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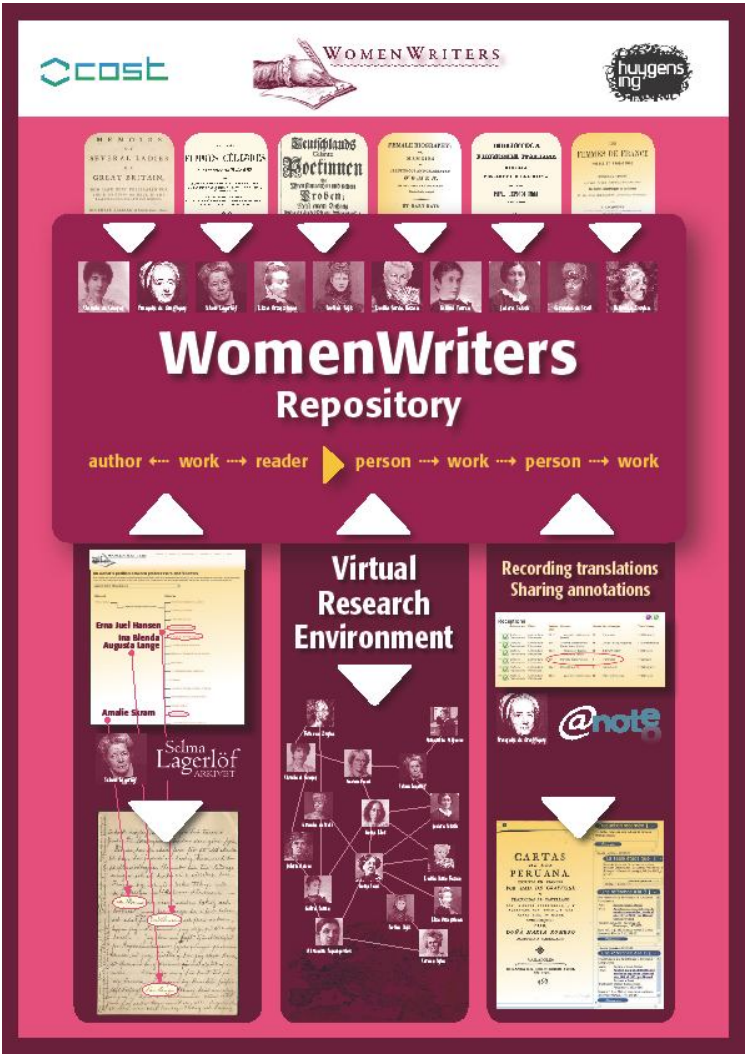
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Women Writers In History

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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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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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.

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www.aeihm.org

The Spanish Society for Women's History (Asociación Española de Investigación de Historia de las Mujeres-AEIHM) was founded in June 1991 as a development of the National Commission of the IFRWH (International Federation for Research in Women's History), federation of which it is now a member. For over twenty years, it has developed many activities in order to promote research, teaching and dissemination of women's and gender history, as well as the theoretical and methodological renewal of the historical discipline, through conferences and seminars, workshops, publications, awards, dissemination of its own and others' activities through website and mailing list and participation in collective actions. It has currently 300 members.

Its aims are to promote and spread women's and gender history through research, teaching at different academic levels, and outreaching to society at large. On an annual basis, and continuously since 1993, AEIHM has been held international conferences and seminars for discussion between national and foreign specialists in women's and gender history.

The last ones held are: Salamanca (2012): *XVI International Symposium AEIHM*. "Eating the Forbidden Fruit: Women, Science and Creation through History;" Madrid (2011): *IV International Seminar AEIHM*. "Foucault's Influences in Historiography. Powers, Bodies and Desires;" and Bilbao (2010): *XV International Symposium AEIHM*. "Women and History. Dialogues between Spain and Latin America."

To these regular meetings it should be added the co-organization of: Gender and Postcolonial Studies in Question (s). III European Meeting (Barcelona, June 2012), in collaboration with: Fédération de Recherche sur le Genre (RING), Institut Interuniversitati d'Estudis de Dones i Gènere; Grup de Recerca Consolidat Multiculturalisme i Gènere (Universitat de Barcelona).

AEIHM announces two awards, both on a biennial basis: Doctoral Thesis Award (sixth edition awarded in 2012); Research Award for Women's History (AEIHM-AHS, Asociación de Historia Social) (sixth edition convened in 2013).

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CONTENTS

Power, Feminism, and Social Dimension
Pouvoir, féminisme et dimension sociale

Gender in Cinematography: Female Gaze (Eye) behind the Camera [15]
ZOE DIRSE

J. S. Mill's Feminism and the Third Dimension of Power [30]
KATHERINE HUNT

Gender Equity in Educational Administration:
Investigating Compensation and Promotion [53]
MICHELE LEE DOWELL, KAREN H. LARWIN

Identity, Religion, and Cultural Difference
Identité, religion et différence culturelle

The Bible as a Medium for Social Engineering:
Jesus as the Androgynous Role Model [78]
BOBBI PAIGE HOPKINS

Thy Signet and Thy Bracelets:
Identity, Becoming, and Vulnerability in the Biblical Story of Tamar [88]
MIRI ROZMARIN

The Gender of Silk [102]
MARIAN VASILE

Perspectives upon Gender(ed) Space and Place
Perspectives sur l'espace et l'endroit du genre

(De)Fusing the Bomb (Shell):
Gender Issues, Popular Culture and Frida Kahlo [108]
BARBARA NELSON

Democracy and Gender Inequality in China [119]
IOANA-BIANCA BERNA

Transforming the Gendered Social Relations of Urban Space [125]
ELENA MANOLACHE

Projects
Projets

Advancing Gender Equality in Research and Innovation
in Europe and beyond: COST network genderSTE [131]
INÉS SÁNCHEZ DE MADARIAGA

Guest Interview
Entretien

Entretien avec l'écrivaine Evelyne Accad, une activiste, une femme de la paix [144]
EFSTRATIA OKTAPODA

Book Reviews
Compte-rendu

Why Internet Porn Matters
by Margret Grebowicz [152]
GEORGE LĂZĂROIU

Social Production and Reproduction at the Interfaces of Public and Private Spheres [154]
by Marcia Texler Segal, Esther Ngan-Ling Chow, and Vasilike Demos (eds.)
ONORINA BOTEZAT

Conference reports
Rapport de synthèse

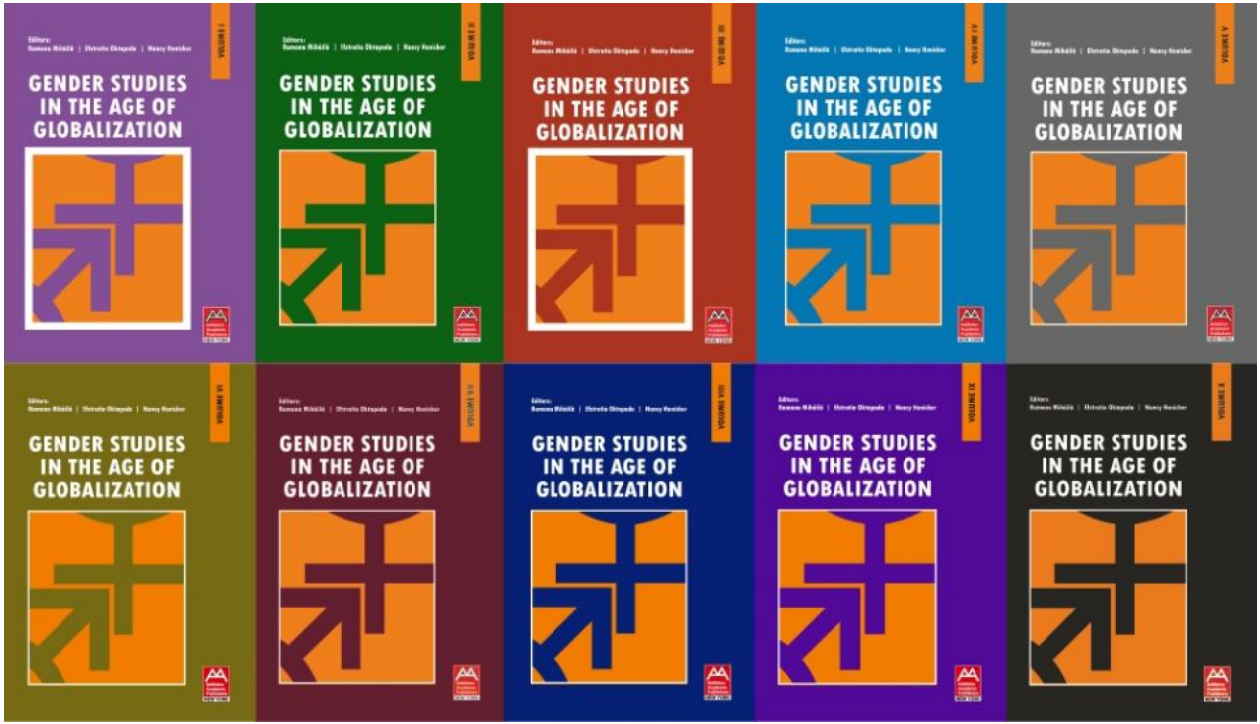
***Collaborating in Networks: Preparing Future Projects*, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Germany, 3–5 April 2013** [157]
HENDRIK SCHLIEPER

***Wo/men Do Popular Culture: Present Pop, Gender, Politics*, Spiru Haret University, Bucharest, Romania, 17 May 2013** [159]
SUSANNE HOCHREITER

***Female Authorship in Europe: Networks and Obstacles*, Huygens Institute, The Hague, The Netherlands, 19–21 June 2013** [164]
URSULA STOHLER

Scientific Events
Evènements scientifiques

***Women and Gender in the Visual Arts*. Invited Guest: Zoe Dirse Lecture: "Female Gaze(eye) Behind the Camera"**[170]


GENDER STUDIES IN THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION

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Gender in Cinematography: Female Gaze (Eye) behind the Camera*

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> When I look at the movies, film theorists try to tell me that the gaze is male, the camera eye is masculine, and so my look is also not a woman's. But I don't believe them anymore, because now I think I know what it is to look at a film as a woman.
>
> -Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender*[1]

ABSTRACT. For the last thirty years, feminist film theory has explored gender in cinema through detailed analysis of filmic texts, focusing on elements such as modes of narrative address, structuring principles of vision, and patterns of identification. Beginning with Laura Mulvey's landmark essay, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,"[2] the evolution of feminist film theory was grounded in a paradigm of sexual difference in which the gaze of spectorial pleasure was affiliated with masculinity, and the "female" within mainstream cinema was assigned the position of object and spectacle, connoting, as Mulvey put it, an exemplary "to be looked-at-ness." Now, a recent generation of feminist film theorists has critiqued this founding paradigm, and the axioms of psychoanalysis on which it was based, arguing that it does not allow for other forms of difference: sexual orientation, race, and ethnicity. These arguments were largely based in deconstructions of mainstream (i.e. Hollywood) films.

Keywords: female gaze, cinematography, camerawoman, female director of photography, gender difference

The task of theorizing how sexual difference and spectorial patterns of pleasure and identification are produced in films authored by women is certainly a less developed part of feminist film theory. I would like to examine whether or not there is a unique and distinguishable difference in the aesthetic perception of the female gaze and whether or not there is a concomitant difference in the audience' response to that gaze. For the purposes

of this chapter, I will look at various excerpts from my own work in cinematography and attempt to analyze them within this context. How do we, as women filmmakers, theorize about experience in the world? What is the nature of the different experiences of women's vision on film? Perhaps my examples will shed light on how to theorize experience not as something that is unmediated or value free but, rather, as something that is culturally produced. For example, Teresa de Lauretis tries to devise a feminist approach to theorizing.[3] She examines the theoretical relations between the social and the subjective, experience and representation, the personal and the political. For her, meaning is produced in language, but language is the process and practice of mutually determining interactions between meaning, perception, and experience.

In shifting my methodology away from a purely textual-based analysis of Hollywood films, I look at sexual difference at the point of production (not reception), and I look at "perception" as the ground where sexual difference is played out.

My role in the cinematic process is that of cinematographer.

In shifting my methodology away from a purely textual-based analysis of Hollywood films, I look at sexual difference at the point of production (not reception), and I look at "perception" as the ground where sexual difference is played out. My role in the cinematic process is that of cinematographer. American filmmaker Morgan Wesson describes cinematography as the art of creating visual images and imagery unique to every motion picture. The cinematographer must take anything a writer or director can imagine, help find or create that image, and then record it for audiences. The influence of a cinematographer can be great or small, depending on the relationship with the director and scope of the film. The major body of my work has been in documentary film, where the cinematographer has the most license and freedom. She must respond spontaneously to events happening around her and, thus, has little time to mediate the reality of any given situation. A documentary is a film authored by a director who chooses, or is given, a subject to document as a story or event that unfolds in real time: it is not reconstructed time, as in a narrative or fiction film. In documentary, there is a symbiotic relationship between the director and the cinematographer. They discuss the style, the philosophy, the ideas, the desired focus, the visual approach, and the overall look of the piece, and then it is up to the cinematographer to capture the images on film or tape that best conform to the director's wishes. Often, in documentary filmmaking, a collaborative relationship will develop where the approach and look of a piece will be arrived at by mutual agreement.

According to Judith Mayne, "All feminist inquiry is, in a sense, a reading against the grain of patriarchal institutions, an unearthing of contradiction and ambivalences at first invisible to the naked eye."[4] Historically,

women's representation in film as cinematographers has hardly been documented. Ann Kaplan explains that "women are not linked to a specific historical context but to patterns in relation to marriage, sexuality and the family which transcend traditional historical categories, women are relegated to absence, silence and marginality and thus the outskirts of historical discourse, if not totally outside of history and culture which is defined by white middle-class man."[5]

Alice Guy Blache, the first woman filmmaker, began her career working for Leon Gaumont in Paris, France, in the late 1800s. She wrote, directed, and photographed most of her films. After working in France for several years, she married and moved to the United States, where she created her own production company, Solax Studios in New Jersey, USA, and had great success. Moving to California, USA, in the 1930s and eventually selling her film rights to a shady distributor, she went bankrupt and moved back to France, where, to no avail, she tried to resurrect her career. In the 1960s, she attempted to locate some of the several hundred films that she had made but succeeded in finding only a few dozen. In frustration, she went on French television to try to gain some recognition for her work and began writing her memoirs. Like many pioneer women it has only been recently that she has found a place in cinema history (the National Film Board of Canada produced a documentary on Alice Guy Blache in 1995). I found a remark she made in 1914 particularly inspiring: "There is nothing connected with the staging of a motion picture that a woman cannot do as easily as a man, and there is no reason why she cannot master every technicality of the art. The technique of the drama has been mastered by so many women that it is considered as much her field as a man's and its adaptation to picture work in no way removes it from her sphere. The technique of motion-picture photography, like the technique of the drama, is fitted to a woman's activities."[6]

In cinematography, women have traditionally been underrepresented. Although some American women, such as Dorothy Dunn, Grace Davidson, and Margery Ordway, did emerge as successful cinematographers in the early days of cinema in the 1920s and 1930s, they were pushed out of the industry once it began to be considered glamorous, profitable, and powerful. Women briefly regained some ground during the Second World War, when there was a shortage in the workforce, but soon lost their foothold as the men returned and the social order was re-established. In North America today, women are vastly underrepresented in the technical areas of filmmaking and, in particular, in cinematography. A recent study (June 2013 by "Women in View" www.womeninview.ca) of women's roles in English Canadian television indicate that from a survey of 21 productions there were zero percent female cinematographers hired. IATSE, in Hollywood, California, USA, the most powerful film union in North America, currently has less than 20 percent female membership (this includes camera assistants). The Canadian

Society of Cinematographers, has only six female cinematographers (Directors of Photography) as full members out of several hundred. Also see www.womenbehindthecamera.com, www.wift.ca and www.thegeenadavis-institute.com for current status reports on women in the film and TV industries in North America

Anne Ross Muir makes an interesting point when she says, "recent feminist debates have used psychoanalytic theory to explore why the 'male gaze' is dominant in mainstream cinema. But there may be a more concrete (if related) explanation: that the masculine point of view is prevalent simply because men control the industry."[7] I tend to agree with Muir's explanation as this is still true today, but I also believe that psychoanalytic theory is valid in that it spurred the beginnings of feminist film theory with Mulvey's argument on sexual difference. Mulvey describes visual pleasure in the cinema as rooted in a hierarchical system, whereby the male is the bearer of the look and the woman is the object of the look. What happens when the bearer of the look is female and the object is female? Mulvey was one of the first feminist film theorists of the 1970s. She used a Lacanian interpretation of the visual objectification of women to argue that, if the female image is iconized, then this threatens the male (castration anxiety), and that classic Hollywood cinema has developed various devices and structures to give the male hero (and, by proxy, the male spectator), control over this enchanting and threatening image. Many feminist theorists have gone on to explain that the techniques of filming (such as lighting, camera angles, cutting between actors, and use of close shot versus long shot) are used to radically differentiate the presentation of men and women on the screen. Techniques that are normally used to depict women in films essentially produce a specularity in relation to the character in a way that places her role in the film as "iconic" (image) rather than as "diegetic" (storyteller), thus conveying the classical sexual objectification of women in films.

Ann Kaplan notes that, according to Mulvey, "this eroticization of women on the screen comes about through the way the cinema is structured around three explicitly male looks or gazes: there is the look of the camera in the situation being filmed (called the pro-filmic event); while technically neutral, this look, as we've seen, is inherently voyeuristic and usually 'male' in the sense that a man is generally doing the filming; there is the look of the men within the narrative, which is structured so as to make women objects of their gaze; and finally there is the look of the male spectator ... which imitates (or is necessarily in the same position as) the first two looks."[8] Eileen McGarry describes reality as being coded before the filmmaker arrives so that she, in fact, is dealing with the *pro-filmic event:* that which exists and happens in front of the camera.[9] In fiction film, the filmmakers exert a good deal of control over the pro-filmic event, through costumes, sets, and scripts. In traditional documentary, it is presumed that the filmmaker exerts no control

over the pro-filmic event but that she/he makes certain decisions about reality: the choice of subject, the location, the preconceptions of the filmworkers, the presence of the crew and equipment all control and encode the pro-filmic event within the context of the technology of cinema and the dominant ideology. Given that the male gaze is predominant in our film and TV culture, it is only fair to assume that we are profoundly influenced by such a gaze. Not only is the gaze male, but it is also generally the gaze of a white middle-class male as those who enter the profession are usually from the wealthier classes, with access to education or contacts within the industry. The film industry is a very closed and guarded old boys' club because of its glamour, its mystique (illustrated by the Marlboro cigarette ads featuring two leather-clad men in cowboy hats straddling a camera dolly), and its high-wage potential. Those of any other ethnicity, class, or gender who dare to break into the ranks must either persevere in the face of rejection, abuse, and intolerance or search out like-minded directors and producers in order to progress in their field. Thus it is common to find women working on women's films, or minorities working with minorities (as is the case with Spike Lee, who works exclusively with his own Black camera-man). Once women or members of other groups enter the equation, then there needs to be a shift in the gaze to reflect their point of view.

Mulvey's ideas are based on difference theory, the premise being that there is an inherent difference between the sexes. Her concept of three looks, or gazes, helped to establish the debate. In the past two decades, these three looks have been radically redefined as gender, race, and ethnicity enter the equation and new modes of interpretation are necessary in order to evaluate the gaze. Helene Cixous[10] and Luce Irigarayn developed theories related to *ecriture feminine*, a "feminine" writing whereby gender gains entry to culture through an embodied difference rather than a historical context. *Ecriture feminine* provided a link between theories of sexual difference and theories of deconstruction (Derrida's method of textual analysis based on the premise that there is no "reality" unmediated by discourse). Hence binary notions in language – such as man/woman and Black/White – are not immutable but constructed oppositional pairs. Rosemarie Buikema explains that "the consequence of deconstructive thought for feminist theory is that femininity is disconnected from a specific female identity. Femininity can be regarded as a discursive construction and not as exclusively related to a specific biological social group. An insight into the way in which positions of power are distributed in texts between masculine and feminine, and/or between white and black, can be a forceful instrument in the struggle against the one-sided and/or equivocal representation of femininity."[12] In exploring feminist film theory around the gaze, I will use Mulvey's three looks as a base and move on to deconstructive notions of the gaze, examining my own camera work within these theoretical contexts.

I will use methodology based on experience that comes from my own work in the field as a cinematographer. I have prepared a showreel of my work, approximately twelve minutes, which illustrates various styles and approaches in documentary film. For the purposes of this article, several of the film excerpts are illustrated as still images. There are some dramatic sequences, but they are used within the documentary to contextualize the historical references. Often these films are called "docudramas" (which were pioneered by director John Smith in *Train of Dreams* [1987], a work in which I participated at the National Film Board of Canada). It took three weeks to prepare the showreel and two weeks to arrange the scheduling of my editor, myself, and the editing facilities as well as to track down professional master tapes of the selected films and to make preliminary selections of sequences. The third week involved the off-line editing (final sequence selection, assembling of the material, music, sound edit, and titles), the on-line editing process (information is taken from an EDL list on computer disk and transferred to high-quality digital tape in order to create a master tape), and, finally, the making of the multiple copies from the master tape. It cost approximately $1,000 to produce this showreel, and it is not uncommon for professional cinematographers to spend several thousands of dollars to produce similar reels to show prospective employers. I bring up the issue of cost only to further support an earlier argument in which I stated that women are shut out of the industry because of its profitability. For women to get jobs they need to be able to show examples of their work, but they need to be employed in order to create that work. Since there are fewer networks for women (as there is for men) in the industry, this can be a real obstacle.

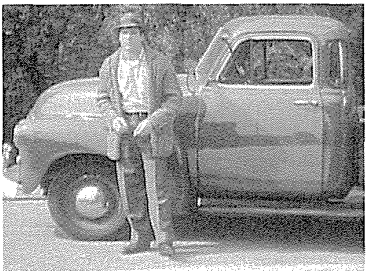
The showreel consists of twenty excerpts from nine films (see filmography). I refer to them by number and visual reference. I chose not to identify each sequence on the tape because I wanted to utilize the editing process as a creative tool to illustrate the cinematography aesthetically and, in some transitions between sequences, politically. Teresa de Lauretis claims that the fact that "confrontation is itself discursive in nature – in the sense that language and metaphors are always embedded in practices, in real life, where meaning ultimately resides – is implicit in one of the metaphors of feminism: the personal is political."[13] Because my work is largely based in the area of documentary film and feminist subject matter, the political manifests itself in how I see and construct the images for a film, and I will point out where this becomes obvious in the excerpts.

The first excerpt is from the film *Forbidden Love*, which tells the stories of older lesbians coming out in the 1950s and how this experience came from reading drugstore pulp fiction with lesbian themes. In this sequence, which is a dramatic reenactment of a pulp novel scenario, two ex-lovers say goodbye while the boyfriend, Victor, watches in a classic patriarchal stance (see photo 1). The drama is played out in a standard narrative form, but the

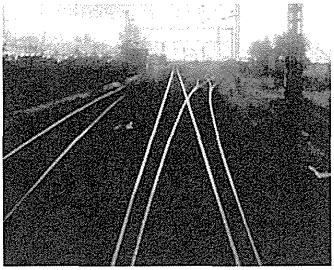
irony is portrayed by the era and the young women's quirky playfulness, reminiscent of classic male-directed B movies. In this film, almost all the gazes are female: the look of the carrier, or *pro-filmic event*, the look of the narrator, and often the look of the spectator (lesbian audiences). Here the two feminist, lesbian directors are playing with the film genre and reconstructing their own versions of reality, which are supported by the testimonials in the documentary interviews. I bookended the reel with a love-making scene from *Forbidden Love*, which was very delicate to film because both actresses were heterosexual and had never appeared nude on camera before. The scene ultimately appears seamless due to the delicate direction and non-threatening female technical crew and camera eye. There were many factors that contributed to the success of this film, but I believe that when the gaze is so deliberately subverted from the male to the female, we finally have an opportunity to view ourselves as we really are, in the case of this film, not as objects of male desire but as objects of female desire.

As the first excerpt ends at a railway station, we cut to train tracks receding from the perspective of an observer on the back of a train (see photo 2). This scene is from *A Balkan Journey*, a documentary about women's resistance groups struggling against the violence in the Balkans during the civil war. A female narrator explains, over ominous images of dark, obscured men in Belgrade bars and cafes late at night, how incidences of violence against women have increased since the beginning of the war.

In this particular instance, only the director, a terrified local driver, and I ventured out to film these scenes; my male camera assistant refused to accompany us, fearing for his safety. Because it truly was dangerous, I shot the scenes with high-speed film stock and zoom lenses, which gave a grainy, gritty feel to the images. It was also necessary to shoot from safe distances, so the shots are looking through doorways, windows, curtains (see photo 3), and they are taken from a moving vehicle, which give the sequence a sense of volatility and peril. Although the men in this sequence are unaware that I am filming them, it is curious to observe the way they look at the camera; it almost seems as though they knew a camera was watching them. In excerpt twenty, from *Shadow Maker*, a film on the poet Gwendolyn MacEwen, the gaze of the subject is very different. Here I am filming a Sufi parade in the bazaar in old Cairo (a potentially threatening environment to any woman). I throw myself into the crowd to try to capture some of the claustrophobia that Gwendolyn must have felt when she visited Cairo in the 1970s.



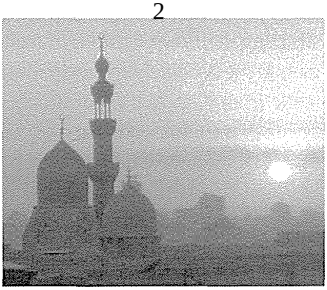
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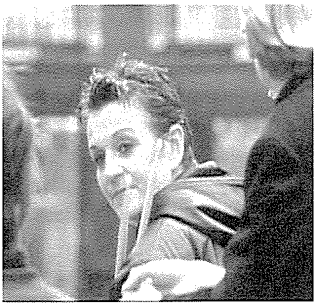
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Stills from cinematographer Zoe Dirse's showreel of documentary films.

Courtesy of Zoe Dirse.



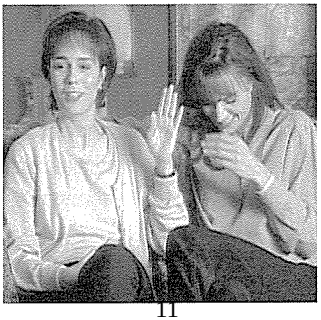
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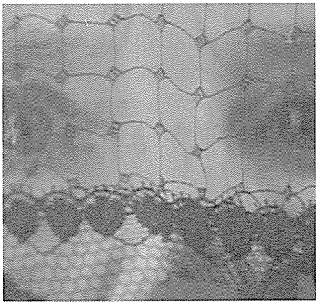
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1 *Forbidden Love;* 2 and 3 *Balkan Journey;* 4, 5, 6, and 7 *Shadow Maker/Gwendolyn MacEwen, Poet;* 8 and 9 *Stolen Moments;* 10 *Baltic Fire;* 11 *A Tale of Two Sisters: The Dale Sisters;* 12, 13, and 14 *Erotica: A Journey into Female Sexuality*



14

At first, the men seem curious, staring directly into my lens (curious at the camera or my gender) (see photo 5), and then suddenly the look changes and I feel danger as they start to push and shove (at which point I escape to safety). As a female cinematographer, I could feel the fear and instability that women living in such volatile environments must experience daily, and I could feel the urgency to tell of their plight through my eyes, look, and gaze. Not only was a female gaze crucial to understanding the situation of the Balkan women, but it also enabled me to be an unobtrusive observer, as in excerpt eight, where Rada, a resistance worker, comforts an older woman in a refugee camp. The two women seem totally oblivious to the camera (see photo 6). Is it because the gender of the bearer of the look is female and the subjects feel safe and not threatened? Later, in excerpt eleven (see photo 7), gypsies sing and perform to my hand-held camera with abandon and pleasure, their faces and gestures open to my inviting lens, allowing me to capture the sadness and joy in this ancient love song for Sarajevo. Is my gender an issue in relating to the subjects? Or are all gypsies just natural performers?

In excerpt three, I cut away from threatening male images in the night to gay women dancing exuberantly in a Berkeley night club in the film *Stolen Moments* (see photo 8). Here women have taken back the night and their sexuality and have exiled men from their environs. My editing choice is now political, for I chose to show women who, in another part of the world, have made bold choices that defy the patriarchal social order. *Stolen Moments* is a historical testament to women who refused to be silenced by oppression – women who insist upon telling the stories of lesbians in Europe and North America. Excerpt nine shows a high-angle shot (filmed from a crane, nine stories high) of Amsterdam in the misty dawn. Next we see four female musicians dressed in black, travelling by boat on one of the canals to pay homage at the gay monument to all the homosexuals killed during the Second World War. I chose to shoot this scene with the women's backs to the camera. Notice how one of the women turns around and glances back, to one of the other musicians or to me (see photo 9)? The gaze of the camera is obscured by the backs, but the subject fearlessly takes control and returns the gaze or, in fact, subverts the gaze of the camera, which inadvertently adds thematically to the scene. Having the musicians turned away from the camera symbolizes the unknown identities of the dead, but the look back draws the spectators in and forces them to remember the past. This shot was not consciously constructed but, rather, evolved out of the relationship between the camera, the subject, and the moment.

The personal becomes political in my own directorial debut, *Baltic Fire*, where, after witnessing the murder of my friend and fellow cameraman, Andris Slapins, I decide to document the unfolding events in the Baltic States in January 1991. Eventually, these events led to the dissolution of the Soviet

Union, and I follow the story to 1993, positioning myself as eyewitness, narrator, and subject – hence two of the looks now become one. My decision to make the film came from my dissatisfaction with the mass media coverage of events, which I felt was biased, one-sided, and very male. Despite the difficult financial and moral obstacles, I managed to complete the film and received some acknowledgment and a tremendous sense of accomplishment. Helene Cixous claims that women must "steal" in order to have a voice because they do not share in the dominant culture; and, in many ways, I felt that I too had to "steal" in order to produce *Baltic Fire*. Ultimately, my femaleness and feminist perceptions come into play throughout the film, as in excerpt seven, where my camera focuses on the faces of friends and family at Slapins's funeral. The lens is so intimate that it almost seems to feel the same sorrow as the mourners, and the flashback that I recreate over the corpse (see photo 10) is an attempt to breathe life back into my friend as he recalls his final moments on this earth. My own feelings of sadness are transmitted through the camera lens, and so, when the look of the camera and the narrator become one, and are both female, this radically changes the natural (or unnatural) order of the cinematic gaze and throws into question Mulvey's theory of the "three explicitly male looks or gazes" basic to cinema structure.

Excerpt sixteen is from the CBC biography, *A Tale of Two Sisters*, which concerns the Dale sisters (Cynthia and Jennifer), two Canadian television, film, and stage actresses. I chose the sequence where they are both preparing themselves to go before the camera or audience. These two looks are generally male, especially for these actresses, but in the biography the gaze of the narrator and the camera is female, and something seems to shift in the scene on the couch where the two sisters relax in front of the camera and lose some of their self-conscious performing role (see photo 11).

Claire Johnston states that "myth has been the major means in which women have been used in the cinema: myth transmits and transforms the ideology of sexism and renders it invisible and therefore natural. Feminist or politically sensitive filmmakers can call the myth and its apparent naturalness into play."[14] Johnston and Mulvey both claim that, in order for a cinema to be feminist, it has to be a counter-cinema. In the case of the Dale sisters, the format is not necessarily counter-cinema; however, when feminist filmmakers engage in the process, then the film has feminist elements. The director, Maya Gallus, acknowledges a conscious attempt to subvert the material so as to reveal a truer version of the sisters, as distinct from their media personae (sibling rivalry, Cynthia as the bitch, Jennifer as the sex-goddess and bad mother, etc.). She accomplishes this best in the positioning of the two sisters on the couch; my gaze further accentuates the situation through the framing, lighting, and placing of the sisters in the environment. Here we a have a potentially explosive situation, no one quite knowing what would come next.

The subversion here lies in the fact that the sisters, who are so accustomed to performing in front of the camera, are now expected to reveal themselves, and they cannot manipulate the viewers' response. Through her editing, the director juxtaposes the sisters on several different levels: careers, relationships, hobbies, current work choices, and goals. Another subversion occurs in the use of a narrator – often a male approach to documentary, telling the audience what to think. Here, despite the narrator, you will notice that there is minimal narration and that the subjects are given a voice so that the audience is forced to draw its own conclusions.

I also began to think of the Dale sisters in terms of ideas around gender identity. When Mulvey describes visual pleasure in the cinema as rooted in a hierarchical system, whereby the male is the bearer of the look and the woman the object of the look, what happens when the bearer of the look is female and the object is female, as in the Dale sisters' biography? And then consider the impact of the male bearer of the look who created the images of these two actresses. Judith Butler proposes that "the very injunction to be given a certain gender takes place through discursive acts: to be a good mother, to be a heterosexually desirable object, to signify a multiplicity of guarantees in response to a variety of different demands at once."[15] The Dale sisters are constructs of their gender in a dominant White, middle-class male ideology, and this is even more accentuated by their roles as actresses in TV and cinema. Butler argues that gender is *performative*; that is, that it "constitut[es] the identity it is purported to be." To her, gender is "the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being. A political genealogy of gender ontologies ... will deconstruct the substantive appearance of gender into its constitutive acts and locate and account for those acts within the compulsory frames set by the various forces that police the social appearance of gender."[16] For Butler, who you are depends on your repeated performance, over time, of the acts that constitute a particular identity. Deborah Cameron explains that these acts are produced or resisted in relation to normative pressures and forces that "police" what is permissible.[17] Change occurs through repetition, and Butler concludes that, if identities are no longer fixed in binary notions of sex, then the possibilities of "cultural configurations of sex and gender might then proliferate [and] then become articulable within the discourses that establish intelligible cultural-life."[18] I wonder if the Dale sisters, who are so accustomed to repetitive acts, have undergone any change since their early beginnings as child models and stage actresses, and whether performing for a female gaze affects their gender identity.

Finally, I now discuss excerpts from the film *Erotica: A Journey into Female Sexuality*, which shows women who use erotica to express themselves in their art, be it filmmaking, photography, fiction, music, or perfor-

mance genres. Excerpt five begins in a Paris church near Saint Germain des Pres and cuts to Jean de Berg, a French dominatrix and author, in her Normandy chateau (see photo 12). The elegance of her surroundings and the use of extreme close-ups, especially the eyes behind the veil, add a sense of mystery and intrigue, which urges the spectator to keep watching (see photo 13). I found the return gaze of the subject to the camera very powerful and compelling, and at times disturbing, as she would challenge the female crew's attitudes to sexuality by inviting us to participate in her rituals. At times she would be the perfect heterosexual wife of author Alain Robbe-Grillet, and then she would become Jean de Berg, France's most famous veiled dominatrix, whose identity was only recently revealed. She challenges preconceived notions of sexuality and gender identity through acts of performativity by her dual selves. This poses some interesting questions, which consequently challenged my camera gaze, the narrator's gaze, and, ultimately, the spectators' gaze.

In excerpt twelve we see Lique, a young Black rap singer, who sings to audiences like herself about discovering sex and controlling one's own sexuality. The interview was shot in a series of extreme close-ups so that the camera eroticized the facial features of the character. There is a double play with the camera gaze in excerpt seventeen, where a lesbian photographer engages with three women in a dark alley during a photo shoot (see photo 14). The photographer is exploring her own sexuality through her lens, as she shoots the women playing to the camera and amongst themselves, while the cinema lens explores the dynamics of the scene. Here the gaze takes on another dimension, and one wonders how it shifts when the gender or sexual orientation of the camera gaze changes. In this film, women take control of their art through sexuality as expression. We, as the women film-makers (director, producer, editor, sound-recordist, production manager, and cinematographer) take a direct view of the subjects and, ultimately, of ourselves. The bearer of the look is female, the subject is female, and the subject subverts the gaze and gazes at herself. The multiple layers of the female gaze in this particular film add some new and evocative dimensions to the context of feminist film theory and to questions concerning identity.

I believe it is crucial for women to take control of their art (and, in my case, of the cinematic images that show the world who we are) in order to subvert patriarchal assumptions concerning gender. If, in fact, the female gaze is almost absent from dominant culture, then the challenge is to change the patriarchal way of looking by imposing the female gaze on our cultural life, even if, as Helene Cixous suggests, we must "steal" in or "fly" by.[19]

NOTE

***** The present article is a slightly changed version of my contribution "The Gender of the Gaze in Cinematography: A Woman with a Movie Camera," in Valerie Raoul, Jacqueline Levitin, and Judith Plessis (eds.), *Women Filmmakers: Refocusing*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003.

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13. de Lauretis, *Alice Doesn't*, 113.

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15. Butler, Judith (1990), *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 145.

16. Ibid., 33.

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18. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 149.

19. *Voler*, in French, means both "to steal" and "to fly."

Filmography (Showreel)

1989 *A Song for Quebec*. Direction: Dorothy Henaut
1992 *Forbidden Love*. Direction: Lynne Fernie and Aerlyn Weissman
1993 *Baltic Fire*. Direction: Zoe Dirse
1994 *The Lucky Ones: Allied Airmen and Buchenwald*. Direction: Michael Allder
1996 *A Balkan Journey: Fragments from the Other Side War*. Direction: Brenda Longfellow
1997 *Erotica: A Journey into Female Sexuality*. Direction: Maya Gallus
1997 *Stolen Moments*. Direction: Margaret Wescott
1997 *A Tale of Two Sisters: The Dale Sisters*. Direction: Maya Gallus
1998 *Shadow Maker/Gwendolyn MacEwen, Poet*. Dire

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Her best known films and docudramas have received multiple awards and nominations: *Jane Rule: Fiction and Other Truths* (1995), *Erotica* (1997), *Shadowmaker* (1998), *Balkan Journey* (1996). Zoe Dirse's documentary career has taken her around the world and given her a vast cultural experience with insights into different societies. She has worked on nearly every continent and dodged bullets in numerous war zones such as the Baltics in 1991, the Balkans in 1994 and in the Kurdish rebel zone of southeastern Turkey in 2003. In the past 10 years she has had the opportunity to pursue several long and short dramatic projects which include *Forbidden Love* and *Body Parts* which was shot in 2000 in Montreal.

Other documentaries include *Vendetta Song, Runaway Groom* (best Canadian documentary (2005), *Jambo Kenya, Tiger, Shift Focus, Skate to Survive.* Most recently she finished principle photography on a documentary *Patron Saint* (2013).

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J. S. Mill's Feminism and the Third Dimension of Power

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ABSTRACT. Are John Stuart Mill's feminist ideas espoused in *The Subjection of Women* very liberal, or very radical? This question has been debated among contemporary scholars. The purpose of this paper is two fold. The first goal is to propose that Mill's feminist work reveals a conception of power that is analogous to Steven Lukes's (2005) radical theory of power. This is demonstrated by using Lukes's theory as a lens through which to systematically analyze Mill's conception of power as seen in *The Subjection of Women*. Second, I suggest that from an understanding of Mill's conception of power as radical in the way that Lukes defines it, four central feminist critiques of Mill's *Subjection of Women* are mitigated. Understanding Mill's feminism in light of a radical view of power reveals that some feminist critiques have overlooked important aspects of Mill's feminism that show his continued relevancy to the contemporary feminist movement and feminist thought.

Keywords: Mill, Lukes, power, feminism, subjection, liberalism, radical

1. Introduction

Though Mill is often classified as a liberal theorist due to his emphasis on the individual, many scholars criticize his brand of liberalism as being inconsistent, though others argue that Mill remains consistent across his works (Ryan, 1970; Fuchs, 2001; Clark and Elliott, 2001; Thompson, 2007). For example, his feminist work *The Subjection of Women* (1869)[1] shows Mill's liberalism as more complex than simply saying "Individual legal rights for all." Due to its regarding women, *Subjection* has been particularly debated among feminist theorists, some arguing Mill's feminism to be no longer relevant due to its liberalism (di Stefano, 1991; Himmelfarb, 1974; Ring, 1985), and others viewing Mill's work as quite radical (Morales, 1996; Urbinati, 2002).

The purpose of this manuscript is twofold. First, a notion will be put forth that Mill's feminist work reveals a conception of power analogous to

Steven Lukes' (2005) radical theory of power, which will be used as a lens through which to systematically analyze Mill's conception of power as seen in *Subjection*. Second, it is argued that by understanding Mill's conception of power as radical according to Lukes' definition, four central feminist critiques of Mill's *Subjection* are allayed. An explanation of Lukes' theory of power and how it differs from other views is offered, followed by an analysis of Mill's *Subjection* and how it coincides with Lukes' theory. Lukes (13), as well as others (Baum, 2000; Dyzenhaus, 1992), has suggested that Mill's theory coincides with his own; however, the similarities between the two have not been systematically examined.

2. Conceptualizing Power

In *Power: A Radical View*, Steven Lukes considers the question, "How do the powerful secure the compliance (unwilling or willing) of those they dominate?" (Lukes, 2005: 86).[2] Lukes states that though power is "an essentially contested concept" (30), some definitions are more amenable to operationalization than others. Lukes' systematic study of power emphasizes that "we need to think about power broadly rather than narrowly… power is at its most effective when least observable" (1). He responds to what he calls the one- and two-dimensional views of power, challenging them with his own three-dimensional view.

The one-dimensional view of power is also known as the "pluralist" view of power. Pluralists argue that power in the United States is distributed among many groups, people, and organizations, and is not concentrated in the hands of an elite or group of elites. Dahl (1957) explains that "my intuitive idea of power, then, is something like this: *A* has power over *B* to the extent that he can get *B* to do something that *B* would not otherwise do" (202–203). Observable behavior is essential to pluralists' understanding of power; Dahl criticizes the theory that the elite in the United States possess most or all of the power, noting that "*I do not see how anyone can suppose that he has established the dominance of a specific group in a community or nation without basing his analysis on the careful examination of a series of concrete decisions*" (Dahl, 1958: 466; emphasis in the original). For Dahl, decision-making is central to the concept of power. Those who have the most power are those whose decisions overrule others' in an observable competition over the achievement of outcomes. Under this view individuals do not have power unless they are engaged in conscious and observable conflicts. If no conflict of interests is observed and there are no successful actions taken on the part of one party against the interests of another, no power is being exercised.

Though Dahl (1974) could find no evidence in his analysis for the claim that the elite had power over the outcomes of political decisions, Lukes

suggests that Dahl unwittingly uncovered more nuanced workings of power, and that the assumptions underlying Dahl's study on power prevented him from considering that power may come in subtler forms (Lukes 18). This one-dimensional view of power is narrow, viewing people's "interests" as the same as their preferences and equating being powerful to "winning." It therefore confuses power with power's resources, such as wealth and status. Many feminists have concluded that power is not simply political power and that social, economic, and political powers are not necessarily distinct entities. Mill's thought is similar in that he does not adhere to a "one-dimensional" or "pluralist" view of power. Instead, he is cognizant of the social and cultural workings of power, indicating that a different approach to power is needed in order to assess Mill's conception of power.

The theory which Lukes dubs the "two-dimensional" view of power is put forth by Bachrach and Baratz (1962). These scholars argue that pluralists fail to see that power has two "faces." Instead, pluralists view power mistakenly when they "measure relative influence solely in terms of the ability to initiate and veto proposals … [and] ignore the possible exercise of influence or power in limiting the scope of initiation" (952). The absence of a "winner" in observable conflict does not preclude the use of power; there could have been initial workings of power that kept issues from ever reaching the decision-making arena and creating conflict. Bachrach and Baratz note that "to the extent that a person or group – consciously or unconsciously – creates or reinforces barriers to the public airing of policy conflicts, that person or group has power" (949).

Bachrach and Baratz emphasize the mobilization of bias[3] as a tool of the second face of power. Bias mobilization controls which issues reach the political sphere through a system of rules and beliefs that works to the advantage of the status quo. Use of this tool may be conscious or unconscious because people may unwittingly prevent other issue-areas from entering the policy-making arena even though doing so may protect their interests. This view of power suggests the existence of a "nondecision-making process" wherein "some person or association could limit decision-making to relatively non-controversial matters, by influencing community values and political procedures and rituals" (949) even though within the community there are serious, but latent, power conflicts. This view is not as stark as the pluralist view in that it captures other mechanisms through which power can be exercised within politics and elsewhere. Thus it is more helpful to feminists than the pluralists' one-dimensional view because it allows for power dynamics that are more subtle, such as those between men and women. However, Lukes accurately takes issue with the approach due to Bachrach's and Baratz's emphasis on the need for observable conflict. In their theory of "nondecision-making," they cannot avoid the requirement of a potential challenger to the status quo who wants to create conflict, even if the power holder does not

see them; the conclusion is that if there is no observable conflict, there is acquiescence, or at least no empirical way to identify power relationships.

Lukes argues that even without observable conflict, power can be empirically identified. What Lukes proposes more closely matches the type of power seen in Mill's feminist theory, especially in his emphasis that apparent acquiescence (no observable conflict) is the result of underlying power relations, or a "third dimension" of power. As will be seen, underlying power relations are also of concern to Mill.

Lukes asks why people comply with the wishes of the powerful if compliance is not necessarily in their interest: "*A* may exercise power over *B* by getting him to do what he does not want to do, but he also exercises power over him by influencing, shaping or determining his very wants" (Lukes 27). In this case, there may never be observable conflict between *A* and *B*, but *A* will still exercise power over *B* because *A* is getting *B* to do what *A* wants him to do regardless of *B*'s interests, of which *B* may not be aware. Lukes writes that "the most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent such conflict from arising in the first place" (27), and seeks to show that apparent acquiescence to the status quo may conceal latent conflict, i.e. conflict that *would* arise *if* people's wants and desires were not shaped by power-holders to conform to what will benefit them. Mill also sought to demonstrate this function of power in *Subjection.*

Four concepts of the third dimension of power are particularly relevant to understanding power as it concerns Mill's feminism and how the third dimension of power is empirically identifiable despite the absence of observable conflict. First is the relevant counterfactual and power mechanism; second, interests; third, adaptive preferences and false consciousness; and fourth, the mobilization of bias. Each of these concepts will be discussed in turn through an analysis of *Subjection.* Mill looked beyond narrow pluralist views of power that society's experiences with sexism and racism then and now suggest are inadequate. The degree to which Lukes' and Mill's conceptions of power coincide will be seen in the analysis following a brief overview of Mill's central feminist text.

3. On *The Subjection of Women* and Power

In *Subjection*, Mill seeks to explain how the principle regulating dynamics between the two sexes, specifically the subordination of women to men, is wrong as well as how "perfect equality" is the only mechanism by which both sexes may be improved (Mill, 1869: 119). Mill elaborates on this view of equality in four chapters. He begins by exploring why gender inequality is not a "natural" state of affairs, arguing that women's legal subjection is "the primitive state of slavery lasting on" (123) after most forms of slavery

have been legally abolished. In chapter two, Mill discusses the patriarchal institution of family and marriage. He notes that as a result of lessening the degrading aspects of marriage laws, "men suppose that all is now as it should be in regard to the marriage contract; and we are continually told that civilisation and Christianity have restored to the woman her just rights" (147). Mill argues that women have not had their rights restored, and that women still enter a state of servitude upon marriage.

The third chapter of *Subjection* concerns occupational equality. Mill defends women's abilities outside of the domestic sphere, arguing that women should be able to find occupation in fields normally dominated by men. In the final chapter, Mill explains the good that will come from women's equality, the benefits ranging from women's individual advantage as autonomous beings to the betterment of society as a whole.[4] The following analysis of Mill's feminist theory demonstrates that Mill recognized that women face more than legal barriers to equality.

3.1 The Relevant Counterfactual and Power Mechanism

Lukes states that "any attribution of the exercise of power … always implies a relevant counterfactual, to the effect that (but for *A*, or but for *A* together with any other sufficient conditions) *B* would otherwise have done, let us say, *b*" (44). In the one- and two-dimensional views, observable opposition to the status quo serves as a counterfactual. To empirically determine the relevant counterfactual in the absence of observable conflict, as is the case in studying the third dimension of power, it must be established on indirect grounds: "Power as domination … invokes the idea of constraint upon interests, and to speak of the third dimension of such power is to speak of interests imputed to and unrecognized by the actors" (146). The relevant counterfactual suggests that a person's interests have been constrained if they *would* have done or thought something else *if* they had not been under the influence of power external to themselves. This constraint of interests is conducted through a power mechanism, which is "the means or mechanism by which *A* has prevented, or at least acted (or abstained from acting) in a manner sufficient to prevent, *B* from doing so [thinking or acting differently]" (44).

Mill empirically establishes a relevant counterfactual and the power mechanisms through which interests are constrained by considering why women willingly enter into societal arrangements when doing so is contrary to their liberty, a question similar to Lukes' own as to how the dominant secure the compliance of the dominated. In responding to the argument that women willingly comply, Mill alludes to an empirically relevant counterfactual that may explain that outside circumstances, not women's nature, lead them to submit to men's dominance. He notes that "a great number of women do not

accept it [men's dominance]" and "the claim of women to be educated as solidly, and in the same branches of knowledge, as men, is urged with growing intensity" (131). Mill produces examples of women who had already begun to voice complaints about the status quo, suggesting that even women socialized into accepting their role were beginning to question these roles and their subjection. Mill goes on to say "how many more women there are who silently cherish similar aspirations, no one can possibly know; but there are abundant tokens how many *would* cherish them, were they not so strenuously taught to repress them as contrary to the proprieties of their sex" (131). As there are women who already hold aspirations of equality, it is possible that many more women *would* cherish similar aspirations *if* they were not repressed. Therefore women who cherish these aspirations for equal education and rights are evidence that women are capable of acting autonomously.

Mill argues that although marriage is the most promising time for a man to finally understand at least one woman's thoughts and feelings, there are many "difficulties which at present obstruct any real knowledge by men of the true nature of women," and the result is that "people flatter themselves that they perfectly understand a subject of which most men know absolutely nothing" (143). Women's "true nature" is not revealed, even to their husbands, because in an unequal relationship trust is difficult to establish (142). Women are taught that their duty is to please their husbands and thus avoid revealing any feelings or thoughts that might upset their spouse. As an individualist, Mill does not claim that this is the state of affairs between every husband and every wife, but rather suggests that laws forming the marriage contract and the relations between men and women in society are not conducive to men's ever knowing women's characters, natures and sentiments, even as many men claim such knowledge.

The recognition of women aspiring to equality and the assertion that men may not know as much about women's "natures" as they assume leads to Mill establishing the relevant counterfactual. Laws establishing men's legal superiority to women and the institutions (such as education) that support and reinforce these laws are, for Mill, the power mechanisms through which men exercise their authority over women. Mill has explained that women's nature may not be what it is thought to be by many men and some women (due to "naturalization," as Lukes suggests), and has shown that women may hold aspirations that are contrary to what they are told is their womanly "nature." He discusses women's capabilities, many about which women do not even know: "when we consider how sedulously they are all trained away from, instead of being trained towards, any of the occupations or objects reserved for men, it is evident that I am taking a very humble ground for them, when I rest their case on what they have actually achieved" (170). That women are trained away from "masculine" endeavors suggests they have the potential to excel in these endeavors, yet this potential has not had the

opportunity to manifest. Additionally, Mill demonstrates that some women who have been trained differently in what Lukes, referring to Gramsci, might call "abnormal times" or circumstances (Lukes 50) have shown that they are quite capable in these "masculine" occupations.

Mill states that "it cannot be inferred to be impossible that a woman should be a Homer, or an Aristotle, or a Michael Angelo, or a Beethoven, because no woman has yet actually produced works comparable to theirs in any of those lines of excellence" (170). Because something hasn't happened doesn't mean that it can *never* happen. Examples of women excelling at traditionally masculine occupations reveal the relevant counterfactuals for Mill's argument against women's unequal treatment in education and society. For example, Mill notes that "it is quite certain that a woman can be a Queen Elizabeth, or a Deborah, or a Joan of Arc, since this is not inference, but fact" (170). Queen Elizabeth in particular had an education and upbringing not typical for women, which suggests that women such as she can serve to establish one counterfactual as *education*,[5] empirical evidence that if it were not for the education that men approved for women, women might find that they are more interested in political affairs, for example, and less interested in the affairs of Mrs. Grundy. Thus Mill establishes the relevant counterfactual and power mechanism: education channeled through laws that give men authority on the subject.[6]

3.2 Interests

Regarding interests, Lukes states that "conceiving power in this way [a three-dimensional view] cannot dispense with a defensible understanding of the notions of 'real interests' and 'false consciousness'" (Lukes 109) Importantly, Lukes is not making a quasi-Marxian claim as to what are (or should be) the actual interests of each individual, but rather maintains that every human being has an interest in being autonomous.[7] It follows that interests are only capable of being realized when the individual is under the influence of as little power as possible because domination might mislead them into seeing their interests according to the bias of the system, which is in the interests of the powerful.

In *On Liberty* (1859), Mill states that "Liberty, as a principle, has no application to any state of things anterior to the time when mankind have become capable of being improved by free and equal discussion" (14). No compulsion exercised over a person is justifiable with the exception of protecting others. Mill bases this idea not on abstract right, but on utility, which he regards "…as the ultimate appeal on all ethical questions; but it must be utility in the largest sense, grounded on the permanent interests of man as a progressive being. Those interests, I contend, authorize the subjection of individual spontaneity to external control, only in respect to those

actions of each, which concern the interest of other people" (14). Due to the permanent interests of humans as progressive beings, it is in every person's interests to be at liberty to think, publish and pursue anything he or she wishes, and to frame "our life to suit our own character" (15), as long as the interests of others are not threatened.

Interests were a pivotal part of Mill's argument in *On Liberty*; J.C. Rees (1960) even argues that one of the central critiques of this work is based on a misunderstanding of Mill's meaning when he speaks of people's actions impinging on others' freedom. Rees explains that when Mill says it is possible for a person in society to act without affecting other people's *interests*, he is not suggesting that other people won't be affected at all by these actions. However, other people's interests in being "progressive beings" are not necessarily constrained: "There is an important difference between just 'affecting others' and 'affecting the interests of others'… Mill was thinking of 'interests' and not merely 'effects'" (Rees 118). Mill says the interests of other people are only threatened if we attempt to deprive them of their ability to frame their individual characters. Here we see, as Ball (2000) asserts, that the idea of character formation is pivotal to Mill's conception of individual liberty and interests, and as such interests are not only political. Mill extends this idea of individual interests found in *On Liberty* to include women in *Subjection.*

Mill's conception of interests is essential to understanding the counterfactual that he establishes in *Subjection* because it is against women's individual interests to be barred from framing their own characters and pursuing what they see fit without being prevented by external circumstances. Lukes notes that power as domination can be identified as power that constrains people from realizing their interests. By establishing everyone's interest in forming his or her own character autonomously, Mill's relevant counterfactual is justified. Were women given the same educational opportunities as men, their interests in being autonomous individuals would be less likely constrained.

That women's interests are constrained is seen throughout Mill's *Subjection of Women.* He frequently refers to women as men's legal slaves, suggesting a lack of autonomy, noting that in many ways women's slavery to men is worse than other master/slave relationships. He writes,

> If conquered slave races have been, in some respects, more forcibly repressed, whatever in them has not been crushed down by an iron heel has generally been let alone, and if left with any liberty of development, it has developed itself according to its own laws; but in the case of women, a hot-house and stove cultivation has always been carried on of some of the capabilities of their nature, for the benefit and pleasure of their masters (139).

Women have not only been subjected but have been molded according to men's tastes. Women are, according to Mill, denied all opportunities for individual character self-formation.

Mill describes the evolution of thought and how "the old theory was, that the least possible should be left to the choice of the individual agent; that all he had to do should, as far as practicable, be laid down for him by superior wisdom" (134–135). But, Mill states, this theory has been replaced with the belief that it is best to leave as much as possible up to the individual agent. Women are the resounding exception to this, and are still expected to look to a superior wisdom for instruction on proper behavior. This is reminiscent of the ways in which judgment is infantilized and contributes to creating false consciousness (or adaptive preferences) according to Lukes' theory of a third dimension of power (149). That Mill criticizes the insistence that women must look to "superior" wisdom for guidance suggests his recognition of the infantilizing effect that men and the laws regarding women have had upon women.

Perhaps Mill's most well-known and telling insight into the state of women and the constraints placed upon their interests follows:

> Men do not want solely the obedience of women, they want their sentiments. All men, except the most brutish, desire to have, in the woman most nearly connected with them, not a forced slave but a willing one, not a slave merely, but a favourite. They have therefore put everything in practice to enslave their minds. The masters of all other slaves rely, for maintaining obedience, on fear; either fear of themselves or religious fears. The masters of women wanted more than simple obedience, and they turned the whole force of education to effect their purpose. All women are brought up from the very earliest years in the belief that their ideal character is the very opposite to that of men; not self-will, and government by self-control, but submission, and yielding to the control of others (132).

Mill thinks that women are not only under the control of men and men's institutions, but "what is now called the nature of women is an eminently artificial thing" (138). There is no way to see what women's true nature as a sex is (if they, indeed, have one), for they have been told that their nature is that which is not like men's and their individual characters are kept from being formed according to their own wills. Both are constraints upon women's interests as human beings, yet Mill continues that it is also inimical to men's interests for them to have this power over women; for them to have not just slaves, but willing slaves. Mill describes how early in a boy's education (or socialization)

> . . . the notion of his inherent superiority to a girl arises in his mind; how it grows with his growth and strengthens with his strength; how it is inoculated by one schoolboy upon another; how early the youth thinks himself superior to his mother, owing her perhaps forbearance, but no real respect; and how

> sublime and sultan-like a sense of superiority he feels, above all, over the woman whom he honours by admitting her to a partnership in his life. Is it imagined that all this does not pervert the whole manner of existence of the man, both as an individual and as a social being? (197).

Men's education leads them to see women as mere means to their happiness, supported by institutions that deny women all or many legal rights that men have upon birth. Men, therefore, are also kept from forming their own characters. They are socialized into selfish beings, stunting their moral characters and keeping them from having the liberty of "man as a progressive being."

According to Mill,

> Any sentiment of freedom which can exist in a man whose nearest and dearest intimacies are with those of whom he is absolute master, is not the genuine or Christian love of freedom, but … an intense feeling of the dignity and importance of his own personality; making him disdain a yoke for himself, of which he has no abhorrence whatever in the abstract, but which he is abundantly ready to impose on others for his own interest or glorification (161).

Man cannot appreciate freedom when he is the master over his most intimate companion. A man's character is formed in part by the relationship he has with women and according to Mill, as long as this relationship is unequal, a grotesque character is created. If it is in neither men's nor women's interests for women to be legally subordinate to men, and it is especially against women's interests, then one of Mill's contemporaries might have asked why women seem to consent. We have briefly covered Mill's response in his discussion about education being used to form – or deform – women's minds and characters, but will now consider the topic in greater depth.

3.3 Adaptive Preferences and False Consciousness

Adaptive preferences are those adopted by individuals whose interests are under the constraints of domination. When their autonomy is constrained, individuals may adapt to wants, desires, and preferences that conform to the status quo. However, these adaptive preferences may not be what power-holders directly intended. Power-holders may not realize that the power they exercise creates a false consensus among those they dominate (Lukes 136). Lukes further argues that power's "effectiveness is enhanced by being disguised or rendered invisible, by 'naturalization,' where what is conventional and position- or class-based appears to the actors as natural and objective, and by 'misrecognition' of its sources and modes of operation" (141). Power relations can appear to be "natural" to both power-holders and those they dominate, especially because the third dimension of power may be unintentionally wielded. Further, people who are under its influence may not recog-

nize power; these people may mistakenly believe that their unhappiness, discontent, or unfulfilled desires are due to factors other than power being exercised over them.[8]

Similarly to adaptive preferences, false consciousness presupposes that people may be quiescent due to a misunderstanding of how power impacts them. Lukes admits that this concept carries historical baggage (149), yet he emphasizes its importance in understanding power in its third dimension. Without some kind of false consciousness, people would not be compliant in situations where their autonomy is threatened.

Lukes revises the idea of false consciousness to refer to "*the power to mislead*" (149). This power can take many forms and may involve direct censorship, different methods of infantilizing judgment, supporting and nurturing what he calls "illusory thinking" that denies alternatives to the status quo, and more (149). Adaptive preferences and false consciousness are alike in that both focus on the idea that people may be misled into thinking that sacrificing their autonomy is for the best or is their only option. False consciousness may best be seen in cases where there is a clear conflict between power and interests, and yet people seem content in both overt and covert ways. Mill engages with these ideas, suggesting that the absence of observable conflict is not an excuse for the continuation of inequality.

First, Mill may be offering a critique of what Lukes has called the one- and two-dimensional views of power in suggesting that

> The concessions of the privileged to the unprivileged are so seldom brought about by any better motive than the power of the unprivileged to extort them, that any arguments against the prerogative of sex are likely to be little attended to by the generality, as long as they are able to say to themselves that women do not complain of it. The fact certainly enables men to retain the unjust privilege some time longer; but does not render it less unjust (Mill, 193–194).

Men can be comfortable with their privileged positions over women because few women voice complaints. Mill elaborates by comparing women's situations with men's and says, "How rarely it is that even men complain of the general order of society; and much rarer still would such complaint be, if they did not know of any different order existing anywhere else" (194). Many men who endure inequalities in the existing order do not complain, and complaints would be less likely if they knew of no way that their circumstances might improve. Mill has, at this point, already explained that women's subordination is based on nothing more than women's being subordinated throughout history, underscoring this by suggesting that if women know of no alternatives, they may think that their circumstances are, essentially, as good as they will ever be. This idea led Mill to suggest a "false consciousness" among women, based on the importance he places on individuality: women are unable to see alternatives to their present situation and, there-

fore, may not recognize their individual aspirations, desires, and wants. Thus they do not view themselves as "progressive beings."

Mill points to another injustice in that women are often "declared to be better than men; an empty compliment, because superiority rarely coincides with being subordinate to those who are inferior" (192). However, this empty compliment may have convinced some women that if it were not for their circumstances, the world would be a worse place. If they were to take up the occupations of men, who would be left to protect morality? Therefore, some women adopted the role of moral safe keepers, though if not for their subjection they might rather write a book questioning the very concept of morality. Mill's message is that we cannot know what women might have achieved if their minds had not been repressed by a lack of education and by socialization.

Mill grants that, in his day, more women were writing and attempting to educate themselves. He mentions that this is praiseworthy, but that "very few of them dare tell anything, which men, on whom their literary success depends, are unwilling to hear" (142). If in writing women discovered that they were unhappy with the status quo, they would suppress this in order to achieve literary success. Mill notes that

> literary women are becoming more freespoken, and more willing to express their real sentiments. Unfortunately […] they are themselves such artificial products, that their sentiments are compounded of a small element of individual observation and consciousness, and a very large one of acquired associations" (143).

Mill saw this artificiality as a form of false consciousness stemming from education and socialization.

The importance of character is again brought to our attention. Some women, being such artificial products, have not formed their own individual characters and are not able to form their own original observations and consciousness. Mill suggests that "this will be less and less the case, but it will remain true to a great extent, as long as social institutions do not admit the same free development of originality in women which is possible to men" (143). Until women have the same opportunities as men, we cannot assume that what they say in writing is not the product of these power dynamics.

To reveal how circumstances can affect people, Mill advocates "tracing the mental consequences of external influences" in order to discover how individual circumstances affect one's character (184). Without external factors influencing minds and characters, individual women may be very different from how they appear. Given these examples explaining women's subjection and why it is not just, what prevents men and women from glimpsing the problems of the power relations in their society? We can find examples in

the portions of his argument where Mill discusses what might be termed the "mobilization of bias."

3.4 The Mobilization of Bias

As discussed in reference to Bachrach and Baratz (1962), social institutions can be mobilized according to biases that are supported by a certain set of values, beliefs, rituals, and institutional constraints. Power may be exercised unconsciously: at times an individual's inaction will reinforce the bias of the system, while at other times an individual's actions may be the products of that bias, and so actions will be seen as natural and inadvertently reinforce the status quo. This bias also affects those who are the subjects of power due to the different processes of "naturalization" noted above (149). Lukes and Mill agree that the mobilization of bias is important to understanding how power works.

Mill suggests that prior to the 19th century, the reason for barring women from public life was "not women's unfitness, but the interest of society, by which was meant the interest of men" (166). However, in Mill's time

> power holds a smoother language, and whomsoever it oppresses, always pretends to do so for their own good; accordingly, when anything is forbidden to women, it is thought necessary to say, and desirable to believe, that they are incapable of doing it, and that they depart from their real path of success and happiness when they aspire to it" (167).

This "smoother language" of power obscures the fact that women's exclusion from the public sphere still serves the interests of men. This new language of power reveals the way Mill saw the social system as mobilized to bias the supposed interests of men to the detriment of women, who were told "it's for your own good." Though this has an infantilizing effect on women, it is important to recall Mill's argument concerning similarly negative effects of this bias upon men.

According to Lukes, power in its third dimension is not always exercised intentionally. For example, men are not and probably never have been joined in a conspiracy against women. In Mill's analysis, the mobilization of bias works such that many men may sincerely believe that women's interests lie outside of the public sphere, even though women's exclusion actually protects men from something that they vaguely, or unconsciously, see as a threat. Mill says women's individuality has been smothered and compares women to a tree raised in a hothouse and made to grow a certain way. Men, whose values, beliefs, ideas, and laws have created this situation, "indolently believe that the tree grows of itself the way that they have made it grow" (139). Mill is critical of unthinkingly accepting the status quo as is shown when he states that "I do not therefore quarrel with them [those who oppose his views]

for having too little faith in argument, but for having too much faith in custom and the general feeling" (121). Mill warns his contemporaries of the dangers of relying on custom and prejudice, or the bias of the system, and of not questioning and testing these through argument and experiments. People rarely question custom, and the result is that "unnatural generally means only uncustomary, and … everything which is usual appears natural" (130). This "naturalization" of custom resembles a mobilization of bias.

Indeed, Mill seems to grow so frustrated by people's ignorance of the bias of the system that he states, "I do not know a more signal instance of the blindness with which the world, including the herd of studious men, ignore and pass over all the influences of social circumstances, than their silly depreciation of the intellectual, and silly panegyrics on the moral, nature of women" (193). Even "great thinkers" among men subscribe to an unexamined view of women's nature and thus justify the status quo while remaining unaware that there is a systemic bias (social circumstances) that serves only to protect what they believe to be their interests while wholly disadvantaging women. He notes that it is but prejudice that keeps men from seeing the folly of barring women from equality, for were women to enter the public sphere,

> What they can do, but not so well as the men who are their competitors, competition suffices to exclude them from; since nobody asks for protective duties and bounties in favour of women; it is only asked that the present bounties and protective duties in favour of men should be recalled (144).

While women are denied individual rights, men are protected from women's competition, which actually threatens the progress of society and individuals as "progressive beings."

4. The Implications and Solutions Identified by Mill

Mill suggests that women are stunted by the above patterns of power and that these power dynamics keep men from reaching their potential. This is where Mill's conception of utility and "man as a progressive being" are seen clearly. Neither men nor women are capable of forming their own characters and fulfilling their potential as rational beings so long as they lack perfect equality and perfect friendship. Mill states that

> The moral regeneration of mankind will only really commence, when the most fundamental of the social relations is placed under the rule of equal justice, and when human beings learn to cultivate their strongest sympathy with an equal in rights and in cultivation (211).

Thus, the benefits gained from ending discrimination based on sex are "social rather than individual" (211). It is not only justice for women that demands

this change, but justice for all. The happiness in being free to form one's own character without the restraints of societal mores, however, will be of an individual sort (213).

While Mill certainly called for a legal basis of equal rights of opportunity for women as a necessary step toward women's and men's moral regeneration, this was insufficient. Mill called for individuals in society to recognize women as human beings whose subjection is detrimental to humanity. The modern and moral progress of humanity depended, for Mill, upon people substantively altering their attitudes through reasonable self-reflection and critical assessment of their surroundings.

5. Mill's Feminist Critics

As noted, Mill's theories, especially his feminist theory as found in *Subjection*, have been widely debated. Some suggest that Mill's apparent contradictions can be explained by his acknowledgement that appearing overly radical would hinder his larger goals toward women's emancipation and thus he avoided engaging with the logical conclusions of some of his arguments (Smith, 2001; Thompson, 2007). Others maintain that certain strains of his thought, such as his theory of justice, unite his seemingly disparate works together as a whole (Clark and Elliott, 2001). However, others argue that to think Mill contradicts himself is a misreading (Fuchs, 2001). There are a substantial number of scholars who recognize that Mill – whether he ought to be considered "liberal" or not – had some very radical views. For example, in *Political Liberalism* (1993) John Rawls distinguishes his own views of full autonomy of political life (as citizens) from those "ethical values of autonomy and individuality, which may apply to the whole of life, both social and individual, as expressed by the comprehensive liberalisms of Kant and Mill" (Rawls, 78). In opposition to Mill's "comprehensive liberalism" which Rawls claims is a moral concept that goes beyond political life and invades private life, Rawls thinks that autonomy in *political* life is all that is necessary to be free to form one's one own conception of the good. In response, Johnston (2009) argues that Mill's conception of individuality radically extends to all areas of life so that individuals may create their own conceptions of good "in the face of *non*political forms of power" (Johnston, 84). Both Johnston and Rawls see Mill's ideas as rather radical, and Johnston sees Mill not as a moral despot; rather, Mill recognized several faces of power. McCloskey (1963) also suggests that Mill's theory may at times signal "a departure from the liberal view" (143) while Hamburger (1999) reiterates the idea that Mill may have sometimes crossed the bounds of liberalism. Donner (2004) says that there is often an assumption that Mill would "slam the door" on anything that could be considered illiberal, such as censorship

of pornography. Yet Dyzenhaus (1992) suggests that Mill's concern for morality might lead him to consider pornography as harmful for women's freedom from men's power and domination as it is reproduced in pornography.

With the variety of interpretations of Mill's work, it is no surprise that contemporary feminists have voiced numerous criticisms of his feminism. I argue that these concerns regarding whether or not Mill's feminism is or ever was relevant to women's movements can be mitigated through analyzing his feminism as analogous to the concept of a third dimension of power.

The first critique is that Mill is a liberal feminist, and that liberal feminism is no longer useful to feminist thought. Jennifer Ring (1985) states that most feminists find *Subjection* to be "flawed as a feminist theory" (27) due to the inherent limitations of liberalism. As pointed out, however, the extent of Mill's liberal feminism is questionable. Ball (2000) suggests that Mill's focus on the study of character formation ("ethology") points to the fact that "the conventional picture of Mill as the good gray liberal in the black frock-coat is long overdue for reconsideration if not outright rejection" (48). According to Ball, there are many instances where Mill's individuality intersects with his focus on the importance of thoughtful civic involvement in developing one's character. Morales (1996) argues that Mill is not liberal in the classical sense at all, rather that he put forth a "substantive liberalism" based on his goals of perfect equality. Morales notes that "Mill was a liberal who did not hold the positions that most critics take to be essential to liberalism" (1) and was "fundamentally a moral reformer. He never argued that formal, or procedural, reforms are sufficient to bring about a just and democratic society" (17). Urbanati (2002) points out that Mill's feminism was more radical than liberal feminism because he linked political ideas to the private sphere in his use of the term "despot" to refer to both husbands and rulers. Other scholars also agree that Mill's feminism identifies more than just laws as barriers to women's equality (Johnston, 2009; Shanley 1981).

The analysis given in this paper reiterates these challenges to assumptions about Mill's liberalism by asserting that Mill's conception of power is radical according to Lukes' use of the term. Liberal feminists focus on political and legal issues and rights, which is why now in the United States, at least, women have equal rights, and liberal feminism's continuing relevancy is questioned. When Mill makes statements such as "unnatural generally means only uncustomary, and … everything which is usual appears natural" (130), Mill is certainly challenging prevailing prejudices and attitudes, and not simply laws. This idea of the usual seeming natural reminds one of the covert workings of power through the "mobilization of bias" wherein inequalities are so embedded in the everyday lives of members of society that they are rarely questioned. Moreover, Mill's focus on culture and education as instruments, or "power mechanisms," used for the exercise of power, reaffirms

that Mill was not solely concerned with changing laws and giving women legal rights that equaled men's, though he did see this as a necessary step in progress toward equality.

Ring brings a second critique of Mill's feminism, that *Subjection* is "ultimately disappointing as a feminist treatise … it begins, for example, with the proclamation that the nature of women, if there is such a thing, is not something knowable … and concludes with the appeal that women's nature guarantees that, once emancipated, women will bestow stereotypically feminine benefits upon all of society" (60). Ring argues that Mill's empiricism led him to contradict himself in stating that women do not have a "nature" and then suggesting that women *do* have a "nature" and that it will be beneficial to society. However, this is an unfair reading of Mill; it is true that he expounds upon what women are like and how these characteristics might benefit society, but when he does so he says that "as *they are known in experience*, it may be said of them … that the general bent of their talents is towards the practical" (173; emphasis added). Whether women are viewed as they might be or as they are, they should be free individuals for, even under the constraints of power, women have shown that they are practical, thinking beings. Ring takes this to mean that "women must prove themselves to the satisfaction of men, who will judge their performance and decide whether the experiment in equality is working" (64). However, in noting that women are practical, Mill suggests that the conception of them as incapable of handling equality is false. Whereas Ring states that "an empiricist method cannot provide a perspective that justifies political change because it provides no means for getting beyond an existing state of affairs" (72), Mill's empiricism provides the means to transcend current arrangements in establishing counterfactuals demonstrating that women did not "naturally" perform their roles as defined by society. The fact that he qualified his comments about women's "nature" with statements such as "as they are known in experience" further suggests that he was attempting to establish a relevant counterfactual to women's "nature" in order to demonstrate that individual women act in different ways according to circumstances, and even under the constraints of power women are worthy of respect from men due to their practicality. Through the use of examples such as Queen Elizabeth, Mill's argument should not be taken to mean this is how all women would or should be if they were free. Ring's critique overlooks this point and takes his establishment of relevant counterfactuals to women's "nature" as an essentialist conception of women's nature all over again.

A third critique regarding Mill's feminism concerns his use of utilitarianism to argue in favor of women's rights. Annas (1977) states that "Mill in the course of making his appeal to utility makes exactly his opponents' dubious move of arguing from a few examples to the capacity of women in general in a specific respect – e.g. from a few women rulers to women's bent

for the practical" (183–184). Annas, like Ring, neglects Mill's qualifications about how this is the way some women are and that this could be beneficial *if* they have formed their characters freely. Viewing Mill's conception of power as radical allows these qualifications to be recognized as being part of his relevant counterfactual establishing that, empirically, there is no evidence that women are "naturally" endowed with any characteristics, but if they were, the characteristics they are said to have are valuable when they are exercised in freedom. Annas also critiques Mill's utilitarian argument, stating that "as for the utility of women's famous intuition, Mill unwittingly exposes the catch when he points out its utility for a *man* engaged in speculative thought" (185). Annas dislikes the idea that women's equality might be beneficial to both men and women. Viewing power as having a third dimension, however, alleviates the concern that Mill is backhandedly only interested in the good of men. Power is not simply top-down and is not always exercised consciously. Women, Mill notes, suffer the most in his society, but men's individual characters also suffer. This is due to the mobilization of bias that privileges men and disadvantages women. The privileges men receive may not actually be in their best interests because they obstruct men's development in instructing them of and instilling in them a false sense of security in their superiority over women. After Mill expounds upon the good that women's emancipation will bring to both sexes, he explicitly states, "But what we are now discussing is not the need which society has of the services of women in public business, but the dull and hopeless life to which it so often condemns them" (216). Mill employs a utilitarian approach and is conscious of the way power works to the detriment of men by allowing them to mobilize the system in their own favor with no competition from half of humanity. He also recognizes, however, that this is not the only reason that women's emancipation is desirable.

It should be noted that there is some confusion regarding Mill's use of the term "nature." At times he uses it to suggest that women's "natural" ways cannot be known until they are free. I contend that this contextually means that women's individual characters cannot be known until they are free; more, it is impossible to know whether women as a group share any particular characteristics. Mill's other use of the term refers to the problematic use of "natural" to describe what is usual. Although the different usages seem quite clear in context, some feminists, including Annas and Ring, take issue with the term. However, others such as Morales agree that "Mill consistently advanced an empiricist conception of person and … his agnosticism about the 'nature' of women and of men *strengthens* his equally empiricist arguments for perfect equality" (131).

The fourth critique of Mill lies in his conclusions regarding what the future relationship between the sexes will resemble. Okin (1979) rightly takes issue with Mill's assertion that once perfect equality is achieved, if a woman

chooses to get married, "when the support of the family depends, not on property, but on earnings, the common arrangement, by which the man earns the income and the wife superintends the domestic expenditure, seems to be in general the most suitable division of labour between the two persons" (Mill 164). Mill continues that "Like a man when he chooses a profession, so, when a woman marries, it may in general be understood that she makes a choice of the management of the household, and the bringing up of a family, as the first call upon her exertions, during as many years of her life as may be required for the purpose" (164).

Okin is disappointed by Mill's apparent acceptance of the norms of his own society and says that Mill's feminism "falls short of advocating true equality and freedom for married women" (Okin, 226). In this, Mill does appear to fall short of his radical potential. However, if one sees that Mill viewed power as three-dimensional, this disappointment in his theory is ameliorated somewhat. In making these statements he speaks in terms of what the division of labor will be once society has achieved perfect equality between the sexes. To achieve perfect equality according to a radical view of power, laws regarding gender equality would need to change as well as attitudes and prejudices toward women. Under these circumstances, women choosing to marry would be choosing in complete freedom and would have fulfilling relationships with their husbands. This arrangement would have different implications than such an arrangement in Mill's time, or even today; women would be freely, Mill notes, choosing an occupation "in a just state of things" (164) and not under the influence of a "mobilization of bias." In fact, Mill's view of homemaker-as-occupation is rather radical, stating that "if she undertakes any additional portion [beyond housework and child-rearing], it seldom relieves her from this [housework and childrearing], but only prevents her from performing it properly" (164). Mill's recognition of the intense labor that is required of being a "housewife" (and that it is reasonable women might choose this life) is something that many today, including feminists, do not recognize and is often neglected. The three dimensional view of power, then, may alleviate concerns about his obvious acceptance of the usual order of things, for Mill is only accepting this arrangement with the prior condition that women are free, equal and will have friendships with their husbands as opposed to domination by them. Then again, the question remains as to why Mill did not suggest that men, too, could take on responsibility for the household work while women worked outside of the home.

There are some areas where Mill's radicalism faltered but which are not transgressions sufficient to disregard the whole of his feminist thought. Perhaps Mill was a product of his time, working under the constraints of a third dimension of power that prevented his considering alternatives to the usual arrangement of domestic life, despite his radicalism. There is also the

possibility, as some suggest (Thompson, 2007; Smith, 2001) that Mill was purposefully tempering his radicalism for the sake of gaining political influence over male contemporaries. Whatever the case, it would be a mistake to reject Mill's entire feminist thought and, as a result, miss the many ideas he had that are useful to think about while studying what forms of power women face today.

Through this analysis of Mill's feminist thought one can see that his conception of power coincided in many ways with Lukes' radical view of power as having three dimensions. Understanding Mill's work as employing a radical view of power contributes to a better understanding of some of the apparent contradictions or problems in his work from the perspective of contemporary feminists.[9]

Though Mill never states that his ideas of culture, society and education concern power, Lukes and Mill share a radical, empiricist approach to the study of power. If Mill is identified as having a radical conception of power, four strong feminist critiques of his theory are mitigated. Often, insisting that Mill is strictly a "liberal feminist" leads to such strong critiques of his text. If one accepts that Mill's liberalism cannot be pigeonholed, however, he can be seen as attempting to answer the question "how do the powerful secure the compliance of those they dominate?" He suggests that men would not be happy holding brute force over women, but rather want women to willingly submit to them. This follows a radical conception of power and suggests that critiques of Mill as inconsistent in his use of the term "human nature," as well as his supposed concern only with political power, are misguided. In understanding that Mill may have been studying power by informally establishing relevant counterfactuals, identifying power mechanisms in society, suggesting that women adapt to their circumstances as a form of survival or under a kind of "false consciousness" due to infantilizing power relations, and by recognizing that power is not always observable or intentional and is reinforced through a mobilization of bias, Mill's feminism is strengthened. In essence, Mill's thought is still highly relevant to feminism today in battling the unseen forces of power that systematically disadvantage women.

NOTES

1. Mill, John Stuart (1989), *On Liberty and Other Writings.* Stefan Collini (ed.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Here after referred to as *Subjection.*

2. Notably, Alex Zakaras points out that in *The Subjection of Women* Mill suggests that there are certain tools used by the powerful "to secure the consent of those they dominate," 204: Zakaras, Alex (2007), "John Stuart Mill, Individuality, and Participatory Democracy." In *J.S. Mill's Political Thought: A Bicentennial Reassessment*, Nadia Urbinati and Alex Zakaras (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 200–220. Immediately, then, one can see that Lukes and Mill have similar

ideas about power and the way it may be used covertly to secure consent or compliance.

3. "Mobilization of bias" is a term Bachrach and Baratz borrow from Schattschneider, Elmer E. (1960), *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

4. Although Mill does not use the term "autonomous" the meaning is implied.

5. This is a particularly important point in recognizing Mill's conception of power and his empirical use of a counterfactual to deny claims of "nature" because Mill has been criticized by some feminists (notably Ring, Jennifer (1985), "Mill's 'The Subjection of Women': The Methodological Limits of Liberal Feminism," *The Review of Politics* 47: 27–44; and Ring, Jennifer (1991), *Modern Political Theory and Contemporary Feminism: A Dialectical Analysis.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, for using these examples of exceptional women. The claim is that examples like this that show how little men know about women are used to reveal that women can perform in a way to "prove themselves to the satisfaction of men" (1991, 64). However, understanding that Mill was simply trying to demonstrate that in different circumstances women may act differently, not necessarily that these are examples of the way women should act could clear up some of the rage that Ring professes to feel toward Mill (1991,60).

6. As the above points about education and society (and many other points Mill made) are similar to what Wollstonecraft said in her *The Vindications: The Rights of Men and The Rights of Woman*, D. L. MacDonald and Kathleen Scherf (Ontario, CA: Broadview Literary Texts, [1792] 1997), it may be worth performing an analysis of her work to see if she, too, was aware of a broader understanding of power. Perhaps this aspect of their theories in the work of both Wollstonecraft and Mill has been neglected because it does not fit with what we think of as "liberal feminism."

7. As will be seen, Mill holds a similar view of individual interests and extends it to suggest that such autonomy (although Mill does not use the term) among individuals will benefit society as a whole.

8. John Gaventa, in his work *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1980), successfully applies Lukes' concept of a third dimension of power to his study of an Appalachian mining town. In this formative empirical study the concept of adaptive preferences is particularly apparent.

9. Some may suggest that Foucault's conception of power is more radical and more closely aligned to Mill's power. Baum states that Mill's discussion of society and education is similar to ideas of power propounded by Lukes and Foucault, and Johnston states that Mill seemed to view power as Bentham did in his idea of the "Panopticon," which is similar to the understanding of power espoused by Foucault. However, Foucault asks, "do you think it would be much better to have the prisoners operating the Panoptic apparatus and sitting in the central tower, instead of the guards?" (Foucault, Michel (1980), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*. Colin Gordon (ed.), London: The Harvester Press, 164–165). This is a good question, and in many ways I am tempted to say that Mill would say "no." Yet I think that Mill would say that this actually would be better, because it would mean that the prisoners are able to reason and shape their own characters and interests, even if they are still within the apparatus of power. As Morales points out, Mill thought

that customs and traditions were important to the human experience (103), and thus he would not necessarily be against humans forming their own kinds of customs and traditions, as long as they did not blindly adhere to them. Thus Foucault's solution to the problems of power seems to be that we need to be completely free from all tendencies of human society (such as forming customs and traditions), but this does not coincide with Mill's conception of power as closely as does Lukes' radical power. Mill seems to think that as long as individuals are acting conscientiously they will be able to form their own individual characters, even if they are still within the bounds of human society. He searches for an answer that will garner freedom and egalitarian results within society, while Foucault hypothesizes that "power is co-extensive with the social body; there are no spaces of primal liberty between the meshes of its network" (1980, 142), which suggests, as noted above, that Foucault seems to think that it is not possible to achieve even small amounts of freedom from power in society and that it is no better when people are creating their own rules conscientiously.

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Gender Equity in Educational Administration: Investigating Compensation and Promotion

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ABSTRACT. A pending shortage in the position of public school superintendent is predicted due to retirements and the new accountability standards for public schools. This study was designed to contribute to the body of educational literature in regards to gender differences faced by school superintendents in regards to compensation, promotion track and performance evaluation. The first research question, explored the possibility of continued issues with the gender pay gap for superintendents. The second research question explored the career path of superintendents examining the gender specific paths of women through the elementary principalship and men through the secondary principalship. A survey developed in 2004 by Montz was administered to a stratified random sample of female and male superintendents across Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia. Demographic variables of age, race, marital status, education, district typology and alary were collected. Significant findings and implications for educational leaders are discussed.

Keywords: compensation, promotion, gender equity, career path

1. Introduction

The most powerful and influential position in a school district is the school superintendent. This position has been predominately held by males. Though women have made great strides, the percentages of women in the top seat of the nation's school districts is the same in 2000 as it was a century ago

(Techniques, 2000). The research supports a current percentage of female superintendents to be in the range from 12% to 22%. According to Glass (2000), of the 13,728 school superintendents in the United States, 11,744 are men and 1,984 are women. Data from a study conducted by Glass and Franceschini (2007) indicated that the percentage of female superintendents nationwide increased from approximately 12% in the late 1990s to 22% in 2006. While this statistic is encouraging, it in no way means that the inequity in the gender of superintendents has been solved. Women have a long way to go to achieve parity, equal number of male and female superintendents, in this leadership role. At the current rate of increase, it will not be until the year 2035 that we will see a 50-50-gender ratio in superintendents (Derrington & Sharratt, 2009).

Historically, women have been the majority in the education workforce. "In studying the history of women in the superintendency, Blount found that in 1910, approximately 9% of the school superintendents were women and this increased to 11% in 1930" (as cited in Sharp, Malone, Walter, & Supley, 2004, p. 4). Women had earned the right to vote in 1920, and feminist groups were promoting equality for all women. However, some women earned these positions because there were no men available due to the war or they were hired because they could be paid significantly less (Shakeshaft, 1989). Women in the superintendency declined back down to 9% in 1950 as it had been in 1910. They hit an all time low in 1971 of 1.3% (Bjork, 2000). The percentage of women superintendents remained in a range less than ten percent until the 1990s when it doubled from 6.6% to 13.2% (Glass, 2000).

According to Sharp, Malone, Walter, and Supley (2004), three different models have been offered to explain the low numbers of women in the superintendency.

- The first perspective is from the psychological point of view. Estler (1975) coined it the *meritocracy model* while Shakeshaft (1989) refers to it as the *blame the victim* perspective. The crux of this perspective is that the most competent people will be promoted, so if women have a "defect" they must deal with their problem in order to be promoted.
- The second perspective centers on the notion that there are a limited number of opportunities for women. Estler (1975) refers to this as the *discrimination model*. According to this perspective, there are structural and systemic barriers that work against the advancement of all candidates who are not White males.
- The third approach emphasizes, not the individual or the education system, but society as a whole. Estler refers to this as the *woman's place model.* Discrimination exists as a reflection of societal role expectations. All three of these different perspectives reflect a deep-seated issue that must be

understood at its very core if appropriate remedies are to be applied (Sharp, Malone, Walter, & Supley, 2004).

Legislative responses to gender inequity have encouraged more women to enter into educational administration. While there has been a significant increase in the number of women preparing for careers in educational administration, there continues to be an underrepresentation of women in these fields. Women constitute more than half of the doctoral students in educational administration, yet they occupy about one-fourth of the administrative positions in the field. Another consideration is that only 10% of the women in doctoral programs are choosing to earn the superintendent certificate along with their specialist or doctoral degree (Glass, 2000).

Administrators have traditionally been recruited from within the education profession, which is predominately female. However, the percentage of female administrators remains relatively low. Approximately 75% of elementary classroom teachers are women, but 75% of the current superintendents did not teach at the elementary level. Women constitute nine to 16% of the current high school principals; however, the position of high school principal is part of a career path that often leads to the superintendency. More women principals are hired at the elementary level than are hired as high school principals, but elementary school principals seldom move up to the position of superintendent (Logan, 2000).

Various researchers offer some perspective into why women are not obtaining superintendent positions. Derrington and Sharratt (2009) conducted a study in 1993 to determine specific barriers to women. They replicated their original study again in 2007. They found an interesting shift in the ranking of the barriers. In the 1993 study, many women perceived their barriers to be institutionalized and rooted in societal discrimination. In the 2007 study, they found that one of the top ranking barriers was "self-imposed." This meant that women were avoiding the superintendency due to family obligations and motherhood. They were choosing not to go into the field so it was "self-imposed" not imposed by society.

Women often have difficulty balancing the work demands of a superintendent, and a wife, and mother. According to Derrington and Sharratt (2009), parenting issues appear to play a particularly crucial role in whether a woman seeks superintendency. Women with children in grades K-8 are rarely superintendents. Glass lists seven reasons why females still fall behind in top district posts:

(1) Women are not in career positions that normally lead to advancement;
(2) Women are not preparing for the superintendency;
(3) Women are not as experienced nor as interested in fiscal management as men;
(4) Personal relationships hold women back;

(5) School boards are not willing to hire women superintendents;
(6) Women enter the field of education for different reasons today; and
(7) Women enter administration at an older age (Glass, 2000).

Pascopella (2008) supports Glass' first and seventh reason. Female superintendents are more likely (nearly 40%) to enter the position from an assistant superintendent position, unlike males, who tend to rise more so from the principal position, with nearly 53% of them having done so. If a woman has to hold a building level principal position and a central office position prior to holding the superintendency, it will take her more years to reach that level of position.

2. Career Paths to the Superintendency

The career path of a superintendent most often includes holding a high school principal position. However, very few female administrators hold the position of high school principal. While the numbers have increased over the past few decades, a dismal picture is still present. In 1973, women held less than 1% of the high school principal positions. By 1990, the number of female high school principals had only increased to 16%. Yet, the number of female elementary principals was 40.7%.

Few women are hired for high school principal positions and it is the number one position from which one ascends to the superintendency. Women may not be on the right career path to the superintendency. The literature has pointed to different reasons for this possible dilemma. Generally, women spend more time in the classroom teaching before becoming an administrator. There are a higher number of women at the elementary level. Is it logical to think that more women should be in the elementary principal position? However, the converse is not true for the secondary level. About 75% of the total teaching force is women. They are not equally represented at the high school administrative level. Some believe that this is due to gender bias and women are perceived as less able to handle the demands of a high school principal position (Logan, 2000; Glass, 2000). Simply put, many school board members do not perceive women as strong managers.

3. Compensation

Gender inequities in pay and compensation have stimulated much research (e.g. Blau & Kahn, 2007; Cohen, 1971; Corcoran & Duncan 1978; England & McLaughlin, 1979; Frank & McKenzie, 2006; Fuchs, 1971; Malkiel & Malkiel, 1973; Oaxaca, 1973). There is solid evidence that the relative economic status of working women in the United States may not have changed

as significantly as one would think during the past 70 years, even with such legislative and legal aids as the 1963 Equal Pay Act, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and the creation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (Kemp & Beck, 1986).

One model that is used consistently to try and explain the gender pay gap is the human capital model. Mincer and Polacheck (1974) explain gender differences in economic outcomes on the basis of productivity differences between the sexes resulting from the traditional division of labor within the family. As a result of women's expectations in the home, they are more likely to have breaks within their work experiences and less of an incentive to invest in their formal education. Women were also more likely to work in lower-paying occupations and industries, as teachers, clerical, and service workers, for example, rather than as managers or in high-paying craft or operator jobs (Blau & Kahn, 2007). Simply put, the human capital paradigm posits that workers with greater skills, abilities, experience, and a stronger attachment to the labor force are more productive in their jobs, and their greater earnings reflect this increased productivity (Thurow, 1969).

However, Blau and Kahn (2007) used the Current Population Survey (CPS) data in a study to show that gender differences measured in human capital (education and experience) do not explain much of the gender wage gap. In their study, when controlling for education and actual work experience, the wage gap went from 37 to 29 percent in 1979 and from 26 to 18 percent in 1989. However, in 1998, the wage gap, controlling for human capital and race, was only slightly less than the raw gap; in other words, the traditional human capital measures explained almost none of the raw wage gap. In 1998, women's higher education levels roughly counterbalanced their lower experience levels, so that in the end, the effect of these two factors was more or less negligible.

While the human capital model can account for some disparities prior to the 1990s, it does not explain the continuation of the gender pay gap. Blau and Kahn (1999) conducted research to investigate the additional impact of wage structure, the array of prices set for labor market skills, and the rewards received for employment in favored sectors on the gender pay gap. They felt that wage structure was potentially of considerable importance in determining the relative earnings of groups like women who tend on average to have lower skills or to be located in lower paying sectors of the economy. While they believe that the human capital model and discrimination can account for much of the gender pay gap, they also believe that the wage structure is impacting this gap.

Wage structure itself is determined by a variety of factors, including relative supplies of labor of various skill levels, technology, the compositions of demand, and wage-setting institutions (Blau & Kahn, 1999). Juhn, Murphy,

and Pierce (1993), in their work on the U.S. trend, make a strong case that it reflects a rising return to skills, both measured and unmeasured.

In regards to wage structure, systems of centrally determined pay are likely to entail less wage inequality and smaller gender wage differentials. In the U.S., a significant portion of the male-female pay gap has been found to be associated with interindustry or interfirm wage differentials (Blau, 1977; Johnson & Solon, 1986; Sorensen, 1990; Groshen, 1991). Basically, if an institution has a system of centrally determined pay, such as a collective bargaining agreement, the variances in pays are less likely to be found.

The human capital model and the wage structure model use limited controls for occupational placement. Attempts to control this bias include analyses conducted at the level of occupations (England & McLaughlin 1979; Ferber & Lowrey, 1976; Stevenson, 1975; Treiman & Terrell, 1975). Ferber and Lowrey (1976) explicitly examine how the gender composition of an occupation is related to the male-female pay gap and find that "lower earnings in occupations with a higher percent female cannot be ascribed solely to the lower productivity of women" (383).

Both Kemp and Beck (1986) and England and McLaughlin (1979) found that sex composition in an occupation is related to earnings. England and McLaughlin (1979) found that the higher the proportion of female in an occupation, the lower females' overall earnings tended to be. In fields that were predominately male, the pay wage was found to be higher than female dominated fields.

Callahan-Levy and Messe (1979) study the sex differences in the allocation of pay. This study is pertinent to the gender pay gap because it may explain how female characteristics could be attributing to the gender pay gap. Along with the equity theory (Berkowitz & Walster, 1976), persons are assumed to have, among other criteria of equity, an internal standard by which they judge the adequacy of the compensation that is available for a given level of work input. Females could be more likely to apply the internal standard to the outcomes of others than they are to their own outcomes. This hypothesized weaker sense of own equity would make females more susceptible to the influence of such factors as concerns with impression management, which would tend to affect adversely their judgment about what is appropriate pay for themselves.

Callahan-Levy and Messe (1979) found that males also might come to see money as a symbol of how their work is evaluated. Females, however, may not perceive their pay to have an evaluative component since their traditional tasks of mothering and housekeeping are not "jobs" for which pay is expected. In their study, females, even in the first grade sample, tended to pay themselves less than males did at the equivalent grade level,

as did the college student females. The researchers concluded that females are socialized to have a weaker sense of their own equity.

If females are socialized to accept a lower monetary value for their performance, how does one measure the gender discrimination factors versus their own internal factors? Are women paid less because they "allow" themselves to be paid less or are they not promoted as quickly and given opportunities to earn equal monies to men?

4. Promotion

Much of the current literature on gender differences explores the disparities in wage earnings. A smaller amount of literature focuses on gender differences in regards to promotions. Ultimately, the two topics are linked, since promotions are typically accompanied by increases in wages (Blau & Devaro, 2007). The empirical literature on gender differences in relation to promotions investigates whether equally qualified men and women with similar observable characteristics have the same chances of receiving a promotion or, more generally, of advancing their careers.

This literature produced mixed results. Some studies have found that promotion rates are lower for women than for men with similar observed characteristics (Acosta 2005; Cabral, Ferber, & Green 1981; Cannings 1988; Cobb-Clark 2001; McCue 1996, Olson & Becker 1983; Ransom & Oaxaca 2005; Spurr 1990). Others, such as Barnett, Baron, and Stuart (2000), Gerhart and Milkovich (1989), Hersh and Viscusi (1996), Spilerman and Peterson (1999), and Stewart and Gudykunst (1982) have found the reverse. Still others' studies have found no significant gender differences in promotion rates. This was the finding in Hartmann (1987), Lewis (1986), Paulin and Mellor (1996) and Powell and Butterfield (1994). While the studies have shown such mixed results, the reports have brought forth a number of theories as to why women may be promoted less or at a slower rate.

While the research may not be consistent for all women, the numbers of female superintendents is staggeringly low compared to the number of women in educational positions. While the numbers of female superintendents has increased from 12% in the late 1990s to an estimated 18% in 2005, the representation of women at this top position does not match the number of women in teaching positions and administrator preparation programs (Dana & Bourisaw, 2006). State certification agencies report that a majority of those who are currently certified or licensed to serve as superintendent of schools are women. Both at the school and district level, the entry in the administrative ranks is clearly male dominated. A 2004 Illinois study reported that 2.5 men were hired for every woman, for example, and according

to the 2005–06 education directory in Missouri, only one in five superintendents there is a woman (Dana & Bourisaw, 2006).

Why are women not reaching the top rank in education? Does the "glass ceiling" still exist? Research supports a variety of theories. The first theory is the "double bind" theory. This theory posits successful executives have to adapt to a predominately male culture and environment, and deal with the phenomenon often referred to as the male managerial model, in which modes for successful managers incorporate masculine styles and characteristics. This male model places women in a double bind: if their managerial types are feminine, they run the risk of not being viewed as effective managers, but if they adopt masculine styles viewed as appropriate for managerial roles, they may be criticized for not being feminine (Ragins, Townsend & Mattis, 1998). Dominant behaviors that people associate with leadership are frequently deemed less attractive in women (Ibarra, Carter & Silva, 2010).

Essential to understanding how the female gender stereotype can obstruct women from advancing up the organizational hierarchy is the realization that top management and executive level jobs are almost always considered to be "male" in sex-type. They are thought to require an achievement-oriented aggressiveness and an emotional toughness that is distinctly male in character and antithetical to both the stereotyped view of what women are like and the stereotype-based norms specifying how they should behave (Heilman, 2001).

In order for women to succeed in executive positions, they must develop managerial styles that are not masculine or feminine, but are acceptable to male colleagues, supervisors, and subordinates. This is a daunting challenge that is not faced by their male counterparts (Ragins, Townsend, & Mattis, 1998).

Along with the "double bind" theory, women are also at a disadvantage based on the "lack of fit" model by Madeline E. Heilman. The "lack of fit" model (Heilman, 1983, 1995) is based on the idea that expectations about how successful or unsuccessful a person will be in working at a particular job are a driving force underlying personnel decisions. It further specifies that the perceived fit between the individual's attributes and the job's requirements in terms of skills and abilities determine these performance expectations. If the perceived fit is good, then success will be expected; if the perceived fit is poor, failure will be expected.

As with the double bind theory, skills and attributes perceived as needed in executive level positions are male sex-typed. Therefore, the perceived lack of fit between the requirements of a traditionally male job and the stereotypic attributes ascribed to women is likely to produce expectations of failure. Moreover, the greater the degree of stereotyping or the more masculine

the sex-type the job, the worse the perceived fit, and the more negative the expectations are apt to be. These expectations of failure give rise to a clear bias toward viewing women as ill equipped to perform the job competently (Heilman, 2001).

Research has consistently shown that men are generally seen as more agential and competent, whereas women are seen as more expressive, communal, nurturing, and supportive (cf. Diekman & Eagly, 2000). Women are seen as caretakers, and care giving roles are under rewarded in the labor market and in organizations, and are seen as incongruent with leadership roles (Lewis, 2001; Liff & Ward, 2001; Littleton, 1997). The implication is that women's careers may suffer because of the care giving stereotypes ascribed to them (Hooble, Wayne, & Lemmon, 2009).

According to Lewis (2001), the most fundamental assumptions made in the traditional male model of work are the separation of work and home and the division of labor, which have resulted in greater value placed on male workers and those without active family commitments. One misassumption underlying this is that not all women have care giving responsibilities. In fact, women who are highly focused on their careers are less likely to marry and less likely to have fewer children (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000). A second misassumption is that work and family are incompatible. Recent research has shown that many workers are finding a balance between the two domains, which allows commitment to both roles (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000).

Research has shown that women neither make the same earnings as men nor do they attain the higher-level positions at the same rate as men. Is this due to discrimination or is there an inherent barrier preventing women from attaining the same positions? In the past, the job was structured and predictable because schools were required to maintain the status quo. The job today demands the superintendent to be a change agent who is constantly adapting to a myriad of social, economic, and political conditions (Malone, 1999). The most effective leadership style in contemporary organizations to bring about change is transformational leadership (Conger & Hunt, 1999; Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001; Hunt, 1999; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1996; Lopez-Zafra & Morales, 1999, 2007; Lowe, Kroeck & Sivasubramaniam, 1996). Transformational leadership involves establishing oneself as a role model by gaining the trust and confidence of followers (Bass, 1985, 1998). This leadership style is in clear contrast to transactional leadership, where management is performed in a more conventional way and the leader rewards or punishes a follower depending on the adequacy of the follower's performance (Avolio & Bass, 2002).

Transformational leaders motivate their followers to improve their performance (Conger & Kanungo, 1998; House, 1977; Lowe et al, 1996). Thus,

transformational leaders, for instance, generally use emotional support; that is, they are able to spread their own emotions and they understand their followers' emotions (Avolio & Bass, 2002; Bass, 1996, 2002; Lopez-Zafra, 2001). Supportive and considerate behaviors are also typical of transformational leaders and are related to feminine gender roles. These behaviors thus may be advantageous for women and may allow them to be outstanding leaders, as female leaders are often more transformational than male leaders (Eagly, 2003; Eagly & Carli, 2007; Eagly & Johannensen-Schmidt, 2001; Eagly et al, 2003; Garcia-Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2002, 2006a, 2006b; Porterfield & Kliener, 2005).

If school districts know that transformational leadership is required to reach the almost unreachable requirements of the No Child Left Behind Act, why are they not recruiting more women into superintendent positions? School districts need to step out of their traditional thinking of what a superintendent should be and look at the changing needs of the 2012 superintendent position. They need to fill the position with the most capable candidate for the position, which just might be a female.

5. Methods

The current investigation sought to examine the current state of compensation and career path (and subsequently promotion) in educational administration, across gender, using a survey research design. Prior to the administration of the questionnaire for the participants, the researchers received approval from the Youngstown State University Institutional Review Board, after having submitted an application along with the survey and consent letter.

An email list of 200 female and 300 male superintendents, from Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia was created. Each potential participant was sent an invitation to participate in the study via email with a code for a Survey Monkey electronic survey. The potential participants were asked to complete the survey by entering the code which took them directly to the Survey Monkey website. The researcher sent a follow-up email two weeks after the initial mailing to any potential participants who had not responded to the survey. The final response consisted of 221 respondents: 95 females and 126 males.

Two of the questions contained in the survey required a way to quantify the responses. The first question was in regard to the career path of the individual. Numerical values were assigned to each particular response in an effort to quantify the responses. The values of each number were chosen based on the hierarchy of the position, based on guidelines established by Stevens (1951). For example, an assistant principal was given a lower numer-

ical value than a principal. The same numerical value was assigned for each attribute reported for each respondent. Table 1 provides the numerical values used to create a Career Path Code.

Table 1 *Career Path Code*	
Position	Numerical Value
Administrative Asst.	0.5
Elementary Asst. Principal	1.5
Elementary Principal	2
Secondary Asst. Principal	2
Asst. Principal/Athletic Dir.	2.25
Secondary Principal	2.5
ESC/IU Position	3
Central Office	3
Asst. Superintendent	4

6. Results

The survey results from all the respondents were collected by the on-line survey and questionnaire tool, Survey Monkey. Once the data collection was completed, the results were transferred into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet and then imported and analyzed using SPSS Version 20. A total of 221 completed surveys were received for a return rate of 44.2%. According to Hamilton (2003) and Sheehan (2001) an adequate response rate for on-line surveys is 30%. The return rate for this study exceeds this rate by 14.2%.

Superintendents (n =221) who responded were from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia. There was not an equal representation from each of the states. Pennsylvania had the highest representation with 152 total respondents: n =102 males (67%) and n =50 females (33%). Ohio had the second highest representation with 66 total respondents: n =24 (36%) males and n =42 females (64%). West Virginia had a poor representation as only 3 superintendents responded, all of which were female.

Descriptive data were aggregated from the responses. Demographic variables of gender, age, ethnicity, marital status, educational level, current degree working towards, school classification, school size, schools' AYP status, years as superintendent, and current salary.

The final sample of participants included 57% males (n = 126) and 43% females (n = 95). The average age range of the participants was 50–59 years. Approximately, 97% of the survey participants were white, and n =188 (85%) of the 221 participants reported being married. Participants indicated that 39.4% a master's degree while 53.4% had earned their doctorate. The overwhelming majority of the districts represented by the respondents were from rural areas (55.2%) and suburban areas (40.3%). The median district

size was 2000–2499 students and 81.9% of the respondents' school districts made adequate yearly progress in 2011. Respondents revealed that the median years that the in their current position is 4 years and the median salary range was $115,000-$124,999.

A number of preliminary analyses were conducted in an effort to understand where gender differences existed across various items. These analyses included non-parametric Pearson's Chi-Square analysis and an independent samples t-test. Table 2 lists those variables that were found to be significant.

Table 2 *Pearson Chi-Square*			
	Value	d*f*	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Marital Status	23.186	3	.000
Did you make AYP?	9.657	1	.002
Hired from within or new to district	5.185	1	.023
Who had input into your eval.	16.559	2	.000

The first variable to be found to be significant was marital status ($p < .001$). A significantly higher percentage of females (16.1%) reported being divorced relative to males (.8%). Only 75.3% of the female respondents were married as compared to 95.9% of the male respondents. Secondly, making adequate yearly progress also presented significant differences (AYP) ($p = .002$). A significantly higher percentage of male respondents (88.9%) made AYP as compared to female respondents (72.6%).

A question on the survey asked the respondents to best describe how they obtained their current superintendency; specifically, were they hired from within the district or were they new to the district. A significantly higher percentage of female respondents (57.9%) were hired from within their district as compared to male respondents (42.4%). An independent samples *t* test was conducted on the variables of *salary range* and *years in classroom.* These results are presented in Table 3.

Table 3 *T-Tests*			
	t	d*f*	Sig. (2-tailed)
Salary Range	2.233	214	.027
Years in classroom	4.291	218	.000

The t-test for salary range displayed a significantly higher category of income for male respondents relative to female respondents. The median salary range for males was $125,000–$134,999 as compared to the median salary range for females which was $115,000–$124,999. This analysis supports the literature that supports gender pay gaps for women. When salary was further analyzed against school topography, female respondents were found to have lower salaries than male respondents in all three categories: rural, suburban, and urban. However, a greatest difference was found in urban areas. These results are reported in Table 4.

Table 4	*School Typology Salary Comparisons*		
	rural	suburban	urban
Male	$105,000-$114,999	$135,000-$144,999	$135,000-$144,999
Female	$95,000-$104,999	$125,000-$134,999	$105,000-$114,999

The final variable found to be significant across genders was the years as a classroom teacher (p <.001). The mean years as a classroom teacher for female respondents were 11.77 while they were 8.67 for male respondents. This analysis supports the literature that women spend more years in the classroom prior to seeking administrative positions. A binary logistic regression was used to further examine the salary and promotion questions. Initially, zero-order correlations were examined between the primary variables in an effort to understand what relationships were at work between these variables. The zero-order correlations are reported in Table 5.

Table 5 *Model 1*			
Variables	1	2	3
Gender (1)	–	0.167*	0.146*
Salary Range (2)	–	–	0.247**
Note: Correlation is significant at the * 0.05 level or ** 0.01 level			

Based on the results of the zero-order correlations and the assumptions tests which were found to be tenable, it was determined that a binary logistical regression was the most appropriate analysis for addressing the research questions. A logistical regression determines the impact of multiple independent variables simultaneously to predict membership of one of two dependent variable levels (Cook, Dixon, Duckworth, Kaiser, Koehler, Meeker, & Stephenson, 2000). Specifically, this analysis was used to assess if a person's gender could be estimated based on their salary range and career path (coded). The variables in the Equation Table (Table 6) have several important elements.

Table 6 *Variables in the equation table*							
		B	S.E.	Wald	d*f*	Sig.	Exp(B)
Model	Constant	-.282	.136	4.32	1	.038	.754

The model (n =221) indicates a good fitting logistical regression model (p = .038) as indicated in Table 6. This model demonstrates that both the salary range (p =. 013) and career path (p =. 030) factors are significant predictors of the dependent variable: gender.

Table 7 *Model Summary*	
Model Summary	
2 Log likelihood	Nagelkerke R Square
287.056a	.088

As seen in Table 7, the Model Summary indicates a Nagelkerke R Square $R^2 = .088$. This indicates that a weak but significant relationship of 8.8% exists between the predictors and the dependent variable.

Table 8 *Hosmer and Lemeshow Test*

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test			
Model	Chi-Square	df	Sig
2	12.822	8	0.118

The Hosmer and Lemeshow test is a test of sampling adequacy. The H-L Statistic has a significance of $p = .118$, which is not statistically significant and therefore indicates that the model has a good fit. As indicated above, this weak yet significant model improves the prediction of gender 8.8% above what would be predicted by chance.

7. **Discussion**

This current study found significant differences in the salaries of female and male superintendents. The female respondents were at least one salary range below their male counterparts, while those female superintendents in urban areas were three salary ranges below the male superintendents. This information should be reviewed with caution as a lower number of respondents were from urban areas; however, it does raise significant concerns.

The gender pay gap has been studied for years. Researchers have tried to determine the causes of the gender pay gap by leveling the education and work experience components. To further examine possible contributors to the salary discrepancies of this study's respondents, years as a superintendent and educational degrees were taken into account. The median years as a superintendent for the male respondents were four years, while the median years as a superintendent for the female respondents were also four years. For the purposes of this study, length of time in the position did not have an impact on explaining the salary differences. The same was true for educational degrees. There was *not* a significant difference in regard to the number of doctoral degrees held by males (56.3%) versus females (49.5%).

If years of experience and educational degrees are not impacting the gender pay gap, what factors are causing up to a 6% difference in salaries? Are women willing to accept a lower salary for the same position? Studies conducted by both Callahan-Levy and Messe (1979), and Berkowitz and Walster (1976) found that women might be more susceptible to influences that would adversely affect their judgment about what is appropriate pay for them. They may feel that they will not be paid the same salaries as their male counterparts.

The position of superintendent in the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia is a contracted position. This position is not part of a collective bargaining group; therefore, the salaries are negotiated between the superintendent and the school board. What impact does negotiation have on these salaries? Are women not as proficient at negotiating and, therefore, less likely to receive a higher salary? A recent study conducted by LinkedIn, the world's largest professional network with over 175 million members, found that of the 2,500 people queried, only 26% of women felt comfortable negotiating as compared to 40% of the men (Casserly, 2012). Women reported that their relationship with their managers was more important than their own agenda of getting a raise.

In a study conducted by Christie et al. (2007), 66% of women reported that they felt that their salary was competitive and based on their years of experience; however, 33% felt that their salary was not based on their expertise nor was it competitive with male superintendents in the area. While the majority of the responses indicated the gender pay gap is closing, they also indicated that this has been a direct result of preparation, negotiation, and perseverance on the part of women. If women are self-imposing a barrier that prolongs the gender pay gap, how does society assist with changing this dilemma? Should the art of negotiating be taught in superintendent preparation classes? Should the pay scales for superintendents be a part of a school district's collective bargaining agreements so that regardless of their gender, they would receive the same pay?

According to Glass (2000), of the nation's 13, 278 superintendents, 1,984 today are women. Yet, 72% of all K-12 educators in this country are women. Why are so few women heading our public school systems? Besides the disparity in pay, are women not positioning themselves to hold this top leadership position? Research has supported that the top position leading to the superintendency is the high school principal position (Bjork et al., 2000; Farmer, 2007). The women in this study had more experience at the elementary level versus the high school level. Only 17% of the female respondents had their first administrative experience at the secondary level as compared to 42% of the male respondents.

Glass (2000) reported that 75% of the elementary classroom teachers are women, yet, nearly 75% of superintendents did not teach at the elementary level prior to moving into administration. Since the majority of women are at the elementary level, they do not have the same access to the administrative pipeline as do the males that work at the high school level. Nearly all the superintendents in Glass's (2000) study had previously worked as a building principal or assistant principal. Therefore the ladder to the superintendent's position often begins as an assistant principal. Most elementary

schools do not have assistant principal positions; so women are at an initial disadvantage moving from the classroom into administration.

A sizable majority of the superintendents in Glass's (2000) study had reported experience as a coach. Few elementary teachers have the opportunity to coach due to conflicting time schedules between elementary and high school. Classroom teachers at the secondary level are afforded more opportunities for advancement than elementary teachers are by being given the opportunity to showcase leadership skills as a department chair or athletic coach.

This study supports the current research in regard to compensation and career path gender differences. By identifying a respondent's salary and career path code, the model was able to identify the respondent's gender with an 8.8% increase above chance. In other words, the model was able to predict with 58.8% accuracy one's gender based on those two variables. It is disheartening to believe that the data continue to indicate that women are still at a disadvantage despite their levels of education, years in the field, and the sheer number of open positions.

8. Implications for Educational Leaders

The continued differences in salary for female superintendents regardless of their educational degrees and years of service is an ongoing issue for women going into this top leadership position and for school boards.

The reported pending shortage of qualified candidates in filling the top leadership position in public school districts is going to be an issue for many school boards. While men have historically held this top position, there are increasing numbers of women entering the superintendency. However, school boards need to examine their practices of negotiating salaries in order to level the playing field. School districts need to be vigilant in providing equal pay to candidates of equal ability.

In today's society of accountability for school districts, fewer people are going into educational administration. Many do not feel that the amount of work is worth the amount of pay. Women are especially disadvantaged if they are earning a lower salary for the same amount of work. If school boards want to attract and retain strong female candidates, they must be willing to offer the same benefits they offer to men.

The mean years in the classroom for the female respondents for this study were 11.77 years, which was 3.1 more years than the male respondents. This is comparable to national studies that show that women administrators typically spend 7 to 10 years as a teacher, while men spend about 5 to 6 years in the classroom (Glass, 2000). The 2000 AASA study reported that 21.1% of female superintendents had obtained their first administrative

position before the age of 30 as compared to 53% of their male counterparts (Glass et al., 2000).

Are women choosing to stay in the classroom longer or are they having difficulty with entering the administrative ranks? The results of this study do not support difficulty in finding an initial administrative position. The median years it took a female to find her first administrative position after being certified was one year, which was the same as for males. It does not appear that once these female respondents were fully certified there were obstacles that delayed employment into their first administrative position.

As with the gender pay gap, if women are choosing to enter the administrative pipeline at a later date, is this really an issue for women? Is the gender pay gap skewed correctly because women are entering this top leadership position at a later age in life? Or, can the educational gender pay gap be attributed to the simple fact that women are paid less than men for comparable work across all areas of employment? According to Coy and Dowoskin (2012), in the first three months of 2012, women still only made 82.2% of what men earned when comparing the usual median weekly earnings of full-time employees. In 2010, women earned 77% of what men earned, which shows a significant decline in the gender pay gap. However, it still exists in every employment arena.

How does the gender pay gap fare specifically in the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia? According to the American Community Survey (2012) developed by the United States Census Bureau, women earned 77% of what men earned in the states of Pennsylvania and Ohio. However, the rate was even lower in the state of West Virginia at 70% (AAUW, 2012).

While researchers have tried to explain the reasons for the gender gap, such as taking time off for child bearing, or career ladder choices, not all of the gap could be "explained away." After accounting for college major, occupation, industry, sector, hours worked, workplace flexibility, experience, educational attainment, enrollment status, GPA, institution selectivity, age, race/ethnicity, region, marital status, and number of children, a 5% difference in the earnings of male and female college graduates one year after graduation was still unexplained (AAUW, 2012). Simply put, women continue to be paid less than men for comparable work.

This study highlights interesting information in regard to females being hired from within their own school districts versus being hired outside of their school district. In the 2000 American Association of School Administrators (AASA) study, superintendents were not usually hired from within and they had three superintendencies during their career of some 15 to 17 years as the school district CEO.

The results of this study highlight a significant difference between the number of female superintendents who were hired from within (57.9%) ver-

sus male superintendents (42.4%). If national studies report superintendents are being hired outside of their districts, how does this work for women candidates searching for a superintendent position?

One explanation could be that school boards are less likely to hire a woman as an unknown rather than a man. Most school boards are still composed of a majority of men and, as with the Leader Member Exchange Theory, they may be more willing to look favorably upon candidates of their same characteristics (Graen, 1976; Graen & Cashman, 1975; Graen & Scandura, 1987).

Along these same lines, the position of superintendent has been historically linked to being male dominated. Madeline Heilman's (1995) Lack of Fit Model could have an impact on male school board members' willingness to take a "risk" by hiring an unknown woman for a traditionally male held position. Are school boards concerned that the stereotypical characteristics of a woman will not meet the needs of the demanding school superintendent position? Again, the 2000 AASA study reports that 82% of the women superintendents surveyed indicated that school board members do not see them as strong managers, and 76% felt that school board members did not view them as capable of handling district finances.

If school board members do not believe that women can handle district finances as well as their male counterparts, the nation could see a negative shift in the number of female superintendents in the coming years because of the current economic status of schools. School districts are in economic trouble and require superintendents who can creatively address the financial issues of the school district.

It is interesting to note that more women are hired from within their own district. Does this support the premise that women must prove themselves more than men to be promoted? Or, does less stereotyping occur with women because school board members have had increased exposure to them resulting in the women being a known entity and no longer a risk (Elsesser & Lever, 2011)?

8. Conclusion

This study has provided additional information to support existing research in the areas of compensation and promotion track for female superintendents. While the picture is brightening for females desiring to go into the superintendency, there are still concerns that need to be addressed. More women are obtaining the top school district position; however, the compensation and promotion track continue to provide obstacles. The majority of female superintendents are still being paid less money than their male counterparts in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia. While the gender pay gap appears to be getting smaller, it is still present.

The career path to the superintendency has not changed much in the past years. The high school principal position still appears to be the most direct route. While more women are obtaining this position, they are still underrepresented as compared to the number of female teachers at the secondary level. Further research needs to be conducted to determine exactly where the gender pay gap begins and how to improve the access to the administrative pipeline for women.

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The Bible as a Medium for Social Engineering: Jesus as the Androgynous Role Model

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ABSTRACT. This paper presents how we may understand the pastoral psychologist David Bakan's suggestion that through the medium of the Bible, Jesus was presented as a supreme androgynous role model meant to inspire social change in the masculinized cultures of the time. As an early Christian symbol of salvation, I propose to reveal the psychological unification of the sexes into Jesus the androgyne[1] as an early Christian symbol of salvation.

Keywords: Jesus, androgyny, Bible, Bakan, agency, communion

1. The Bible as a Medium for Social Engineering: Jesus as the Androgynous Role Model

From a contemporary stage it is generally understood that life must emanate from both male and female sources and that the events of the old and new testaments are often interrupted to conform to ambiguous prophecies (Gardner, 1996, 15, 35). Various cabalistic interpretations of the Old Testament and of the Synoptic Gospels have been used to support an accumulation of viewpoints and enthusiastic propaganda about sex and gender, for example, that Eve introduced sex into the world and was made responsible for man's morality and all of his sins (Topping-Bazin & Freeman, 1974). It surely remains controversial to claim that female deities as well as the philosophy and moral values of the feminine were once venerated, yet, the potential for democratic community structure as recorded in the Gnostic Gospels, was disrupted by a lineage of patriarchal kingships and dictatorships that have been supported by many religious dogmas (Jacobs, 2006). It is less controversial to say that the opening chapters of the Old Testament do not accurately represent the early history of the world (Gardner, 1996). It is in inter-

pretations of the New Testament of Jesus as exemplar of remarkable and meritorious human beings, where the redemptive qualities of religions can arguably be seen.

Karen Horney (1885–1952) argued that differences between women and men were influenced more by culture than by biology (Horney, 1937). Although her theories were not teleological, I suggest the importance of individual connections to family, work, the law, politics, and religion in the shaping of personality are at the heart of her philosophy. Carl Jung (1875–1961) proposed that religious myths represent a collective unconscious and according to Jung, the archetypes of the anima and animus were not fabricated as cultural constructs, rather, *a priori* elements of psychic life (Jung, 1941). Jung believed he identified these archetypes with images encountered in primitive mythologies, divine gods, paganism, and classical religion (Jung, 1959). He figuratively referred to the anima as a magical aura, affirming that with it we entered the realm of the Gods and that everything the anima touched became mysterious, awe-inspiring, and aroused spiritual and religious emotions.

Cloninger (1996) claims that religious myths are perhaps most important in providing social guidance. David Bakan (1921–2004) interpreted the activity of the biblical Jesus Christ to represent the archetypical balance of agency and communion in order to recover effective balance and integration in the personality (Bakan, 1975, 1979). The archetypical balance of agency and communion may be interpreted as the androgynous collective unconscious, since it is experienced by both males and females who share myth and religion.

According to Alan Jacobs (2006), Gnosticism, the Egyptian Christianity that preceded orthodox Christianity, was a redemptive religion that produced an individualistic mysticism based on the image of a God that is both male and female and who is recorded in the Gnostic gospels as announcing "I am the voice… in the likeness of a female... in the thought of the likeness of my masculinity … I am androgynous …" (Jacobs, 2006, 8). This unification of the sexes serves as a symbol for salvation as we shall see shortly in Bakan's exegesis. The Bible is arguably a medium like any other and in extending Rebecca Bell-Metereau's view, media "… allow us to enter into the forbidden worlds of the imagination, and when we find ourselves identifying with the other sex, we learn more of what it is to be simply human" (Bell-Metereau, 1985, 237).

The marginal Gnostic bibles speak of a God in imagery that is both male and female and that Jesus himself was polymorphous (Jacobs, 2006). Feminist authors have taken orthodox Christianity to task over the apparent descent of women in the patriarchal religions of centuries past. Some suggest that the concept of God has been used by men to blame women for the loss of grace and to disavow men's debt to women (Grosz, 1989; Wolf, 1991) and as reason enough to disallow women education, work, mobility, and freedom

(Benson & Stangroom, 2009). Simone De Beauvoir goes so as far as to claim that some women themselves unquestionably, even enthusiastically accept these most dubious male authorities (De Beauvoir, 1949/93). However in a more accommodating approach, Carolyn Heilbrun (1973) suggests we seek out the obscure sources of androgynous principles in myth and literature. As the principle character in the Christian Bible, a text that "has influenced the world far more than any other writings in the history of the world" the biblical Jesus is surely significant in many people's decisions about how they understand the significance of this life (Blackham, 2004, v).

The nature of religious discussion does not lend itself to the evidence based research that psychological disciplines favor. However Bakan questioned traditional psychological methodology and claimed that there was no psychological method that was pure and that provides an absolute guarantee against error (Bakan, 1967). He was troubled by what seemed to him to be "… an inevitable inverse relationship between the importance of the psychologist's subject matter and his ability to make sense out of it…" via psychologically accepted methods (Bakan, 1975, ix). Bakan had an emphatic belief that science, mysticism, psychoanalysis, and religion were all variants of the same thing and that they were all allied in humankind's search for the truths about itself. Bakan contended that the insights into the nature of things that these beliefs generated were other-referential as well as self-referential (an obvious parallel to Jung's introspective technique). Bakan believed that the introduction of psychoanalysis into psychology made room for the mystical dimension in human behavioural research and allowed for a transcendence of the traditional methods of testable hypotheses (Bakan, 1967). Using the themes of agency and communion, Bakan set the scene for his theories on contemporary western societies

In 1966 Bakan adopted the terms "agency" and "communion," first presented by Gina Lombroso in 1923, in order "to characterize two fundamental modalities in the existence of living forms" (Bakan, 1966, 14), that is to distinguish between the two centring practices of men and women respectfully. In 1923, Lombroso wrote of communion:

> The fundamental fact which determines a woman's attitude toward life is that woman is alterocentrist, that is to say she centres her feelings, her enjoyment, her ambition in something outside herself; she makes not herself but another person, or even things surrounding her, the centre of her emotions (Lombroso in Bakan, 1966, 114).

In this light, Bakan characterised the traits of agency and communion as fundamental and separate modalities. He defined agency as self-centred acting and communion as other centred acting.

For Bakan, societies were masculinized and characterized by the thinking of the sociologist Max Weber. Weberian societies are those in which the

pursuits of vocation were profit taking, self-reliance, self-control, avoidance of sociability, and abstinence from such ambiguities as magic and mystery. These were in opposition to avocation and the pursuit of our personal daimon, the extrinsic consequences of the "profound alienation of men from each other…" (Bakan, 1966, 17). Most celebrated was the great pursuit of the scientific method and of dry, formal, ritualized love with a corresponding aversion to emotionality and to interpersonal relations (Bakan, 1966, 14–20). Central to Bakan's theories were that civilizations had for several hundred years been driven and dominated by these masculinized societies with agentic attitudes and values, as opposed to the more androgynous principles alluded to by other authors in ancient matriarchal cultures (Forbes-Robertson Hale, 1914; Mead, 1937; Gardner & Stern, 2002).

A masculinized (i.e., phallocentric) world is one that follows the male paradigm, i.e., one where dichotomies, hierarchies, discrimination, domination, and exploration take precedence; one in which language, social definitions, and institutions are male oriented. Achievement is based on competition, and the frames of reference demand mastery of individual development and favor a moving away from the culturally feminized qualities of attachment, relationship, connectedness, and dependency to autonomy, detachment, and dispossession. Indeed Bell (1932) and Horne (1999) hinted at a link between androgyny and the means to civilization, arguing that in an androgynous society, the virtues of womanhood flourish, whilst societies that subvert feminine virtue fail to thrive (Bell, 1932; Horne, 1999). Arguably, support for this assertion can be found today in many countries throughout the Middle East and in some Eastern European countries. For Bakan, agency manifests itself in self-protection, self-assertion, and self-expansion; while communion manifests itself in the sense of being at one with other organisms (Bakan, 1975, x).

Bakan held western societies responsible for the "vaulting exaggeration" of agency in the psyche and the consequential repression of the feminine psyche (Bakan, 1975, 20). Bakan and others (Forbes-Robertson Hale, 1914; Mead, 1937; Gardner & Stern, 2002) suggest that matriarchy did indeed once precede patriarchy and that the agentic attitudes and the values of masculinized societies had repressed female modalities. In masculinized society Bakan believed each person is on their own with respect to the getting of grace or good will and that in such societies the major business of life is either an affair between each individual and their deity or an atheistic existence on earth. Bakan made a fundamental observation that the very separation of agency from communion was agentic "and that it represses the communion from which it has separated itself" (Bakan, 1966).

When Bakan contrasted agency with communion, agency was associated with considerable alienation from other people, including family members:

> Agency manifests itself in isolation, alienation, and aloneness; communion in contact, openness, and union. Agency manifests itself in the urge to master; communion in non-contractual cooperation. Agency manifests itself in the repression of thought, feeling and impulse; communion in the lack and removal of repression (Bakan, 1966, 15).

Bakan is suggesting that exaggerated agency may bring on vicious (as in vice like) behaviour, yet it is arguably true that agency is a positive behavior in many circumstances. Perhaps Bakan is suggesting that agency without a trace of communion is potentially damaging. It is also possible to argue that excessive communal behavior without a trace of agency may be equally detrimental to individuals in some situations. For example, the psychologist Vicki Helgesen found that unmitigated agency led to worse physical outcomes and unmitigated communion led to worse mental health outcomes (Helgesen, 1994). Logically we may argue that the degree of situationally appropriate agency or communion is an irresolvable issue however, a more sustainable theory about how agency may bring about vice-like behaviors could use the term negative or anti-social agency as proposed by Woodhill and Samuels (2004) and as opposed to exaggerated or unmitigated agency.

2. Social Engineering

Anti-social agency may cause masculine vice to take over the social psyche. The sins of masculine vice are the sins feared by men in a masculinized society and whose institutions of aegis, the police and armed forces, reflect such fear. Through the Bible's projection of masculine vice, i.e., unmitigated, excessive, or anti-social agency onto the image of Satan, man attempts to manage his dissonant behavior. As Bakan argued however, this is only partially effective because to do so means to be, ipso facto, agentic. Bakan suggested that:

> Understanding…is associated with the communion feature of the human psyche. The psychological problem of the satanic image is – agency unmitigated by communion. (Bakan, 1966, 40).

Alfred Adler (1870–1937) had rallied at times behind the notion of God and religion as a means of pointing the way. He added that the "arch evil of [his] culture [was] the excessive pre-eminence of manliness" (Adler cited in Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1958, 55) and he had declared that even the masculine protest in women was evident in their own rejection of the feminine role (Adler cited in Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1958, 46–48). Analogous to De Beauvoir's opinion that some women unquestionably accept male authority, an earlier theory of Adler's saw women's rejection of the feminine role as envy of the masculine role. He considered women's envy of male privilege

as the inevitable result of his culture's prejudiced esteem for all things masculine and its perfunctory regard for all things feminine (Adler, 1929). Importantly for Bakan, the devil is the incarnation of unmitigated agency, or interpreted another way – the vital force of the devil is unmitigated, excessive, despairing or anti-social agency.

The Devil was to Bakan, the projection "in which the agentic in the human psyche is personified" (Bakan, 1966, 39). Many would argue that men cannot always control their excesses of anger which they may express in anti-social agency or project through the Devil (O'Neil, 1981, 1982; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986). Bakan believed that by understanding Satan as unmitigated agency we could try to "mitigate agency through communion" (Bakan, 1966, 40). If Satan is not a deity but simply a parable for anti-social behaviour, then he/it may be susceptible to social engineering. Thus to "mitigate agency through communion" may be understood as the androgynous principle of balance between the masculine and the feminine. Further, Bakan took the ideal of human existence *as* the integration of agency and communion (Bakan, 1975, x). The androgynous premise is that the presence of apposite (very appropriate, suitably appropriate, correctly appropriate, situationally appropriate) levels of communion in individuals, makes it difficult for them to implement unmitigated or anti-social agency, or for that matter, anti-social communion as detailed by Woodhill and Samuels (2004).

3. Jesus the Androgyne

Bakan perceived the Bible as a book about social design, a fairy-tale that claimed its validity from being the work of God, where the commandments were the expression of social engineering (Bakan, 1979, 173). The theologian Peter Gorday so much as suggests that in Bakan's work there are hints of an explanation for the atoning death of Jesus, a man whom I would now refer to as the archetypical androgyne in the Christian scriptures. Gorday claims that if we consider Jesus' early ministry as standing for the re-uniting of agency and communion, we can use Bakan to interpret the biblical purpose of a God incarnate, i.e., of Jesus, as being to rid the earth of Satan, i.e., of excessive and despairing human agency (Gorday, 1998, 30).

Gorday suggested that Bakan's exegesis psychoanalyzed the Christian scriptures and that this made Jesus a defensive projection of humanity in response to the neurotic failure of agency. Satan (unmitigated agency) had gripped the Earth. Jesus' sacrifice was a cutting off of a diseased part of society so that the remainder of humanity could live on. With the death of Jesus the grip of Satan [anti-social agency] was loosened and healing begun (Gorday, 1998).

According to Alfred Adler the concept of "God" is the highest role model that we can have and even though we are aware that we cannot attain such levels of perfection, belief in the divine gives purpose to our lives. Without "God," life's purpose becomes less meaningful (Adler cited in Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1958, 95, 107). We may say that this concept of God then is metaphysical and the reality or concept of Jesus is physical. In this interpretation, the special activity of Jesus Christ made it possible for agency and communion to recover effective balance and integration in the personality (Gorday, 1998, 30–31). Carolyn Heilbrun (1973, xvii–xviii) also reminds us that others have posited Jesus as the penultimate androgyne in Christianity and in Taoism.

The suggestion that the figure of Jesus was the archetypical androgyne is the highlight of the relevance between Bakan and the androgyny hypothesis. The androgyny hypothesis states that psychological androgyny prepares individuals to choose adaptive and personally meaningful strategies that foster better adaption to life, rather than force them into stereotypical ones. Further, that androgynous individuals and societies foster adaption to varied occupations, lifestyles, and expressive roles that their traditional counterparts do not. Androgynous individuals also appear to be more socially and professionally active, motivated, and effective (Campbell, Steffen, & Langmeyer, 1981; McGregor, 2001; Choi, 2004). To the androgyne, society is basically devoid of gender hierarchies and subsequently more fraternal (Hopkins, Phillips, & Samuels, under review; Bell, 1932). In sum, the androgyny hypothesis proposes that androgyny facilitates situationally appropriate behavior which in turn fosters better adaption to life which may in turn provide abundant psychological health and well-being, surely a personal philosophy that the Biblical Jesus would support in his quest for "harmony, unity, and service in a fraternal society" (Gardner, 1996). This may be possible by considering that Jesus' early ministry stood for the re-uniting of agency and communion, which is an androgynous principle in accordance with the androgyny hypothesis. In Bakan's interpretation of biblical media, the special activity of the Christ makes it possible for agency and communion to recover effective balance and integration in the personality. If one accepts this model of the Bible as media and of Jesus as the archetypical androgyne, then arguably our Christian ancestors placed momentous importance on balance between the masculine and the feminine and this we may understand as an androgynous ideology.

Are religious characters such as Jesus, Mohammed, or Buddha defensive projections of humanity in response to a neurotic agency that had gripped the Earth? It could be that the stories of the Bible, the Koran, and Taoism were developed as pleas for a return to innocence and balance between the masculine and feminine principles, that is, a plea for a return to the virtues of androgyny as proposed by Woodhill and Samuels; such virtues as being

open-minded, friendly, sociable, worldly, courteous, dignified, fair, helpful, confident, stable, and more (Woodhill & Samuels, 2004). Though Hopkins, Phillips, and Samuels (under review) now suggest that the maintenance of a virtuous life is associated with androgynous traits immaterial to gender and somewhat governed by essential limits; suchlike social efficacy, creativity, capability, eminence, and determination.

In the Christian world, Jesus was an imposing personality, one who aspired to bring out the best in people's character including in some women whom, at least in the stories of the Christian Bible, he lifted out of the disrespectful oblivion of the time. Although it has to be noted that Bakan claimed the composition of the biblical text corresponds to the period following the discovery of the role of men in conception, and that it is simultaneous with the development of the patriarchal ideas of marriage and of fidelity (Bakan, 1979, 13). Notably, according to Bakan, the Bible is prejudiced and essentially keeps women subservient (Maslow, 1954, 159). However, many claim that Jesus himself was entirely free from religious prejudices and was never intolerant. This paper argues that androgynous tolerance, compassion, non-judgment, non-bias, non-discrimination, egalitarianism, approachableness, assertion, calm, confidence, and courage are all evident traits of the biblical Jesus Christ and of the androgyne alike.

NOTE

1. A person who is psychologically androgynous.

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As a Registered Nurse first, **Bobbi Hopkins**' career has crossed the paths of incalculable numbers of people and she has witnessed numerous coping strategies amongst patients. Unquestionably her own experiences do not correspond with that of all souls, nonetheless, she explores the notion of androgyny as a buffer to life's difficulties and challenges, and as a step toward psychological health and overall well-being. Bobbi Hopkins gained her honors in psychology from the University of New England at Armidale, Australia. She has published before in the area of androgyny (nee Woodhill), specifically a new construct of social and anti-social androgyny. She has recently submitted a paper "The De-gendering of Androgyny" and is writing a pop-psychology book titled *Sex, Gender & Identity: Make your Life Extraordinary*.

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Thy Signet and Thy Bracelets Identity, Becoming, and Vulnerability in the Biblical Story of Tamar*

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ABSTRACT. Employing Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's notion of *becoming*, this paper elaborates on the option of political resistance as revealed in the biblical story of Tamar. This interpretation refigures Tamar's actions as a special path of becoming, actions which make a unique use of gendered reality and gendered categories so as to create new subject positions that transgress the binary of gender. This dynamic utilizes privileged sites of masculinity, while at the same time searching for an existence that echoes embodied experiences of sexual specifity. This kind of identity politics, I argue, does not glorify vulnerability and marginality, but rather paves the way to utilize women's increasing accessibility to social and cultural resources in creative and transformative ways.

Keywords: gender, identity, becoming, becoming-woman, Deleuze, transformation, vulnerabilty

1. Introduction

One of the crucial dilemmas facing anyone who considers challenging social normativities is how to live one's life in a way that does not conform to norms without thereby risking losing everything, i.e., basic security and a sense of belonging to one's surroundings and past identity. Indeed, this concern is justified since, as Judith Butler claims, even the basic attribution of humanity to a person is structured by normative practices (2004, 57–58), and thus challenging norms also amounts to challenging how these norms attribute meaning and value to one's existence.

In this paper, using Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's notion of *becoming*, I analyze the biblical story of Tamar, and the ways by which Tamar utilizes normative gender constructions of masculinity and femininity as sites of resistance and self-transformation. I then argue that Tamar's strategies

offer a contemporary option of "resisting from within," avoiding vulnerability and marginality, which are often the outcome of radical social resistance.

2. Tamar – A Story of Political Triumph

Genesis 38 tells the story of Tamar who was the wife of Yehuda's firstborn son, Er. After the death of this firstborn son, in accordance with Jewish law decreeing the brother of the deceased marry the widow – thus enabling her to bear children so as to sustain the deceased's lineage, Yehuda's second son married Tamar, but refused to sleep with her. God disapproved of this behavior and killed him. It then became the duty of the youngest son to take the place of his two diseased brothers. However, Yehuda insisted that Tamar wait until his youngest son comes of age. Gradually, the realization dawned on Tamar that Yehuda was trying to shirk his obligation and keep his son from marrying her.

Having learned Yehuda was going on a trip to shear his sheep, Tamar waited for Yehuda on the roadside, disguised as a whore. Tamar then tricked Yehuda into handing her his signet, cord, and staff – signs of identity and ownership – as a guarantee of payment for her services. However, Tamar did not wait for the payment and returned home. After a while, Yehuda was informed of his daughter-in-law's pregnancy. Furious, he demanded she be put to death for being unfaithful to his family. Tamar thereupon sent a message to her father-in-law, stating: "It was the owner of these who impregnated me. Take note, please, whose these are, the signet and the cord and the staff." Yehuda then acknowledged the items to be his, admitting Tamar "is more in the right than I, since I did not give her to my son Shelah." The biblical text mentions Yehuda never slept with Tamar again.

Subsequently, Tamar gave birth to twin boys. The text mentions that one of the boys tricked the midwife during labor. He put out his hand so that the midwife tied a crimson thread around it signifying he was firstborn, and then pulled it back, while his brother was, in fact, the first to come out.

Tamar deserves to be regarded as a feminist hero and a political feminist success. Under extremely oppressive conditions, Tamar manages to create for herself a better reality with less restrictions, more freedom, enhanced autonomy, physical and economical security. Moreover, Tamar realizes her subjective goal to become a mother. I believe that although there are vast differences between Tamar's reality and contemporary Western women, Tamar's story can be valuable to women today.

In order to analyze the political effects of Tamar's actions, I would like to suggest thinking of these actions as a process of becoming. Deleuze and Guattari introduce the notion of "becoming" as a way to overcome the Platonic tradition which prioritizes substance and stable unitary entities over

movement and transformation. Theirs is a philosophy of becoming in which, as Clair Colebrook puts it, "all 'beings' are just relatively stable moments in a flow of becoming-life," (2002, 125).

For Deleuze and Guattari, becoming is a dynamic immanent to materiality and life itself. It is a process of continual multiple micro-transformations flowing across and through identities, institutions, and other stable constructions. Inspired by Nietzschean and Spinozist materialism, becoming is not acted by the actions of an agent or a self; rather, becoming exceeds the actor, and it is an affirmative force that posits the actor as part of productive combinations.

From the individual's perspective, endorsing this dynamics means being a part of the productive and indeterminate forces of life. Paul Patton defines becoming as "the action by which something or someone continues to become other (while continuing to be what it is)" (2000, 78). From the individual's perspective, becoming is a constant change of the boundaries of identity and of self. It is a constant challenge to the self-perception of the individual as a self-identical unit. As François Zourabichvili suggests,

> This is called becoming, a test which is necessarily 'too much for me,' since we do not see if we remain a subject opposite the object, maintaining its reserve, its personal feelings and its memories, and living what it sees only in a manner of a reminder or a ghost. (1996, 192)

Such ontology of a non-unitary individual implies the possibility of moving beyond one's sense of selfhood and identity, and foregoing the idea that one must be clear to oneself. Freedom, in this view, is a positive freedom which, as Chrysanthi Nigianni points out, is "the affirmation of the essential indeterminacy of all becomings" (2010, 111). Freedom lies in the practical affirmation of the "virtual" – the micro options which are always there, but whose ends cannot be known, and which serve as "lines of flight" from any stable "macro" structures.

It is important to note that in this framework, both social transformation, and individual transformation of one's own identity, selfhood and habits are woven together. In this sense there is no actor that precedes the political action, only a will to be part of this dynamic desire which is, for Deleuze and Guattari, a holistic principle of life, a desire to become-other. Thus, for individuals, affirming becoming as a principle of action is possible only by letting go of the attempt to own one's identity, actions, and effects (1987, 106).

Accepting becoming as a political and existential aspect of one's life stresses a mode of being that affirms life's productivity. Following Nietzsche and Spinoza, Deleuze and Guattari present a monistic philosophical perspective in which reality is a multiplicity of "machines of desire," i.e.

creative ad-hoc combinations that produce different effects in the world which in turn open up new possibilities and new combinations.

The image that Deleuze and Guattari provide for a political life based on becoming is that of the *nomad*. Nomadic politics is based on affirming becoming, foregoing the search for stable structures of subjectivity, identity or rationality, while being part of the flow of affirmative desire.

There are several reasons for regarding Tamar's actions as a process of becoming rather than thinking of them as the willful acts of a rational and free agent. First, while Tamar beings as a traditional wife silently obeying patriarchal law; she eventually becomes an independent single mother with financial support, but with no real duties. It is reasonable to assume that Tamar went through a process of transformation in relation to her old self. Her actions challenge her social position and her normative background. She transgresses her role as a woman, a widow, and a daughter in law. She transgresses the strict differentiation between normative woman and whore. She refuses religious laws that dictate her future and common law against theft. Analyzing these transformations in terms of becoming allows us to take into account the effects of these changes on one's sense of selfhood and identity. This conceptual framework helps to be attuned to how actions, which refigure one's relation to basic social roles and institutions, also reframe one's sense of subjectivity.

Second, Tamar could not have rationally anticipated the effects of some of her actions, which are the result of divine intervention, as well as unforeseeable reactions by Yehuda and his sons. It is as if Tamar somehow depends on something almost incidental, taking a risk and following one option – a line of flight, in Deleuzian terms – that is woven into reality but that is in no way reasonable.

A third element in Tamar's story that supports the interpretation of Tamar's political life in terms of becoming is the role of her pregnancy and labor in the story. Tamar's pregnancy and the birth of the two sons emphasize the extent to which Tamar's actions constitute a dynamic of becoming which, like pregnancy, is *becoming-other*, a dynamic through which one's material and psychic boundaries are meshed with another's so as to create a space wherein difference and otherness are conditions for each other's being and transformation. As Lisa Guenther describes, in pregnancy

I bear the other in the flesh, even though my body is bursting at the seams in a skin that is never big enough to contain both of us. Lévinas calls this impossible bearing infinity: the accommodation of the Other in the body of the same, in the flesh of a finite being who cannot possibly contain the Other but bears her nevertheless. (2006, 111)

Finally, the chain of events constituted by Tamar's actions launches a dynamic that loosens the grip of social institutions and gender roles and creates a new realm of freedom. This freedom is what we may call after

Foucault a practical freedom – a realm of practices in which Tamar's actions are not determined by prevailing norms. Tamar does not leave the horizon of patriarchal society altogether, she is not free in the sense that she is out of reach of the norm. She is free in the sense that she found a productive way to live in given social institutions and norms without adopting and repeating their logic. Thus she has created a family, secured by the patriarch, although she is not living according to the norms, roles, and institutions that establish the patriarch's power.

3. Becoming-Woman

In order to understand the political effects of Tamar's actions, in what follows I analyze how Tamar's actions utilize gender roles, sites, and institutions.

Deleuze and Guattari present the notion of *becoming-woman* as designating the process by which becoming, which does not obey any psychic or social predetermination, challenges Oedipal constructions of gender and subjectivity. Paul Patton defines becoming-woman as a dynamic of a "virtual alliance with the affects and powers that have been traditionally assigned to women" (2000, 81). Becoming-woman is a way of becoming that specifically employs the cultural imagery of the feminine in phallocentric society as the Other of man. As such, it designates difference, fluidity, and multiplicity. Thus, a process of becoming-woman challenges the association of subjectivity with the category of *Man*, and the Oedipal model of subjectivity and sexuality.

The political effect of becoming-woman, for Deleuze and Guattari, is the abandonment of "man" and "woman" as substantial points of reference on the sexuality, identity, and subjectivity map. On this account, becoming-woman does not hold any particular political relevance for women (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 276–290). Tamsin Lorraine suggests that this "becoming-woman" can serve as a line of flight from the ways in which both women's and men's identities are modeled in relation to the dominant figure of the subject associated with masculinity (2011, 106).

Elizabeth Grosz describes how becoming-woman can be part of women's political lives:

> For women as much as for men, the processes of becoming-woman involve the destabilization of molar, or feminine, identity. If one is a woman, it remains necessary to become-woman as a way of putting into question the coagulations, rigidifications, and impositions required by patriarchal … power relations. (1994, 176)

While undoing the binary logic of gender identity is almost an unquestionable goal of feminist theory, there has been a long debate concerning the fruitfulness of the notion of becoming-woman for feminist political theory.

One objection concentrates on the relations between the notion of *woman* as used by Deleuze and Guattari, and the lives of actual women. Rosi Braidotti argues that since the notion of becoming-woman uses "woman" to designate the outsider position in a phallocentric, capitalist, and Oedipal society, it does not express the experience of real women and their lives. Along with Luce Irigaray, Braidotti argues that, in Deleuze and Guattari, the notion of woman is co-opted by the privileged relation between maleness and thought. The woman posited by the notion of becoming-woman remains a metaphor in the use of man, a metaphor in relation to men's own subjectivity (Braidotti 1994, 86; Irigaray 1985, 140–141). Alice Jardine regards this use of woman in Deleuze and Guattari's becoming-woman as a token of the traditional silencing of women through the mystification of femininity (1984, 46–60).

The second objection questions whether the deconstruction of a stable gendered identity and sexuality has the same political effect on women, who never had a positive identity. According to Irigaray, women cannot find freedom by liberating themselves from identities that never expressed their embodied subjectivity. The category of woman has served to denote women's otherness, which echoes the ideal of maleness. Thus the de-territorialization of identity cannot serve as a strategy for overcoming the oppression of women, nor can it provide the basis for an alternative subjectivity for women (Irigaray 1985, 140–141).

Following this argument, Braidotti argues that simply undoing the category of woman will only further distance women from living as meaningful subjects. Women cannot create productive relations between their material existence, their subjectivity, and their experiences, by moving directly from being the material ground of man's self-image as subject, to dissolving any gender identity into a flux of non-specific singularities. The process of creating these productive relations requires the creation of a gendered selfhood and identity as a substantial point of reference and a positive pole of enunciation (Braidotti 1994, 115–118).

It is interesting to note here that Deleuze and Guattari do not overlook the embodied history of women signified by the category of woman. Rather, they write that

> the body … is stolen first from the girl: Stop behaving like that, you're not a little girl anymore, you're not a tomboy, etc. The girl's becoming is stolen first, in order to impose a history, or prehistory, upon her (1987, 276).

However, since becoming as a revolutionary process is impersonal and "indifferent to questions of a future and a past of the revolution" (ibid., 292), the meaning of becoming-woman is the same for men as it is for women. As a micro-dynamic, becoming-woman leads to the destruction of stable identities

and constitutes an ad-hoc stability of multiple differences that construct the singularity of each body.

Braidotti suggests a general formulation of Deleuzian politics of becoming-woman that can be politically productive for women: for Deleuze, women would be revolutionary if, in their becoming, they contributed both socially and theoretically to constructing a non-Oedipal woman, by freeing the multiple possibilities of desire meant as positivity and affirmation. (2003, 50)

Braidotti's formulation is very general and does not explicate what form this kind of becoming-woman might take. I believe that Tamar is an excellent example of such a path of becoming-woman. In what follows I would like to analyze the path of becoming-woman taken by Tamar, looking specifically at how she manages to undo both patriarchal femininity and masculinity while posing an alternative sense of femininity.

There is no doubt that Tamar's actions serve to create a reality, which destabilizes Oedipal gender identities and sexualities, and which by that destabilizes the social arrangements that rest on these identities. The masculinity of Tamar's second husband becomes self-annihilating, and Yehuda loses his patriarchal control over Tamar. The continuity of the patriarchal family gets into a limbo, as it were, since under the Hebrew law of *Yibbum* (Levirate Marriage) the dead husband's continuity is secured by his brother's commitment and marries the widow. However in this case, Yehuda, the father, is, in fact, also the biological father of his dead son's children. Finally, Tamar creates new sites of freedom that are unavailable to women in her times and lives as a single mother supported and protected by Yehuda, but not submitted to him.

What is it that makes Tamar's becoming so successful, in terms of creating a new reality for herself, one which is freer and no less secure than the normative one she had refused?

I would suggest that Tamar's path of becoming-woman relates to three different and often contradictory gender normative constructions. The first has to do with normative traditional femininity. The second is the norm of dominant masculinity. And the third relates to a realm of femininity as an affirmative horizon.

To put it briefly, Tamar combines traditional femininity with different aspects of masculinity in ways that do not attempt to deconstruct gender categories. This use of different aspects of normative masculinity is not meant to render Tamar *like a man*, as the latter is understood by patriarchal culture. Instead, Tamar uses some embodied notions of femininity as a horizon that reassembles for her, her sense of identity as a woman.

In what sense then does Tamar's becoming actualize phallocentric constructions of femininity? First, Tamar utilizes the ultra-feminine position of whore and performs what is considered to be women's traditional traits,

such as tricking and cunning. Tamar also reiterates the role of woman as man's sexual object. Furthermore, the biblical story posits pregnancy and motherhood as the goal of Tamar's disobedience. It posits these as the resolution point of the story in relation to which the truth is revealed and new arrangements are established.

On the other hand, however, Tamar *defies* the traditional feminine position on several levels. First, she refuses her role as a woman who, under Hebrew law, should wait patiently until her dead husband's brother marries her and impregnates her. She also refuses the traditional feminine attribution of passivity and peaceful submission to patriarchal power by refusing to wait passively at her father's home until Yehuda's young son comes of age and marries her. And, she publicly challenges Yehuda's "verdict" to burn her after he learned that she was pregnant. Tamar also physically leaves the safe home and stands outside the city, outside the safe boundaries of normative feminine positions.

A unique feature of Tamar's becoming-woman is her use of sites and attributes of masculinity. In her actions, Tamar performs what are traditionally considered as manly features, such as challenging social faith, hard-bargaining, and instrumentally using sex.

Also, Tamar transgresses the geographical boundaries of her existence as a woman. She goes out of her home into the open road, a place that is reserved for men as part of their ownership of the public sphere.

Third, Tamar gets hold of the items signifying Yehuda's social position as a man and householder, his signs of identity, perhaps also the symbols of his potency as a man. This appropriation of masculine symbols, from a Deleuzian perspective, can be interpreted as a special path of becoming by which the material objects appropriated enable Tamar to create what Deleuze and Guattari called, new "machine of desire" – i.e. new active combinations as part of which she is able to experience her body and her world differently. Imagine, for example, the effect that sitting on a roaring motorcycle or holding a huge rifle might have on many women. It is as if the body, its modalities and imagined (*virtual*, Deleuze would say) possibilities change. I would suggest that Tamar's possession of these items enables her to self-transform in a way that makes it possible for her to barter for her freedom, under the threat of horrible death, while showing her patriarch that she is morally in the right. Thus, Tamar enters the realm of subjectivity and freedom, acknowledged to be rational and moral, by holding the material symbols of masculinity. This stage is an inseparable part of the process whereby Tamar redefines and reshapes her position as woman and mother in her own social context.

Finally, while embodying one of the unique aspects of feminine specificity – pregnancy – Tamar relates to masculinity in the most material way possible; her body contains and nurtures two boys. The babies act like boys

– they are playful, struggling within her body. Their behavior challenges the image of pregnancy and labor as the natural, harmonious, and peaceful mystique of the feminine. The strange behavior of the babies hints to the micro-politics of transgression which involves their birth.[1]

It is important to note that Tamar's working through sites of masculinity does not mean that she performs a process Deleuze and Guattari call "becoming-Man," which for them, is a contradictory concept since "man is the molar entity par excellence" (1987, 292). Explaining this statement, Claire Colebrook notes that

> there can be no Becoming-man precisely because man is not just one extended being among others within the world: Man is the Subject: the point of view or ground from which all other beings or becomings are supposedly determined. (2002, 139)

Tamar's example shows that when we think of how the radical transformative dynamics of becoming is actualized in embodied political moments of individuals' lives there are different ways in which women can work through gender binaries and relate to the cultural position of man as a politically transformative space. In other words, the political effect of becoming-woman can be achieved by activating sites, which are associated with masculinity. What Tamar's example shows is that women can associate themselves with positions and attributes that are considered masculine, without thereby identifying with the meaning of man in phallocentric culture.

For Tamar, the alliance with sites of masculinity and the male body creates a revolutionary path of life. The category of man functions for her not as an authoritative identity, binding her to a set of oppressive roles, but rather as a set of opportunities to differentiate herself from the cultural constructions of the feminine, and to create a new options of living as a woman. Tamar creates a new position in a given social field. She leads an unusual and non-normative life. Her success does not stem from her success in *passing as a man*, but from strategically utilizing the privileges associated with masculinity in order to create for herself a space in which she can live safely and more freely *as a woman*.

With these two aspects of becoming – the association of traditional femininity and masculinity – it may be argued that Tamar's process exemplifies the deconstruction of the categories of man and woman, as well as the redundancy of these categories for understanding her subjectivity.

Yet, this crossing that Tamar performs does not seem to throw Tamar into a limbo, as Jardine proposes, nor does it seem to be disconnected from actual women's lives then and now. Although the biblical text does not say anything about Tamar's state of mind, it certainly does not suggest that her actions have in some way annihilated her. Quite to the contrary, one of Tamar's

sons' offspring becomes the great king David. Most importantly, Tamar creates a new space of freedom for herself as a woman.

The difference between deconstructive zigzagging and the kind of crossing performed by Tamar may best be explained by associating Tamar's actions with what Braidotti calls transpositions of femininity. Transposition, Braidotti explains,

> is not just a matter of weaving together different strands, variations on a theme (textual or musical), but rather of playing the positivity of difference as a specific theme of its own … It is thus created as an in-between space of zigzagging and of crossing. (2006, 5)

What makes the difference between mere deconstruction of gender and Tamar's path of becoming is a third relation that Tamar's actions hold vis-à-vis gender in general and feminine existence in particular. Tamar finds a way to affirm a new sense of femininity and to create an affirmative sense of living as a woman. She presents a different logic of sexual identity, which deconstructs the gender dichotomy, while affirming her existence as a woman.

Tamar's path of becoming relates to the roles and imaginary traditionally related to the category of woman, but this relation affirms a unique and new option of living as a woman, one which posits the relation between masculinity and femininity as a site of non-binary differences, rather than a fixed opposition.

It seems that some other notion of life as a woman is the horizon of Tamar's affirmative becoming. It is in relation to this horizon that Tamar's activation of masculine oppressive sites serves as a unique path for her own becoming. It is this notion of a positive and embodied existence as a woman, as a horizon of embodied subjectivity that reassembles Tamar's actions and prevents her becoming from being a deconstructive meandering between the molar oppositions of the feminine and the masculine.

The femininity that serves as a horizon for Tamar's actions should not be understood as some new stable category of Woman. Instead, I would suggest understanding the process that Tamar goes through as the creation of a new feminine morphology. Irigaray's notion of morphology designates the body as a living body, an open whole of experiences, sensations, thought, imaginary forms, symbolization, enjoyment, and suffering. Thinking in terms of morphology is, according to Claire Colebrook (following Elizabeth Grosz), "the thought of a body, physicality and materiality beyond the term of our language and practices" (Colebrook 2004, 219).

The notion of morphology as the basis of identity resists the idea that the body serves as a source of deterministic features of gender identity. As Alison Stone suggests, "the 'morphology' (*morphē*) of the female sex is its form as imagined culturally. It is the embodied aspect of identity as expressed in women's experience of their bodies" (2006, 108). In this framework, the

body is not a determined factor that can dictate a uniform positive identity. Instead, the body is an interplay between cultural, imaginary, normative language, and a sensual, physical potentiality marking the option for different ways to live and experience that body.

Through her actions, Tamar seems to look for a new morphology of her body; one in which the body transgresses its position as a mute materiality and becomes a live creative and productive corporality. That is why, in the end, although she comes back to what may appear as a traditional life as a mother, the unique constellation Tamar has created for herself suggests that she has created a new way to live her motherhood and her everyday life, one that enables her to live differently her femininity.

The process through which Tamar crosses the most stable boundaries of femininity in order to reassemble a new way of living as a woman creates a unique morphology for herself, an intensive and productive cartography of desire which enables her to be free of patriarchal control. In this respect, Tamar's actions are becoming-woman in a sense that is unique to women, not as those who share some biological essence but as those who share certain embodied images of femininity. This unique process of becoming utilizes the feminine both as a resource and a horizon. By crossing gender categories, roles, and normative patterns, Tamar reassembles a new option for living as a woman.

To conclude this analysis, using the marginal identity of a whore, Tamar breaks out of yet another marginal identity – that of the widow. She performs a double crossing, from the margins of the family to the margins of man's road, by performing the paradoxical position of women-object. This combination enables her not to feel one with her social roles as woman and widow – thus enabling her to act as an autonomous subject and navigate her life to a better position. There are two aspects to Tamar's becoming that render it relevant to women today. First, Tamar employs different aspects of normative masculinity, but not in order to *be like man*, as man is understood by patriarchal culture. Instead, Tamar utilizes opportunities to act and influence her reality, opportunities that are embedded in this privileged position to loosen the grip of patriarchal control and create sites of freedom for herself. Second, Tamar's becoming uses femininity as a horizon that reassembles for her a sense of identity as a woman, and enables her to avoid social marginality and increased vulnerability.

4. Politics beyond Marginality

Tamar's story cannot provide us with a concrete model for feminist struggle. As Todd May argues, "all becoming is the unfolding of difference, there is no necessary sameness to any two becomings" (2003, 150). However, this

remarkable story can still suggest a possible strategy for political resistance that may be useful in a contemporary world.

Thinking about Tamar's story as a possible strategy for women nowadays, the combination of using masculine sites with the use of femininity as a horizon of well-being and freedom, may prove to be politically fruitful. Tamar's example does not endorse embracing some First-Wave liberal notion of becoming-man, in the sense of accepting either an ideal of non-gendered persons, or the social norms characterizing Patriarchy.

The first lesson that can be learned from Tamar's story is that a life of resistance is a life of becoming. Resisting dominant normative and social formations involves *going beyond* the stable cultural and social givens of one's identity and selfhood.

While concrete acts can be acts of will and consciousness, the process of becoming as a whole is not controlled by the individual actor. Instead, political becoming is an act of letting go of the notion of a definite *I* who enacts her will and shapes her life through her actions. Instead of conscious will, political becoming is motivated by a productive desire for life as creative and free existence.

Abandoning the wish for a stable and certain identity may be taken as basis for a new understanding of identity. This identity endorses transformation and productivity as its basis and thus paves the way to a flexible solidarity and politics.

In this Deleuzian image of political life, one is attuned to the productivity of micro-connections, and through these micro actions reshapes both herself and her reality.

Another lesson that may be taken from Tamar's example is how women may connect, in different ways, to the culturally privileged position of Man so as to create politically transformative spaces; spaces in which it is possible for them to create new subjective positions that bear different ties to the history of women and femininity, searching for an existence that echoes embodied experiences of sexual specificity.

Tamar's story reveals a political option, which integrates a radical gender politics with the option of participating in, and utilizing, mainstream positions. Tamar's actions do not strive to disconnect from oppressive gender identities by trying to live outside their logic. She does not embody, what Wendy Brown calls, "the perspective of the injured," which as Brown argues, "fixes the identities of the injured and the injuring as social positions" (1995, 27). Instead, Tamar works within the logic of gendered roles of her time and manipulates the language of oppressive institutions. Her politics works through, and utilizes, oppressive mainstream sites of power as sites for a micro-politics of becoming.

Tamar's story suggests that, since women have never been in a positive relation to the position of (male) subject, the position of man in its different

manifestations can offer a site imbedded with social potentialities. Relating with such positions is transformative, both as a stance for the re-signification of the gendered logic underlying these positions, and as moments of creating new modalities of being.

Today, when women have increased access to what were previously exclusive male positions, Tamar's model suggests that acting in such positions does not necessarily affirm the deep structures of oppression and inequality on which these positions rely. Rather, the growing accessibility of women to male spaces may serve to utilize the social power imbedded in these spaces so as to create new positions that challenge gender dichotomies and identities.

Embracing practices associated with masculinity should not automatically be understood as a wish to be like men, nor necessarily as the creation of a queer politics aiming to deconstruct sexual difference. As Tamar's example suggests, these practices can utilize the symbolic power embedded in them so as to overcome the vulnerability and social limitations embedded in the feminine body, and to affirm it as a site of desire, productivity, meaning, and relations with others.

The political advantage of Tamar's strategy is that it reduces the vulnerability imbedded in a politics based only on refusing normative gender structures. Although founded in a very vulnerable position, Tamar's disobedience does not enhance her vulnerability; nor does it doom her to violence and death, as in the case of many other heroines. Thus, Tamar's example can help dissociate radical gender politics from marginality.

It is the intimate knowledge of women's inferiority and vulnerability that enables Tamar's movement in and out of gendered sites to create a better position for herself as a woman. Tamar creates a new position of living as a woman and enhances her freedom beyond the gender constructions and limitations of this freedom. By this, she also transforms in ways she could not control.

In a cultural climate where no identity is natural or given, no boundary is stable, Tamar can inspire an affirmative notion of gender-crossing which seeks to find productive ways to live as gendered desiring persons.

NOTE

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1. The allusion here to the biblical story of Jacob and Esav and the stolen birthright (*Bechora*) also hints to the disruption of patriarchal rules.

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The Gender of Silk

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ABSTRACT. The mainstay of the paper is formed by an analysis of intriguing questions of Silk Road history, the export of silk cocoons to Europe, the rising importance of silk, and medieval literary depictions of women working silk. The aim of the present study is to examine and evaluate the history of cultural movement along the Silk Road, the establishment of silk-reeling factories, the commercialization of the silk industry, and the industrial manufacture of silk thread in Mount Lebanon.

Keywords: silk, gender, religion, skill, practice, history

1. Introduction

Over the past decade, there has been increasing evidence describing the skill, knowledge, and practice of the craft of silk making, the labor-intensive manufacture of silk as a highly prized commodity, the gendered production of silk fabric, and the perception and use of silk as currency. The paper generates insights about the increasing Muslim dominance of the Silk Road, the existence and the survival of religious ideas along the Silk Road, the multicultural and cosmopolitan societies of the Silk Road, and the historical transport of luxury silk.

2. The Skill, Knowledge, and Practice of the Craft of Silk Making

Bray contends that, in late imperial China, the family altar was instrumental in propagating hegemonic, orthodox values. The shrine was not a simple instrument of orthodox discipline and social regimentation, because as a material artifact it embodied ambiguities of meaning, and a corresponding moral flexibility. The resilience and adaptability of the iconic rice farming landscape owed much to symbolic ambiguities and to material flexibility. Material surroundings and physical experience played key parts in inculcating

morality and forming social roles. Technical knowledge and the responsibility for production were controlled and managed by women. The silk cloths had a high recognized value, as commodities and as tax contributions. In the production of commercial cloth, women were reduced to the tasks of spinning and reeling. Sericulture was an exception to the deskilling and marginalization of women.

It follows from this that the splitting-up of the various silk-making processes enhanced the importance of raising silkworms. Bray says that in sericultural regions the household depended on female sericultural skills. Embroidery played an increasing role in adding economic and personal value to the goods that a bride took as dowry. These goods constituted material links with the bride's natal home. The quilts, robes, shoes and handkerchiefs were a female,[1] non-hegemonic form of property. For fine work, one needed smooth fingers so that they did not snag the silk. Young commoner women embroidered their dowry goods.[2]

Foltz writes that the "Silk Road" was a network of roads, generally going East and West. Silk and other high-value goods were transported in contiguous stages. The Silk Road constituted a formative and transformative rite of passage. Islam makes its appearance on the Silk Road in the 8th century. The expansion of Buddhism brought an increased demand for silk. The oases of the Silk Road owed their prosperity and their very existence to the regularity of passing caravans. New religious traditions carried by the Silk Road disseminated eastwards. Sogdian scribes translated most of the religious texts of Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Christianity into the various languages of the Silk Road. The Iranian and Hebraic traditions did not proselytize along the Silk Road.

But perhaps even more importantly is that Arabic played less of a role in the transmission of Islam to the peoples of the Silk Road than Persian did. Foltz argues that the substance of religious traditions was often transformed along the Silk Road as a result of the translation process. The decline of Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Christianity along the Silk Road is a historical fact. By Parthian times both Palestinian and Babylonian Jews were involved in the silk trade from China. The Silk Road skirted the forbidding highlands of the Tibetan plateau. Christianity's first link with the Silk Road was via the Babylonian Jews. Sogdian merchants were the real masters of the Silk Road. Chinese relations with the steppe were often characterized by appeasement through bribes in the form of silk. Muslim dominance of the western half of the Silk Road was established by the mid-eighth century. Islamization came first in the urban areas along the Silk Road. Under the Qara-khitai Muslims lost their preeminent position along central part of the Silk Road. Christianity was a part of the religious culture of the Silk Road for over a millennium. Nomadic groups wishing to gain control over the Silk Road cities often embraced Islam as a way of claiming legitimacy.[3]

Beckwith points out that traditional Central Eurasia was coterminous with the Silk Road – the ancient continental internal economy and international trade system. The rise of littoral trade was international trade. The trade in luxury goods constituted a significant part of the internal economy within Central Asia. This trade along with parallel maritime trade were integral parts of a single international trade system. Among the peripheral agrarians states borders were macrocosmic reflections of the borders between agricultural fields. Central Eurasia suffered from the most severe, long-lasting economic depression in world history, *from the devastation of Modernism in the 20th century*, being *an economy and world of its own*.[4]

3. The Rising Importance of Silk

Khater remarks that between 1843 and 1914, "Syrian" silk became an internationally traded cash crop in the economy of Mount Lebanon. Exporting silk brought Mount Lebanon and its peasantry into direct contact with European markets and their fluctuating fortunes. Silk played a dominant role in the agricultural economy of Mount Lebanon. French demand for silk thread encouraged the industrialization of silk spinning in Mount Lebanon. Silk cocoons were exchanged for European goods (the silk market began to falter in the 1880s). Dissolving silk cocoons and spinning their threads became tasks associated with women. Silk factories provided an arena where young working women[5] could challenge patriarchal and capitalist authority.

We may sum up by saying that a dramatic increase in population and depreciation in silk prices combined to frustrate expectations of a better life. Khater holds that the decrease and stagnation of silk prices produced a socio-economic crisis for a large number of the Christian Lebanese peasantry. Most Lebanese-owned silk factories were family operations that required the financial support of the extended kinship group. Silk became an essential cash crop upon which the Lebanese peasantry depended for their survival.[6]

Geetha and Indira emphasize the influence of sericulture as an income-generating activity on the political capital and political empowerment of rural farm women in Karnataka. Gender inequality is economically inefficient and leads to social incoherence that is detrimental to the development of a nation. Gender equality can be achieved only by bridging the gap between promise and performance. Empowerment of women should be prioritized in any national planning process. Mulberry is the most commonly used crop for silkworm cultivation, growing on marginal lands that are not appropriate for other crops. Women's empowerment involves the right to enjoy full and meaningful membership in all levels of society. Gender norms are relevant to an understanding of women's political participation. Political participation

by Indian women has been limited by social norms. Political activity falls outside the boundaries of socially acceptable activities for women.

One of the key conclusions to emerge from this discussion is that women's political participation is hampered by socioeconomic forces and social policies. On Geetha and Indira's view, women with more experience in sericulture have little education (*the higher the education, the greater will be the positive perception of women sericulturists of women doing well in politics*). Women sericulturists with more schooling perceive women in politics positively, a better education being related to a more positive perception of women (*higher levels of education increase the probability of women in politics being perceived positively*). Women with fewer years of experience of working in sericulture take voting decisions themselves, there is no significant correlation between sericulture experience and how women working in sericulture perceive women in politics, whereas there is no significant correlation between how women sericulturists decide to vote and their perceptions of politics. The level of education of respondents is a differentiating factor in their perception of women[7] in politics. Political capital gained from participating in sericulture activities increased the frequency of discussion on all aspects of politics and exposure to political process. "There is a close relation between the concepts of status and power in relation to the participation of women in various activities and decision-making processes within and outside the home. Women's low social status, lack of access to decision making, and denial of basic rights in the public domain are thus inextricably linked, and women's participation or lack of it in various spheres of public life is both a reflection and an indicator of their status."[8]

4. The Gendered Production of Silk Fabric

Burns states that several Old French literary texts contain portraits of heroines[9] whose silk work charts an imaginative textile geography. Old French literary texts stage silk work overtly and exclusively as women's work: literary protagonists wear, use, gift, and trade different grades and types of silk cloth. Old French heroines accrue specific authority and influence by donning silk raiment. Women are staged as making or embroidering silk. The women protagonists in the 12th-century French tale replicate the class division and cross-class ties that silk work can generate. The textile geography mapped by women's silk work in Old French narratives stages Saracen silk and Saracen work as desirous and coveted. Literary portraits of medieval heroines who produce and decorate silk cloth provide outstanding narrative key holes.

It is worth stressing that the heroines who work silk traverse religious and political barriers, and cross lines of gender and class. Burns insists that

through women's silk work the categories of the distant and foreign unknown are brought closer to home. Women work silk metaphorically as an effective means of gaining social mobility. The silk routes from China to the west map an ungendered terrain of trade and travel. From its earliest use in China and Asia silk functioned as a luxury item, and as a currency and a safe investment (silk fiber was used to pay debts and dowries). The secrets of silk production were the province of women. Chinese silk routes fostered the large-scale transfer of silk and spices. Buddhism came to China along the silk routes in the first century. The ability to weave silk fabric often preceded the knowledge of sericulture. A pattern of forcibly displacing skilled workers was central to the historical process of silk production.

> Silk of many kinds festoon courts, towns, churches, and individuals of both genders. Often functioning in lieu of currency, silk garments serve as payment for a troubadour's song, as remuneration for services performed by the lord's retainers, as a mark of courtly *largesse* and hospitality, as a means of fashioning low-born women into courtly ladies, or signaling the status of the wealthy. In ecclesiastical circles, silk adorns priests performing the liturgy and transforms altars into luxurious surfaces. Silk is used for curtains enclosing the altar during mass and for tapestries and wall hangings in churches and monasteries. Silk provides the wrapping for relics before they are placed in reliquaries and the surface on which relics are positioned before the swearing of legal oaths. Silk moves as readily between secular and ecclesiastical spheres as it does between genders, social classes, or across confessional divides, providing an unexpected cultural thread that bridges all of these social categories.[10]

Wiesner notes that silk growing created paid employment, because women had greater dexterity[11] and ability to concentrate than men (the lifelong damage to their damage to their eyes resulted from unwinding fine thread in low light). Silk producers were often forced to hire whole orphanages in order to have enough labor.[12] Bardsley observes that an English Statute of 1363 forbade those below the rank of knight from wearing any embroidered garments or silks. In the Middle Ages the practice of knitting was reserved for high-quality and expensive silk stockings, gloves, and undergarments worn by the nobility. Women were excluded from the wool trade more than from the silk, linen, and cotton industries, and dominated the silk trades in cities such as Cologne, Paris, and London. London silk workers did not have a guild of their own, presenting several petitions to parliament to protect their monopoly on the silk trade from foreign competition. Parisian silk workers were organized into several separate guilds. The silk and linen trades were less lucrative than the wool trade. In 14th-century Avignon, prostitutes

were prohibited from wearing coats, silk veils, amber rosaries, or gold rings. In Cologne, the silkmaking trade was exclusively controlled by women.[13]

5. Conclusions

The theory that I sought to elaborate here puts considerable emphasis on the network of medieval silk routes, the configuration of silk in medieval French literature, the linguistic details of literary descriptions of silk textiles, and silk's reputation as a coveted fabric that falls and moves in space.

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(De)Fusing the Bomb (Shell): Gender Issues, Popular Culture and Frida Kahlo

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ABSTRACT. This article examines Frida Kahlo's career in an attempt to offer a refinement to Oana Baddeley's suggestion that the reception of female artists, more often male artists, tends to be overshadowed by their personal style and life. While this argument appears to be supported by Kahlo's reception, especially during her resurgence of popularity in the 1980s and 1990s, Kahlo is somewhat unique in that her personal style was so much an extension of her body of art. In addition, the personal style that attracts so many may be considered additive value leading to a greater appreciation of Kahlo's art but it should also be valued as an art in itself. While Baddeley's argument admirably attempts to safeguard female creativity in the realm of high art, it minimizes popular art. In so doing, it falls prey to the "ironies" which seem to arise frequently from the "fault-lines within the post-modernist and/ or feminist projects" as discussed by Anne Beer in "Johnny and Bess: Life Writing and Gender."

Keywords: Frida Kahlo, gender issues, popular culture, life writing, fashion

Oriana Baddeley writing on Frida Kahlo in "'Her Dress Hangs Here:' De Frocking the Kahlo Cult" in *Oxford Art Journal*, suggests that the work of female artists, unlike that of males, is often overshadowed by their personal style and/or life stories (11). The author's observation stems from a comparison between the reception of Van Gogh's life and work during his centennial in the 1990s and Frida Kahlo's during a similar period. Both artists are fascinating personalities with mesmerizing life stories, but Van Gogh's work was always front and center, whereas this was not the case with Kahlo's. Baddeley sees this difference as undercutting female professionalism. If Frida's art can be described, as Andre Breton does, "a bomb wrapped in a ribbon," this tendency depoliticizes it, "defuses" it.

Baddeley's observations seem apt for Kahlo, especially considering the artist's reception during the 1980s and 90s when Frida's work was subject to what I call a "refashioning." This was a period in which Kahlo enjoyed a resurgence of interest. This was due primarily to the new directions in the feminist movement – its new turn which embraced fashion rather than distanced it. While Frida's personal style had always been attention-grabbing, marketers and female audiences seemed to be buying into the Kahlo mystic in new, dynamic ways.

Baddeley's argument, however, needs to be further refined due to the fact that Frida's personal style was so much an extension of her body of art and conversely, her art and artistic style was so multifaceted that it is reductive to circumscribe its significance to one political agenda. In addition, I would argue that it is important to look at not only what is lost in Kahlo's "refashioning," as Baddeley does, but what might be gained. Ironically, this critic's admirable championing of female professionalism slips into contradictions that simultaneously limit female freedom.

Kahlo's artistic evolution seemed always to bear an intricate link with her personal style. Both emphasize dress or fashion, particularly the indigenous dress of the common Mexican. Although Kahlo used Aztec symbols throughout her art, the dress featured in her artistic works and the one that would become Frida's "signature" belongs to the matrilineal Tehuantepic society. The Tehuana dress was in fact donned by Frida at her marriage to Diego Rivera, the most famous Mexican muralist of his generation. It is depicted in her painting of the wedding, entitled "Frida and Diego Rivera" (1931). By all accounts, Diego was partial to this attire (*The Paintings* 6). Their marriage occurred in San Francisco where Diego, nineteen years Frida's senior, had received a commission to paint at the California School for the Arts (now the San Francisco Institute of Art) and the San Francisco Stock Exchange.

Dress was also linked in Kahlo's paintings and life to physical traumas, traumas which she had suffered early in life: she contracted polio at age seven and was victim of a serious tram accident at eighteen in which a rod skewered her pelvis resulting in chronic back pain and an inability to carry children to term. (Herrera 234). The link between her injured body, the Tehuana dress and the splitting of selves is depicted in her "Tree of Hope" (1946), which has much in common with "The Two Fridas" (1939).

The importance of the Tehuana dress was not just its matriarchal symbolism. As Baddeley states, "Kahlo's naked body becomes not just the tortured self of her personal biography but a visual counterpart of the injured and defiled manifestation of Mexico's colonized past: La Llorono 'the weeping women' of popular myth and La Chingada, the raped and abused mother described by Paz's *The Labyrinth of Solitude*. Descended from an Aztec mother goddess, Llorona is a long-suffering mother figure, symbolic in a wider sense of the trauma of the Spanish invasion. Driven mad with the

grief by the loss of her child… The Indian Mexico raped and abused by the conquistador yet bearing his bastard child" (15).

Frida had rebelled early against the European and American colonization of Mexico and to some extent her father's German-Hungarian/Romanian culture. In 1922 she dropped the "e" in Frieda to avoid being detected as German [Bilek 23] and in the early 1930's signed as "Carmen." Her Tehuana dress acted as a contrast to La Chingada "the embodiment of Mexico's hybrid post-conquest, (violated) culture" and was imbued with power, as Baddeley recognizes, for she states "where Kahlo wears European dress she is passive… but in the Tehuana costume she is strong" (13–14). Kahlo's immersion in American culture as a result of Diego's commissions, greatly influenced her art, helping to "crystallize her self-image" (Block and Hoffman-Jeep 11) and strengthened her resistance against capitalism. Her work, dominated ostensibly by self-portraiture and sartorial themes is said to have "communicated Mexican revolutionary cultural tenets as clearly as did her husband's murals," although her miniatures were the antithesis to Rivera's sweeping historical epics (Black and Hoffman-Jeep).

Among the paintings which show the connection between dress and identity are "Frida Kahlo: Self-Portrait on the Border between Mexico and the United States" (1932), frequently coupled with "My Dress Hangs There" (1933), sometimes called "a coda" to the former (Baddeley 15). The two works represent a type of contrast: in one she dons a colonial dress, in the other she features the Tehauna dress. Baddeley reads the first as indicating an early ambiguity toward American culture – Kahlo highlights her role as an intermediary figure, "on the border," as the title suggests – whereas the second more clearly shows the loss engendered by contact with the U.S. capitalistic society – a disembodied dress (16). Frida's ambivalence about the U.S is confirmed in her comments: "Although I am very interested in all the industrial and mechanical development of the United States, I find that Americans completely lack sensibility and good taste… The houses look like bread ovens and all the comfort that they talk about is a myth" (Herrera 131). To a friend Kahlo wrote, "High society here [US] turns me off and I feel a bit of rage against all these rich guys here, since I have seen thousands of people in the most terrible misery without anything to eat and with no place to sleep" (*A Biography*, 131).

"Self-Portrait on the Border" marked an important transitional moment in Kahlo's professional, as well as, personal life. In the painting, she positions her subject in the center foreground on a low pedestal on which is written Carmen Rivera.* The figure is wearing a pink colonial dress, calling attention to her history as a Mexican colonial subject of the U.S. and U.S.-aided European empires. The figure is flanked and "nurtured" by two apparently different root systems representing two divergent cultural landscapes: one consists of wires plugged into a generator underpinning the U.S. society and

the other is made up of a vegetative system symbolizing Mexican society in its Pre-Columbian day. On the right of the picture, are industrial smoke-stacks, bearing the letters "FORD" and also skyscrapers. And on the left, a more natural landscape is dotted with an Aztec temple and ruins of pre-Hispanic artifacts, which are presided over by dueling gods: the white god Huitzilopochtli and his opponent Tezcatlipoca, represented by the sun and moon (Kettenmann 29–30). Although depicted in the foreground in a colonial dress, the main figure is by no means a submissive post-colonial subject, as she stands with a cigarette in her lace-gloved hand. Frida's own rebellion is said to have been evident even to the bottom of her petticoats which were "embroidered with 'ribald Mexican sayings'" (*A Biography*, 110).

"Self-Portrait on the Border," was produced by Kahlo when she was in Detroit, two years after her arrival in the US. In Detroit, Diego was commissioned by Henry Ford to paint the murals at the Art Institute. Frida accompanied him to the automotive capital where the largest assembly line in the world existed at Ford's Rouge Complex. In Detroit, Kahlo or "Frieda K. de Rivera" self-identified herself as a "paintress" in a private protest letter which exists in The Detroit Institute of Art Archives (Bilek, 14). However, public recognition of her incipient creativity was announced in *The Detroit News* of February 22, 1933, in an article entitled "Wife of the Master Mural Painter Gleefully Dabbles in Works of Art." The reporter attests to "Senora Rivera's" accomplished style and "skill" objecting only to the "foolish ruffled apron" she wears" in lieu of a smock." The title of the article, seems to minimize her art, but is actually taken from Frida's self-presentation to the press. While in Detroit, Kahlo also suffered a second miscarriage, fostering new visualizations of the female body, violence, pain and identity.

In "My Dress Hangs There" or "New York" (1933), the second Kahlo picture referenced above, the U.S. masses and the statue of liberty are pushed to the very margins of the frame, contributing to the work's overall sense of loss, which Baddeley argues is palpable (16). This theme is reinforced by the Tehuantepec style dress hanging empty on a clothesline strung between a toilet and a golf trophy. It acts as "a silent emblem of protest, "along with the peeling poster of Mae West. In this work, according to Baddeley, Kahlo's former ambivalence [regarding "Gringoland"] is gone (15).

The two paintings mentioned above are often joined by a third, namely, "The Suicide of Dorothy Hale" (1939), which is another, strong condemnation of capitalism. Hale, who lies on the ground, fashionably dressed, has apparently jumped from the skyscraper which stands behind her. The back-story of this suicide involves a real person whose lack of money and indulgences led to her demise. Clare Boothe Luce, a wealthy writer/journalist (editor of Vanity Fair) and a friend of the subject, commissioned the picture, perhaps out of guilt for her mistaken denigration of Hale and her spending habits. This work is thus a poignant image of the destructive nature of the

social values of New York and its consumerist culture: Hale's "black velvet dress represents the values of the 'Gringolandia' so hated by Kahlo" (Baddeley 14). Staring accusingly out at viewers, Hale's dead corpse makes it clear that the system, not herself, should be judged.

Kahlo's art and personal/sartorial style arose in tandem. Upon coming to the U.S. in 1930 she donned a rebozo – "a rectangular woven shawl of cotton, wool or silk worn by Mexican women of all classes" (10). Hers was initially silk, indicating her class. She then assumed a "proletarian air" by having herself depicted in a plain rebozo draped in the "revolutionary" style of a "soldaderas." She also wore "a single-strand necklace of jadeite – a green stone used by Aztec sculptors" – bearing Aztec signs on it (Block and Hoffman-Jeep, 9–10). Frida, as said above, eventually adopted the orthodox Tehuana costume, after some experimentation.

From the very beginnings of her international trajectory, Frida's appearance attracted much attention and admiration. Edward Weston, a famous U.S. photographer who captured her on film in San Francisco, mentions how "people stop[ped] in their tracks to look in wonder" at her (13, qtd in Block and Hoffman-Jeep 9). In Detroit the women of high society who wined and dined Kahlo and Rivera imitated her style. Kahlo was not flattered by the inspiration she engendered. In fact she scorned them saying they missed the point or were ludicrous (Herrera, 290, quoted in Baddeley, 12). But the reality was that the desire to emulate her style could not be suppressed, although it was not the focus of her popularity in the early years.

Kahlo's first exhibition was at the surrealist Julien Levy Gallery in New York on November 1, 1938. The exhibition was announced in *Vogue*. Although a fashion magazine, the article "Rise of another Rivera" focused on her work. In line with pop culture's anti-establishment tradition, the magazine argued against Andre Breton's essay in the introduction to the catalogue for the New York exhibition which defined Frida's art as surrealism. However, Nicolas Calas, another Surrealist critic, noted that Kahlo herself "fit completely the Surrealist ideal of woman. She was always very consciously playing a role and her exoticism immediately attracted attention" (Herrera 234). She had a theatrical quality, a high eccentricity.

The New York exhibit was followed by another in Paris organized by Breton himself. The second coincided with yet another article in *Vogue*, the Parisian edition. The cover picture focused in on Kahlo's hands, the tools of her art, albeit hands bedecked with many rings (Herrera 245). Simultaneously, Kahlo was "embraced" by the world of "haute couture" when Elsa Schiaparelli "was so taken with her Tehuana costumes she designed a robe called "Madame Rivera" for fashionable Parisians.

In the 1980s and 90s Kahlo's reputation gained new impetus largely due to feminist interest, as said before. The attention lavished on her fashion seemed to surge and obscure her works themselves. *Elle (May 1989)* designed

a sixteen page photo spread entitled the "Spirit of Mexico" in which Kahlo lookalikes were juxtaposed with excerpts from Herrera's 1983 biography on Frida. In 1990 *Vogue (February*) featured a story *entitled* "the Romance of Frida Kahlo's Mexico."

Interest in Frida's life and personal style now seemed the force, driving up the value of her art work, which according to Sotheby's, jumped from $40,000 in 1979 to $1 million in the 1990s, surpassing any other Latin American artist (Baddeley, 10). Art encyclopedias started to include Kahlo's name in their listings in 1980 (Bilek, 26).

The attraction to Kahlo's person and personal style continues today among females from all social groups. Madonna commissioned a screenplay of Kahlo's life (Baddeley, 10) and Salma Hayek produced and starred in the film *Frida* in 2002, directed by Julie Taymor. The film includes both Kahlo's work and style, but emphasizes the latter. Ironically, soon after playing Frida, Salma married fashion mogul Francois-Henri Pinault. Although Salma herself was known for her personal style, her support of Latino politics and gender issues was of genuine interest and apparent in role selections such as her early part as a female revolutionary activist against dictator General Trujillo of the Dominican Republic in Showtime's *In the Time of the Butterflies,* based on a novel by Julia Alvarez.

In November 2012 Frida was the model for the Romanian edition of *Marie Claire* which promoted the "Mexican Experience." More recently, Frida-like attire has dominated the runways of the 2013 Pakistan fashion week (*EuroNews*, March 2013). In addition, fashion boutiques have recently sprung up in Biarritz, France and Brooklyn, New York, bearing the artist's name and products featuring her face, clearly adorned in Tehuana fashion.

Such representations are often criticized, as said before, on the grounds that they depoliticize Kahlo's revolutionary message. In "reducing" Kalho to "a mere decorative gloss" (Baddeley 16), critics such as Baddeley claim that such usage "inverts" the "inter-relationship of body and dress so self-consciously referred to in many of Kahlo's most polemical works" (16). The long-skirted Tehuana dress, which was said to have been worn by Frida, in part, to disguise the deformity of a misshapen leg resulting from polio, now has been refashioned to show off idealized bodies with a new sexiness. In addition, Kahlo's signature attire, which stands as a sartorial rejection of United States and European imperialistic and capitalistic values, has been co-opted to sell not only mass-produced clothing but the exotic nature of Mexico as a travel destination.

However, the fact that women readers of popular fashion magazines take inspiration from Frida's life and fashion should not be dismissed out of hand. Perhaps they do not share Kahlo's nationalism and revolutionary idealism, but they do seem to share her vision of the body as a canvas and dress as an artform. The desire of putting on clothes and refashioning them for

one's own use puts in relief the many different feminine identities which exist within the individual, as Charlotte Brundson has explored in *Screen Tastes: Soap Operas to Satellite Dishes* (86). Putting on clothes can also be associated with performance which itself has many guises – camp, parody, or projections/flaunting of desire. Carlos Moti's crossdressing imitation of Kahlo at a recent celebrity gala given by Bette Midler is one example of this. Interesting is the fact that Moti is photographed accompanied by glamorous Ahn Duong, an American artist and former model, who has cited Kahlo as an inspiration for her work (Simonds 74–75). Kahlo, herself, enjoyed wearing and painting herself in male attire. At times this verged on camp, at others; it expressed honest bisexuality which is well documented.

Objections to Frida's "refashioning" also seem to question the value of popular culture itself and additionally assume a unified personality and purpose, minimizing or ignoring Kahlo's multifaceted nature. Hayden Herrera, in her life study of Frida, noted that Kahlo's self-portraits were "schismatic: she painted her body as subject for the artist's scrutiny, the female in the passive role of pretty object, victim of pain, or participant in nature's cycles. Her face, by contrast, is regal, self-willed, almost androgynous…and gave her features a somewhat steely cast" (*The Paintings* 136–7). Kahlo's biographer also calls attention to the "life-long" imaginary friend the artist conjured first around the age of six or seven when Frida was persecuted for her misshapen leg. According to Herrera, Frida's paintings were a self-exploration and a plea for attention. The double dialogue continued for the next twenty-eight years (*The Paintings* 4).

In addition, Frida's biographer cites others who commented on Kahlo's fragmented identity, namely Rivera and Frida's first serious boyfriend, Gomez Arias, leader of the Cachuchas, a "high-spirited and rebellious clique" of National Preparatory School students, students who were "the cream of Mexico's youths" (*Paintings* 30). Arias once said Frida "was so contradictory and multiple that you could say there were many Fridas. Maybe none the one she wanted to be" ("Un Testimonio Sobre Frida Kalho" qtd. in *Paintings* 136). Perhaps Kahlo's fragmentation is best analyzed by Gannit Ankori's *Imagining Her Selves* which is a fascinating discussion of Kahlo's physical, metaphysical, social, cultural and political Selves and how these manifest themselves in her work and life. The author concludes: Kahlo's "self-conscious search for Self results in an oeuvre which reveals a complex, multifaceted, and "fractured" entity, permeated by a profound sense of conflict and fissures… Often she seems torn between male and female components, between an adult and a child Self, between European and Mexican identities," and the latter breaks down even further (Ankori 11–12 and 252). This fragmentation is also reflected in the tension between Frida's controlled style and explosive subject matter.

In fiction, Barbara Mujica, an author twice nominated for the Pushcart Prize and professor at Georgetown University, presents Frida's fractured identity and violence in an eponymous novel. The climax of *Frida* centers around the artist's smashing of her international collection of dolls. (While Frida apparently had a doll collection she never destroyed it.) The flying body parts of the dolls' dismemberment, a scene key to Frida's own fragmented identity and her self-destruction, also conflates the traumatic events of the past and future: the Mexican revolutionary war which informed the formative years of Frida's life and the Holocaust, an event particularly close to Frida due to her Jewish roots. After 1941 the rupture was even worse, when her father died and her body began falling apart in a more dramatic way which led to drug abuse and violent swings in temper. The behavioral flip-flopping and schizophrenic dialogue of Mujica's character reinforces Kahlo's fractured personality. Gannit Ankori in *Imaging her Selves* maintains that Kahlo's "visualizations of her damaged body as a metaphor for the fragmented or disintegrating Self reflect profound human concerns that… address wide-ranging ontological issues (254).

Baddeley is not oblivious to this split or the power of dress for she quotes Jean Franco, "The 'inner' Frida is controlled by modern society far more than the clothed Frida, who often marks her deviation from the norm by defiantly returning the gaze of the viewer" (107, quoted in Baddeley 14). Yet Baddeley's admirable insistence on the recognition of female professionalism seems to lead to a problematic inconsistency which minimizes Kahlo's fractured identity, intertextuality, and the importance of popular culture as opposed to elite art. According to Anne Beer, a writer who is known for biographies and academic articles about the genre, contradictions growing out of feminist criticism are not unique. In her article "Johnny and Bess," [about Milton and Lady Raleigh] she notes that ironies seem to arise frequently from the "fault-lines within the post-modernist and/or feminist project." Postmodernism has given rise to socio-political agendas which ferret out recuperative stories of women and women artists but it also has a profound mistrust of notions of agency and autonomy.

The popular refashioning of Frida Kahlo does not preclude an investigation into Kahlo's work; it may, rather, be driving up interest in her art, as it has driven up its price. As is known from pedagogical research, there are many learning styles: the hook that attracts each individual may vary enormously. Fashion, as Virginia Woolf recognized long ago, is a powerful attraction for many; fashion, as the embodiment of both history and the imaginary, should be more widely recognized and appreciated as an important force of art and identity.

NOTE

* A variation of the following five paragraphs have also been printed in the latest issue of *Cinematographic Art and Documentation*, 11(7): 45–51.

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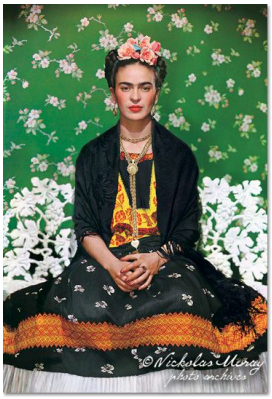
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Frida Kahlo, *My Dress Hangs There* (1933)



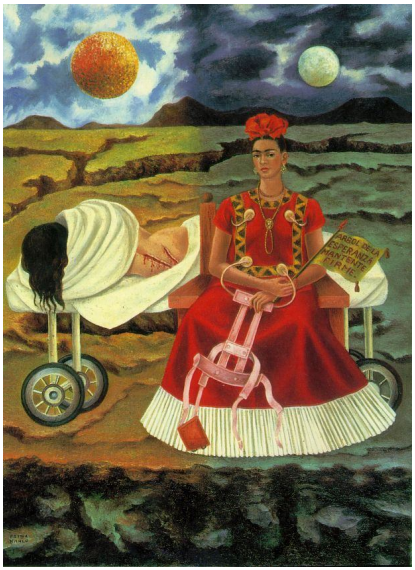
Frida Kahlo, *Frieda and Diego Rivera* (1931)



Nikolas Murray, *Frida on White Bench* (1939)



Frida Kahlo, *Self Portrait between the Borderline of Mexico and the United States* (1932)



Frida Kahlo, *Tree of Hope* (1946)

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Democracy and Gender Inequality in China

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ABSTRACT. The theory that I shall seek to elaborate here puts considerable emphasis on the translation of women's human rights rhetoric into concrete action, the nascent women's movement in China, China's gender and law initiatives, and the size and determinants of gender differences in cognition. This study is grounded in the considerable body of scholarship examining the huge gender gaps in the literacy rate and educational attainment, the emergence of new attitudes toward women and their role, the mobilization of women's groups to work together towards shared goals and catalyze action, and the burgeoning gender and law movement in China.

Keywords: China, democracy, gender, inequality, education, discrimination

1. Introduction

The mainstay of the paper is formed by an analysis of the underlying reasons for gender differences in cognition in the Chinese context, the propensity to gender-target ads, the narrowing of the gender gap in educational attainment, and gender discrimination in the form of discrimination against mothers and potential mothers. In this paper I am particularly interested in exploring advertised gender discrimination in China, the gap in the literacy rate or in educational attainment between the genders, legislative changes in the realm of employment rights and legal services for women, and manifestations of gender bias against women in the employment sector.

2. Gender Segregation in the Workplace

Derichs problematizes the conventional concept of transition, attempting a gendered conceptualization, drawing from studies and fieldwork during the periods of political transition in Indonesia and Malaysia, and addressing the

impacts of transition on women. Conceptual reflections of transition need to integrate a gender-sensitive perspective. A gender-sensitive approach requires to take the pluralism and heterogeneity of "women" and "men" into account.[1] Banskota writes that the constitutional democracy brought the question of gender equality[2] in the forefront of public attention in Nepal: democracy requires the empowerment of women so that they can establish new knowledge and means to assert their rights, voice, and participation in the equal world. legal equality would be useless if actual inequalities in practice continue to discriminate women in everyday life.[3] Schröter puts it that women's organizations have established advocacy units and women's shelters in Indonesia, promoting a nation-wide campaign against domestic violence. "Gender mainstreaming" connects women's activism to democratization, liberalism and pluralism.[4]

Kuhn and Shen hold that explicitly discriminatory actions, such as posting a job ad which states that a particular race or gender is preferred,[5] is both legal and accepted in many of the world's labor markets (explicit advertised gender discrimination is commonplace). The share of ads favoring men versus women is roughly equal: when it is legal to express gender preferences in job ads, a significant share of employers uses gendered ads to solicit women as often as men (*as a job's skill requirements rise, the share of ads stipulating a preferred gender declines*). There is no strong relationship between a firm's size and its propensity to gender target its job ads. A majority of the variation in advertised discrimination occurs *within firms*. Chinese employers' preference for men relative to women increases strongly with a job's experience requirements.

We may sum up by saying that differences in offered wages across education groups account for a substantial share of the negative effect of education on gender targeting. Kuhn and Shen maintain that the strong effect of experience is an artifact of how firms' gender preferences vary with the worker's age. Foreign-owned firms' preferences lean towards women, while SOEs lean towards men. There is a strong interaction between employers' preferences for gender and for workers' age, height and physical attractiveness. Like gender-targeting, the incidence of age-targeting declines strongly with jobs' education requirements. Firms' relative valuation of older workers rises with experience requirements and the offered wage. Firms' tendencies to request beauty and height decline with education requirements, experience requirements, and the offered wage. Some of the occupations with the highest revealed preferences for female workers have high unexplained propensities to request youth, beauty and height. Customer and supervisor tastes for interacting with attractive women play a significant role in firm's explicit requests for female workers. A greater expected supply response from targeting raises the likelihood of gender targeting. Higher skill requirements

should reduce the incidence of targeting. There is no stigma attached to posting a gendered job at in China.

But perhaps even more importantly is that explicitly gendered job ads are commonplace in the broader Chinese labor market. On Kuhn and Shen's reading, firms in a legal environment where they are allowed to engage in explicit gender discrimination when advertising their jobs will use the option to discriminate much more often when hiring for positions requiring lower levels of skill. Skill-upgrading may have a powerful, negative effect on the amount of explicit discrimination that is observed in labor markets. firms will choose to abandon coarse demographic screens in *thin* labor markets, extending their recruiting to groups they expect to be less suitable for the job on average. A job's skill level does not have a robust effect on firms' preferences for men relative to women.[6]

3. The Narrowing of the Gender Gap in Educational Attainment

Lee examines the impact of the one-child policy on girls' consumption of intra-household resources,[7] focusing on the schooling of children and using children's cumulative years of schooling to measure consumption in this regard: the policy did not improve the intra-household status of girls by eliminating the son preference exhibited by Chinese parents. The one-child policy implemented in China in 1979 to slow down the country's explosive population growth has inadvertently improved the intra-household status of female children and enhanced their share of intra-household resources (the one-child policy has created a large number of one-child households in China). The emergence of only children may not be totally due to the one-child policy, whereas the emergence of the majority of one-child households occurred because of the one-child policy. The one-child policy has eliminated the opportunities for parents to display a preference for male children and discriminate against female children, and produces more one-child households, removing the opportunities for parents to display gender bias. The gender bias has led to inferior intra-household status for daughters.

In sum, there is considerable theoretical support for the notion that the continuing breakdown of gender boundaries in various areas of the labor market will improve the status of women. Lee insists that the son preference has caused a few parents eager to have a male child to use extreme methods to ensure a male descendant. Once a girl has been born into a household and is the only child in the household, the parents may fully invest in her. Parents of only-child girls value education higher and thus invest more in the education of their child. For girls, the number of years of schooling is more dependent on the educational attainments of their parents, whereas, for boys, the number of years of schooling is less dependent on the educational

attainments of the parents. Only children have enjoyed significantly improved opportunities for education compared to children inside multiple-child households.[8]

Lei et al. examine gender differences in cognitive skills among middle age and older people in the Chinese context, including *episodic* memory and components of *intact mental status*. Cognitive skills are important in the context of the older population in China (intermediary market institutions do not help make financial decisions related to income security or health care provision). Mortality selection in cognition could contribute to a cognitive differential in favor of men, and do not play a critical role in either the observed age patterns or gender disparities in cognitive ability. In rural China families may emphasize the development of human capital skills in favor of their sons at the expense of their daughters. There is a female deficit in cognitive skills that grows with age.

One of the key conclusions to emerge from this discussion is that at low levels of economic resources Chinese communities invest in the cognitive skills of boys at the expense of girls. Lei et al. claim that China has experienced rapid economic development during the last thirty years with outstanding increases in schooling[9] for each new generation. Communites or villages are important social and economic entities that have important collective impact on their residents. Chinese villages are close-knit communities and residents inherit and preserve the same culture. Education is a very strong predictor of cognition, explaining part of the gender difference in cognition. Chinese women have much lower levels of education accomplishments than Chinese men do. The favoritism of men compared to women in low income settings is mainly a community level rather than individual level effect. Community income level has an effect independent of that of family income. Traditional Chinese parents treat sons and daughters differently in educational opportunities. In traditional poor Chinese communities, there are strong economic incentives to favor boys at the expense of girls in their education outcomes, in their nutrition, and in their adult height.[10]

4. The New and Emerging Gender-based Developments in Chinese Law

De Alwis examines some of the new and emerging developments affecting gender-based lawmaking[11] in China, identifying new legal and policy reform efforts within a framework of comparative law. Transnational legal processes are a bridging exercise between international theory and practice. China's globalization and state transformation have spurred a new wave of activism by women's groups ("globalization from below"). The transnational flow of ideas is rapidly transforming Chinese women's activism. Human rights discourse has created a legitimate space for the articulation of deeply felt needs.

There is a complex mix of legal and social transformation based on a growing rights discourse.

It is worth stressing that the dynamics of the rights discourse have energized incipient women's rights movements in China. De Alwis analyzes new developments in gender-based lawmaking through a women's human rights framework, and examines comparative developments in other countries. The invocation of international norms in judicial decision-making may transform the women's international human rights movement, facilitating the internationalization of human rights norms through the mutually reinforcing processes of internal persuasion and international pressure (international human rights norms can support domestic women's rights claims and provide a forum for the enforcement of international instruments). International women's rights frameworks can mobilize national and grassroots organizations, giving voice to lived experiences of discrimination and disadvantage. International human rights norms have to be read directly into lawmaking or judicial decision-making in China. Human rights norms are necessary building blocks of the emerging and ongoing reform processes on behalf of women in China.

It follows from this that women's rights advocates in China has adapted women's human rights norms to the local context. De Alwis asserts that the Chinese government has created a tension between the rhetoric of women's human rights and the actual application of those norms. There is a tension between protecting the special needs of women and achieving equality of employment between men and women. Women must often sacrifice employment opportunities at the expense of family responsibility. In the workplace, family needs are the shared duty of both sexes (*workplace policies that facilitate greater male engagement as caregivers in the lives of children can combat the nexus between gender discrimination in the home and workplace*). Many Chinese women work part-time or in the informal sector, and the result is an increase in the feminization of part-time work opportunities, and limited access to full-time work opportunities. Law and policy reform in China must provide corresponding safety nets and mechanisms, and reforms must be wary of reinforcing traditional gender stereotypes. Workplace regulations that support both fathers and mothers in taking more responsibility for caring for children is a key component in achieving gender equality.[12]

5. Conclusions

The results of the current study converge with prior research on the significant narrowing of education differences by gender in China, gender differences in cognitive ability, the importance of a child's education to Chinese parents, and the role of Chinese women's groups in strengthening the rule of law and human rights. Our paper contributes to the literature by providing evidence

on China's endeavors in women's rights lawmaking, the implementation of China's gender sensitive laws, gender segregation in the workplace, and general principles of gender equality and equal access to employment in China. This paper seeks to fill a gap in the current literature by examining the new and emerging gender-based developments in Chinese law, the strong role that education plays in cognitive ability, and the impact of the one-child policy on gender equality in education.

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Transforming the Gendered Social Relations of Urban Space

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ABSTRACT. There have been few comprehensive assessments of what research has learned about the relationship between gender and space, the integration of gender into spatial policy-making, the legal changes that have granted women greater entitlements to conjugal assets and protection from domestic violence, and income as a key indicator of gender gaps in poverty. In the present paper, I focus on the salience of ethnicity and citizenship status in gender violence, the multiple gendered (re)makings of urban public space, the gendered aspects of comfort, belonging and commitment in the city, and the multilayered nature of gendered belonging in the city.

Keywords: gender, space, violence, urban, social, relation

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to gain a deeper understanding of the nexus between the gendered nature of gay and lesbian neighborhoods, the nature and social consequences of gender variance, the inter-relationships between gender, space and power, and gendered patterns in the use of space. The theory that I shall seek to elaborate here puts considerable emphasis on the dominant power structures that perpetuate gender violence, fears on the part of transgender populations about safety in urban areas, the transgendered populations' perceptions of urban spaces, and the issue of sex discrimination in work opportunities. I am specifically interested in how previous research investigated the relationship between gender violence and planning, the effectiveness of gender violence prevention and response, men's and women's spatial knowledge of environments, the practicalities of gendered belonging, and individual gendered rights to the city and group rights to difference. In this paper I am particularly interested in exploring the link between gender violence and economic development, the high levels of social stigma attached

to being gender variant, social norms surrounding gender, and the transitory and fluid nature of gendered spaces.

2. Gendered Patterns in the Use of Space

Fenster focuses on the different formations of gendered belonging as they are expressed in women's and men's daily practices in the city: *cultural construction of space has inherent in its symbolism the legitimacy to exclude women from power and influence*. Women's and men's narratives reveal the connection between daily walking practices and a sense of belonging. Women's efforts to achieve full "political citizenship" tackle issues of equality and difference, referring also to equality in earning and in access to welfare services.

In light of the above evidence, it is no surprise that global urban spaces become more and more diversified in terms of their citizens' identities. Fenster writes that space is culturally constructed as an entity in which women and men feel a sense of belonging or dis-belonging. Certain cultural habits are transformed depending on one's own identity, class and gender through the body-space. Memory creates and consists of a sense of belonging, going back to the past and consisting of an accumulation of little events from the past. The "boundaries of belonging" may change according to the needs and goals of the hegemony.[1]

Sweet and Escalante establish the significance of gender violence prevention[2] in the planning field, break down constructed divisions between the public and private spheres as well as other structural inequalities, and describe how gender violence intersects with planning and policy: *issues of ethnicity and citizenship amplify existing inequalities and restrict the choices of women confronting violence*. Urban planning has been slow in responding to gender violence.

It is worth noting that both physical and social planning must be engaged to address gender violence. Sweet and Escalante point out that the consistent separation of the public and private spheres has stifled planning responses to gender violence, rendering violence that takes place in private spaces outside the planning realm. Gender violence is based on unequal relationships between men and women in social, cultural, economic and political spheres. The powerful social connotations of certain environments induce fear in women.[3]

Tacoli and Satterthwaite claim that most urban women experience profound disadvantages compared to men in their daily lives. Gender relations are transformed by the economic, social and political changes linked to urbanization. Women increasingly play a key role in urban poor movements.[4]

Wang and Cai analyze the magnitude of gender earnings differential and its components, focusing on earnings discrimination against females in urban

China. The difference in human capital underlies gaps in sectoral attainment and earnings between females and males. The gender earnings gap is caused mainly by within-sectoral earnings differentials in urban China (it is overwhelmingly generated within sectors).

It follows that inter-sector or intra-sector earnings differentials contribute to the overall earnings differences in China's urban labor market (males and females are treated differently in the urban labor market). Wang and Cai say that the Chinese government should reduce entry barriers and enhance female labor mobility across sectors. Females have been discriminated against for a long time in China. Education has a positive effect on earnings in all sectors for both females and males. Females are treated unfavorably in terms of employment opportunities as well as wage rate.[5]

3. The Nature of Gender-based Disadvantage in Urban Contexts

Chant notes that Costa Rica possesses long-term sex-disaggregated data for income and other relevant variables such as household headship[6] and age. Gender policy initiatives in Costa Rica have assisted some poor women to negotiate new ways of coping with poverty. Gender is a major axis of inequality in the country. The increase in female household headship has contributed to the lack of national income poverty decline in the last decade. "Objective" indicators of women's poverty together with "subjective" views of poverty and gender at the grassroots indicate limited achievements to date. Female household heads continue to stand a disproportionate risk of poverty (women are a disproportionate share of the poor).

The upshot of all of this can be put plainly: the increase in the relative share of female-headed households in the extremely poor category is accounted for by the overall growth in numbers of female-headed households (the growth in households headed by women is ongoing). On Chant's reading, female-headed households have less capacity to generate income than their male-headed counterparts. Many women find heading their own households a positive alternative. Female household heads are popularly identified as the "poorest of the poor." Enhanced social and legal resources have encouraged some women to take radical steps to change their domestic situations. Female headship tends to eliminate the problems of inequitable labor and uneven resource inputs and outcomes.[7]

Edlund asserts that if the marriage market is asymmetric, high paying jobs in a locality may imply that it can support more women than men. Marriage is a contract through which men transfer resources to women in exchange for parental rights. A surplus of women in cities may be a geographic manifestation of *hypergyny*. Many societies mandate monogamy, adding institutional constraints on a man's ability to father children.

The overall findings suggest that monogamy reduces the gender differences in reproductive capacity (not all partnering is between people who are married to each other, whereas monogamy is rarely strict). Edlund holds that the number of men and women who are married at any given point in time[8] will balance under monogamy. The location of skilled jobs in urban areas can result in more female than male rural-to-urban migration. Urban areas offer skilled workers of either gender better paying jobs.[9]

4. Social Norms Surrounding Gender

As Bastia and Busse put it, gender relations permeate all social relations:[10] gender relations are fundamental for the ways in which the process of migration develops and how it is experienced, being critical for our understanding of the consequences migration brings about.[11] Sagrario Floro and Bali Swain examine the interrelation of socially-ascribed gender roles and occupational choice selection. The gender wage gap is highest for individuals from families where there is a strong demand for household production. The gender roles may extend to the undertaking of strategic measures to mitigate the risk of food shortage.[12]

Burgess holds that women and men use public space differently[13] and have different concerns about how it meets their needs: *looking through the lens of gender shows how notions of maleness and femaleness have influenced our built environment.* The built environment plays a role in shaping gendered identities, practices and power relations. A consideration of gender can help make regeneration and planning more successful for the communities involved.

All of this needs to be fleshed out. The key point here is that gender considerations can be mainstreamed into spatial planning policy areas. Burgess insists that local authority planning officers are mostly addressing women's disadvantage in terms of issues of access, transport and safety. The reliance on legislation to progress gender inequalities must be supported by changes in policies and practices to address gendered disadvantage.[14]

Doan observes that gender variant individuals express their identities in ways that contravene expectations based on their biological sex. Individuals who transgress gender norms may experience profound social consequences. The appearance of gender is not protected by most anti-discrimination ordinances.

Indeed it is worth saying in passing that society has rigid expectations of appropriately gendered behavior. According to Doan, a rigid adherence to a dichotomous view of gender has resulted in a silencing of transgendered voices. Queer spaces may provide some form of a psychologically protective umbrella for transgendered people. The queer communities provide some

support to transgendered individuals in the early phases of exploration and transition.[15]

Brickell and Chant state that an "unbearable heaviness of being" attaches to women through altruism. Altruism can deny women the full exercise of their personhood and human rights, and can prevent them from taking any decision in their own interests in the first place (their altruistic practices can be capitalized upon to further other agendas). Women's disproportionate share of the "altruistic burden" within low-income households is increasing. The notion of female altruism within the family has remained steadfast. Developmental understandings of altruism have remained largely concentrated on the individual and/or household.[16]

Chant and Evans draw on primary fieldwork in The Gambia, illustrating how young love is negotiated in the context of urban poverty, and how it is differentiated on the basis of gender. Young women tend to sideline poor young men for reasons pertaining to social respect and economic security. Gendered socialization influences men's as well as women's sexual subjectivities and behaviors. International and inter-generational sexual relationships are highly desirable.

According to this discussion, young women face even more barriers to international immigration than their male counterparts, and may have less access to economic resources than their male peers. Chant and Evans contend that short-term financial returns and the incentive to find a desirable spouse motivate intimate relations among youth. Men's financial insecurity jeopardizes premarital dating and their marriage prospects. The economic dynamics of relationships are usually played down in favor of caring and emotional discourses.[17]

5. Conclusions

Considerable research attention has focused on the ways that transgendered individuals perceive urban spaces, the high levels of social stigma attached to transgressing norms of gender presentation, the gender relations of the places in which we live, and the place of women in the built environment. My paper contributes to the literature by providing evidence on the nexus between the complexity of how planning engages gender violence in different environments, the multiplicity of women's experiences in space, the nature of gender-based disadvantage in urban contexts, and women's spatial mobility. The results of the current study converge with prior research on the role of women in improving the infrastructure and services in low-income neighborhoods, the pervasiveness of gender-based violence, the deep gender-based inequalities that persist in urban centers, and the interlinkage of gender roles, food security and employment.

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Advancing Gender Equality in Research and Innovation in Europe and beyond: COST Network genderSTE*

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ABSTRACT. Gender is one of five priorities of the European Research Area, as stated in the Communication adopted in July 2012 entitled *A Reinforced European Research Area Partnership for Excellence and Growth* (EC 2012c). Following this Communication, the EC has fully integrated gender dimensions in its proposal for a regulation on the new research framework program *Horizon 2020*¸ which includes in Article 15 a provision for gender mainstreaming (EC 2011b). One final upcoming policy instrument announced by the EC is the *Recommendation on Gender, Science and Innovation* that will address member states and be adopted in 2014. Against this European policy background, the international COST policy driven network gender-STE (Gender, Science, Technology and Environment)[1] aims at enhancing a better integration of gender dimensions in science and technology at three main levels: i) promoting women's careers in science and technology through structural change of institutions (as recommended by EC) by disseminating existing research and practice; ii) promoting a better integration of gender in the content of science, research and technology, by dissemination existing research on the topic; iii) identifying gender dimensions relevant to environment-related Horizon2020 Grand Challenges and other urban EC initiatives.

Keywords: gender, structural change, environment, cities, transport, research, innovation

1. The European Policy Context on Gender and Science

Statistics show that the presence of women in the science system does not advance at the same rate as the numbers of women holding PhD's and also that horizontal segregation persists in some scientific and technological fields. Horizontal (or quantitative) segregation is produced to the extent that some

fields of knowledge are very feminized (especially those related to life sciences), whilst others are very masculinized (engineering and experimental sciences). Vertical segregation is produced in all fields, independently of the degree of feminization of the university student body: there are very few women at the highest levels in science, even in fields, such as medicine, where women have been in the majority at Associate Professor level for some time.

The presence of women at the highest level in science is not proportional to the number of women who are qualified, of the correct age, and have the necessary merits and motivation for these posts. Furthermore, the number of women in leadership posts is practically unchanging and is progressing only very slowly over time.

It is becoming broadly agreed in European scientific institutions that the scarce presence of women in science and technology is a waste of resources that neither science nor the economy can allow. 60% of people graduating from European universities are women. They graduate with excellent academic grades, often better than those of their male counterparts. But this highly qualified personnel does not find a place in the system. Many technological fields remain highly male also in overall numbers among undergraduate students, with average numbers of women studying these subjects below 30%.

Effective public policies are required to remove the obstacles and barriers that stand in the way of women in science and technological careers in Europe. The European Commission started along this path in 1999 with the creation of two organizations responsible for defining these courses of action and putting them into practice: the Women and Science Unit at the very heart of the Directorate-General of Research, and the Helsinki Group, an assessment group for the Commission. In 2001 the Commission published a preliminary report on the matter, the *ETAN Report Promoting Excellence through mainstreaming gender equality* that, for the first time, provided a global view of the position of women in science in Europe.

Since the publication of the ETAN Report, the Commission has funded a large number of studies that are already providing a solid base to help us understand the situation, its causes, and the measures taken so far by each country. In addition to promoting a solid knowledge base, the European Commission Directorate-General for Research has developed a number of innovative measures: including gender requirements in calls for proposals in the 6th Framework Programme, "proposals should indicate whether, and how, sex and gender are relevant variables in the objectives and methodology proposed;" gender and science training programmes; targets for the presence of women in the research programme; publication of statistics; committees, teams and calls for proposal; calls for proposals for Structural Change to institutions.

An evolution has been noticed in the stance of European institutions towards understanding the position of women in science and gender bias in research content as a problem with systemic and structural roots and which, therefore, requires more systematic measures than those taken so far and structural changes in scientific institutions aimed at better consideration of the gender dimension in all areas (EC 2011c).

In 2010 the Competitiveness Council, comprising European research and innovation ministers, adopted an important agreement to provide support for women in science and to promote structural change through the modernisation of scientific institutions. This agreement incorporates the recommendations of the document entitled *Gender and Research Beyond 2009* by the Helsinki Group (Helsinki Group 2009). It urges the Commission to adopt a Recommendation on Structural Change. This Recommendation will presumably be adopted in 2013. An Expert Group has issued a report with recommendations (EC 2011c) and another has been created at the beginning of 2013 to draft an impact analysis of the proposed Recommendation.

Over a decade of women in science policies at the European Union have produced a significant body of research and policy action at the European level and also in a number of member states. The series *She Figures. Statistics and Indicators on Gender Equality in Science*, now in its fourth edition after being first published in 2003 (EC 2012b), provides a good data source at a European scale from which to devise and benchmark policy. Additionally, some countries do produce specific publications with sex disaggregated data and gender indicators of women and science, such as the *White Paper on the Situation of Women in Science in Spain* (Sánchez de Madariaga et al. 2011) and *Científicas en Cifras 2011* (Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación 2011).

A number of studies describe specific best practices for gender in science and technology: *Talent at Stake. Changing the Culture of Research – Gender-Sensitive Leadership*, by the Norwegian Committee for Gender Balance in Research (2009); *Prages* (EC 2009b) is a database of experiences around the world; *Mapping the Maze* (2004b) provides a list of good practices to help reduce vertical segregation, as well as national reports on the situation; *WIR – Women in Industrial Research: A wake up call for European industry* (EC 2003) tackles the participation of women in private sector research; *Waste of Talents: Turning Private Struggles into a Public Issue. Women and Science in the ENWISE countries* (EC 2004a) analyses the situation in Baltic, and central and eastern European countries; *The Gender Challenge in Research Funding* (EC 2009) includes recommendations for improving transparency in assessment processes and in research funding in general. The study *Stocktaking Ten Years of Women in Science Policy* (EC 2010) provides an overview of a decade of European policy making on women in science, celebrating the creation in 1999 of the Women and Science Unit in

DG Research. The *Meta-analysis of Gender and Science* (EC 2012a) provides a wide overview of research, policies, issues and best practice. The *Toolkit of Gender in Research* by Yellow Window (EC 2009) provides a number of examples on how to introduce the gender dimension in research projects of the different thematic areas of the European Framework Program. The European Commission has also funded the *genSET Report* (genSET 2010) in which a panel of European science leaders identify a set of thirteen main recommendations.

The League of European Research Universities has issued a Report on *Women, Research and Universities* (LERU 2012) also with recommendations addressed to various sets of actors and a selection of best practice from among its institutional membership.

The Commission has published recently two key documents providing roadmaps for gender and research. The first one has been already mentioned and is a roadmap for promoting women in science titled *Structural Change in Research Institutions* (2011c) which identifies main problems, produces recommendations organized thematically and by actor, and a selection of best practices across the world. This report has identified five main sets of problems faced by research institutions: opaqueness in decision-making, despite significant progress in Europe, as lack of transparency continues to affect structures and processes; institutional practices which appear to be neutral but do have negative effects on the career opportunities of women; unconscious gender bias, which also affects the assessment of excellence; wasted opportunities and cognitive errors in knowledge, technology and innovation; finally, statistics show that there is still a gender pay gap, and that gender continues to be a structuring factor in the workplace, also in research.

The *Structural Change Report* proposes structural change in science institutions as the means to address each of these five sets of problems, so that decision making is more transparent, unconscious bias is removed from institutional practices, human resources management is modernized, excellence is promoted through diversity, and research and innovation are improved by the integration of a gender perspective. Its recommendations address the different interested stakeholders: member states, science institutions, European-wide organizations, gate-keepers of excellence, and the Commission itself. It includes a selection of best practices from around the world. It is a short, precise and to point document.

The second one is the Gendered Innovations Project which develops prac tical methods of sex and gender analysis for science, health and medicine, and engineering, and provides case studies as concrete illustrations of how sex and gender analysis leads to innovation. Gendered Innovations – fueled by sophisticated gender methods – stimulate the creation of gender-responsible science and technology, and by doing so enhance the lives of both men and women around the globe.

The goal of the Gendered Innovations project is to provide scientists and engineers with practical methods for sex and gender analysis. Examples of Gendered Innovations include: sex and gender analysis has led to the development of pregnant crash test dummies that can be used to enhance safety in automobile design; sex and gender analysis has included men in osteoporosis research, leading to better diagnoses and treatments (in the past, osteoporosis was conceptualized as a disease of postmenopausal women); sex analysis in animal research has led to new knowledge about how sex hormones influence basic molecular pathways involved in immune system function. This is relevant to treating numerous diseases, including autoimmune diseases and HIV infection.

All these studies, policy documents and position papers sum up to the existing wealth of research on gender in science and technology to provide a basis for action. The implementation of all these recommendations, however, is still slow and very uneven across COST countries. As the EC is moving forward with its policy initiatives, it is of paramount importance that individual and institutional actors at all levels and across Europe – governments, funding agencies, universities, journals, professional bodies and European-wide organizations, researchers and policy makers, etc. – become aware of the policy options available, the examples of best practice, the manuals and toolkits.

2. The COST Policy Driven Network Gender, Science, Technology and Environment, *genderSTE*

GenderSTE is the first of a series of policy driven networks set up by COST, the European Cooperation in Science and Technology.[2] COST is an intergovernmental program that includes 35 Member Countries in Europe and one Cooperating State (Israel). This allows researchers from these countries to embark upon networking opportunities by participating in science and technology network. COST Actions do not limit participation to scientists from COST Member Countries only but also from near-neighbor countries. In addition, COST holds reciprocal agreements with Argentina, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa for their institutions to participate in COST networks.

The main objective of genderSTE is to advance the state of the art in knowledge and policy implementation on gender and science and technological development through creating a network of policy makers and experts on gender, science and technology. Collaborative work is being developed in the following three aspects: i) contributing to/enhance implementation of policy measures geared towards structural change in science and technology institutions for a better integration of the gender dimension in career oppor-

tunities for women and men, building on the EC report "Structural change in research institutions: Enhancing excellence, gender equality and efficiency in research and innovation;" ii) dissemination and implementation of policy measures geared at integrating the sex and gender dimensions in the content of science and technology, building on the work of the Gendered Innovations Project; and iii) advance in the development of a better understanding of the sex and gender dimensions of technological development and innovation processes, with specific attention to the Grand Challenges identified in Horizon 2020 and the various urban initiatives at EU level.

The network genderSTE aims to overcome two challenges. The first is the lack of implementation of previously-elucidated gender in science and technology roadmaps and best practice guidelines throughout many COST countries, in two specific and interrelated aspects: structural change of institutions for promoting women's careers; integration of sex and gender analysis in the content of research and technology. (Sex analysis refers to biological characteristics while gender refers to socio-cultural ones; often sex and gender interact; for detailed definitions see the section on "terms" at www.genderedinnovations.eu). The second is the need to develop discipline-specific gender roadmaps and best practice guides for important fields for Horizon-2020 Grand Challenges.

The networking activities will bring together researchers and decision makers. Representatives from research and policy institutions that are less experienced/ advanced with regard to gender in science and technology will be exposed to representatives from institutions countries that are more experienced and/ or advanced in these issues. Current recommendations, information and resources will be consolidated and disseminated and new knowledge generated to fill gaps in key areas.

The European Commission publication "Structural change in research institutions: Enhancing excellence, gender equality and efficiency in research and innovation" describes the cost of taking no action in this regard as: danger of flawed research or diminished relevance of results; missing innovation and market opportunities; unfulfilled use of human capital (women scientists) in a competitive global R&I economy; increased societal distrust of, and reduced support for, science and its institutions.

The Gendered Innovations Project asserts that analyzing sex and gender prospectively can serve as a resource to stimulate new knowledge and technologies. From the start, sex and gender analyses act as additional "controls" (or filters for bias) to provide excellence in science, health and medicine, and engineering research, policy, and practice. The methods of sex and gender analysis are one set of methods among many that a researcher will bring to a project. In this way Gendered Innovations:

• “Add value to research and engineering by ensuring excellence and quality in outcomes and enhancing sustainability.

• Add value to society by making research more responsive to social needs.

• Add value to business by developing new ideas, patents, and technology.”

The target groups/ end users of genderSTE include science and technology policy, funding and performing institutions and stakeholders relying on the results of the science and technology. genderSTE will direct its activities to the first three groups and the results of genderSTE’s activities will result in better results for the end users. Specifically the network will focus on:

• Disseminating and implementing work on structural change to science policy and funding organizations, European-wide organizations, universities and research institutions, journals, individual researchers and other stakeholders.

• Disseminating and implementing work on gendered innovations to science policy and funding organizations European-wide organizations, universities and research institutions, journals, individual researchers and other stakeholders.

• Completing a stocktaking of the current situation, developing a research agenda to identify main issues, and advance on the state of the art in the fields i) energy and climate change, ii) City development, and iii) transport from a gender perspective, and disseminating and implementing this to science policy and funding organizations as well as to researchers directly in order to feed into Horizon 2020 and urban development related European initiatives. The state of the art is uneven in these three research areas, with very little work done on the first one, much more on the third one, and an in-between position of the second. This uneven degree of advancement in research is the reason of specifically devised types of activity proposed for each of these three subtopics.

Work is divided in three working groups, the third of them further subdivided in three subworking groups, and one task force. WG1 (Promoting Structural and institutional change) operates through disseminating and contributing to the implementation of structural changes of science and technology institutions in support of greater gender balance in science and technology careers. The network promotes a transfer of knowledge of the know-how existing in countries with greater experience into other COST countries. Its activities include: presentations at major science policy conferences; targeted information sessions in institutions in COST and Near Neighbor countries; exchanging information/ providing training to Action participants from countries that are more advanced in this area; seminars, workshops; short term scientific missions; toolkits.

WG2 (Promoting Gendered Innovations) will address mostly decision makers (policy and funding organizations) to improve the inclusion of sex and gender analysis into all stages of the research process (policy and research projects). GenderSTE will further disseminate the Gendered Innovations Project beyond its final presentation event at the European Parliament in July 2013. Its activities include: presentations at major science policy conferences; targeted information sessions in institutions in COST and Near Neighbor countries; exchanging information/ providing training to Action participants from countries that are less advanced in this area; seminars, workshops; short term scientific missions; toolkits.

WG3 (Mapping Gender in environment-related Horizon2020 Grand Chal lenges) will spend the first 2–2.5 years stocktaking the current situation, developing a research agenda regarding sex and gender in research, and advancing the state of the art in the following fields i) energy and climate change, ii) Cities and iii) transport, and will then, over the last 1.5–2 years of the Action disseminate and contribute to the implementation of this. Its activities include: meetings of experts on gender and policy makers in each of these fields, together with gender experts and with specific field experts; Short Term Scientific Missions for each of the fields; meetings with decision makers on European research on the three fields of climate change/energy; urban development; transport; presentations at major conferences specific to each of the three topics; a major international conference on Gender and Sustainable Development covering the three topics – energy and climate change; urban environment; transport.

Finally the Task Force on Innovation in Industry seeks to create awareness in industry for the innovation and business potentials of gender know-how within technology, products and services. Research has shown among other issues how men's and women's approach to technology differs: while women tend to be more interested in the (social) benefits of technology, many men focus on tech-performance and tech devices are of interest for their own sake or as status symbols. To create valuable and sustainable research results and technologies for all people, women and gender perspectives should be included at all stages of the innovation process, in order to keep a strong focus on development of technology with meaning and innovation that implies real life benefits for most users.

3. Participation in the Network *genderSTE*

GenderSTE establishes links and interacts with other research programs. In particular, the European Commission is an observer in the Network, as genderSTE intends to contribute to the elaboration and implementation of EC upcoming Recommendation on Gender and Science. Collaborations will

take place with ongoing and future European wide initiatives, such us: the gender focused era-net, Gender-NET; projects financed under the Structural Change EC call (supporting changes in the organization of research institutions to promote Gender Equality); Responsible Research and Innovation toolkit; the Gendered Innovations Project; the Helsinki Group; the portal financed under the GenPort project coordinated by UOC (Spain) which will create the main European portal for information on Gender and Science; Urban Europe JPI and other EC city related European initiatives in order to promote gender mainstreaming of urban research in Europe; the European Gender Summit; the Conference on structural change promoting gender equality in research institutions organized by the different Presidencies, such as the one at the University of Vilnius in 2013 under Lithuanian Presidency.

The targets of genderSTE are: science policy agencies, science funding agencies, research institutions and researchers themselves. Dissemination methods will vary according to the target group and will include: papers in scientific journals; presentations at conferences; thematic/ scientific conferences, and science policy and gender specific conferences; articles in the COST newsletter; best practice guide for COST actions; movies/ online training sessions that can be used in the future to ensure dissemination beyond the lifetime of the action; action website; toolkits.

GenderSTE was launched in November 2013 at the European Gender Summit in Brussels and will run for a period of four years. As of May 2013, it has 136 individual Members, of which 13.6% are men, and 40% are early stage researchers (less than 8 years after PhD). Country participation includes 33 of 35 COST countries. Among those countries defined by COST as near-neighbor countries, Morocco is already a member and contacts has been established with a number of them, particularly those included in the network *Shemera*, which in an effort paralleling *She Figures*, seeks to establish sex disaggregated statistics in science in a number of countries from Northern Africa and the Middle East. Institutions from three of the 4 countries holding reciprocal agreements with COST – Australia, New Zealand and Argentina are participating in the network, as well as four international organizations: Marie Curie Fellows Association, the European Platform of Women Scientists EPWS, the European Center for Women in Technology ECWT, the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives ICLEI.

4. Networking the Way to Equality in Research and Innovation

GenderSTE addresses as explained three issues of concern. Increasing female participation in the system through structural change is a goal shared by the EC and many scientific institutions in Europe, as demonstrated by the public consultation process started by the European Commission with the aim of

defining the *Horizon 2020 Framework Programme for Research and Innovation.* The European Research Area Strategic Vision adopted in 2010 sets a target for half of all scientific personnel, in all disciplines and at all levels of the scientific system, to be women by 2030. How to implement structural change in institutions so as to improve the presence of women in the system is a first issue of concern addressed by genderSTE.

"Thirty years of research have revealed that sex and gender bias in science and technology can be socially harmful and expensive." As the Gendered Innovations Project shows (Schiebinger et al., 2011) between 1997 and 2000, 10 drugs were withdrawn from the U.S. market because of life-threatening health effects – 4 of these were more dangerous to women. It is crucially important to identify gender bias and understand how it operates in science and technology. The second main issue of concern refers to the content of science and technology.

Beyond the social sciences and the humanities, sex and gender analysis are more developed in certain scientific and technological fields, such as health and medicine, and less in others such as city building, architecture, energy, transport, or environment. As the EC moves towards integrating a requirement for considering gender as a cross-cutting issue in the new research program, defining the state of the art in specific areas of interest to Horizon2020 will substantially contribute to gender mainstreaming European research. A third issue of concern refers precisely to mapping and advancing the state of the art in gender analysis in the fields of city building, transport, energy and climate change, all of them environmentally-related topics considered as Grand Challenges and as such priority areas for research within the new European framework program. This will contribute to open new paths for promoting gender equality not only in science, but also in technological developments and in the policy outputs in these important areas of European public policy.

NOTES

* A slightly changed version of this presentation, "COST network genderSTE: Networking Gender Equality in Research and Innovation in Europe and beyond" has been published in the online journal TRIA published by Università Federico II di Napoli, 6(10), 2013, 43–56.

1. http://www.cost.eu/about_cost/governance/genderste; http://www.genderste.eu

2. http://www.cost.eu/. COST's 35 Member Countries are: Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom and Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. *Near Neighbor Countries* include

Albania, Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Montenegro, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Russia, Syria, Tunisia and Ukraine.

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Entretien aven l'écrivaine Evelyne Accad – une activiste, une femme de la paix

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> *Les femmes n'ont pas tort du tout quand elles refusent les règles de vie qui sont introduites au monde, d'autant que ce sont les hommes qui les ont faites sans elles.*
>
> Montaigne, *Essais*, III, 5.

Femme engagée, écrivaine réputée, écrivaine sans frontières, Evelyne Accad est une Voix haute à l'ère de la Mondialisation. Elle œuvre, elle enseigne, elle milite, au risque de sa vie et dans des conditions souvent difficiles, pour la Femme et les droits de la femme, dans le Monde Arabe et Moyen-Oriental, et au-delà de frontières, pour la femme d'aujourd'hui et de demain. À l'occasion de la Journée de la Femme, le 8 Mars 2013, cet Entretien se veut un hommage obligé à cette femme d'exception, à cette Femme de la Paix en pays de guerre.

Evelyne Accad met sa plume et sa Voix au service de l'Humanité. Polyvalente et multiculturelle, dynamique et militante, femme de combat et du terrain, Accad a consacré sa vie entière au service de l'humanité. Sa vie, son œuvre, ses recherches portent sur la condition des femmes, d'abord dans son pays le Liban, puis dans le Golfe Arabe, l'Égypte, la Tunisie, le Maghreb, et récemment l'Asie. Avec des armes simples, des armes de la Paix, l'auteure milite contre la Guerre et ses méfaits sur la femme arabe et musulmane.

Figure du Féminisme, Accad est avant tout une Voix dans le Monde de l'absurde et de la Guerre qui a versé dans le sang le Liban et le Proche-Orient dans la deuxième moitié du XX^{e} siècle. Accad incarne la Voix de la liberté d'une femme enchaînée en période de guerre.

Ses deux moyens d'expression sont des moyens pacifiques. Avec sa plume et sa guitare, Evelyne se met au service de l'humanité pour dénoncer l'injustice faite aux femmes dans les sociétés Arabo-Musulmanes. Son écriture-

couteau fustige le malaise socio-carceral et civilisationniste qui domine dans le Monde Arabe. Ses chants, sa musique et ses paroles régorgent d'émotion et font verser des larmes dans ce Monde injuste où tout est mis en œuvre pour bafouer la femme, sa situation, son existence. Sa voix haute et forte, caractérisée par le rythme oriental qui a bercé son enfance, touche tout public, masculin et féminin, rappoche les gens et rapporte les valeurs universelles qui sont les siennes, d'un Continent à l'autre, au delà de toutes frontières.

Femme du Monde, Femme universelle, Accad milite avec tout ce que l'humain peut disposer pour faire valoir les droits bafoués de la femme Moyen-Orientale, la Justice, la Santé, la thérapie et la psychothérapie. La guitare dans la main, Accad emporte le public et le transporte dans des strates Autres, dans des strates hautes, celles de la Justice humaine, de l'Égalité, de la Fratenité.

L'entretien qui suit a été réalisé dans les bureaux de la Sorbonne (Paris IV), Maison de la Recherche, le 8 mars 2013, journée de la femme.

Efstratia Oktapoda: Evelyne, vous êtes très connue au grand public, et partout dans le Monde –en Europe, aux États-Unis, au Moyen et Proche-Orient, en Afrique du Nord–, comme femme engagée, comme écrivaine, comme poète, comme Professeure.

Evelyne Accad: Merci Efstratia de me donner la parole en ce jour exceptionnel de la Journée de la Femme, j'en suis très touchée et je vous en remercie. Je ne sais pas si je suis femme "universelle," j'en suis honorée, ce n'est pas mon but. Je suis tout simplement femme. Je suis née à Beyrouth et je partage ma vie entre mon pays le Liban, la France où je réside, et les États-Unis où j'ai travaillé pendant plus trente ans.

Efstratia Oktapoda: Evelyne, vous êtes littéralement une Citoyenne du Monde! Vous êtes aussi une femme d'exception. Déjà de par vos origines, vous êtes née pour traverser, si je puisse dire, le Monde, peut-être vous étiez destinée pour par-courir et militer. Vous êtes née libanaise, tout en ayant des origines égyptiennes et suisses, vous me corrigez si je me trompe. On va parler aujourd'hui de vous, de votre personnalité multiple et multiculturelle. Evelyne, femme de combat, est aussi Professeure.

Evelyne Accad: J'ai été Professeure de Littérature Comparée Francophone et Arabophone et d'Études Africaines et Féministes aux États-Unis, à Illinois University de 1973 à 2004, et à la Lebanese American University de Beyrouth où j'ai souvent enseigné grâce à des bourses Fulbright ou durant mes sabbatiques.

Efstratia Oktapoda: À côté de cela, comme si c'était peu, vous êtes une grande écrivaine. Une écrivaine en tout cas, qui écrit beaucoup, tous les genres, essais, romans, nouvelles, en anglais et en français, traduits ensuite

dans plusieurs langues. Et comme cela ne vous suffisait pas, vous êtes aussi poète, chanteuse et compositrice. Mais combien de vies vous avez Evelyne? Vous êtes vraiment extraordinaire. Parlez-nous un peu de votre œuvre, de cette œuvre multiple.

Evelyne Accad: Si vous voulez, je commencerai par *L'Excisée*, qui est un roman, un peu ancien, paru d'abord chez L'Harmattan en 1982 [deuxième édition 1992] et récemment réapparu chez L'Harmattan en édition bilingue sous le titre *L'Excisée/The Excised*, traduit par Cynthia Hahn (2009). Je continue avec le récueil de nouvelles *Femmes du Crépuscule* publié également chez L'Harmattan (2008), avec une édition bilingue chez Alfabarre, 2011). Autre roman, *Blessures des Mots: Journal de Tunisie* (Paris, Côté femmes, 1993). Un roman que j'aime et qui a fait l'objet de plusieurs études c'est *Coquelicot du massacre* (Paris, L'Harmattan, 1988). Et un autre plus ancien, *Montjoie Palestine! or Last Year in Jerusalem*, une édition bilingue avec une traduction du poème dramatique de Noureddine Aba, introduction et notes (Paris, L'Harmattan, 1980). Pour les essais, je voulais signaler *Voyages en Cancer* avec une Préface de Yves Velan (Paris, L'Harmattan, Tunis, Aloès, Beirut, An-Nahar, 2000) et *Des femmes, des hommes et la guerre: Fiction et réalité au Proche-Orient*, une étude parue aux édictions Côté femmes à Paris (1993).

Efstratia Oktapoda: Et à moi d'ajouter que vos œuvres sont recompensées de nombreux prix comme le prix Phénix 2001 pour *Voyages en Cancer*, le prix France-Liban de l'ADELF en 1994 pour votre livre *Des femmes, des hommes et la guerre: Fiction et Réalité au Proche-Orient*, le Delta Kappa Gamma International Educators Award, etc.

Evelyne, vous êtes une femme qui diffuse l'Amour et l'Amitié, toute le monde vous admire beaucoup Madame Accad, et vous aspirez beaucoup de respect et d'amiration pour tout ce que vous faites. Vous êtes engagée aussi dans les Associations pour les Femmes. Vous faites des œuvres charitatives et humanitaires et une œuvre sociale avant tout. Parlez-nous de votre œuvre "sociale".

Evelyne Accad: Le combat c'est ma vie. J'aime être utile et agir en faveur des faibles, des malades et des femmes torturées, handicapées, traumatisées. C'est naturel pour moi. Je suis Femme et Orientale et je connais les enjeux. Depuis 2008, je suis Co-Fondatrice avec Dr Jacqueline Hajjar de Beit-el-Hanane, un abri pour femmes battues à Beyrouth-Liban. Je suis aussi Co-Fondatrice de CSBRMS: Coalition for Sexual and Bodily Rights in Muslim Societies appelé aussi Women for Women's Rights New Ways, qui a commencé à Istanbul en 1993. Je dirige des ateliers d'écriture sur des thèmes différents sur "sexualité et guerre" pour the Coalition for Sexual and Bodily

Rights in Muslim Societies, CSBR Institute on Health and Rights, Sisters in Islam, Aug 16–23, Cyberjaya, KL, Malaysie, au Qatar et au Liban.

Efstratia Oktapoda: Ce qui est formidable chez vous Madame Accad : vous êtes une femme sans frontières et une Ambassadrice de la Paix. Peu de personnes ont consacré leur vie durant à se battre pour les Droits de la Femme et dans d'autant d'Associations. Ce sont des gens de fer, comme vous Madame Accad qui n'hésitent devant rien au risque de leur vie. En vous lisant, en vous parlant, on se rend compte qu'il y a des médecins sans frontières et il y a des écrivains sans frontières. Il y a des hommes (ou femmes) politiques, et il y a des Professeurs militants et des écrivains engagés qui mettent leur plume au service de l'humanité. C'est votre cas.

Evelyne, vous faites aussi de la musique. La musique est indissociable de votre personnalité et est, me semble-t-il, partie intégrante de vous et de votre combat.

Evelyne Accad: Le chant, la musique font partie de ma création et de mon engagement, j'aime mélanger les deux genres. Ma mère avait une très belle voix dont j'ai hérité, elle chantait toute la journée dans la maison en faisant son travail et aussi s'accompagnait au piano après son travail. C'est son frère, mon oncle Suisse qui m'a appris à jouer à la guitare à l'âge de 12 ans. Déjà à l'âge de cinq ans, ma mère m'a raconté que j'aimais chanter devant un public, j'inventais déjà des chansons que je chantais sans timidité. Je me suis demandée pourquoi et comment j'avais tellement changé avec le temps car adolescente j'étais devenue très timide, puis cela s'est ammélioré petit à petit. J'utilise souvent la musique dans mes conférences pour ajouter une note mélodieuse à ce que je dis et apporter un élément émotionnel à ce que je dis et réussir à mieux convaincre mon auditoire.

Efstratia Oktapoda: Il est certain qu'avec la musique on peut exprimer des choses qu'on ne peut pas énoncer avec la parole. C'est un moyen complémetaire et en même temps principal. Ce qui peut expliquer aussi votre timitidé d'adolescente.

Evelyne Accad: J'ai commencé à composer des chants, paroles et musique, quand la guerre a éclaté au Liban, j'éprouvais un tel désespoir que ma détresse est sortie en musique. Elle m'a permis d'exprimer ma profonde tristesse et de dépasser ce qui me faisait si mal. J'étais à l'étranger et c'était difficile d'entendre et de gérer ce qui se passait au pays et d'apprendre la mort d'êtres chers ainsi que la destruction d'un pays que je chérissais. Lorsque j'ai vu l'effet de ma musique et de mes chants sur les auditoires à l'étranger, mais aussi au Liban où je faisais des séjours pour soutenir ceux qui restaient malgré tout pour que le pays puisse retrouver son visage sans guerres, violence et destruction, j'ai constaté le pouvoir de la musique et je me suis dit que si la musique avait un tel pouvoir, je devais l'incorporer

dans ce que je disais pour réussir à transformer les choses avant qu'il ne soit trop tard. La musique a un effet thérapeutique, l'écriture aussi mais pas de la meme manière car la musique est sentimentale et le mélange de paroles (écriture poétique) à la mélodie, lorsqu'il est réussi, provoque de grandes émotions. La musique a un language universel qui transcende les frontières et les langues et peut réussir à unir les peuples.

Efstratia Oktapoda: Evelyne, parlez nous de la femme engagée en détails, aux États-Unis, au Liban, votre présence et votre combat partout dans le monde pour les faibles et les femmes en détresse.

Evelyne Accad: Mon engagement pour la cause des femmes de ces quarante dernières années m'a entraînée dans des voyages de recherche et d'écriture. J'ai interviewé un nombre important de femmes dans tous les pays du Maghreb et du Machrek et j'ai aussi analysé le rôle des femmes dans la littérature de ces pays. J'ai assisté et participé à des conférences majeures dans les mondes arabes et musulmans avec des femmes à la tête de nombreux mouvements d'émancipation des femmes, dans des sociétés où les femmes sont sujettes à tant de lois et coutumes qui entravent leurs libertés les plus élémentaires. Et bien sûr il y a les Associations qui occupent depuis deux ans la plus grande partie de ma vie.

Efstratia Oktapoda: Quelques mots sur votre engagement actuel concret ?

Evelyne Accad: Ayant fait carrière dans le monde académique mêlé à la pratique de l'écriture créatrice, ainsi qu'un engagement pour les causes dans lesquelles je croyais et pour lesquelles souvent j'écrivais, j'ai ressenti le besoin, durant ces dernières années, de m'engager davantage directement pour des causes humanitaires, particulièrement dans mon pays d'origine, le Liban, en proie à tant de conflits mondiaux. J'ai donc aidé à fonder des ONG auxquelles je me suis associée, j'aimerais brièvement rapporter ici le travail qui s'y fait.

Efstratia Oktapoda: Evelyne, vous présidez, seule ou avec d'autres personnes, plusieurs Associations. Parlez-nous de ces Associations, c'est une œuvre très importante, et en plein temps, me semble-t-il.

Evelyne Accad: On a ouvert ma soeur et moi *Beit el Hanane, abri pour femmes abusées, au Liban, en 2010.* Beit el Hanane (Maison de la Tendresse) est une organisation charitable à but non lucratif, sans attache confessionnelle, non discriminatoire, qui a pour vocation de s'occuper des femmes victimes de la violence au Liban. Elle contribue à sensibiliser la communauté pour briser un cycle de violence et d'abus, et offre un environnement d'encouragement, de compassion, et de soutien pour toutes celles qui sont confrontées à ces abus, grâce à un réseau de professionnels et de volontaires.

Les femmes victimes d'abus trouvent non seulement une place et une solution pour leur problème immédiat mais également des opportunités qui touchent leur bien-être et leurs familles sous forme d'ateliers, de counseling, d'éducation et d'emplois. Nous avons eu déjà plusieurs ateliers de travail sur les traumatismes de toutes sortes et de la thérapie individuelle et de groupe avec des spécialistes venus de différents pays.

Il y a aussi *Tahaddi clinique et école ouvertes dans les camps de Sabra et Chatila* depuis une dizaine d'années que je visite régulièrement. C'est une Clinique médicale commencée par une femme française médecin dans un camion déambulant dans les camps, maintenant clinique ouverte à l'entrée du camp de Sabra associée à une école.

Et il y a *Nabaa al Hayet, Spring of Life (Source de Vie)*: C'est un Centre ouvert par l'une de mes nièces et son mari qui accueille les réfugiés iraquiens et syriens, surtout les enfants pour les scolariser et leur offrir un repas chaud par jour. Ces réfugiés venus des pays alentours en guerre ne sont pas pris en charge par le gouvernement, les enfants ne peuvent pas aller à l'école car elles sont trop chères et l'école publique ne leur est pas ouverte car ils ne sont pas libanais. Ils sont donc lâchés dans la rue par leurs parents et souvent forcés à la mendicité et à la prostitution.

Efstratia Oktapoda: Evelyne, un mot à présent sur la Francophonie. La Ministre de la Culture en France, Aurélie Filippetti inaugurera dans quelques jours, le 13 mars 2013, à Paris, la semaine de la Francophonie que nous célébrons d'ailleurs chaque année. En tant qu'ecrivaine, vous écrivez votre œuvre, nouvelles et romans, en français. Est-ce que la Francophonie est importante pour vous?

Evelyne Accad: J'ai enseigné la littérature francophone pendant des années à l'Université de l'Illinois aux États-Unis et je l'ai définie comme Français en dehors de la France, aussi bien l'Afrique que les pays du Machrek et du Maghreb, certains pays européens, le Canada et l'Asie. C'est donc un aspect important de la thématique d'aujourd'hui et de ce que le français représente encore dans notre monde globalisé.

Efstratia Oktapoda: Parlons de votre œuvre, de votre écriture et de la spécificité de votre écriture en tant que femme. Vous avez une écriture singulière et dénonciatrice. Est-ce que en tant que femme écrivain vous élabores des thématiques particulièrement féminines? modernes? D'actualité? se réfèrent-elles pour la plupart au Liban, le pays du cœur?

Evelyne Accad: Je suis une révoltée et la révolte m'a aidée à me libérer et à prendre conscience de la condition de la femme dans le monde et dans ma région du monde en particulier. J'ai quitté le Liban à l'âge de 19 ans pour fuire les mariages arrangés, et la condition d'oppression des femmes que je remarquais autour de moi. Je voulais être libre et découvrir qui j'étais loin

des carcans de la tradition. Je suis donc partie très loin aux États-Unis pour me découvrir et pour étudier. Mes études m'ont amenée à la réalisation que la condition de la femme dans les pays arabes était bien pire que ce que j'avais quitté, cette réalisation fut le début de mon engagement à la cause de la libération des femmes et le centre du développement de toute ma carrière académique et de femme activiste. C'est donc normal que mon écriture soit dénonciatrice et pousse des cris d'allarme face à la montée des encerclements, intégrismes et oppressions de toutes sortes, surtout celles liées à la condition des femmes dont je fais partie.

Efstratia Oktapoda: Concernant le style et la narration de vos oeuvres : Est-ce que c'est la thématique qui est plus importante dans vos récits ou bien la stylistique? Vous défendez les femmes, et vous dénoncez des situations dans les pays en guerre et dans les pays de l'Orient et du Moyen-Orient. On trouve chez vous des thématiques profondément féminines qui saisissent toute femme sans parole, sans voix, sans droits. Une littérature très engagée, vous êtes défenseur des droits de femmes.

Vous êtes une femme engagée, une personnalité engagée et une écrivaine engagée. Une combattante et une militante à part entière et vous déployez tous les modes de "voix" qui existent pour vous faire entendre. La chanson, la musique, la guitare sont vos armes. Des armes de la paix.

Evelyne Accad: Je mélange les genres dans mon écriture. Par example j'utilise la prose et la poésie entre-coupés, je ne savais pas que c'était une longue tradition arabe nommée ***zajal***. Cela fait aussi partie de l'écriture féministe de mélanger les genres. Ainsi dans mon livre sur le cancer, j'ai même incorporé les lettres d'amis, des citations de livres que je lisais sur la question, des chants et des poems. Les éditeurs classiques n'aiment pas trop car ils ne savent pas comment publier un livre avec une histoire circulaire plutôt que linéaire. Mon premier roman ***l'Excisée*** a fait face à ce genre de critique et des éditeurs classiques m'ont même dit qu'ils le publieraient si je réécrivais l'histoire de manière linéaire en enlevant les elements différents qui perturbaient la déroulement de l'intrigue, mais je n'étais pas prête à exciser l'Excisée, je ne l'ai donc pas fait et ai trouvé un éditeur qui a bien voulu le publier tel quel. Quant à mon livre sur le cancer qui mélange encore plus les genres, les citations, et les poèmes, j'eus beaucoup de peine à faire faire un formattage du texte reflétant la polyphonie des voix.

Efstratia Oktapoda: On peut lier votre œuvre à la politique, au social, et au thérapeutique. C'est singulier et unique, c'est une caractéristique de vous et de votre œuvre.

Evelyne Accad: Oui cette analyse est très juste et reflète bien les côtés politiques, sociaux et thérapeutiques de mon œuvre.

Efstratia Oktapoda: Votre engagement, votre combat, votre œuvre touchent tous les grands de la planète. Vous œuvrez pour les femmes et pour les enfants, pour les malades et pour les faibles, et pour une société plus juste, plus équilibrée, plus fraternelle. Vous êtes une Femme de la Paix et vous avez encore beaucoup d'œuvre devant vous. On vous remercie beaucoup.

Paris, 8 mars 2013

Websites d'Evelyne Accad :
www.french.uiuc.edu/People/faculty/Accad.html
www.harmattan.fr/minisites/index.asp?no=25
www.peuplesmonde.com/spip.php?rubrique6
http://www.bopint.org/
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BOOK REVIEWS

Why Internet Porn Matters
Margret Grebowicz (Goucher College)
Stanford, CA: Stanford Briefs/Stanford University Press, 2013, 135 pp.
ISBN 978-0-8047-8662-1

Grebowicz makes an argument concerning pornography's role in political ontology: turning to the philosophical register results in reorienting *the politics of pornography*. The intersection of pornography and Internet distribution effects a shift in what pornography means and how it functions in the world. The Internet embeds the social meaning of pornography squarely in the epistemological shift from knowledge to information. The shifts in which Internet pornography acts as a catalyst effect a particular understanding of the sexual subject in relationship to the democratic state and to speech that constrains the possibilities for sexual speech to resist or intervene in the state's policies (Internet pornography creates unprecedentedly docile subjects). Grebowicz discusses those structural and logical particularities which allow the form of pornography to play a pivotal role in the democratization of information. In the case of Internet pornography, the question of political belonging must be foregrounded, as the political belonging of pornography is intimately linked to its ontology. Internet pornography is symptomatic of and central to an "American" kind of modernity.

Grebowicz presents a poststructuralist critique of the politics of the First Amendment and their central role in the formation of America as an imaginary, interrogates the relationships between speech, freedom, sexuality, and power as they are produced and maintained by the commodification of information, and the effect of the dematerialization of commodities on the idea of the real. Grebowicz considers the role of pornography in the changing dynamics between sexual freedom and freedom of expression, as well as fantasy and social change: *questions about pornography's social effects and political significance cannot be answered without taking the mode of distribution into account.* It is possible to cite an image, from which it follows that it is possible to extract pornographic imagery and present it in a different context. The idea that discourse is constitutive of subjectivity does not guarantee its particular role as intervention or event at work in political

movements. Speech that constitutes the sexual self could remain in the service of hegemonic techniques of management. Showing that sexual practices are effects of discourse does nothing to account for something like "speaking the sexual" as resistance. Internet pornography compromises the progressive potential of pornographic speech: *the technology raises new anxieties about the social function of signs, about speech and its material effects*. Ours is a social order more tuned into, and turned on by, signs, representations, simulacra than ever before in history. The practice paradigm is not sufficient in mapping the social effects of pornography in the Internet age. Internet pornography demands the reconception of pornography as information, and as subject to the logic of the democratization of information and to new fantasies of immateriality.

The findings referred to here suggest that to understand the political effects of cyberporn we must come to think about power in the way that the delivery method that is the ecstasy of community constitutes a new kind of governable subject: *cyberporn is best conceived of as speech if we wish to examine its social effects*. Grebowicz maintains that Internet pornography is structurally circulatable, like every other text, and is actively, excessively circulated. Pornography's role in the production of norms may change throughout history. The contents of pornography change over time, but the role of pornography in the production of norms may change as well. There is something complex taking place in the way that pornography manipulates our experience of what is real. Internet porn conflates sex and hyperreality and links pornography to the problematics of democracy and political ontology: it is the most important tool of a social order which requires transparency of its subjects. Pornography moves from being understood as illicit, indecent materials to being a vehicle for "honest" sexual expression for and by the masses. The pornographic imaginary is one of communities, networks of support, sharing, and open discussion. The sharing communities made possible by Internet distribution play a strategic role in many liberationist projects. What is striking about Internet pornography is the metalevel discourse of information sharing in which it is situated.

It is worth stressing that there is something about the imaginary of democratized information that makes it porn-friendly. Grebowicz holds that pornography is problematic *as an instrument of the kind of democracy that requires the disappearance of the secret existence and the autointoxication of the social*. Internet technology provides the loss of aura in the service of maximum iterability and circulation. Internet pornography returns us to problems of speech and language. Speech and sex are the keystones of modern debates concerning freedom, figuring in terms of autonomy, agency, and liberties to be protected. Internet pornography reinvigorates the need to examine the speech paradigm and the society of communication. Cyberporn gives rise to porn communities, threatening the role of privacy in the

politics of sexuality. A politics which takes the event-in-language seriously requires a deep exploration of the relationship between the feminine inhuman and the production of meaning. The porno*graphic* is sexual speech, the simultaneity of representation and embodiment. Pornography represents bodies and affects them on many levels, acting on bodies by means of representations. Internet distribution compromises the crucial political potential of the space for fantasy. Porn troubles the basic infrastructure of modern political thought.

Grebowicz's book makes many insightful claims and raises a lot of intriguing questions about the social effects of pornography in the Internet age. *Why Internet Porn Matters* succeeds by every measure of success, and I wholeheartedly recommend it to anyone interested in this important topic.

Reviewed by George Lăzăroiu, PhD
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Social Production and Reproduction at the Interfaces of Public and Private Spheres

Editors: Marcia Texler Segal, Esther Ngan-Ling Chow, and Vasilike Demos
Emerald: Bingley, West Yorkshire, 2012, 302 pp.
ISBN 978-1-78052-874-8

Social Production and Reproduction at the Interfaces of Public and Private Spheres is the 16th volume of the series of books dealing with new developments in the study of gender within a variety of feminist frameworks and methodologies under the title "Advances in Gender Research" reuniting authors from all over the world.

In the age of globalization, the edge between the public and private spaces, whether it is about people, media, social and legal policies, relationships or behavior is dim, each of them having undergone a redefinition process under the light of modern gender issues.

The volume gathers papers that explore the topic of production and reproduction at the crossroad of public and private social life in its greater depth following the natural reproduction steps as matching or making relationships, motherhood, family life and work, analyzing the issues from the perspective of gendered attitude towards different modern social policies in countries like Spain, Indonesia, Pakistan, Canada, USA, China, Taiwan, and England, exploring both rural and urban spaces.

Authors address the relationship among families from different perspectives: stereotypical image of families with marriage migrants and the role of the Unification Church in constructing and normalizing heterosexuality in modern social context (Minjeong Kim, "Gendered Desire and Heteronor-

mativity in the Transnational Matchmaking Process"), the model of Chinese motherhood and its impact on the development of families enterprises in Spain underlining the destination country labor conditions that open to transnational families, households with multi-located members, thus putting in place new strategies for family balance (Amelia Saiz Lopez, "Transnationalism, Motherhood, and Entrepreneurship: Chinese Women in Spain"), the role of local culture in the social reproduction of women's lives within the family and the way it relates their understanding of motherhood and sexuality to the capacity of challenging family culture bound expectations (Marilyn Porter and Kristi Poerwandari, "Living Culture and Making Relationships: Mothers and Daughters Negotiate Sexuality in Indonesia and Canada"). They examine the single motherhood among low-income Black women or residents of impoverished regions in Southwest China, reassessing previous quasi-judgmental approaches based on stereotypes faced by mothers in poverty and discovering the cultural resources that enabled Black women to handle the burden of poverty in raising their children (Bette J. Dickerson, Wanda Parham-Payne and Tekisha Dwan Everette, "Single Mothering in Poverty: Black Feminist Considerations") and investigate the interplay between Chinese patriarchal values and neoliberal ideas through introduction of techniques, by official means, to improve the godmother image and reinforce gender stereotype through market activity (Lihua Wang, "Neoliberalism and the Feminization of Family Survival: the Happiness Project in Four Chinese Villages").

The workplace climate is analyzed both from the perspective of the impact of China's economic transition on women's construction of their work and family roles, stressing the women's effort to cope with excessive market forces to protect family well-being rather than leaning on domestic role as a result of traditional gender values (Jiping Zuo and Yongping Jiang, "Work-to-Family Conflict and Women's Construction of Work/ Family Roles in Post-Mao China") and from the high-powered occupations such as college faculty perspective, where women struggle facing the persistence of male breadwinner stereotype, seek to achieve a balance between a full-time homemaker and family life (Catherine White Berheide and Cay Anderson-Hanley, "Doing It All: The Effects of Gender, Rank, and Department Climate on Work-Family Conflict for Faculty at Liberal Arts Colleges"). The labor market affects the relationship between men and women, challenging the traditional patterns, especially under rural-urban movement, since the market-oriented reform beginning in the late 1970s in China; it brings into discussion the gender inequality as women are in a disadvantageous situation when applying for a job compared to their male counterparts showing that women rural-urban migrant worker's human and social capital are lower than men's and this gender discrimination affects women's occupational attainment

(Zhen Wang, "Empirical Study of Gender Occupational Segregation of Rural-Urban Migrant Workers in China").

Globalization issue is approached referring to mass media transcultural gender discourse competition that opposes consumerism and traditional roots within different men and women choices of diverse types of media entertainment (Di Yang and Yihong Jin, "Gender Discourse in the Cultural Context of Globalization: Transmission, Conflict, and Discourse Competition"), to the role of gender issues' inclusion into educational state programs in Taiwan in response to the logic of globalization and global trend of gender equality (Shu-Ching Lee, "Beyond the State: Gender Equity in Education in Taiwan"), to the role of global and local networks and organizations related to domestic violence, as a gendered crime, leading to a supranational level of the social welfare development (Marianne Hester, "Globalization, Activism, and Local Contexts: Development of Policy on Domestic Violence in China and England") and to the way in which it transformed along with social and economic changes the higher education, encouraging enrollment of adult students, especially non-traditional women that return to being learners, after a turn point in their life, thus becoming a place where dialogue, gender, identity and learning are interconnected (Adrienne S. Chan and Barbara Merrill, "Learning and Identity: Life, Work and Citizenship").

Even though the volume gathers authors from different states addressing local issues, they all refer to feminist research methods, questioning the status of women, their relationships with other women within the same family and with men and gender inequality in labor field whether it regards rural-urban work or high-ranked positions in career construction. Providing important scientific literature review, the contributors support their findings on a variety of data collection methods, such as interviews, narratives, statics surveys, questionnaires, and participant observation. While some studies are based on a great number of years spent in gathering in-field data, other used already collected data for their research.

Whether conducted individually or in partnership, bringing together different culture, methodological literature, and gender knowledge, the researches' results prove the global importance gained by gender issues that receive financial supported from both governmental and nongovernmental sources. The volume provides scholars of gender with new information from all over the world, offering unknown culture bound understandings and structures, bringing unique perspectives on social stereotypes, reevaluating gendered models under modern social and economical changes, and recommending new gender-related labor market and education system policies' improvement.

Reviewed by
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International Workshop Report

Collaborating in Networks: Preparing Future Projects,
Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Germany, 3–5 April 2013

From April 3rd to 5th, an international workshop entitled "Collaborating in Networks: Preparing Future Projects" was held at the university of Münster (Germany). It was organized by Suzan van Dijk (Huygens Institute, The Hague, Netherlands) and Hendrik Schlieper (local organizer) and part of the international research project "Women Writers in History," funded on a European level by COST (European Cooperation in Science and Technology). Within this framework, the workshop served as a preparatory step to the project's final conference (The Hague, June 2013).

The workshop was attended by 23 participants from 14 different European countries – a fact already giving expression to the wide international dimension of the "Women Writers" project. According to the topic of "networks" mentioned in its title, the workshop not only intensified the action's research network, but also focused on women writers' Europe-wide reception and the resulting transnational female networking, which has been eclipsed from "official" literary historiography. An impressive number of examples of this networking could be found during the different presentations dealing with the concrete examples of Anglophone and German women authors, Eugénie Marlitt or Carmen Sylva. These presentations were put into perspective by those dedicated to methodological items such as the place of gender in literary historiography. In this context, the workshop discussed, on the one hand, how these results could be integrated into university and school teaching. On the other, several rounds of talks stressed the high potential of female networks in the context of – both current and future – research dedicated to cultural transfer (not only) between Western and Eastern Europe.

The "Women Writers" project is a point of intersection of (traditional) literary studies and Digital Humanities. Thus emphasis was also put upon methodological challenges of research questions dedicated to female networks as, for instance, in the context of early modern manuscript cultures. The need of information technology for the humanities was subsequently demonstrated by Arjan van Hessen, representative of the Dutch Clarin-NL project. The cooperation of Clarin-NL and the Women Writers project led to

the initiation of COBWWEEB, a new database dedicated to the "Connections between women and writings within European borders" which was officially launched and put online during workshop.

The meeting was closed by a guided tour on Burg Hülshoff, which allowed to substantiate the items and questions discussed in Münster following the concrete example of the well-known German poet Annette von Droste-Hülshoff (1797–1848).

Hendrik Schlieper
Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster



Picture taken at Burg Hülhoff (residence of the German poet Annette von Droste Hülshoff), showing some participants of the workshop

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Pop, Rock and Science Fiction

Spiru Haret University, Bucharest, 16–17 May, 2013

This year's conference of the *Faculty of Letters of Spiru Haret University* focused on popular culture, on its importance in the context of art and on its influence on societies. This conference linked a variety of scholarly approaches to Rock, Pop and Science Fiction opening them to the broad field of Popular Culture. The patchwork structure of this venue consisting of several micro-sessions allowed the participants to gain insights in a variety of topics and at the same time to enlarge their perspectives on the current research in neighboring domains.

Two excellent keynote speeches defined the frame of the topic and inspired lively discussions: Professor **Günter Zimmermann** (University of Vienna) discussed the reception of the music by the famous British band The Rolling Stones by Viennese musicians. The literary quality of translation and transformation of musical lyrics and its interdependence with the music itself was at the center of Professor Zimmermann's talk. In comparison with literary traditions of the medieval, the speaker managed to give a wide and entertaining insight in cultural development over the centuries.

Professor **George Volceanov** (Spiru Haret University) discussed in his keynote speech the "Paradoxes of Pop/Rock/Folk in Communist Romania." On the basis of several examples – musicians, bands, radio programs – he explained the paradox practices of popular culture in terms of its political dimensions focusing on censorship and subversion. Many Romanian pop, rock and folk musicians found ways to circumvent censorship by using canonical poets' texts as lyrics. In this way they created an unprecedented blend of experimental musical trends and textbook poems. This strategy co-existed with the promotion of Western hippie anthems and the broadcast of highly successful Western artists such as the Beatles, Bob Dylan, and others. Professor Volceanov argued that self-censorship as a shaping factor of pop music was at least as strong as the official censorship exerted by the authorities.

A special **Gender Studies Section** with the title *"Wo/men do popular culture?"* was organized by Professors **Ramona Mihaila** and **Susanne Hochreiter**. Present questions of gender aspects in popular culture and the political dimension of popular culture as an emancipatory tool were critically discussed.

Participants presented a variety of most interesting papers concerning a variety of important issues in today's research of gender aspects in popular culture, covering topics from music, the visual arts, literature, drama, and some aspects of contemporary electronic education. Thus **Susanne Hochreiter** (University of Vienna) opened the discussions by presenting her paper entitled "I play guitar," about feminist representations in Pop Music. Popular culture nowadays seems to be more an expression of a severe neoliberalism and hardly a symbol of peace, love and happiness any longer. But what alternative spaces do exist, what are political aims and which role plays gender today in popular culture of "western" and "eastern" European countries? The central assumption of the talk was that the still existing male dominance in pop culture is a result of the myth that Pop and Rock are inherently subversive. Hochreiter showed that many feminist artists use irony and (feminist) theory as strategies to overcome traditional gender images in popular culture.

Onorina Botezat (Spiru Haret University) discussed *Untranslatable Culture Bond Self-images of Romanians in Modern Music' Lyrics*. When communicating, by means of language or literature, images or movies, people talk about themselves and their own experience, translating through whatever channel they choose, their culture. The very notion of cultural interaction implies the presence of both general and peculiar elements, and the mismatch and match culture-bound term, which altogether allow distinguishing one community from another from linguistic and cultural points of view. The analysis of linguistic and ethnic differences between the nature of the source language and that of the target language is based on cultural-historical and contemporary-every day character. The paper analyses the modern Romanian music stereotypes based on gender and popular sayings.

Barbara Nelson (University of Michigan) presented a paper on *The Refashioning of Frida Kahlo*. In her talk Nelson examined Frida Kahlo's career in an attempt to offer a refinement to Oana Baddeley's suggestion that the reception of female artists, more often male artists, tends to be overshadowed by their personal style and life. While this argument appears to be supported by Kahlo's reception, especially during her resurgence of popularity in the 1980s and 1990s, Kahlo is somewhat unique in that her personal style was so much an extension of her body of art. In addition, the personal style that attracts so many may be considered additive value leading to a greater appreciation of Kahlo's art but it should also be valued as an art in itself. While Baddeley's argument admirably attempts to safeguard female creativity in the realm of high art, it minimizes popular art. In so doing, it falls prey to the "ironies" which seem to arise frequently from the "fault-lines within the post-modernist and/or feminist projects" as discussed by Anne Beer in "Johnny and Bess: Life Writing and Gender."

Ramona Mihaila (Spiru Haret University) changed the discussion towards social issues and gave a paper on *Gender (In)equality in Romanian Society*.

She offered an overview of the main laws and regulations on gender in(equality) in Romanian society having as a starting point the first feminist movements of emancipation in 19th century, especially the 1866 moment when the issue of woman's right to vote was discussed for the first time and this provision was supposed to be added to the constitution.

Ana Maria Negrilă and **Diana Tutuianu** (Carol I Academy, Bucharest) discussed *Gender Differences in Bi-learning. Teaching Language Courses in the Military Environment*. Gender differences in teaching and learning have been a hotly debated topic as they refers to the way in which female teachers and learners are perceived in terms of providers and receivers of education. Bi-learning comes with a new approach to teaching and to women's image as learners while the military environment brings more restrictions and clichés. This paper looked into the way female learners benefit from bi-learning in terms of language courses even if they are provided within the more rigid framework of the military environment.

Lorena Fota (Spiru Haret University, Bucharest) discussed in her talk *Remembrance of Things Future* the subversion of Science-Fiction in Kazuo Ishiguro's *Never Let Me Go* arguing that Ishiguro's novel has been read as science-fiction novel more often not because of its being placed in an alternative yet possible future world where humans have finally solved many health problems by harvesting organs from clones. These clones live among us but they merely live to be thirty at most. However, the story does not revolve around organ-harvesting, but around what the clones do during the limited life-span they have at their disposal. On my reading, the science-fiction genre is subverted. Though the frame is preserved, the content is replaced with a realistic story where clones are used as metaphors for the human condition at large.

In terms of feminist approaches in literature and drama, **Carmen Ghinea** (Spiru Haret University, Bucharest) analyzed in her paper Saviana Stanescu's "Global Immigrant" the plays *Dream Acts* and *Aliens with Extraordinary Skills*." After 1989, Romanian exile literature emerged as one of the paradigmatic, creative and innovative manifestations of the Romanian literature. Exile, entailing movement, running away or relocating of people from one social place to another, either willingly or coercively, and transnationalism have become paradoxical as they both generate cultural ambivalence and resentfulness in the exile. This is exactly what Saviana Stănescu brings out through the agency of her characters in *Aliens with Extraordinary Skills*, a play which deals with serious issues like immigration, deportation, fight for surviving in a new and hostile world, in a manner full of grace and discretion. The paper focused on the way Saviana Stănescu manages to explore the world of the immigrants, irrespective of their language or passport, where all are "aliens" in search for a place to call "home."

Sara Moldoveanu (Spiru Haret University, Bucharest) analyzed feminine archetypal Typologies in Shakespearean Theatre and the Theatre of the Absurd: *The Tempest, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Happy Days and Love Mouse*. Be they small tiny creatures with rural names that live under mushrooms or in acorn cups, like some of the fairies in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, powerful and dominant goddesses like Titania, the Fairy Queen, whose smallest gesture can either bring life and fertility or, on the contrary, cause a dramatic upheaval in the world she rules over, fatal women who do not care about any social or moral restrictions like Hermia, weaker women who readily accept to be mistreated and humiliated like Helene or child-like innocent women like Miranda in *The Tempest*, Shakespeare's heroines that originate in such an eclectic mixture of classical, medieval, magic and popular tradition, bear certain archetypal features that can also be traced at some of the female figures in the plays of the Theatre of the Absurd such as *Love Mouse* by S. Rosen or *Happy Days* by E. Ionesco. Even if the plays under discussion are written in such distant ages, whereas their central feminine characters live, metamorphose and evolve under completely different circumstances, the essential archetypal typologies they stand for preserve their polemic but unchanging nature and significance over centuries.

Further sessions of the conference: In **Session 1** – *AUSTROPOP and Science Fiction* – participants discussed the relation of literature and popular music focussing on artists and cultural contexts in Austria and other German speaking countries, **Session 2** offered a very innovative space for future scholars. In a special **Student Section** with the title "Rock, Pop, and Science Fiction: The Melting Pot" students presented their papers and had the chance to discuss their ideas with experts. In **Session 4** – *From Fantasy to Science Fiction* – participants discussed current popular elements and narrative strategies as well as motives, and images in international literature – from Akutugawa's short stories to Michael Moorcock's Elric Saga. In **Session 5** – *From Text Culture to Popular Culture in the Pop-Rock Epoch* – writer and scholar **Heike Fiedler** (Département de l'Instruction publique) discussed in her presentation the connection of poetry and performance. Together with papers on francophone and Francophile and analysis of literature and other media in Romania as well as Spanish speaking countries this session offered interesting insights in current research in Romance Studies.

Susanne Hochreiter
University of Vienna


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Final conference of COST Action IS0901, "Women Writers in History"

Female Authorship in Europe: Networks and Obstacles
Huygens ING, The Hague, 19–21 June, 2013

The final conference of the COST Action IS0901 "Women Writers in History" took place from 19–21 June 2013 at the Huygens ING (grant holder of the Action) in The Hague in the Netherlands. Approximately fifty participants outlined the new knowledge that had been discovered about the role of women writers in Europe up to the beginning of the 20th century, demonstrated how the conception and development of new tools enabled researchers to analyze new data in new sources, and presented the new collaborations that had been created thanks to this COST Action. The detailed program and the corresponding abstracts upon which this report is based can be found on http://www.womenwriters.nl/index.php/European_Female_Authorship:_Networks_and_Obstacles.

The conference was divided into seven sessions. After a welcoming address by the director of Huygens ING Lex Heerma van Voss and by the chair of the Action Suzan van Dijk, **Session I** focused on the topic of "dominating" languages and their "female" influence in Europe. The first panel of this session presented research outcomes on the presence of Anglophone women authors in Europe. This group of researchers, consisting of Astrid Kulsdom, Lucyna Marzec, Marie Nedregotten Sørbø, and Tanja Badalič, looked at the reception of fifty six British and Irish women authors in Europe, especially in minor languages such as Dutch, Norwegian, Polish, and at their presence in the literary culture of Slovenia. The panel further compared the reception of the prolific woman writer Mary Elizabeth Braddon with the reception of the less prolific yet canonized Charlotte Brontë.

The second panel, consisting of Katja Mihurko-Poniž, Ursula Stohler, and Zsuzsanna Varga, had German women's writing in Europe in the 19th and early 20th centuries as a topic, focusing in particular on the case of Eugénie Marlitt in smaller language communities, such as the Czech lands, Hungary, and Slovenia. These researchers discussed differences and similarities in reception patterns of Marlitt's works in these three language communities and emphasized the transcultural popularity of Marlitt during that period. The

group used Franco Moretti's theories on the importance of a quantitative approach to literary history as a theoretical framework and then referred to their research results, in which they pointed out the transnational nature of the genre of popular fiction by women in Europe, and in particular in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, during that period. They referred to similarities of reception patterns of the works by other women authors of popular fiction and theatre plays in that region. Among them are the Swedish Emilie Flygare Carlén and Marie Sophie Schwartz, the English Mary Braddon, the German Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer, Luise Mühlbach, Nathaly von Eschstrutt, and E. Marlitt, and the French George Sand. They also pointed out that these research outcomes presented the point of departure for a new research project, for which several funding possibilities were being considered.

The third panel looked at French as a "female" language for queens and other women writers in the 18th and 19th century. The group of researchers consisting of Jelena Bakic, Isabel Lousada, Ramona Mihaila, Michaela Mudure, Efstratia Oktapoda, and Suzan van Dijk suggested that there existed many women authors who chose to write in French even though this was not their mother tongue. This was particularly the case of female authors who belonged to higher social classes. This group of researchers further looked at two examples of women authors who used French for their writing even though they lived far away from France, Carmen Sylva (Queen Elisabeth of Romania), and Ida Verona, who lived in Romania and Montenegro.

Session II was entitled "Circulation of Women and their Writings." The fourth panel of the conference, the group of researchers Vanda Anastacio, Nieves Baranda, and Marie-Louise Coolahan, looked at manuscript circulation of women's texts in the early modern period, in particular at the writings by English, Portuguese, and Spanish women. The researchers stressed the fact that manuscripts were important documents for the study of literary reception, as copies circulated widely and co-existed with print culture. Further, the researcher pointed to difficulties when studying manuscripts, such as the lack of the author´s name on the textual production or the textual instability, i. e. variants in manuscript copies.

The fifth panel consisting of Elisa Müller-Adams, Kati Launis, and Kerstin Wiedemann had travelling women and their texts (which also "travelled" in Europe) as a topic. In particular, they looked at the case of Ida Hahn-Hahn's travelogues and analyzed to what extent they revealed transcultural movements of both author and text. The results presented were based on extensive research of Ida Hahn-Hahn's reception in Germany, France, Britain, and Finland, which carefully observed differences in the reception patterns of her works across time and space. The panel participants further discussed Ida Hahn-Hahn's construction of Europe as a female cultural space.

Session III had the interrelations of theory and practice as a topic, discussing in particular the use of digital tools for the revision of traditional

literary history. The sixth panel, consisting of Viola Čapková, Biljana Dojčinović, and Henriette Partzsch, presented reflections on the theoretical framework of this COST Action, including Franco Moretti's suggestion of a quantitative approach to literary history or Even-Zohar's notion of poly-systems. This panel also emphasized the multinational nature of the network and the next version of the *WomenWriters database*, which offers, among other things, intriguing and more subtle differentiations between genres.

The seventh panel consisting of Elke Brems, Hester Meuleman, Ton van Kalmthout, and Orsi Rethelyi presented another research project on questions of literary reception, the International Network Studying the Circulation of Dutch Literature (CODL), funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) and running from 2012 to 2015. The panel compared CODL with the COST Action "Women Writers in History" and highlighted their common transnational approaches to the study of literary history.

The eighth panel consisting of Jenny Bergenmar, Lucyna Marzec, and Amelia Sanz reported about experiences in research and teaching in the digital humanities. They suggested that research involving large scale data should be connected to the development of students' e-skills. This process should include getting aware of possible resources, using them and then contributing content or conduct investigations. The panel discussed these points by referring to experiences in Spain, Sweden, and Poland, focusing in particular on newspaper digitization processes.

After these panels the members of the Management Committee core group met to discuss their presentations for the following day while the other conference delegates visited the Museum of Dutch Literary History and in particular the Writers' Gallery there. After that, the participants of the conference went to listen to a lecture given by Anne-Birgitte Rønning entitled "Female Robinsonades: Adventures of Shipwreck and Good Behaviour." After a welcoming address by Aad Meinderts, the director Museum of Dutch Literary History, she talked about the role of women as authors of robinsonades, about female protagonists in this genre and explained why women in particular, both as writers and as readers, were attracted to robinsonades.

The conference participants then listened to texts by Dutch women authors read by the actress Tessa du Mée. Even though most texts were in Dutch (which most participants did not understand) and only a few in English the reading of these texts made these works and their female authors come alive in our minds and thus contributed to their entering our cultural memory. Then Arno Kuipers, the collection specialist of the National Library of the Netherlands, spoke about books by 19th- and early 20th-century women that were being added to the library collection. He mentioned that until 1974 the focus of acquisitions of foreign literary works was mostly on works in the original language rather than on translations. This was about to change now, when considerable amounts of translations into Dutch were added to the

catalogue regularly. Many of these works or their translations are by women. The first day concluded with a drinks and a buffet that gave the participants a pleasant occasion to socialize.

The second day of the conference started with **Session IV**, which was entitled "Nations, Cultures, Women Authors." Its goal was to outline the geographical scope of the research network with a particular focus on the inclusion of various European countries. Case studies of connections between women writers from western and eastern part of Europe showcased this effort. The ninth panel of the conference, which consisted of Nadezhda Alexandrova, Katerina Dalakoura, Efstratia Oktapoda, and Senem Timuroglu, explored the concepts of "East/Orient" and "West" in the works of the eastern European women writers Elisaveta Karaminkova (1849–1920), Sappho Leontias (1830–1900), Fatma Aliye (1862–1936) and Elena Ghika (1828–1888), for whom Istanbul played an important part in their literary career. The researchers further suggested that these women authors had different responses to conceptions of the Orient, be it that they dissociated themselves from western imaginations of it, or that they advocated its difference.

Panel ten consisting of Alenka Jensterle-Doležalova, Corinne Fournier Kiss, and Zofia Tarajło-Lipowska looked at Prague as a cultural center for Slav women writers. They discussed the Polish woman writer and social activist Honorataz Wiśniowskich Zapová (1825–1856), who lived in Prague and who championed solidarity among Slav women, which was to take place with the help of education. Other Slav women authors who received a lot of attention in the Czech literary culture during the second half of the 19th century were Polish Eliza Orzeszkowa (1841–1910) and Maria Konopnicka (1842–1910) as well the Slovene Zofka Kveder (1878–1926).

Session V was entitled "Big Corpora and Networks (Including Male and Female Authors)" and discussed the possibilities of visualizing the networks of European women's writing as well as future possibilities of adding their connections to male writing. Panel eleven consisting of Toos Streng and Ton van Kalmthout presented the "Database Streng" (DAST) on Dutch novels, its conversion into the open access database "Literature in Operation" (LION) and compared these with the *WomenWriters database*.

In panel twelve Gertjan Filarski talked about plurality in humanities research infrastructures. He argued that the shifting definitions of various factors within a comprehensive international research network required adequate solutions for the technical design of research data infrastructure.

Session VI had the evaluation of the COST Action "Women Writers in History" as a topic. Panel thirteen consisting of Monica Bolufer, Annette Keilhauer, Hendrik Schlieper, Lieselotte Steinbrügge, and Rotraud von Kulessa presented eight theses for a renewal of literary historiography. These allowed to reflect on the long-term objectives of the Action, which, as they suggested, had to be a gendered historiography of literature. They further

recommended that philological limitations of literary history have to be challenged in the future to reflect the transcultural nature of literary production.

After that the management committee core group members gave short presentations to the COST evaluation panel about the goals they had achieved within each of the workgroups and other responsibilities. These included "Models and Theories" (Viola Čapková), "Tools and Interconnectivity" (Marie-Louise Coolahan), "Selection and Use of Relevant Sources" (Marie Nedregotten Sørbø), "Dissemination and Extension of the Research Network" (Katja Mihurko Poniž), "Early Stage Researchers" (Henriette Partzsch), "Training Schools" (Lucyna Marzec), "International projects generated" (Vanda Anastacio: Iberian collaboration), "National projects generated" (Biljana Dojčinović: Književnstvo), and "Collaboration with Huygens ING" (Suzan van Dijk).

The conference delegates also had the possibility to visit the "Ladies' Reading Museum" (Damesleesmuseum), which played an important role for the reception of late 19th- and early 20th-century Dutch and foreign women's writing. The day concluded with the conference dinner in a restaurant that served delicious typical Dutch pancakes.

The third day of the conference opened with **Session VII** on the use of large-scale approaches to understand women's merits as authors and their place in literary history. Panel fourteen consisting of Janouk de Groot, Hilde Hoogenboom, Caterina Nosdeo, and Mojca Šauperl was entitled "Italy and France Compete for Women Writers in the Nineteenth Century: Bio-Bibliographic Compilations, National Literary Histories, and Alternative Transnational Narrative." The panel looked at bio-bibliographical compilations, which can be regarded as a kind of antecessor to present IT tools. The presenters discussed the function of this particular genre in relation to the national literatures of France and Italy.

In panel fifteen Jan Rybicki presented his research outcomes on the question if the gender of the translator could be identified in the French translations of the works by 18th-century English authors. While it was fairly easy for the English originals to detect gender signals, the same could not be said about the French translations, where only the group of works by men and translated by men gave clear results. The situation with the other possibilities (text by women translated by men, text by men translated by women, text by women translated by women) turned out to be more complex.

Session VIII had the *WomenWriters Database* as a topic. In panel sixteen Wolfgang Kaltenbrunner discussed the tension between traditional scholarship in the humanities and the challenges of using a digital database to which various researcher contribute. He explained how one of the problems of using a digital database was that the data input was a time-consuming activity that conflicts with the requirements of traditional humanities scholarship, where academic merit is measured almost exclusively by publications. Another

challenge that the database presented was that many scholars expected it to be a traditional source of empirical information, whereas in reality the form and content of the database are constantly evolving.

Panel seventeen consisted of Paul Wouters and Andrea Scharnhorst, who provided further reflections on the topic of digital humanities and its challenges. In particular, they looked back on the beginnings of this COST Action from the point of view of science and technology studies.

Session IX had questions around reception documents as a topic. Panel eighteen consisting of Soo Downe and Francesca Scott presented outcome of their research on the topic of childbirth and midwifery, for which they had made use of the database after having studied women's novels from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They also referred to collaborations with other COST Actions on similar topics (COST Action IS0907, *Childbirth Cultures, Concerns, and Consequences: Creating a Dynamic EU Framework for Optimal Maternity Care*).

Panel nineteen consisting of Nancy Isenberg, Magdalena Koch, and Adriana Kovacheva explored the interplay between female writers' reputations as women and their professional reception as writers. Taking Giustiniana Wynne, an 18th century Anglo-Venetian writer, Isidora Sekulić, a Serbian modernist writer, and Mara Belcheva, a Bulgarian poet and translator as case studies, they argued that these women authors had to cope with negative reputations regarding their private lives; a fact that had an impact on their literary reception.

In panel twenty Montserrat Prats Lopez and Suzan van Dijk referred to several projects that are being conducted at the Huygens ING and from which this COST Action benefited in various ways. Among these are the CKCC project (Circulation of Knowledge), the DVN (Digital Lexicon of Dutch Women), or the bio-bibliographical compilation entitled 1001 vrouwen (1001 women). Further, a digitizing project on the correspondence of the Dutch woman author Belle van Zuylen / Isabelle de Charrière uses "crowdsourcing" as a means of involving non-specialists into projects on women's writing.

Finally the conference delegates had the pleasure of listening to a literary-musical performance based on the original letters of Belle van Zuylen and James Boswell presented by Crissman Taylor (mezzo-soprano, performing musician and educator HKU), Maaike Peters (cello), and Robert Hoving (baritone). This performance was a pleasant way of complementing our image of Belle van Zuylen / Isabelle de Charrière, whose recently re-discovered manuscript text and letter (thanks to Hein Jongbloed, National Archives) were on display during the conference. In addition, the participants of the conference had the chance of looking at new portraits of Dutch women writers for the gallery of the Museum of Dutch Literary History presented to them in a booklet.

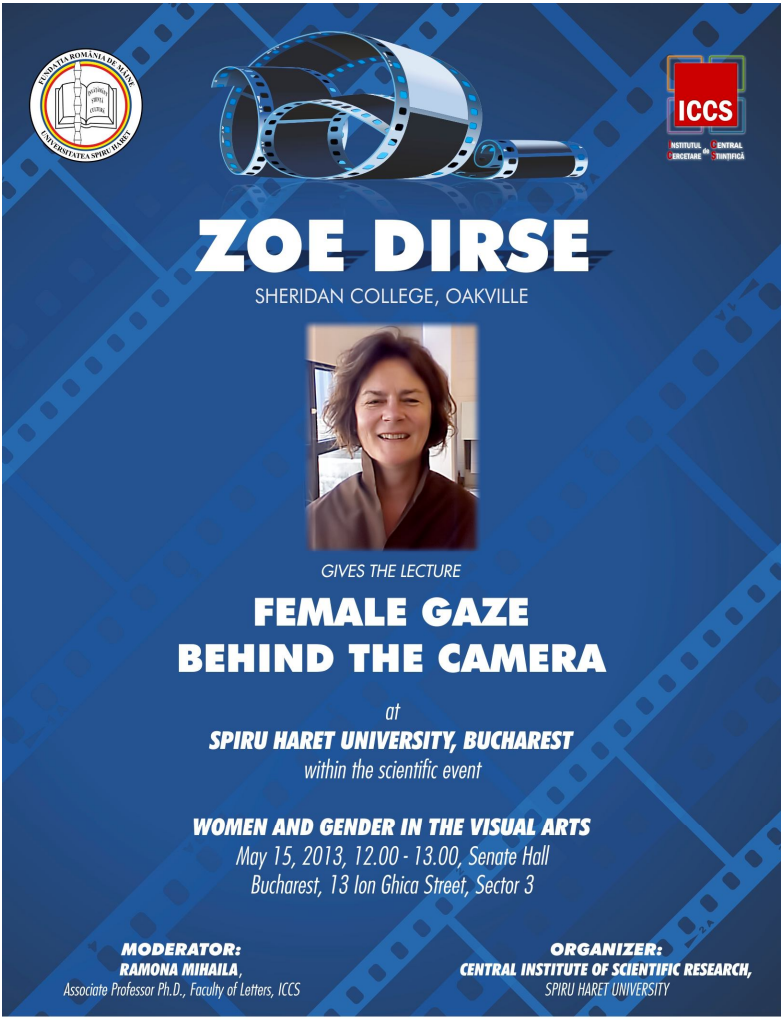
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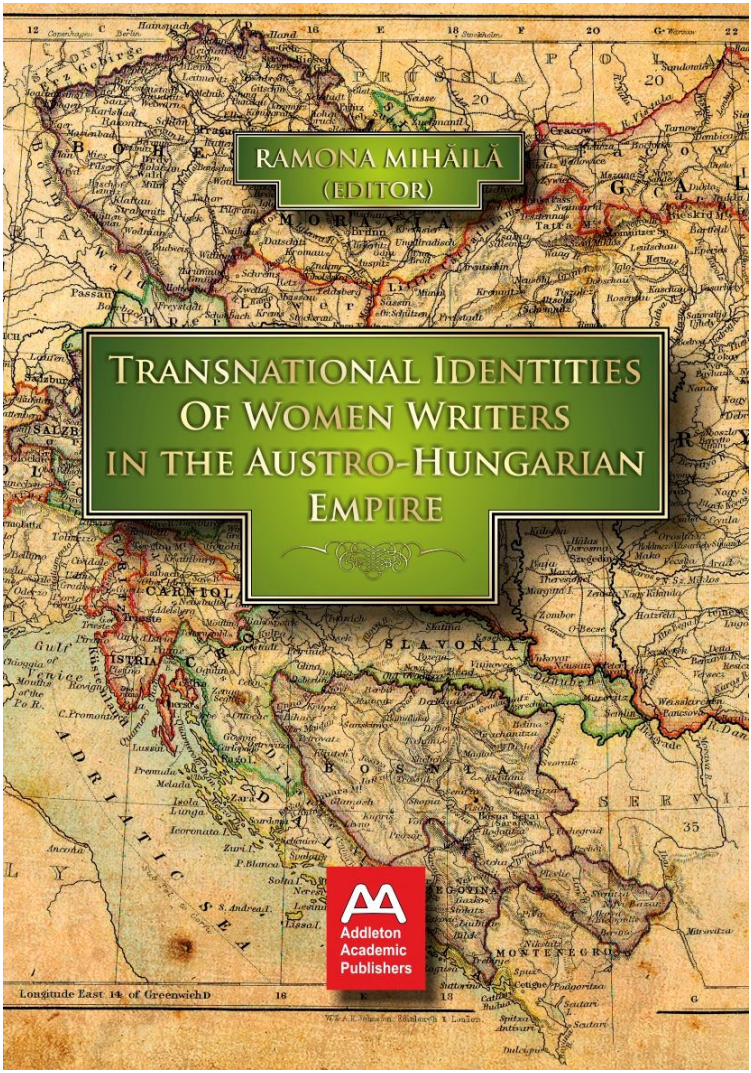
Scientific Event
"Women and Gender in the Visual Arts"

Organizer and moderator: Ramona Mihaila
Central Research Institute, Spiru Haret University
Invited Guest: Zoe Dirse
Sheridan College, Toronto
Lecture: "Female Gaze(eye) Behind the Camera"

Zoe Dirse was invited in May 2013 to deliver a lecture on Cinematography and gender at Spiru Haret University in Bucharest. The title Zoe Dirse created was "Female Gaze(eye) Behind the Camera." She was addressing the question of whether there is a significant difference between the way a male cinematographer looks at and films an image and the way a female cinematographer sees and frames an image. There were about fifty people who attended the lecture – a mix of students and professors and people interested in film-making. Zoe Dirse began the lecture by asking the audience if they were aware of the percentage of women cinematographers working in film. They did not know or assumed that it was fairly equal between men and women. They were quite surprised when she told them that only 0.1% of cinematographers were female. She then shared with them her own journey into a career in cinematography including clips of her film work. Zoe Dirse began working professionally in 1979 when she became one of the first women in Canada to be invited to join the Canadian branch of the camera union IATSE. In 1982 she was hired into the Camera Department of the National Film Board of Canada and she worked there shooting documentary films around the world for 17 years. In presenting the clips of her work Zoe Dirse spent time in breaking down her process of framing and mood and texture relative to the content and goal of the scene. After the lecture when interacting individually with audience members, she found that many were surprised that there could be a gender perspective to the act of filming an image and they said they would now look at what they were watching with a new "frame of reference."


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SHERIDAN COLLEGE, OAKVILLE
GIVES THE LECTURE
FEMALE GAZE
BEHIND THE CAMERA
at
SPIRU HARET UNIVERSITY, BUCHAREST
within the scientific event
WOMEN AND GENDER IN THE VISUAL ARTS
May 15, 2013, 12.00 - 13.00, Senate Hall
Bucharest, 13 Ion Ghica Street, Sector 3
MODERATOR:
RAMONA MIHAILA,
Associate Professor Ph.D., Faculty of Letters, ICCS
ORGANIZER:
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