicati e libertini : il desiderio di una vita intensa e appassionata lo rendeva irresistibile agli occhi di Giustiniana, giovane spigliata e curiosa quanto lui." (Isenberg, 2010: 16). Leur relation resta quand même secrète car le statut social d'Andrea Memmo était supérieur à celui de sa bien-aimée, ce qui empêcha leur mariage. Malgré cette différence de statut, Memmo aurait voulu l'épouser, mais les magistrats trouvèrent un fait caché dans le passé de la mère de Giustiniana, relatif à la naissance de celle-ci, ce qui rendit inconcevable l'union de deux jeunes amoureux. La mère de Giustiniana prit alors la décision d'aller en voyage afin d'écarter sa fille de cet homme qui aurait pu lui gâcher la vie. Nancy Isenberg a observé avec sagacité qu'il y en avait les ingrédients qui donnèrent à Giustiniana et à son œuvre une audace et une passion vives et manifestes.

Promotrice des salons vénitiens, objets du désir de deux hommes puissants et célèbres, Andrea Memmo et Giacomo Casanova, qui étaient d'ailleurs amis, Giustiniana Wynne se mit passionnément à écrire, devenant écrivaine professionnelle à 45 ans, mais la mort coupa brusquement sa carrière littéraire à 55 ans. Dans cette décennie de création, elle publia 8 volumes, ayant le renom d'une fine observatrice de son époque.

Les lettres pour Andrea Memmo, écrites en italien, en français et en anglais, représentent un ensemble narratif du désir et de l'autodétermination qui pourrait être traduit de nos jours, dans l'opinion de Nancy Isenberg, comme une exaltation provocatrice de l'individualisme émancipé, chantée par une voix féminine. Cet amour qui dura seulement 5 ans, ainsi que la liberté d'esprit de Memmo, âgé de 22 ans, alors qu'elle en avait 14, fascinèrent la sensibilité créatrice de la jeune Giustiniana. Suite à la découverte du fait de la naissance mise au doute de Giustiniana, les Wynnes quittent la Venise et partent pour la patrie du père, l'Angleterre. C'est le moment où Giustiniana commence cet épistolaire avec Memmo, y criant la douleur de leur séparation : "Dove sono, o mio Memmo ! Che dolore è il mio ! Ah, che t'amo pur troppo e non lascio di dirtelo anche ne' primi momenti del moi distacco. Qual distacco!" (Vicence, le 3 octobre 1758).

Dès le début de cet épistolaire, Giustiniana utilise la formule *Mon cher frère*, lui proposant apparemment un amour fraternel que Nancy Isenberg avait nommée « l'éros masqué ».[1] Cette formule, assez curieuse dans la correspondance de deux jeunes qui avaient quand même connu l'amour charnel, semble être liée au concept de « philadelphia » (amour fraternel). Ce concept, célèbre à l'époque, tel que Nancy Isenberg nous explique, consistait dans le langage épistolaire ambigu entre un frère et une sœur qui s'avouaient par

écrit leurs vies intimes et qui en utilisaient ce langage du désir, l'exorcisant en même temps, la relation fraternelle leur permettant d'écarter les tabous. Cette formule, aux racines psychanalytiques "è una maschera che Giustiniana usa per mantenere viva la fiamma della passione nonostante la separazione fisica, ed è anche una strategia molto appropriata per le missive dirette a Venezia, la città delle maschere e dei giochi di ruolo libertini." (Isenberg, 2010: 214).

Qui est donc ce Memmo ? Pourrait bien se demander le lecteur. Giustiniana Wynne a su bien insinuer cette question dans sa correspondance, proposant l'énigme d'un amour situé à la limite de l'acceptabilité. Mais ce jeu était conçu aussi à l'égard de son bien-aimé auquel elle avoue, comme à un frère, ses sentiments les plus intimes, ses émotions, se transformant en fait dans une femme fatale qui accomplit ses actes de séduction. En habile connaisseur de la psychologie des hommes, Giustiniana raconte à son « frère » l'épisode parisien de la séduction, qui a eu lieu entre elle et un mousquetaire français qui, entrant la nuit dans sa chambre d'hôtel, s'était mis, à son insu, à lit à côté d'elle. Elle y feint la femme apeurée et sans défense, ce qui attendrit le cœur de son amour lointain, faisant renaître en même temps ses instincts masculins.

Analysant cette correspondance, Nancy Isenberg parle de narration polyphonique car dans le séjour de Giustiniana à Paris, il y aura une période de deux mois et demi dans laquelle elle n'écrit plus à Memmo. L'épistolaire que Nancy Isenberg a publié représente un recueil de lettres de Giustiniana Wynne qui avaient été copiées par un anonyme à la fin des 1700, par conséquent elles ne sont pas originaires et il y en a aussi d'autres écrites par les personnes mentionnées ci-dessous, d'où la polyphonie. Cependant il reçoit des lettres sur le sort de Giustiniana d'un certain « F-», homme d'affaire français, du poète vénitien Tommaso Farsetti et de Nicollò Erizzo, ambassadeur vénitien à la cour française.

Nancy Isenberg a aussi observé que les lettres de Giustiniana dévoilaient la vie d'une jeune femme privilégiée et éduquée de la moitié du XVIII^{e} siècle, mais contenaient aussi des « paroles silencieuses », à savoir ce qu'elle n'avait pas pu/voulu transmettre à Memmo.

Ce fut toujours à Paris que Giustiniana connut l'un des hommes les plus riches de la France, Alexandre La Riche de la Pouplinière, qu'elle fut en train d'épouser. Menacée par les parents de ce vieil homme qui auraient dû hériter son immense fortune, Giustiniana se cacha dans un monastère. C'est justement l'épisode raconté par Giacomo Casanova dans ses mémoires où le célèbre libertin prétend que Giustiniana s'y fût cachée à cause d'une grossesse. Etait-elle sur le point de répéter l'histoire de vie de sa mère, c'est-à-dire sa propre naissance ? Personne ne le saura parce qu'on connaît le fait que Casanova a mêlé souvent la réalité à la fiction. Qui est donc plus crédible :

Casanova, le séducteur-écrivain ou Giustiniana Wynne, la séductrice-écrivaine ? Tout y repose sur le vraisemblable.

Mais en 1999 parut sur le marché des bouquinistes parisiens une lettre éclaircissant la relation de Giustiniana avec Casanova : c'est l'appel d'une femme désespérée à la recherche d'aide : "Metto nelle vostre mani la mia vita, la mia riputazione, il mio essere…vi scongiuro a interessarvi per un'infelice che non ha nel caso d'altra risorsa che la morte se non si ritrova rimedio al suo stato." Cette lettre découverte à peine au XX^{e} siècle, sans expéditeur ou destinataire, où les graphologues ont découvert la calligraphie de Giustiniana, avait fait Nancy Isenberg remarquer que : "La lettera messa all'asta a Parigi dimostra quanto non solo quella lettera ma l'interra corrispondenza di Giustiniana a Memmo sia un raro e potentissimo brano della storia del desiderio e della sessualità femminile – di ciò che doveva essere taciuto e di ciò che si poteva rivelare." (Isenberg, 2010: 22). Ce qui relie Casanova à Giuliana, c'est assurément leur esprit illuminé, ouvert, anticipant même les débats sur la liberté sexuelle qui ont animé la seconde moitié du XX^{e} siècle.

Au-delà de sa relation avec Casanova, la correspondance de Giustiniana Wynne représente une précieuse chronique du monde matériel et social de son époque : "Da Vicenza a Verona, da Milano a Torino, da Parigi a Bruxelles, a Londra, la giovane donna condivide con Memmo le proprie impressioni della vita delle città mentre visita palazzi reali, passeggia nei loro giardini, partecipa a serate di gala all'opera, osserva il re a cena a Versailles." (Isenberg, 2010: 23). Où qu'elle aille, elle décrit à son cher Memmo les coutumes, la mode et l'esprit des gens qu'elle rencontre. Le *grand tour* de Giustiniana se passe dans un milieu d'anticonformistes, de réformateurs et d'esprits libres, la plupart des eux faisant partie de la franc-maçonnerie dont son père, le baronnet Wynne, était l'un des proches. De ce point de vue, la correspondance de Giustiniana pourrait constituer un document pour les chercheurs du domaine.

Bien qu'elle désire connaître le succès social et économique et que cela fût possible à l'époque grâce à un mariage, Giustiniana en affirmait : "perdere quella libertà che pregerò sempre sopra ogni ricchezza, perché può lasciar e la quietà dell'animo e la scelta di quasi tutte le cose." (Lettre non datée, février 1759). Mais vu que les coordonnées de son identité étaient, tel que Nancy Isenberg le suggère, le rang, le statut et la condition, elle se marie peu après son retour à Venise en 1760 avec le vieux Comte autrichien Philip Joseph Rosenberg Orsini.

Ennuyés par la vie anglaise, les Wynne retournent à Venise dans l'automne de 1760 lorsque Giustiniana met fin à sa correspondance avec Memmo car celui-ci, contraint par les pressions sociales, avait trouvé une maîtresse officielle.

Il est vrai que le destin mondial d'écrivaine de Giustiniana Wynne vaut sa fortune aux mémoires de Giacomo Casanova. Partant de l'hypothèse que

Giustiniana fût en train de préparer une édition de ses lettres à Memmo justement avant sa mort, Nancy Isenberg se demande sur la vraisemblance du projet autobiographique de Giustiniana Wynne, faisant un intéressant périple dans la littérature de l'époque, peuplée d'héroïnes semblables à la sienne (*Pamela* (1740) et *Clarissa* (1747–48) de Samuel Richardson ; *Lettres de Mistress Fanni Butler à Milord Charles Alfred* (1757) de Marie Jeanne Riccoboni ; *The Female Quixote* (1752) de Charlotte Lennox ; *Julie o la nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) de Jean-Jacques Rousseau ; *Les liaisons dangereuses* (1782) de Choderlos de Laclos).

De toute façon, si son destin est lié à celui de Casanova, si son œuvre semble l'être aussi, Nancy Isenberg souligne le rôle de Gistiniana Wynne dans l'exploration du cœur féminin qui n'avait pas du tout laissé indifférent le cœur de son « cher frère » : "Tuttavia, al di là di ogni contesa sulla veridicità delle loro narrazioni parallele, così come apprezziamo i racconti di lui riconoscendovi proiezioni tipiche del desiderio maschile, possiamo godere di quelli di lei come altrettante esplorazioni del cuore femminile." (Isenberg, 2010: 23). À l'âge mûr, Memmo a parlé dans ses écrits de son amour de jeunesse avec Giustiniana Wynne. (*Elementi dell'architettura lodoliana*, Roma, Pagliarini, 1786 ; Lettera a Giulio Perini da Roma, 20 maggio 1786). Et en dépit des années, des règles, des gens, des événements, leurs déclarations d'amour ont continué: dans son essai publié en 1785, *Moral and Sentimental Essays*, sans parler explicitement de Memmo, Giustiniana écrit : "a passion that I was inspired with…swallowed up all the others, I loved him to distraction."[2] Quelques mois après, Memmo lui répond dans *Elementi dell'architettura lodoliana* "essere ella stata l'oggetto della mia intera consacrazione, non solo per le rarissime doti che nel primo fior di gioventù costituivano il di lei animo sublime, che per il di lei spirito originale e coltissimo, oltre i tant'altri ornamenti di grazie, che la singolarizzavano tra le poche più pregevoli, unione assai rara che mi conservò senza nessuna interruzione, e colla maggior pienezza e compiacenza, suo costante e perfettissimo amico."[3]

Dans sa dernière lettre écrite à Padoue le 26 novembre 1760, Giustiniana, blessée par les bruits sur la relation de Memmo avec une autre femme, mais ignorant les mouvements de son âme au prix d'une énorme souffrance, eut la force intérieure de faire ses adieux à son « cher frère », devenu ami : "Vi son molto e molto obbligata per le cortesi espressioni dell'ultima vostra. Ma sapete, Memmo, che noi non dobbiam crederci e poveri noi davvero se ascolassimo ancora i nostri cuori. Io non so che mi dica il mio per voi ma certo che s'egli si facessi sentire, non guadagnerebbe nulla perch'io ho giurato di esser sorda. Per carità restiamo amici."

Le professeur Nancy Isenberg a réussi à rééditer avec succès la correspondance de cette femme extraordinaire du XVIII^{e} siècle, nous proposant une étude très sérieuse, riche et bien argumentée sur "Un'identità costruita su esilii, opposizioni e carenze, ma anche sostenuta dall'affetto, dalla stima

e dalla generosità costanti di tanti cari e devoti amici ; un'identità modellata da un susseguirsi di vicende difficili e scoraggianti, ma che, in fin dei conti, giocarono a suo vantaggio e le valsero un prestigio letterario che oggi merita di essere recuperato." (Isenberg, 2010: 204).

NOTES

1. Isenberg, Nancy (2000), « Mon cher frère. Eros mascherato nell'epistolario di Giustiniana Wynne a Andrea Memmo (1758–1760) », *Trami parentali/trami letterarie*, a cura di Maria del Sapio Garbero, Napoli, Liguori, 251–265.
2. "My First Travels," *op. cit*., 56.
3. Andrea Memmo, *op. cit.*, 118.

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Interviewing Women Writers: Doina Ruşti

RAMONA MIHĂILĂ
Spiru Haret University, Bucharest

Ramona Mihăilă: Doina Ruşti, you are the author of many successful, prizes awarded and translated novels. Where does your impetus for writing come from? Are we talking about a genetic inheritance or an intellectual choice?

Doina Ruşti: There have been many stages in my life when "something" motivated my narrative expression. Of the three traditional genres I admit that the epic one fascinated me from the very first moment. Any question I would hear in my ears immediately triggered subsequent events to a climax followed by resolution. This was the reason it never occurred to me to offer someone monosyllabic answers. My mother advised me sometimes to not give so much information, especially to strangers who just asked me about a street location. Her insistence, as well as her calls for caution seemed to me like simple aberrations. How could anybody hurt me just by knowing that a butcher with gold rings brought from Turkey used to live on that street? Especially since that butcher had died in the meantime! And yet, my mom was right at some point. But, let's not ride off on a side question: There have been enough "somethings" of my epic motivation. It's a fact that writers existed in my family. But it's not a fact of great importance to me. True, the characters are innate, but the literary talents cannot be transferred in a pure form, they always come bundled with other things. My father wrote poetry, for example. My mother enjoyed telling stories. My paternal grandmother published a monograph. My grandfather (father side) wrote his memoirs from the Russian gulag, and then destroyed them because he did not want anyone to share what he had experienced there. However, one autumn day, a year before he died, he told me such a heartbreaking story that I still feel a steel bolt into the left ventricle. My great-grandfather (father side) wrote pedagogical stuff and his father, a swelled head blacksmith, used to write down in a book the things that seemed important to him. But my impetus for writing does not relate to my blood. Whenever I write a story, I am so happy, that nothing happening in the real world may not rival this feeling. Perhaps only the sincere and passionate words of a man in love.

Ramona Mihăilă: The novel *Lizoanca la 11 ani* (*Lizoanca at the Age of Eleven*), your book about the destiny of a child in nowadays Romania has been translated into German. When will you start promoting the novel?

Doina Ruşti: I have been invited to the International Book Fair in Leipzig and Berlin in March, where I will deliver lectures and I will have literary meetings concerning this novel recently published by Horlemann Verlag, Berlin.

Ramona Mihăilă: The novel has been rewarded with the Academy Award. In fact you have been awarded all three important prizes from Writers' Association of Romania, Writers' Association in Bucharest and Academy Award. How important are these awards for you?

Doina Ruşti: Awards reinforce self-esteem, especially when they are given to some blasphemed books. I received an Academy Award for *Lizoanca la 11 ani* (*Lizoanca at the Age of Eleven*), a novel that tells of a small Romanian village and the bitter small secrets of a community that has lost faith in history. As the subject is inspired by a real story, with a huge press cover in Romania (i.e. the story of an 11 year old girl, accused of prostitution), the novel raised many controversies when issued, and being excessively both praised and criticized. The book, a bestseller undergoing screening, in addition to the German version will appear in other European publishing houses in Italy and Spain. Under these conditions, the Academy Award came at a favorable moment for me, finally putting an end to a long controversy as if the world had finally accepted that Romania was also facing this problem of child/infantile prostitution, among many others.

Ramona Mihăilă: Your female characters are extremely various. Laura Iosa (*Omuleţul roşu/The Little Red Man*) combines irony, humor and a refined intelligence, as a review in *La Stampa* used to say. Lizoanca is a child with a powerful personality, Adela (*Fantoma din moară/The Ghost in the Mill*) has an investigative and visionary mind, Licia (*Patru bărbaţi plus Aurelius/ Four Men plus Aurelius*) is a killer with a revolting innocence. Which of your female characters is more attached to your soul?

Doina Ruşti: The last character is always closer to the soul. Li Zeta, the singer of novel *Mămica la două albăstrele* (*Mother of Two Blue Cornflowers*), recently published at Polirom, touches me as it reminds me of the clean ideals, in which the world still hopes even under these times of the general collapse of values. Li Zeta ignores this chaotic reality, and continues to believe in life without compromise. And this thing characterizes me very well. I don't say I never made compromises in my life, but whenever I made one, it ended in smoke: it was good-for-nothing. And my discomfort was so huge that each time, and for a long time, I felt totally cast out of time. This

does not mean there are not even worse things! I also did many stupid things on behalf of principles that I later abandoned. But the character in *Mămica la două albăstrele* (*Mother of Two Blue Cornflowers*) retains purity even under the threat of our recent history, when laws change almost every day, the number of the leaders grows as the beanstalk in the fairy-tale, and people sympathize with the most atrocious murderer. And all these may still sound to many people like a love poem.

Ramona Mihăilă: Talking about poems, have you ever written poems? How do you consider poems as means of expression?

Doina Ruşti: I have written only one poem when I was already middle aged. It seems to me the most subtle and thrilled way of begging love from people. I prefer to ask for it directly through the novel. It is a construction that shelters me, making me feel protected.



Doina Ruşti is one of the most well-known contemporary writers. She has a successful academic career being Full Professor while her books have been translated into many languages (Italian, Bulgarian, Spanish, Hungarian, French, English, and German). Doina Ruşti has been invited to many international Book Fairs where she gave speeches about her novels which offer a large display of themes in a solid construction. She has been awarded many prizes (The Romanian Academy's Ion Creangă Prize for the novel *Lizoanca la 11 ani* (*Lizoanca at the Age of Eleven*), 2009, The Prize of the Writers' Union of Romania for the novel *Fantoma din moară* (*The Ghost in the Mill*), 2008, The Golden Medal of Schitul Darvari, for literary activity, 2008, The Prize of the Bucharest Writers Association for the novel *Zogru*, 2007, *Convorbiri literare* review Prize for Prose, 2006, The *Ad Visum* Prize for the novel *Omuleţul roşu* (*The Little Red Man*), 2005. http://doinarusti.ro/

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Transnational Perspectives on the 19th and 20th Century Women's Writing

Women's Library and Information Center Foundation
Istanbul, 27–29 September 2012

ÇIMEN GÜNAY ERKOL
Özyeğin University, Istanbul

The *Transnational Perspectives on the 19th and 20th century Women's Writing* Workshop took place in the historical building of the "Women's Library and Information Center Foundation." The theoretical starting point of the symposium was transnationalism, which favors historical and experience-based relations over nationalist, ethnic, and cultural divisions. The workshop aimed to enliven the dialogue between texts published by women writers of different origins with a comparative look at women's writing.

The transnational movement spread across borders, opening a door to the disintegration of colonial and orientalist discourse. This discourse was shown to contain homogenous and monolithic fictions with strong influence on gender order, and also on solid constructions such as nation, ethnicity, and class. Since the symposium combined the closing of the project "Women Writers in Turkey" and the opening of the collaboration with COST Action "Women Writers in History," transnational connections between the writers of 19th and 20th centuries, which witnessed an acceleration in the interaction of the international women's movement and women's writing, was the main point of discussion.

The workshop started with Canan Ergin and Suzan van Dijk's opening speeches. It was followed Jale Parla's presentation, titled as "Bodiless Voice, Echo." The next keynote speaker, Nüket Esen's presentation was on Fatma Aliye and her writing experience as a woman. The last keynote speaker of the first day of the workshop was Nora Şeni. Her presentaion was on the clothing habits and the notion of fashion in the times of Fatma Aliye.

The first day of the workshop had the mutual theme of "absence:" Absence of women writers from the stage of history. While Senem Timuroğlu shared information on 19th century Ottoman women writers, Gülşen Çulhaoğlu discussed the limited information on these writers and highlighted the reasons behind the limited information on Ottoman women poets. One of the main

conclusions of her presentation was that it was impossible for the researchers to have a clear picture of the literature of the time without getting detailed information on women writers as well. Reyhan Tutumlu approached the issue through the 20th century anthologies and textbooks and pointed at the limited information on women writers in these books. Women writers' approach to the historical and social conditions of their time was also one of the discussions points. While Elif Ekin Akşit discussed women's roles in village institutes through the writings of Mualla Eyüboğlu, Tülin Ural discussed the relationship between women writers and the strongest ideology of the first half of the century: nationalism. The panels of the first day ended with an important example of the "absence of women writers:" Hazal Halavut discussed the absence of Zabel Yaseyan, an Armenian writer, who penned her works in the 20th century, from canons or the dominant narratives of the time.

The second day of the workshop started with the keynote speaker, Ayşe Durakbaşaţs presentation on Halide Edip Adıvar. On the second day of the workshop the transnational connections between Balkan women writers was discussed through COST Action. Amelia Sanz explained how COST action traces 19th century European women writers' voices by passing beyond the limits of nations, canons and printed culture. Caterine Nosdeo followed the Orient images in Princess Cristina Trivulzio di Belgiojoso and in doing so she discussed the differences between the patriarchal form of Orientalism and women-centered fiction. Astrid Kulsdom analyzed Lucy M. J Garnett's role as a specialist on Balkan folklore and the perception of that role in media. Nadzhda Alexandrova traced the nostalgia for Istanbul of Balkan women in 19th century through Evgenia Mars' *A Journey to Istanbul*, while Katerina Dalakoura investigated the image of national self and "the other" in Greek women's educational texts. Ileana Mihaila drew a portrait of Dora d'Istria who managed to research and publish on all the national communities of the Balkan peninsula, while Nancy Isenberg discussed the evolution of Giustiniana Wynne's treatment of women and womanhood. Magdalena Koch and Biljana Dojcinovic presented their research on Jelena Dimitrijevic who was a traveler, a polyglot and a writer. Koch and Dojcinovic highlighted the non-orientalist image of Turkish harems in Dimitrijevic's writings.

Zsuzanna Varga's paper offered an examination of the travelogue of Polixéna Wesselényi, the first Hungarian female travel writer who authored a monograph-length text and also exerted considerable cultural influence on her contemporaries. Alenka Jensterle Dolezal discussed the "cultural hybridity" of Slovene writer Lili Novy. Ramona Mihaila shared information on foreign-born women writers in Romanian principalities, like Marie Boucher, Fanny Seculici, Maria Rosetti, Mite Kremnitz, Carmen Sylva, and Anna de Noailles, and discussed their literary perspectives. Ragnhild J. Sorgati investigated the encounter between the Polish-Danish painter Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann and the Egyptian Princess Nazili Hanım.

The third day focused on comparative perspectives: Burcu Alkan compared two fin de siècle writers, Virginia Woolf and Halide Edip Adıvar by discussing the different modes of modernity that they experienced and wrote on. Şima İmşir analyzed and compared the historical as well as social conditions behind Sylvia Plath and Nilgün Marmara's writings and analyzed the mutual feeling of oppression which created a beyond time and beyond nation bond between their works.

On the final day Çimen Günay Erkol presented the outcomes of the "Women Writers in Turkey" project which is supported by TÜBİTAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (109K517)) and is a part of the collaborative research in the framework of the COST Action entitled "Women Writers in History: Toward a New Understanding of European Literary Culture" (IS0901).

The workshop ended with the final panel discussion, which was led by Çimen Günay Erkol, Senem Timuroğlu, Burcu Alkan, Amelia Sanz, Biljana Dojcinovic and Nadezhda Alexandrova. The workshop, overall, was a highly productive example of collaborative and shared research. As the COST Action of "Women Writers in History: Toward a New Understanding of European Literary Culture" continues and as new transnational connections of women writers are revealed, literary history will have a clearer picture necessary for a more complete understanding.

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FACULTY of ARTS and SCIENCES

TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES on 19th & 20th Century Women's Writing:

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KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

PROF. DR. JALE PARLA (BİLGİ UNIVERSITY)
PROF. DR. NÜKET ESEN (BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY)
PROF. DR. AYŞE DURAKBAŞA (UNIVERSITY OF MARMARA)
PROF. DR. EFSTRATIA OKTAPODA (SORBONNE UNIVERSITY PARIS IV)
AMELIA SANZ (COMPLUTENSE UNIVERSITY OF MADRID)

Venue: Women's Library, Balat Kadir Has Caddesi, No:8 Fener - Haliç 34220 - İstanbul (Fener Vapur İskelesi Karşısı, Tarihi Bina)
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Transcultural, Transnational, Trans-disciplinary Perspectives on Women's Literary History

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan
26–28 November 2012

MAGDALENA KOCH
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan

The Faculty of Polish and Classical Philology (Institute of Slavonic Studies and the Interdisciplinary Center for Gender and Identity Studies) of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan hosted on November 26, 27 and 28 in 2012 the Third Milestone Conference of COST Action IS 0901, *Women Writers in History: Toward a New Understanding of European Literary Culture*, entitled *Transcultural, Transnational, Trans-disciplinary Perspectives on Women's Literary History*. An MC meeting was also held on November 27 in the Senate Room in Collegium Minus of Adam Mickiewicz University. Thirty-three Action members from universities and institutions throughout Europe (The Netherlands, Poland, Finland, Norway, The United Kingdom, Germany, Switzerland, Portugal, Italy, Slovenia, Serbia, The Czech Republic, Romania) took part in the conference.

The meeting was very fruitful and concentrated on the different "TRANS" categories mentioned in the title, which turned out essential for COST Action WWIH participants at this stage of their research: they provide a critique of binary oppositions and take into account the migration, mobility, different forms of nomadism which are characteristic for women's writing in different European literatures. The contributions announced in the program were presented in different sessions insisting on these "Trans" perspectives and entitled: "Polish Women Writers and their International Connections," "Transnational Perspectives of Women Writers (and how to visualize them)," "International Traveling of Women Authors," "Transgressing Genres," "Marrying a Foreigner," "Writing Women's International Literary History."

The keynote speech, opening the conference, was given by Ewa Kraskowska and Brygida Helbig Mischewski, who treated the eminent Polish female writer Maria Komornicka. She was a distinctive figure of transgender, trans-disciplinary categories and her most important gender transgression took place in Poznan. That is the reason her picture was placed in the logo

of the conference. Adopting "Trans" perspective made us realize also that it can be a step towards a new historiography of female authorship, allowing to approach it using other than chronological criteria. It helped the participants to understand the complexity of women's contribution to literature showing contradictions between norms and images regarding women's behavior and their actual desires and activities.

This was in particular discussed during the central session, which was devoted to the different ways in which our data can be visualized in order to understand connections between authors and readers, and to create starting points for studying gender characteristics of the women's texts. IT specialists from different countries (GertJan Filarski – collaborating with Astrid Kulsdom, Ronald Dekker, Aleš Vaupotič and Jan Rybicki) showed and commented different possibilities, some of which will be realized soon, thanks to CLARIN-NL funding which has been granted.

Another interesting illustration of "TRANS" categories was a Monday (November 26) afternoon guided walk entitled "Poznan as a Transnational Women Writers' Space." It was devoted to visiting places connected with the life of greater Poland Women Writers. The guides during the tour were Lucyna Marzec, Adriana Kovacheva and Katarzyna Kończał from Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan. For participants of the walk (in particular WG 4 members) it was a beautiful example for developing similar tours in their own cities and countries. The online "Greater Poland Dictionary of Women Writers" was also shown to the participants by Adriana Kovacheva and Lucyna Marzec.

The conference was also a good opportunity to present recent COST-WWIH activities in particular to a number of "new" Action members participating for the first time. In a specific session future or new projects, such as COBWWWEB (CLARIN-NL), TTT (HERA), SHARP and the results of COST Action Think-Tank meetings were presented.

This 3rd Milestone conference in Poznan was a great opportunity for the Action members to also plan the work for the last year of COST Action WWIH (meetings in Münster and The Hague).

The outcomes and the importance of the conference for Polish researchers were presented in Adam Mickiewicz University monthly "ZYCIE UNIWERSYTECKIE" in December, number 12 (paper "Kobiety a literatura": www.zycie.amu.edu.pl)

Transcultural, Transnational, Trans-disciplinary
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