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Brazilian and Portuguese Writers: Writing, Ideology, Gender

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Abstract:

This research aims to investigate certain literary projects as resulting from tensions and conflicts portrayed in the works of Brazilian and Portuguese female writers, in light of pressures and choices dictated by the literary and artistic tradition, whose tracks lead us to the grand themes of the human condition.

Within an environment of coexistence between literature and writing, a few female writers began the production of their body of fiction work, among them the Portuguese Agustina Bessa-Luís (1922 -) and Maria Judite de Carvalho (1921-1998), as well as the Brazilian Clarice Lispector (1920-1977) and Rachel de Queiroz (1910-2003), by means of intense discussions with their "fellow travelers", books, other poets, creators of fiction, essayists, philosophers and critics, in the words of Goethe.

Through the different types of text they cultivate, these writers present curious and challenging discussions that run through a poetics of the female condition and a reflection of complex nature (Edgar Morin), towards a dialogue of ideas and postures regarding fundamental values of life in the twentieth century, and which are still considered in the current century.

For such a study of comparative nature – involving readings, experiences and relations of alterity and gender highlighted by the aforementioned writers -, we shall rely on the essential contributions provided by categories that will guide the research, such as *crisis* (Gilberto de Mello Kujawski), *literary system* (António Cândido), *comparatism* (Tânia Carvalhal, Sandra Nitrini), *context* (Dominique Maingueneau), *literary field* (Pierre Boudieu), *reading* (Paulo Freire), *unreading* (Harold Bloom), *existence* (Ortega y Gasset), *writing* (Roland Barthes), and *contemporaneity and liquidity* (Zygmunt Bauman).

In effect, this research rests upon a double purpose: first, to listen to the poetics of the corpus writers, through speeches and situations dramatized by their fictional characters or by virtue of

other forms of expression, such as those found in writing spacesgenerated from interviews, letters, confessions, etc., therefore imbued with an hermeneutical imprint.

Tied to the first one, the second purpose, didactic in its nature, is to stimulate a learning-educational discussion around some of the possible meanings of rediscovering life and ways of being in the world through literary reading, taking as principle ideas and projects belonging to the personal library spaces of writers, such as in-between places (Homi Bhabha, Silviano Santiago), places of intervallic dimension (João Alexandre Barbosa), symbolic places (readings) wherein the human condition is inscribed and recreated, as well as representations of social, political and ideological pressures concerning achievements and defeats of women in western world societies, from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century.

The writers quoted in this project have been studied according to the aforesaid purposes, both through classes, essays and articles and through lectures and conferences, and also within the activities developed by the Study Group.

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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).

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TOOLS FOR CHANGE: BOOSTING THE RETENTION OF WOMEN IN THE STEM PIPELINE

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ABSTRACT. This study details how gender bias plays out in everyday workplace interactions in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM). It is based on in-depth interviews with 60 women scientists of color (chiefly professors), and a survey of 557 women scientists (of all races). Different types of gender bias were reported at different rates. Prescriptive gender bias was most common (76.3% of women interviewed reported it), followed by descriptive gender bias (66.7%) and gender bias triggered by motherhood (64.0%); just over half of the women interviewed (55.3%) reported situations in which gender bias against women fueled conflicts among women. The survey found dramatic differences by race, notably that Black women scientists were more likely than other women to report that they had to prove themselves more than their colleagues, that Asian-American women scientists reported more pressure to behave in feminine ways (and more push-back if they didn't), and Latina scientists were more likely to be called "angry" or "too emotional" if they behaved assertively. The study concludes by introducing a new approach to organizational change to interrupt gender bias, called Metrics-Based Bias Interrupters.

Keywords: gender bias; STEM; racial/ethnic minorities; women; science; technology

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Introduction

The scarcity of women in science is well documented, and its impact – profound. A 2012 Report from the President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology reported that a deficit of one million science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) professionals will result in the United States' workforce if current rates of training persist (President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology, 2012). It's not hard to see how this hurts the United States' competitive position – and will continue to do so if women in STEM meet more gender bias in the U.S. than do women elsewhere, notably in India and China.

The conventional wisdom is that women haven't progressed in careers in STEM due to the pull of children and early choices not to pursue math and science careers (Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012). Some studies conclude that the relatively low percentage of women reflects these factors and "is not caused by discrimination" in STEM (Ceci, Williams, & Banett, 2009; Ceci & Williams, 2011; Ceci et al., 2011).

Yet three recent studies found that gender bias also plays a role. One found that even when math skills were identical, both men and women were twice as likely to hire a man for a job that required math (Reuben, Sapienza, & Zingales, 2014). A second study found that in academic laboratories in elite universities, male (but not female) scientists employed fewer female than male graduate students and post docs (Sheltzer & Smith, 2014). A third double-blind randomized study gave science faculty at research-intensive universities application materials of a fictitious student randomly assigned a male or female name, and found that both male and female faculty rated the male applicant as significantly more competent and hirable than the female with identical application materials (Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham & Handelsman, 2012). These studies are part of a much larger literature on gender bias: experimental social psychologists have documented bias over and over again since the 1980s.

STEM fields provide fertile ground for bias for at least two reasons. First, studies of tokenism document that bias tends to occur more often when women make up less than 15%–20% of a given field, which is common in many fields of science (although no longer in biology) (Kanter, 1977a, 1977b). Second, an influential study by Emilio Castilla and Stephen Benard found that bias is more common in fields, like science, that see themselves as highly meritocratic (Castilla & Benard, 2010).

This report asks a long-standing question: do the patterns documented in experimental social psychologists' labs reflect what is actually occurring at work for women in the STEM fields? (Mitchell & Tetlock, 2006). The answer is yes. Gender bias exists, and it exists for women of color: 100% of the sixty scientists interviewed for this study reported encountering one or

more of these patterns of gender bias, based on interviews in which we simply described experimental findings and asked women scientists, "Does any of that sound familiar?" (An earlier study found that 97% of the Black women interviewed were aware of negative stereotypes of Black women, and 80 percent had been personally affected by them (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003)).

This research is unusual in that it bridges the gap between experimental social psychologists' labs and actual workplaces – and because it examines gender bias among women of color as well as White women. The current body of social psychological work on gender bias has focused almost exclusively on the experiences of White women, leaving the major question of whether these four distinct patterns of bias extend to women of color unanswered.

This report adds to a small existing literature on women of color in STEM. The classic report, *The Double Bind: The Price of Being a Minority Woman in Science*, was written in 1976; it reports many of the same patterns of bias documented by this report (Malcolm, Hall, & Brown, 1976). Much of the subsequent research has focused on undergraduates or graduate students rather than science professors, who are the focus of this report. (For recent examples, see Ong, Wright, Espinosa, & Orfield, 2010; Espinosa, 2011; Reyes, 2011; Ong, Wright, Espinosa, & Orfield, 2011; O'Brien, Blodorn, Adams, Garcia, & Hammer, 2014). One of the rare studies that compares White women scientists with women scientists of color found an important difference, namely that the White women reported higher levels of influence in their departments than did the women of color (Settles, Cortina, Malley, & Stewart, 2006). Another study of a major research university found that 43% of women of color academics felt they were under close scrutiny, as compared with 33% of White women and 18% of White men, and that women of color were also more likely (77%) to report that they felt they had to work harder to be perceived as legitimate than White women (58%) or White men (46%) (Hollenshead & Thomas, 2001).

We interviewed sixty scientists who were all women of color. Women of color face "double jeopardy" because they encounter race as well as gender bias (Epstein, 1973; Almquist, 1975). This study explores how the experience of gender bias differs by race. We use the interviews of women of color in science and a survey that quantifies the experiences of White, Black, Asian-Americans, and Latina women in STEM fields to document the little-explored differences between the experiences of White women and women of color, and between different groups of women of color.

It has long been known that the experience of women of color differs from both that of men of color and from that of White women, as a result of a phenomenon known as "intersectionality" (Crenshaw, 1989). But this insight has rarely been explored empirically (for a literature review of the exceptions, and a proposed theoretical framework, see Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013).

In addition to experiencing the four patterns of gender bias that are common across subgroups of women, women of color also reported racial bias. All three groups of women of color reported that they had to confront negative racial stereotypes. Black women were more likely than other women to report a sense of bleak isolation. Latinas and Black women also often reported being mistaken for janitors – something Williams has never heard in her interviews with White women (Williams & Dempsey, 2014). But men of color describe similar experiences (Bonilla, 2006).

An important point, sometimes overlooked, is that while bias is rampant, glimpses of hope also emerge from these interviews – situations where women of color experienced support and success despite the difficulties faced. In addition, some of the scientists felt that their cultural and racial traditions armed them well to encounter the challenges they faced.

This report's focus on women of color is designed to address an oft-noted problem: that women's initiatives are seen as "White women's initiatives." Thus an Asian American science professor said her colleague of color "felt that the committee on faculty women really should have been renamed the committee on White faculty women." A common, and indisputable, point is that women of color often are affected by racial as well as gender bias. Much less discussed is that women of color often experience gender bias in ways that differ significantly by race. That is a major focus of this report.

The women we interviewed were divided on whether the bias they faced stemmed from gender, race, or another characteristic. Some women felt what mattered differed depending on the situation. Said a Black lesbian in biostatistics, "There's some times where I feel like being a woman is more problematic than being a person of color, and there are definitely times where it's the reverse. Then there are times where the combination is worse than being – it feels worse than being… a sexual minority…. [I]t's sort of situation dependent…. [I]n various situations, one is at play more than the other and vice versa." Other Black women felt that race was more of an issue. Said another scientist, "I obviously stood out and I felt like I stood out first because of my race and then because I was a woman… I'm the only African-American [in my department], but then in terms of my gender, there's a ton of women here. Maybe that's why." This was a common sentiment among Black women.

Asian-Americans and Latinas were more likely to attribute bias to gender than race: "I think it depends on the context. I sometimes have felt the ethnic bias versus the gender bias, but I think overall it's mostly…gender bias," said a Latina whose specialty is anatomy. No matter what a woman's race, bias is draining and demoralizing. An Asian-American in astrophysics found the bias she encountered "tiring and exhausting because it's a constant." A Black woman in biostatistics described "this under-the-surface feeling of uneasiness that you can never quite identify as being overtly… racially dis-

criminatory, but, man, it certainly feels that way." What's most draining, she noted, were "those little micro kinds of situations, I think that, in some ways, they're probably a little bit worse in that they linger the longest." These micro-aggressions (Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal, & Esquilin, 2007) are often hard to identify by those not affected. This report attempts to make them visible.

This report concludes by introducing a new approach to organizational change to interrupt gender bias, called Metrics-Based Bias Interrupters (Williams, 2014). In contrast to traditional one-off bias trainings, and traditional sensitivity based organizational change initiatives, Bias Interrupters uses a four-step iterative process: 1) identify how gender bias is playing out, if at all, in basic business systems (recruiting, assignments, evaluations, etc.), 2) develop objective metrics to measure bias, 3) implement a bias interrupter to interrupt the bias, 4) see whether the relevant metric improves and, if it doesn't, strengthen or modify the intervention. A compilation of Bias Interrupters is provided at the end of this report.

Conceptual Framework

The present study begins from an extensive review of literature on gender bias, which repeatedly documents four distinct patterns:

1. Prove-It-Again. Women often have to provide more evidence of competence than men in order to be seen as equally competent (Eagly & Mladinic, 1994; Foschi, 1996; Foschi, 2000). This descriptive stereotyping (Heilman, 2001) reflects the perceived lack of fit (Heilman, 1983) between being a woman and being a scientist (Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002; Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham & Handelsman, 2012).

2. The Tightrope. Women often find themselves walking a tightrope between being seen as too feminine to be competent – or too masculine to be likable (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004; Fiske, Xu, & Cuddy, 1999). The Tightrope reflects prescriptive stereotyping (Heilman, 2001), and stems from the fact that science is seen as requiring masculine qualities – but women are expected to be feminine. Thus women often find themselves pressured to take on dead-end roles, from acting as administrative assistants to being expected to mentor everyone else's students in addition to their own (Allen, 2006). Women also often face backlash for behaving in stereotypically masculine ways, such as being assertive (Prentice, & Carranza, 2002), angry (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008), or self-promoting (Rudman, 1998).

3. The Maternal Wall. By far the most damaging form of gender bias is triggered by motherhood. Maternal wall bias includes descriptive stereotyping that results in strong assumptions that women lose their work commitment and competence after they have children (Correll, Benard & Paik, 2007; Cuddy,

Fiske, & Glick, 2004), as well as prescriptive stereotyping that penalizes mothers who remain indisputably committed (Benard & Correll, 2010).

4. Tug of War. Sometimes gender bias against women fuels conflict among women. This stems from the fact that women as well as men are biased against women in traditionally masculine domains (e.g. MossRacusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham & Handelsman, 2012). In addition, studies show that women who experience discrimination early in their careers tend to distance themselves from other women (Derks, Ellemers, van Laar, & de Groot, 2011; Derks, van Laar de Groot, 2011). Commonly this is called the "queen bee" syndrome and attributed to the personality problem of an individual woman, but this problem often signals gender bias in the environment.

Methodology

Respondents were recruited through the Association for Women in Science (AWIS) by sending emails to AWIS members. Five-hundred and fifty-seven scientists responded to an online survey. Sixty women participated in the interview study: twenty each of Latinas, Asian-Americans, and Black women. Erika Hall, then a graduate student at Northwestern University's Kellogg School of Business and now an Assistant Professor of Organization & Management at Emory University's Goizueta Business School, conducted the interviews.

Overview of Findings

Our data suggest that gender bias is commonplace in science:

1. *Prove-It-Again.* Roughly **two-thirds** of both the women interviewed (66.7%) and those surveyed (63.9%) reported Prove-It-Again bias.

2. *Tightrope.* About **three-fourths** (76.3%) of the scientists interviewed reported Tightrope bias. The survey measured different types of Tightrope bias and found that:

a. About **one-third** (34.1%) of the scientists reported pressures to take on dead-end traditionally feminine roles.

b. About **one-half** reported backlash for stereotypically masculine behaviors such as assertiveness (53.0%) and expressing anger (52.3%). Over **one-third** (38.2%) reported backlash for self-promotion.

3. *Maternal wall.* In interviews, **nearly two-thirds** (64.0%) of scientists with children reported maternal wall bias, including the flexibility stigma (Williams, Blair-Loy, & Berdahl, 2013) when women took parental leave or stopped the tenure clock. Women scientists without children also report being disadvantaged in various ways, notably when they are expected to work longer hours to make up for the schedules of colleagues who do have

children. Motherhood appears to be a no-win proposition for many women in STEM.

4. *Tug of War.* **Over one-half** (55.3%) of scientists interviewed reported Tug of War patterns. Although three-quarters (75.5%) of those surveyed reported that their female colleagues supported each other, several Tug of War patterns emerged. About **one-half** (51.4%) of the scientists surveyed felt that "some women [scientists] have 'just turned into men,'" while 41.7% agreed with the statement that "some women just don't understand the level of commitment it takes to be a scientist."

5. *Sexual harassment.* Over **one-third** (34.5%) of those surveyed reported sexual harassment.

In addition to these findings, our studies began to document how the experience of gender bias differs for women of different racial groups. Some major findings:

1. Prove-It-Again is more common for Black women than for the other three groups of women: Black women (76.9%) were more likely than other women to report having to provide more evidence of competence than others to prove themselves to colleagues (Latinas: 64.5%; Asian-Americans: 63.6%; White women: 62.7%).

2. The stereotype that Asians are good at science appears to help Asian-American women with students – but not colleagues. The stereotype of Asian-Americans as "good at science" did not appear to help the scientists surveyed establish their competence with colleagues: they reported more "Prove-It-Again" bias (63.6%) than White women did (62.7%) when it came to establishing their competence with colleagues. Interviews confirmed that Asian-American women's experiences were shaped far more by the negative stereotype that women are not good at science than the positive stereotype that Asian-Americans are. This finding raises the empirical question of whether the stereotype of Asians as technically competent (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) benefits Asian-American men more than Asian-American women. On the other hand, Asian-American women scientists reported less Prove-It Again bias from students (31.7%), as compared with the other three groups of women (Black women: 56.5%; Latinas: 50.0%; White women: 43.3%).

3. Asian-American scientists were more likely than other women to report workplace pressures to ***fulfill traditionally feminine roles – and push-back if they didn't.*** Asian-American scientists surveyed were far more likely than other women to report backlash for stereotypically masculine behaviors such as being assertive (61.4%) and self-promoting (48.4%). They also were more likely than other women (40.9%) to report pressures to play traditionally feminine roles, such as office mother or dutiful daughter. Black women rarely reported pressures to play traditionally feminine roles (8.0%) and had

the lowest levels of backlash for self-promotion (30.4%). White women and Latinas fell in between.

4. ***Latinas who behave assertively risk being seen as "angry" or "emotional" – and they shoulder large loads of office housework for both colleagues and students.*** Interviews found that Latinas who behaved assertively risked criticism for being angry or "too emotional," even when the women themselves reported that they weren't angry – they just weren't deferential. Nearly 60% of Latinas surveyed noted backlash for expressing anger, as compared with 54.4% of Asian-Americans, 49.7% of Whites, and 47.8% of Blacks. In addition, in interviews, Latina scientists were far more likely than the other groups of women to report being expected – both by colleagues and by students – to do large loads of office housework, including literal housework (such as making coffee), administrative work typically performed by support personnel, and emotion work in helping students with their emotional problems.

5. ***Black women are allowed more leeway than other groups of women to behave in dominant ways – so long as they aren't seen as "angry Black women."*** The interviews confirm the finding of two experimental studies (Livingston, Rosette, & Washington, 2012; Richardson, Phillips, Rudman, & Glick, 2011) that found that Black women are allowed to behave in more dominant ways than White women – although interviews also noted pushback if one is seen as an "angry Black woman."

6. ***The Maternal Wall affects mothers of all races.*** In interviews, 64.0% of the scientists who were mothers reported maternal wall bias. In the survey, 69.0% of both Latinas and Asian-Americans described pressure from their families to have children (as compared with 60.6% of Whites and 57.1% of Black women). Among those surveyed, Asian-Americans (26.7%) and White women (26.0%) were far more likely than Latinas (9.1%) or Black women (7.7%) to report that their colleagues had communicated that they should work fewer hours because they had children.

7. ***Tug of War.*** When asked whether women support each other, most respondents (75.5%) said yes, but Black women were far less likely to agree: only 56.0% did so. Latinas (35.5%) were far more likely to report finding it difficult to get administrative support personnel to support them. In interviews, Black women also reported many instances of conflict with administrative staff. About one-third of both Black women and Asian-Americans reported tokenism – that women in their environments were forced to compete with each other for the one "woman's spot" – as compared with roughly one-fifth of Latinas and White women. Asian-Americans were far more likely (70.5%) than other groups to agree that "some women had just 'turned into men.'" Finally, roughly 40% of all groups of women agreed that "some women just don't understand the level of commitment it takes to be a scientist."

8. ***Attributions differ.*** Black women tended to attribute Prove-It-Again bias to race rather than gender. All groups of women tended to attribute Tightrope and Maternal Wall bias to gender, although race remained more salient for Black women.

9. ***Sexual harassment.*** White women (37.2%) are far more likely to report having been sexually harassed as compared with Asian-Americans (25.0%), Latinas (21.9%), and Black women (12.5%). Because the interviews did not ask about sexual harassment, the survey responses offer the only data point. A prior study that lumped social scientists with natural scientists found no difference between sexual harassment reported among Whites and women of color (Settles, Cortina, Malley, & Stewart, 2006).

Prove-It-Again

Because women of color don't seem to fit quite as well with "the vision of a scientist," often they have to provide more evidence of competence than do White male scientists in order to be seen as equally competent. Prove-It-Again bias stems from the perceived mismatch between the typical woman and the brilliant scientist. This perceived mismatch drives several different tendencies:

- Women are presumed incompetent (Gutiérrez y Muhs, Flores Neimann, González, & Harris, 2012); men are presumed competent (double standards) (Foschi, 2000).
- Women's mistakes tend to be noticed more, and remembered longer, than men's (recall bias) (Heilman, 1995).
- Women's successes often are attributed to luck or other outside causes: he's skilled; she's lucky (attribution bias) (Swim & Sanna, 1996).
- Objective rules tend to be applied rigorously to women, leniently to men (leniency bias) (Brewer, 1996).
- Superstar women tend to receive even higher evaluations than superstar men, but women who are merely excellent tend to get much lower evaluations (shifting standards; polarized evaluations) (Biernet & Manis, 1994; Linville & Jones, 1980).
- If a job requires both experience and education, people tend to choose a man with more education and cite the importance of education to the position; but if the woman has more education, they tend to choose the man with more experience and cite the importance of experience (Uhlmann, Cohen, 2005).

Nearly two-thirds of the women surveyed (63.9%) and those interviewed (66.7%) reported that they needed to provide more evidence of competence than others in order to prove themselves to their colleagues. Yet women's experiences varied substantially by race. Black women (76.9%) were more likely than the other three groups of women to report having to prove them-

selves over and over again (Latinas: 64.5%; Asian-Americans: 63.6%; Whites: 62.7%). Interestingly, in the interviews, Latinas discussed colleagues' negative competence assumptions about as much as did Black women, and far more than did Asian-Americans. This finding was not reflected in the surveys.

That Black women felt more Prove-It-Again bias makes sense, given that they trigger two distinct sets of negative competence assumptions, one based on gender, and the other on race (Fiske, 2010; Goff et al., 2008). Less easy to understand is that slightly more Asian-Americans reported Prove-It-Again bias from colleagues than White women reported: perhaps the "model minority" stereotype of Asians as equally competent as Whites (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), particularly in technical matters, chiefly benefits Asian-American men.

The scientists surveyed also reported having to provide additional evidence of competence to prove themselves to their students, although at lower rates. Black women (56.5%) and Latinas (50.0%) reported this problem more frequently than did White women (43.3%) and Asian-Americans (31.7%). Interestingly, the "model minority" stereotype appears to help Asian-American women in STEM more with students than colleagues: while Asian Americans were more likely than White women to report Prove-It-Again problems with their colleagues, they were less likely to report similar problems with their students.

Latinas

Colleagues' negative competence assumptions.

A Latina in environmental engineering recalled Prove-It-Again bias from her earliest days in her field when, on her qualifying exams, one of her professors "told me that he was going to ask a question that I was not going to be able to answer and he was going to have me take an extra course." This woman's qualifying exams did indeed contain a question that was impossible to answer without making assumptions. So she made some assumptions, and reached the correct conclusion. Her professor was unimpressed: "even though [her] assumptions were correct and the answer of the question was correct" he still made her take the additional class. "[H]e went as far as knocking on my head and saying, 'Is there anybody there?'" Years later, her hands were shaking as she told the interviewer the story. "I was about 22 years old, so I went back to my office in tears." It took her years, she said, "just to be able to see myself again as somebody who actually did know what I was doing back then."

A Latina in geography thought that some people have "these kneejerk reactions that people of color or women of color aren't as competent." A Latina in biochemistry recounted being excluded when her (male) colleagues discussed her own project. When she suggested that it would have been

appropriate to include her, they looked at her with surprise; "from that day on, I had to really fight and be very proactive about these things."

Sometimes negative competence assumptions play out as hyper-scrutiny. Said a biochemist, "they'll nitpick at the protocol, if that makes sense. Well, did you do something different? Did you change something on the protocol? Did you do it at a different time of day? Was the temperature exactly the same? You just have to address every one of their nitpicking questions, until you've answered them all. It's like, 'Okay, you're out of arguments.' Then they have to accept the fact that okay, yes, you were successful in that, not because you're a woman, but because you can do the experiment, or you can do that project well."

As a result, many Latinas felt intense performance pressure. For these women, working hard is a way to overcome the "Mexicans are lazy" stereotype. Some Latinas felt constantly under pressure to make sure everything they did was perfect, a pattern that has been documented in the lab for Black women (Rosette & Livingston, 2012).

Students' negative competence assumptions.
Women also mentioned challenges in getting students to take them seriously. A Latina engineer noted, "Students'…mental image of what their… respected engineering professor should look like is a White, balding male. I enter the classroom and I don't fit that image, so I start out with this, okay, I have to prove myself to them." A Latina chemical engineer noted that "students tend to basically just have a certain level of respect for a male faculty from day one that they don't necessarily have for a female faculty, or for me at least." Prior studies have made similar observations (Turner, Gonzáles, & Wong, 2011; Stanley, 2006 (citing studies)).

Successes discounted.
Part of the problem was that Latinas' accomplishments were discounted or attributed to luck. "Even when I went up for promotion," said a Latina biologist, questions were raised about "whether or not I would continue to be doing the things that I was doing, once I got full professor… I had never heard that kind of a comment ever expressed in previous deliberations though. It was a double standard."

Mistakes magnified.
Several women noted that women were penalized far more than men for mistakes. A Latina statistician recalled a female colleague whose mistake "many years back" was brought up again and again, noting that a male colleague "hasn't been able to let go of that and continues to pound this woman on every possible occasion." This same colleague, she noted "was extraordinarily

lenient with a male colleague of ours who has done worse than this female colleague of ours and seems to enjoy – 'Oh, he didn't mean that.'"

The stolen idea.
Several women also reported situations where women suggest an idea only to have it overlooked, only to have the idea taken up when it is repeated by a man. Said a Latina environmental engineer, "I would say something in a meeting and it would go on deaf ears. And then somebody else would say the exact same thing and there would be the, 'Wow, that's such a great idea.'" A Latina statistician recalled, "[Y]ou say something in a meeting, you throw an idea out on the table, nobody picks up on it. Then, a little while [later] one of your male colleagues throws the exact same idea on the table and everybody goes, 'Oh, that's a fantastic idea.'"

The Latinas interviewed typically attributed their Prove-It-Again challenges to gender rather than race. "[A]s a woman in engineering, very, very, very few women, right, mostly males, you are kind of wired into thinking that you have to try harder… And you probably will have to work twice as much as your male colleagues," remarked one woman. Another Latina, a statistician, noted "You are young and you are male, you can do it. You are older and you are female, they don't want to waste time on you, until you prove the contrar."

Prove-It-Again problems were perceived to have concrete consequences. A Latina engineer commented, "I have seen some of my [female] colleagues get higher funding rates, higher number of publications, higher service achievements, have their promotions delayed because it was considered that they didn't have enough achievements."

A Latina in microbiology and biochemistry commented that the Prove-It-Again problems she encountered in the early years of her career stopped when she entered an environment that was gender balanced: "[D]uring my postdoctoral fellowship where I was the only female in a postdoctoral lab of six men, and the PI was also a man… I always felt like I had to do more to prove myself in that lab. Even in just simple lab meetings, we would each have to kind of say what we did that week and go over our data. And I always felt like I was getting drilled… [W]hereas the other guys, they would just kind of say, 'Oh, yeah, and we sat around and did X,' and they were just believed immediately." Now that this woman is in a department that is half male and half female, she notes that this does not happen anymore.

Some Latinas felt that unfair treatment just rolled off their backs. A biology professor noted, "I was raised in a culture where women are sort of stronger in a lot of ways. Women have learned to take over responsibility for their families and be the ones in charge. Whether you have a man or not, you have to make things happen… I feel that that has given me strength in science where I don't believe paying much attention about what other people

might think or not think and just go for what I think I want to do and that I need to do. I just don't give up. I'm from Puerto Rico." A woman of Mexican descent agreed. "My mother is an extremely – she's a go-getter. My great-grandma grew up during the Mexican Revolution, and she was one of those ones that picked up guns and went fighting for the cause. It comes from generations of very assertive women."

A strong sense of right and wrong helped others: many Latinas in science adopted a "what does not kill you makes you stronger" attitude, viewing those who exhibited prejudice as weak and themselves strong because they worked hard and took pride in the results of their work.

Black Women

Colleagues' negative competence assumptions.

The experimental finding that Black women have to provide more evidence of competence (Rosette & Livingston, 2012) definitely resonated with the women interviewed. Said a Black microbiologist, "[I]t's a huge barrier, how you're perceived as a capable scientist." A Black biochemist noted, "You always have to prove yourself…, to show skill. I've never, ever had anything easy." She attributed the problem chiefly to gender, recalling a time when she and her advisor, a White woman, stood virtually alone watching the traffic go to the poster of a White male colleague, whose was on a closely related topic.

More commonly Black women attribute their Prove-It-Again problems to race. Said a Black woman in medical imaging, "that initial expectation of not being professional or whatever and – or not being taken seriously until they hear me, I think that's more because I'm Black than because I'm a woman." A statistician agreed, suggesting that when she presented to an audience, the audience assumed a lack of merit in her results. A prior study found that 63.6% of Black faculty report subtle racism as a source of stress – over 20 points higher than for any other group of faculty (Hurtado, 2011).

Other respondents expressed less certainty about whether race or gender was the issue. "It's challenging because you don't know if you're working twice as hard because you're a woman or if you're working twice as hard because I'm African American," said a mathematician. A Black micro-biologist said, "Yes, we must prove it again and again. We have two strikes against us and each is addressed separately." The prevalence of this experience has been noted in other studies (Stanley, 2006).

Still others felt gender and racial bias were additive. A Black biostatistician noted that she sometimes needed to put her foot down. "[When] it's moved to a place that's almost ugly, where I've had to remind people, 'Look, I have this degree from this very prestigious place. Yes, you have a different degree in a different area, which makes you knowledgeable in a very different area

that's not Statistics, and if you're going to challenge me on this – well, I won't be challenged on this.'"

Black women are "presumed incompetent" (Gutiérrez y Muhs, Flores Neimann, González, & Harris, 2012) not only in research but also in teaching. A Black statistician recalled when an administrator asked her how her teaching was going. "'You're not having any problems? Everything's going okay?'" She said everything was fine; later she found out that "a student had called the office and complained about a professor. For some reason, naturally it was assumed that it was me, okay?" The student complained about another professor.

Successes discounted.
A Black biochemist reported that an evaluation said, "she's bright, she's big, but she needs a lot of supervision." Note how her success was discounted.

Objective rules applied rigorously to women, leniently to men.
A Black biologist noted an example of leniency bias – when objective requirements are applied rigidly to some but leniently to others. She prepared a document and "I didn't put it in an envelope. That was it. I just gave it to the staff member and didn't put it in an envelope. The faculty member came back to my office screaming and raging about anybody could have seen this paperwork, it's private and confidential. It was just a hiring form."

Some women were philosophical about their Prove-It-Again challenges. Many of these women grew up with the knowledge of an "uneven playing field." Said a Black statistician, "I turn it around as a motivator. Because I turn it around into a positive. It helps motivate me to push harder."

Asian-American Women
Asian-American women in STEM, at least in theory, are in a different situation than Latinas and Black women. First, Asian-Americans are not an underrepresented minority in STEM. Second, Asian-Americans are seen as equal in competence to Whites (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), particularly in technical matters. One woman used the model minority stereotype strategically. An Asian-American physicist very self-consciously played off the stereotype that "Asians are naturally talented in STEM fields" to counter the negative stereotype that women aren't. Her strategy was to make sure she was seen as an Asian in STEM rather than a woman in STEM: "I'm more acceptable, if you will, as an Asian woman scientist rather than a woman scientist."

Colleagues' negative competence assumptions.
Yet this sentiment was surprisingly rare. Most of the Asian-American women interviewed reported experiences similar to those reported by Latinas and

Black women. “I have felt always under…extra scrutiny,” noted an Asian-American woman in astrophysics. She had the sense that she needed to display her competence “in many more settings than they are required of men, of White women, whatever…. –[Y]ou have to prove yourself all the time and that, yes, not a whole lot is taken on promise.” An Asian-American in statistics described the attitude: “If you’re perfect we might accept you, but if you’re not perfect, forget it.” She continued, “Your expertise constantly being questioned is probably the biggest thing – you know, people just assuming that you’re not going to be able to cut it.” Asian-Americans also reported disrespect: a geophysicist recalled when her colleagues told her students that she would not get tenure, and “it felt so wrong.”

Students’ negative competence assumptions.
An Asian-American biochemist reported her sense, when she starts a class of “an uphill kind of battle…I get the impression that students don’t believe that I know what I’m supposed to know…?” Said an Asian-American statistics professor, “I think my worst experience was probably an almost all male engineering stats course where, if I pointed out a couple of different ways of doing a problem, the teaching evaluations came back saying ‘She doesn’t know what she’s talking about.’” When her White male colleagues did the same thing, they were labeled “inventive” and “smart.”

To enhance their authority, the Asian-American women interviewed tended to be much more formal than their male colleagues. “Because if I went into my class wearing cut-offs with holes in them and a t-shirt, I just would not get any respect at all – particularly when I was younger – whereas my male colleagues of the same age could get away with that,” said an Asian-American in statistics. So she dressed more formally, and “tend[s] not to be jokey. My male colleagues can joke around a lot.” People “have told me to loosen up and I honestly don’t know what I’ve said in response, but I just had a feeling that if I started to loosen up I would lose respect.”

Successes discounted.
Other Asian-American women reported that their successes were discounted. One described her department chair saying that she got grants not due to merit but to politics. An Asian-American woman in statistics recalled that she was the only one who had a tenure track position when she finished her program. Despite the fact that she had three publications while her White male colleagues had none, she was told that she had gotten the job because she was a woman.

These assumptions have concrete consequences, noted an Asian-American immunologist: “I got my big R01 and then looked for the position.” She was told she “needed to wait for a year to be associate professor in order to move your lab and also he gave me a lot of – I think it’s excuses.” She accepted

the job at an assistant professor rank nonetheless because she wanted a shorter commute – only to have a less credentialed man hired as an associate professor. Even when she managed to get her rank changed to associate, her salary remained unchanged, despite the fact that she had brought in another prestigious grant. She said this kind of thing was common.

The stolen idea.
An Asian-American biochemist recalled that often her idea was "just portrayed as somebody else's idea. And then they would discuss about it, basically not giving me any credit for what I was saying." She got so tired of this that she began to put her ideas in an email before a meeting, so everyone knew which ideas originated with her.

A geneticist noted that things had improved when more Asian-American women entered leadership positions. "[T]hat has helped changed the atmosphere."

The Tightrope

Due to prescriptive gender bias, women walk a tightrope between being seen as too feminine, and so liked but not respected – or too masculine, and so respected but disliked (Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J., & Xu, J., 1999). Studies have documented that Asians (men as well as women) are seen as more feminine than Whites, while Black people are seen as more masculine than White people (Goff, Thomas, & Jackson, 2008; Johnson, Freeman, & Paulker, 2012; Galinsky, Hall, & Cuddy, 2013). So it comes as no surprise that Asian-American women encounter more "too feminine" problems – and Black women encounter fewer – than do other women. White women and Latinas generally fall somewhere in between.

Asian-Americans surveyed were more likely (40.9%) than other women to report pressures to play traditionally feminine roles such as office mother or dutiful daughter, as compared with White women (35.9%) and Latinas (28.1%). Black women rarely identified this as a problem (8.0%).

Asian-Americans also more often reported backlash for stereotypically masculine behaviors. Most striking, fully 61.4% reported pushback for assertiveness. It seems that the stereotypes of Asians as passive mean that Asian-American women who aren't passive seem more transgressive. The other three groups of women also reported pushback for assertiveness, but at lower levels: 53.2% of White women, 50.0% of Blacks and 46.9% of Latinas.

The survey suggests that the racial stereotype of the "fiery Latin" may leave more room for Latinas to behave assertively, but the same stereotype disadvantages Latinas who show anger. Latinas were more likely than other groups of women to say they did not feel free to express anger at work: 59.4% reported this, as compared with 54.4% for Asian-Americans, 49.7%

for Whites and 47.8% for Black women. Moreover, in the interviews, Latinas often reported that they were faulted for being angry or "too emotional" when they behaved assertively – something never reported by women from other groups.

Asian-American women are more likely than women from other groups to be policed into femininity, and penalized for stereotypically masculine behavior. The final evidence of this pattern concerns self-promotion. Nearly half (48.8%) of Asian-Americans surveyed reported backlash for self-promotion, as compared to roughly a third of women from other groups: 37.3% of Whites, 31.1% of Latinas, and 30.4% of Black women.

The survey contradicts an experimental study that found that Black women are allowed to behave in more dominant ways than White women without pushback (Livingston, Rossette, & Washington, 2012). In our survey, Blacks and Whites reported backlash for behaving assertively and showing anger at about the same rates.

In a counter-intuitive finding, White women (41.8%) were most likely to report they are asked to do more service work than others, a higher level than Black women (37.5%), Asian-Americans (32.5%), and Latinas (31.3%).

All four groups of women tended to attribute Tightrope issues to gender, although race remained more salient for Black women.

Asian-American Women

Asian-Americans often encountered pressures to play traditionally feminine roles – and pushback if they didn't.

Asian-American women surveyed reported that they had encountered pressures to play traditionally feminine roles such as office mother or dutiful daughter at much higher rates than other women. Asian-American women were also much more likely to report backlash if they engaged in stereotypically masculine behaviors, such as self-assertion (61.4%) and self-promotion (48.8%), suggesting that the stereotype that Asian-American women are more feminine than Whites is also a stereotype that they should be more feminine.

The stereotype of Asians as passive plays a role. A geophysicist noted the expectation "that Asians are supposed to be very passive. And when you add women to that, they really don't expect Asian women to stand up for themselves, or they expect the dragon lady, the extreme opposite. You can't just be a normal person. There's no expectation for you to be normal." An Asian in viral immunology agreed, saying that, as an Asian woman, she was seen as someone who "should be like feminine, yeah. Shouldn't be aggressive."

Some refused to conform because they felt that doing so undercut their authority. "I just feel like it's kind of sad you have to portray yourself as a tough bitch in order to stand on your ground. It's hard," mused an immunol-

ogist. “I’m very candid and I do not hesitate to open my mouth and that was probably not the submissive female person,” said an Asian-American biologist. “I think that being an oriental female immediately started, I guess, having a reputation of being a dragon lady.” Colleagues in other departments told her to watch her back. “Early on when I started working here, a faculty colleague of mine said…, ‘I can hear you way down the hall because your balls clang.’”

The Tightrope is very narrow for Asian-Americans: one soil microbiologist, who reported being penalized for her masculine style, also reported having been penalized earlier in her career for being too feminine. Now a professor, she talks with students about being assertive, and about the “difference between being assertive and being a bitch.”

Sometimes colleagues’ bias was very open: “I’ve gotten remarks like ‘I didn’t expect someone that was Indian… and female to be like this,’” said an Asian-American soil microbiologist. She found it a challenge to “fit some sort of stereotype of this, I don’t know, quiet, subservient woman or something.” Again, the Tightrope was narrow: “if a woman promotes herself, then she’s too forward or too aggressive.” Her solution was to signal masculinity through clothing, which is “my way of not really being masculine but kind of conforming to a dress code so that I am respected.”

An Asian-American physicist perfectly articulated her dilemma, saying that the Tightrope sounded “very, very familiar. And I think it’s a struggle that most women or even I go through is how do you portray yourself? I mean, where is the balance, right? I mean, you…are a woman…you don’t have to be a man. But, at the same time, if you want to fit in, do you have to behave like the men? And I think I see that a lot. And I know of a lot of women who go through this struggle of how should you portray yourself and be respected for what you are…. I still find that a struggle.”

Politically adept women riffed off stereotypes to keep colleagues off balance. “[I]f you’re a young man you’re a boy genius,” said an astrophysicist. “But if you’re a young woman, you are so threatening that, in order to be able to cope and to be liked and not intensely disliked by everybody else,” things get difficult. “I have had to become as amiable as possible and a group player all the time, not looking out for myself, so damp down my ambition in some ways…. I rarely talk about the prizes I get, the media attention I get. I mean, I keep it all really damped down. But, now in the age of the Internet, right, everybody knows everything.” This is “gender judo:” using feminine stereotypes that typically hold women back to, instead, propel them forward (Williams, 2014). While this strategy had proved successful in managing backlash, she believed she’d also paid a price for downplaying her accomplishments

Self-promotion challenges.
Women of all groups often struggle with self-promotion, which often is seen as appropriate in men ("he knows his own worth") but distasteful in women (Rudman, 1998), who are expected to be demure, modest, and helpful (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). Many Asian-Americans find self-promotion particularly difficult. "It's our upbringing that you're taught to be humble and not boast about your achievements and give credit to others and being boastful is just being rude…. If people find and appreciate, that's good for you. If not, that's okay is what we are taught. And so, it's so inherent in us that in a society where it's more self-promoting…that it's really hard…. Even those who do it eventually, it takes a very long time to learn that. And you pay a price for that," said a geophysicist.

Students' stereotypes.
The "den mother" role is common for Asian-American women professors. Sometimes it's a self-conscious strategy – gender judo – to dodge pushback for being seen as too accomplished or too masculine by adopting a feminine persona. Often, though, the femininity feels mandated and uncomfortable, as students demand attention and emotional support from women that they rarely require of male professors. Said a physicist, "The weaker female grad students said 'Oh, I thought, as a woman, she would understand my problems.' They expected me to be sort of motherly towards them and spend time counseling them and so on, which is not my job." A statistician reported similar experiences, saying that students "expect me to be more helping – you know, always willing to help. Where a male faculty member could just refuse and not have that negatively affect him. Whereas if female faculty members just refuse, that can negatively affect them."

Again women reported that things got easier when they transitioned to environments with more women colleagues in professional roles. A statistician noted that in her current department, female administrators had been around for a long time, so "women can behave quite assertively and aggressively and be respected." She concluded, "so things are good."

Black Women

While Asians are seen by Whites as more feminine than Whites, Black women are seen by Whites as more masculine (Galinsky, Hall, & Cuddy, 2013). So it is not surprising that Black women reported both less pressure to play traditionally feminine roles and less backlash for behaving in stereotypically masculine ways. Black women reported rarely feeling pressure to play traditionally feminine roles such as office mother or dutiful daughter: only 8.0% of Black women did. (Other women's agreement ranged from 28% to 41%.)

A microbiologist described how she did not suffer fools gladly. When students come to her for tea, sympathy, and deferred deadlines, "I'm like, I do keep count of how many grandmothers people have. You can't do it three times."

Thus Black scientists surveyed reported the lowest level of pushback for self-promotion (30.4%, as compared to 31.3% for Latinas, 37.3% for White women, 48.8% for Asian-Americans). Black women also were less likely than other women to report that they did not feel free to express anger at work (47.8%, as compared to 49.7% of Whites, 54.5% of Asian-Americans, and 59.4% of Latinas).

Studies show that open expressions of anger tend to increase the perceived status of a man, but decrease that of a woman (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008), but the extent to which this is true may differ based on race. An experimental study found that Black women are less likely than White women to encounter backlash for behaving in dominant ways (Livingston, Rossette, & Washington, 2012), and the interviews contain many examples of Black women saying that dominant behavior works for them. Said a Black woman in medical imaging, "I've never really dealt with being thought of as a bitch, but I have – I kind of aspire to that a little bit because I see, at this university at least, that – actually it's a very effective perception to have." She continued, "And when I am most successful is when I come out of my passive mode…. I am assertive, that's when I am most rewarded. I won't say that's when I'm most productive, but that's when I'm most rewarded." A Black statistician noted that she felt she could get respect for being like a prototypical man – aggressive or assertive. So did a mathematician, who embraced "the perception of the angry Black woman is that we're very, very strong-willed. We don't take any mess and we get the job done, right?"

Other women agreed. A Black statistician noted, "I certainly can't walk in the classroom and come off as being timid, right? Because then students will try and walk all over me. You go in there, you're assertive, you lay down the rules of the syllabus on the first day. At least if you come off on that first day as being stern – I'm not saying you have to be nasty, of course, but very set and this is what you want to do, this is the goal of the class, this is my role, this is your role. It lays down the groundwork." A prior study found that Black professors (both men and women) tend to be judged as significantly less competent and legitimate than White and Asian-American professors – and were seen as having fewer interpersonal skills than Whites (Bavishi, Madera & Hebl, 2010).

A doctor recalled sending an email when she was truly annoyed with a colleague: "When I finished the email and read it, you could tell that it had a bite to it. [Laughter.] This person was someone that I really didn't care if they got the bite because I wanted 'em to get the bite." Her partner noted that the email had an attitude and asked "'Now, why did you send that?' I said, 'Because I was ticked.' He goes, 'Well, that had an attitude to it.' I said, 'I

know.' I said, 'I meant for it to have an attitude.'" She sent it to a colleague who "has this attitude of, well, I'm in charge and I know what's best and kind of push over people. I wanted him to know I wasn't just gonna go away or just back off just because this is the way he said it. I sent this email and, yeah, it had a bite to it. Within ten minutes – this is at 9:00 at night – within ten minutes I got a response from this guy and the response was, 'Oh, I am so sorry. I didn't realize.'" These findings echo an earlier study of physics graduate students that found that they strategically adopted a "loud Black girl" persona (Ong, 2005).

In sum, the interview evidence appears to confirm the experimental evidence that Black women can behave in more dominant ways than White women and Asian-Americans; the findings with respect to Latinas are murkier. Yet the picture is complex: the survey evidence appears to contradict that finding. In the survey, White women (52.3%) and Black women (54.2%) report pushback for being assertive with about the same frequency as each other; with Latinas not far behind (46.9%). More research is needed.

Avoiding the "angry Black woman" stereotype and other backlash.
There are limits. A statistician noted, that the Tightrope is "particularly sensitive" because "you have to avoid the stereotype of the 'angry Black female,'" which "diminishes your opinion and the weight of your argument." A microbiologist recalled getting testy with a colleague who wanted to correct a student's technique in her research lab "–they were pretty much saying that what I was telling the student was wrong." She let them have it. "I pretty much bluntly invited them to leave my lab, and told them that if they had issue with things that go on in my lab, to address me first of all, and if I couldn't give them satisfaction, they were free to take it up with the administration, but unless they saw an imminent danger." She noted, "I'm calm. I don't raise my voice… Because if I were as assertive as some Caucasian colleagues that are male, I would be called a mad Black woman … For that reason, I choose to – and actually, it's just my personality to be soft-spoken."

A doctor also reported self-editing to avoid backlash, saying that she dressed more femininely because, if she "dressed like Hilary Clinton, wore pantsuits all the time or just kind of didn't care as much about her appearance," she felt she would be regarded as "aggressive as opposed to just neutral. I think a plain-dressing Black woman would be taken as aggressive or as – and then, especially with the hair." Whether to let one's hair grow natural, of course, has long been a delicate issue. One Black woman recounted, after becoming department chair, how a colleague had "spent 45 minutes telling me how I needed to dress more appropriately for the position that I was going to assume" and that she "should wear more skirts and apply

make-up…I have been told that wearing my hair naturally was not a professional kind of hairstyle."

Other Black women describe backlash as a problem and gender judo as a solution. A biologist who noted that she tends to be "a very direct speaker" said that her Chair got "very angry and was like don't talk to me like that." She had heard male colleagues talking that way, without incident. But she felt she had to "put cotton candy in my mouth and, oh – I had to do very – a lot of deferring. 'I can't do this without your help, I really need you to do this,' if you – and I had to put him in that masculine 'I'll take care of it role,' and I had to take the feminine 'I need you to help me, I need to be saved' role. And a lot of times, that was how I had to deal with him in order to get what I needed to get things done." This interviewee felt that White women could get away with being direct, "whereas with me, it was seen as more threatening."

A cancer biologist exemplified a common outcome of "stereotype threat" (Steele, & Aronson, 1995) – when someone vulnerable to confirming a negative stereotype shapes their behavior in order to avoid doing so and, as a result, becomes less effective. To avoid being seen as an "angry Black woman" she tried not to raise her voice or to be too animated, which, she acknowledged, contributed to her timidity in meetings.

The single most shocking story was told by a microbiologist who, earlier in her career, suffered a traumatic brain injury. When some White males who worked for her came to visit "I asked them the questions that a boss would ask, like 'Where are we with the project? Did you take care of this and that and that?'" The hospital staff thought she was "unnecessarily brusque, undeferential" and that she "needed to stay in rehabilitation longer until I started acting like a woman." One of her colleagues suggested she act the "Southern belle" so "I dropped my IQ by several points and started looking for little things to decorate myself with." She raised the pitch of her voice and chose pink hospital gowns. "All the sudden, they let me out."

This scientist proceeded to describe the Tightrope in classic terms. "[I]t's a fine line you have to walk, because sometimes I do find myself trying to not come off too aggressive, because I know it can be, I guess, viewed as she is bitchy or whatever. At the same time, I try not to let people walk over me…[or] come across as weak and helpless, you know [laughter]?"

Playing traditionally feminine roles and doing the office housework.
The survey found that only 8.0% of Black women reported pressure to play traditionally feminine roles, yet the interviews surfaced a number of women who did so. One Black mathematician noted that she's "kind of seen as this motherly nurturing person in the department." Colleagues often sent students who were having problems to her. "I'm not a counselor, but I'm the only female in my department. And I work with a lot of foreign faculty members

who have expectations of women. And the expectations that they have is that, you know, women are supposed to be caring and nurturing and to take care of the kids." Another Black woman, a biologist, noted the expectation that women are a good fit for emotion work: "it's like, 'Yeah, you can tell me all your problems because that's my job sort of to help you solve your problems,' as opposed to coping with my own." She protested, "This is in the workplace."

The most poignant story was of a Black scientist whose mentors were "very adamant" that she didn't "need to sit on every blasted committee." So, in a meeting with the provost, she pointed out that Whites as well as people of color could be tapped to serve on diversity committees. The provost's response was to invite her to serve on another committee. "Of course I'm not going to say no to the provost. This is the man who basically has my tenure in his hands." Other studies have noted that women of color sometimes are more committed to "race-based service" (Baez, quoted in Stanley, 2006). Among our informants, the focus was more on how such service was extracted regardless of the wishes of the professor of color.

Latinas

Angry – or assertive?

An important finding of the survey was that for Latinas, much more than for other groups of women, expressing anger is a danger zone: 59.4% said they did not feel free to express anger at work (as compared with 54.5% of Asian-Americans, 49.7% of White women, and 47.8% of Black women). The interviews also found that Latinas are often seen as angry when they're not: Latinas who behave assertively reported that they often were discredited as "angry" or "too emotional" even when they weren't angry; they just weren't deferential. In the survey, Latinas reported the lowest levels of pushback for behaving assertively (46.9%), although Black women (54.2%) and White women (52.3%) were close. Still, almost half of the Latina scientists surveyed reported pushback for assertiveness and the interviews provided many examples.

Said an environmental engineer, "Everybody is afraid that I'm just going to start crying or that I'm just going to get really mad." She noted "a lot of fear that, the Hispanics and the Black women, we'll just blow in a meeting because we are so much more emotional and we cannot handle ourselves in the way that everybody else can." She had protested when a job candidate kept being referred to as the "minority candidate," she was told to "'stop being so emotional about syntax.' And I was like I'm not crying. I'm not raising my voice. I'm not doing anything. Why am I being emotional when I'm telling you that this is just simply wrong…."

Again and again, Latinas reported being criticized as "angry" when they behave assertively. Said a Latina biochemist, "my department chair basically called me to his office afterwards and told me that I was giving the impression that I was an angry lady and basically encouraged me not to open my mouth and express my opinion during faculty meetings because people were going to think that I was just a hysterical woman." She noted that she had acted no differently than her male colleagues in expressing her views. Sometimes backlash came from students rather than colleagues. A neuroscientist recalled what happened when she asked a student to leave her lab because the student had been disrupting the smooth functioning of the lab. The student told her, "You're just too emotional. If you were just a little bit more cool-headed." The neuroscientist noted dryly that, "On the other hand there are some people that think that I'm just really too strict and too non-female-like."

Another theme was that Latinas were overly emotional or "crazy," a charge rarely reported by other groups of women. "I have found that it is much more accepted for a male to be aggressive," said a Latina engineer. "Many professors that will even kick the doors and everything, and nobody seems to care about that. I can guarantee if a female does it, they will feel that she's crazy." Said a statistician, "many times, when a woman has a dissonant voice, they are called, here and also back home, a crazy so and so."

Some of the scientists tightly controlled their emotional expression in order to avoid these stereotypes. "You have to be completely emotionless because that person's just going to say, 'Oh, she's a woman'" and see you as weak, noted a Latina in anatomy. A Latina biochemist recalled getting angry when someone did something she considered clearly inappropriate. "I was called to the principal's office to use a metaphor." She was "absolutely sure" that none of her male colleagues who got angry at faculty meetings got called on it.

Latinas walk a Tightrope, just as other women do.

"You have to thread very finely," said an engineer. You have to "speak up your mind" without making your male colleagues feel "emasculated. So it's fine thread." An aggressive style works for men but not women, said a Latina in clinical science. "A similar behaving woman would not be received with respect, more likely be denigrated."

Some felt expectations that women would be "soft," understanding, and "accommodating." "[I] have to be very assertive to be heard and sometimes people take that as aggressive," said a Latina immunologist, but if you're too feminine, "then they think you're not smart enough." "You have to walk a very fine line," remarked an engineer, "You cannot let them walk over you. Otherwise, you're not going to get anything accomplished."

Large loads of office housework.
In the survey, about a quarter of Latina scientists (28.1%) reported expectations that they play traditionally feminine roles such as office mother/dutiful daughter – considerably less than Asian-Americans (40.9%) and White women (35.9%) but much more than Black women (8.0%). Yet the interviews contained many reports of Latina scientists expected to play traditionally feminine roles, including literal housework as well as emotion work and work typically performed by administrative staff.

The Latina scientists interviewed reported that both students and colleagues expected them to do office housework. A Latina bioengineer remarked that students expect women professors "to be more motherly and more willing to make exceptions for them, if they want to." Male colleagues could tell students to leave the classroom if they were not paying attention. "They can say things quite frankly, rudely, and people love them. They think they're great. If I said that I'd be crucified. They would think I was the biggest, most horrible witch there ever was." Both male and female students expected women to be supportive and nurturing. "They would never expect a male professor to respond well for example with them like breaking down crying in their office. I definitely feel that masculine/feminine gender roles, those expectations, I feel them on, yeah, a daily basis…. I'm pretty aggressive. I find that both men and women… are going to immediately… call [you a] witch. I'd use another word but it would be rude. [chuckles.]"

Latinas reported literal housework and admin roles never reported by other groups of women. A Latina bioengineer reported male faculty who "expected female faculty members to serve them tea or coffee or take notes." Noted a Latina in biomedical research, "They treat you like their mother, like they can get whatever you can from you, and there's no limit. Like, if you keep helping, they keep asking."

The most shocking example was of a Latina in clinical science who was literally treated as an administrative assistant. "I think there are times when I am asked to be kind of the mother of the group," she said. This included tasks like making sure everyone filled out their paperwork or setting up a meeting. "I play many roles that…could be done by a competent administrative assistant if we happen to have had a competent administrative assistant, which we don't." She had tried to get rid of these "administrative duties [that]…eat into my time," but without success.

Men have higher salaries, noted an engineer, but women are expected to do more service. An environmental engineer reported that male colleagues try to delegate "managerial tasks, making copies, making sure that everybody's going to be on the meeting."

Dress is an important issue.
Many Latinas sensed a tension between the way they believe a woman should look and the dress expected of scientists. Respondents widely acknowledged that scientists are "normally blue-jeans-and-sneakers people." Non-Latinas tended to notch that dress code up a bit and call it a day. But Latinas often felt caught. "You're expected as a scientist to look a little scruffy and not well taken care of," said an immunologist. Note the conflation of feminine dress and being "well taken care of." Lamented a biomedical researcher, "So if you dress well, you get less respect."

Just as Asian-American women struggled to reconcile the pressures to self-promote with the cultural mandate to be modest, Latinas struggled to reconcile cultural mandates of feminine dress with dress norms in science. A biochemist nailed the dilemma: "You are kind of exotic." She had to "tone down" a lot so she is perceived as "culturally neutral" when she presents her science. "…I don't want them to be distracted by my earrings or by the loud print in my shirt or by my hair or whatever."

A neuroscientist said she tried not to wear too much makeup because "I don't want to be perceived as less than knowledgeable about what I do." An engineer recalled trying to look more masculine in the classroom in order to establish her authority, given that other signals (she felt) undercut it: that she was only 26, petite, and had an accent. "I would wear always pants, pantsuits just to try to assert a position out of fear that nobody would see me as a figure that they could respect."

Latinas who didn't eschew highly feminine dress often were counseled to do so. When she moved institutions, an engineer said, her dean took her aside and told her to dress more professionally. "So it's really difficult, because if you dress the way that you want to dress, you stand out."

Another engineer's advisor coached her for a job interview by telling her, "'You don't want to wear a pink…flowery dress…wear a nice dark-colored pantsuit.'" Several other women had received similar advice.

Other women stood their ground and made their refusal to conform a point of pride. "I cannot make them stop thinking about, let's say, the color of my shoes," said a Latina in biomedical research, "because they're checking them out as they're talking to me, and that used to annoy me a lot. But, I just ignore it and I just keep talking about my science." "I will dress in the way that I feel comfortable, because if I'm dressed in a way that I'm not comfortable, my whole game is off," an environmental engineer remarked.

Even women who refused to compromise on clothing made allowances. The environmental engineer was careful to wear "nothing revealing, nothing tight, because I'm very careful because, Hispanics especially, we like tight clothing. So I'm very careful to always look for clothing for work that's not overly tight, that is not revealing." A biochemist noted that, in Mexico "it would be pretty common that we wear tight clothes and…miniskirts, and I

don't do that here because…I wouldn't be considered a serious scientist, or my message would be lost."

Some Latinas used feminine dress to create room for themselves to behave in highly valued masculine ways. "I happen to be a very girly girl," said another engineer. "I like high heels, I like cute dresses. Actually, that makes me stand out at conferences. I don't try to dress like a man with the pants and the pantsuits and that kind of stuff. I never do that. I don't own a single pantsuit." She felt that, for the most part, her style was received positively. She was very outspoken, she said, and "aggressive, using the word that men use; but what you see doesn't match." She'd been told she was a contradiction, and "I think that actually has been a positive thing in my career, because I surprise people. It's actually a good thing to surprise people, they remember you." This is gender judo: doing a masculine thing (being assertive) in a feminine way (in a stylish dress). It's a common strategy women use to defuse backlash against masculine behavior.

Performing gender judo.

Latinas were much more explicit about gender judo than were women of other groups. An environmental engineer recalled her mentor warning her that "trying to be the man didn't work because people immediately – you immediately get called the bitch." Her mentor recommended gender judo: "she just started using her charm in the way that she talked to people, smiling a lot, and she became a lot more of herself. And I tried – and that really stuck with me."

An engineer reported being told, "'you're very assertive in a very sweet way.' I get what I want in a very sweet way….Doesn't antagonize anybody." Note how she does a masculine thing (being assertive) in a feminine way (being sweet). Another Latina said that when she needed to be assertive, "I try to do it more in a calm, firm way. I actually think that's worked really well for me." A statistician agreed, telling her younger colleagues that they needed to "be pleasant but firm."

A bioengineer noted that, particularly with older men, one has to be careful "you're not so aggressive that you'll completely shut them down." Her solution was to downplay her ambition, and instead present herself as more communal – one of the team. A statistician agreed. "I try to do it sweet and polite, but I make my point and I say what I think…. When you are a woman, you have to do that. If not, they will walk over you with heavy boots." "There are smart ways of being assertive," concluded a biochemist, "and not-so-smart ways."

One particularly astute woman in geography articulated the strategy Professor Deborah Gruenfeld calls "playing high" and "playing low" (Gruenfeld, 2013), using a stereotypically feminine demeanor when you are with people higher in status, and stereotypically masculine demeanor when you are with

people lower in status: “I am really careful about the way that I present myself and my image,” she said. “The way I present myself changes depending on who I’m meeting with.” When she’s meeting with high-level university officials, she barely talks and acts “shy and respectful. And I’m very clearly like the subordinate person in the room. But then in other meetings where I’m more familiar with people or I’m in more of a leadership role, then I would act a lot more direct and authoritative. But, at the same time, I’m still known for always being like really nice and someone who sort of comes up with little jokes, is fun at meetings.”

Maternal Wall

Experimental studies show that the maternal wall, once triggered, is by far the most damaging form of gender bias. The most famous study gave people identical resumes, one but not the other a mother, and found that the mothers were 79% less likely to be hired, only half as likely to be promoted, offered an average of $11,000 less in salary, and held to higher performance and punctuality standards (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007). Other studies (Benard & Correll, 2008) have confirmed that motherhood not only triggers very strong negative competence and commitment assumptions; mothers also walk a tightrope: if they are seen as indisputably competent and committed, mothers tend to be disliked and held to higher performance standards by women (although not by men) (Benard & Correll, 2010). Evidently, women often see mothers who work long hours as bad mothers – and therefore as bad people.

The survey measured one form of maternal wall bias, and found that Black (7.7%) and Latina (9.1%) scientists who were mothers were far less likely than White (26.0%) and Asian-American mothers (26.7%) to report that their colleagues had communicated that they should work fewer hours after their children were born. For Black women, this finding may reflect the stereotype that Black mothers should work rather than stay home with their children (Cuddy & Wolf, 2013). All groups tended to attribute Maternal Wall problems to gender.

Maternal wall bias affects non-mothers too. One study found that women without children encounter the highest level of general workplace harassment of any group (Berdahl & Moon, 2013).

Whereas mothers may well be seen as good mothers but uncommitted scientists, women without children often are seen as somehow lacking as full human beings “without a life” (Cuddy & Wolf, 2013; DePaulo, 2006). This may explain why women without children work the longest hours of any group of workers (Trades Union Congress, 2008). Asian-American women (34.5%) were far more likely than other women to say they felt they needed to spend more time working to compensate for the schedule of other col-

leagues who are mothers, followed by Latinas (23.8%). Black women (15.4%) and White women (13.6%) were far less likely to say this.

There's a stigma against scientists who have children and a different stigma against those who don't. In terms of its impact on the careers of women in STEM, motherhood is a no-win proposition.

Asian-Americans

Negative competence and commitment assumptions.
"I feel like people think that Asian woman, they are caring and then they will give up their professions for their children," said an immunologist. Said another Asian-American, "I have to fight very hard to show that I am good scientist as well as a good mother." "People do judge women who have kids," said another Asian-American immunologist, and there's "this perception that if you're a mother, you can't be a high-achieving scientist," although she thought this was changing fast. Other women did not note progress. "You can either be perceived as the nurturer or extremely competent, but it's pretty hard to be perceived as both," noted a chemist. An Asian-American soil microbiologist put it slightly differently, saying you can either be "the super-scientist" or the "supermom," but not both. An Asian-American physicist described the sentiment that "if you had a full blown career, that's inconsistent with being a mother."

Women in STEM often are competing against men with stay-at-home wives. An immunologist noted this, but also said that the full professors with daughters were "actually a little bit more sympathetic because they tended to have daughters who were going through the same thing." A soil immunologist found the most support from her administrative assistant, who was very supportive when she had to cancel class or a meeting "because she's been through it and she is going through it."

Mary Ann Mason and her team have documented that the largest leak of women out of the STEM pipeline is when they start families (Mason, Goulden, & Frasch, 2010). Women in graduate school are anxious about how they can become both scientists and mothers, said an Asian-American statistician. Upon learning she has a child, students ask her questions like, "Is it possible to have a kid and be an academic? Is it better to have a kid while you're doing your Ph.D. or when you're doing your post doc?" This happens, typically, with students from other departments where all of the advisors are male. She mentioned a colleague in biology who said that, after the birth of her first child, "the floodgates opened and all sorts of female grad students and post docs would come talk to her about this, because this is something that nobody talks about very openly."

The irony, said a microbiologist, is that it's not true that mothers can't succeed in science. She felt that mothers "are actually more productive

because they have a set schedule. They have to come in at a certain time because, at the end of the day, they have to leave and go pick up their kids. So they're a lot more organized. They're a lot more efficient… They are very selective about the meetings that they go to and get the most out of that meeting." Many others mentioned that scientists who are mothers often are more focused and efficient than their colleagues.

When it comes to motherhood, the U.S. "mindset is kind of more backward than other country," said an immunologist originally from Taiwan, where, she noted, children are in school until 5:30 in the evening. Because the educational system is not set up for working mothers, she said, a lot of highly educated women have to give up their jobs in order to educate their children.

Support from their families.
Women from India and China discussed how their mothers supported their careers, and encouraged them to continue. When the immunologist was thinking of quitting, her mother urged her not to, reminding her that her children would grow up, and lauding her for "trying so hard to hold on to your dream and if you give it now, you might never get it back." She persevered. A geophysicist discussed having to live on a different continent than her husband when her child was a toddler. She felt judged by both by Europeans and by some "Asian mothers themselves saying that, you're an Asian woman, we give priority to our children and family, how can you just leave your husband and be here." It hurt, she said, "I didn't know what to say, and I didn't have the energy to fight these comments. I would come back, and it would make me cry." But her own mother reassured her: "That's why you're different. You go ahead in life. Don't bother about them. Not everyone has the smarts or has the sensitiveness, and you can't just teach everybody, just move on." She did.

Pink-collar ghetto.
Most of the women professors interviewed were tenure-track, but a biologist who was not highlighted the perils of the "trailing spouse": "you got hired on the soft money, and they start forgetting the promises, and you find…you are stuck…." She felt cheated and angry.

Family care extends beyond children.
A geophysicist highlighted that minorities are more likely than other Americans to have family care issues that extend beyond children. "I think a lot of professors don't realize that often the successful minority student is the most successful person in their entire family, and they have to take care of everybody else." Their caregiving responsibilities can extend to "aunts and their uncles and their grandparents and their parents and their brothers and sisters and their brothers' and sisters' children, because even as a grad student, they could be making more money than anybody else in the family."

A bright spot: one biochemist's experience shows that motherhood can fit well with science. Asked whether she had hit the maternal wall, she responded, "I've never experienced this." A single mother for over a decade, she has had a very positive experience: "everybody who meets me always congratulates me on how wonderful daughter I've raised and how well accomplished I am in my field and something that I've always got accolades on, both for my daughter and for my career… [N]one of my faculty advisors have restricted me in bringing my daughter to the lab, you know, have a little office, and she could sit with me as long as I was working. I was allowed to work from home any time. So, yeah, I got it really lucky in the last seven years on that front." It's not impossible to combine science with children; one only wishes more environments recognized that.

Black Women

Negative competence and commitment assumptions.
A Black microbiologist noted that she would never admit it if she had to be absent to care for a family member because to do so might be seen as her being "weak" or noncommitted. "[T]here is an assumption," said a Black microbiologist without children, "that your career is more of a hobby than a career, and you're only going to do it until you find a husband and/or have a family. It's not taken as something that's serious. You're taken as more of a passerby on your way home to be a wife and mother." A Black statistician recalled that a colleague came up to her and told her she should be at home with her child. A Black biochemist remarked that women "always want to get their job before anybody notices they're pregnant. I was like, why would they do that? Because it lowers my chances of getting the job." A Black microbiologist said that maternal wall bias played a role in her decision not to have children: "Yes. I was aware of it as early as high school, which is why I decided as an adolescent never to have children."

Some Black women encountered race-specific stereotypes. A microbiologist stated that, while "I don't have any data, being a Black woman with children gets complex because the assumption is once you start, you're never going to stop. You'll end up being a welfare queen. So I also didn't want to deal with that."

Hostile, and benevolent, disapproval of working mothers.
A Black microbiologist reported that a colleague had been told that "she should go have little babies, she should go home." Similarly a Black mathematician recalled women students came to her disturbed when a male "professor told them that they shouldn't be in this class, that they should be at home having babies."

In addition to this "hostile prescriptive stereotyping," some also reported "benevolent prescriptive stereotyping," through comments that again send the message that good mothers belong with their children – but in a different tone of voice. One Black woman recalled a colleague saying, "Wow, why are you here so early? You should be home with the baby." She found herself "almost trying to explain to him, 'No, no, no, it's okay. The baby is with my mother-in-law. She's with family.'" She later learned that his wife had stayed home for the first year of his child's life. When a supervisor believes that mothers "can't do it all," noted a Black doctor, that becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. She recalled a colleague who ended up going part time because the chief in her department was "insensitive to that need of trying to be a parent and a full-time employee."

Maternal wall for women without children.
While women with children definitely reported bias against mothers, women without children felt disadvantaged, too. A Black woman in microbiology felt that, although she didn't want children, "it's something that individuals are dying to know, because it's almost, like you say, they're ready to hold it against me." She recalled a Black colleague asking her, when she described her job, "How can you do that? Doesn't your husband want babies? Your husband will never get babies with you doing all of that." "I just looked at him and said, 'Doesn't your wife want to do something other than have babies? She's pregnant every time I see her.'" She was told her salary was lower than her male colleagues' because they had families to support. "The biases are there," she concluded. (Note that this is illegal sex discrimination.)

Family-friendly policies and the flexibility stigma.
Black mothers, unlike those of other groups, discussed the family friendly policies – and lack of them. One scientist noted that her institution's lack of clear policies for how to temporarily replace women on maternity leave left her "scrambling." Others highlighted the "flexibility stigma" – the stigma often encountered for use of stop-the-clock policies (Williams, Blair-Loy, & Berdahl, 2013). Said a Black statistician, "other people felt like they were doing me a favor and I'm like 'You're not doing me a favor!' [Laughs] 'This is just, this is the policy right now.'" You have a legal right to leave under the Family and Medical Leave Act, she observed, whereas "other people will try to make you feel like they're doing something special for you."

Several women felt pressured not to use their institution's family leave policies. A Black electrical engineer recalled a colleague who almost decided not to stop the tenure clock. "But it is something that is clearly stated in the rules, yet in practice, most of the female faculty that I've spoken to and some of the male faculty did advise me against doing it." Note that this kind of

advice can easily be seen as illegal interference with Family and Medical Leave (Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, 2006).

A Black statistician noted that some of her colleagues did not use her institution's stop-the-clock policy. She believes they chose not to do so because they do not want to appear "weak" or as though they are receiving "special consideration." The same woman recalls she was admonished by her doctor for her reluctance to ask for maternity leave. Her doctor told her there was no explanation for her health issues "other than stress."

The tragedy is that it's so easy to get it right. A Black doctor recalled how worried she was when she had to tell her supervisor she was pregnant. He surprised her: "he's actually very sensitive to the female faculty and the fact that we have children." He thinks the tenure clock is "stupid," she noted, because it penalizes women when they want to have children. "I think he's an anomaly. [Laughter] but he actually gets it…. Part of it, his wife is a physician, so I'm sure she's probably beat him over the head and grilled some of this stuff into him, which is probably a good thing."

In another hopeful story, a Black statistician who was "initially very fearful of sharing the news with my department" also found a supportive response when she finally got up the nerve to tell her department chair. He asked why she stopped by and "I'm literally stuttering through the statement saying that I just wanted to inform you that I won't be able to participate with the summer program this summer. In my mind I'm watching his face drop when I say this. Then I conclude, 'Because I'm expecting. Because I'm pregnant,' and he lit up. Mind you, this is male chair, right? He lights up, he gets – he's so excited. 'Oh, I'm so happy for you.' I was actually in shock that he responded like this because I had braced myself – ironically enough I was more prepared to face a backlash than a happy response, right? I'm just standing there a little stunned and taken aback and like oh, okay [laughing]… my son was basically the department baby."

STEM would lose far fewer women if more department chairs reacted in this way.

Latinas

Negative competence and commitment assumptions.

Many Latinas reported maternal wall bias. "If you want to have a family," said an environmental engineer, "people do put in question how much you want your career." A Latina bioengineer's advisor told her, "Well, I don't want you to get your Ph.D.; you're just going to get married and have kids." She reported she was "basically told to leave" when she had a child as a post-doc. Sometimes the comments may be subtler, "like, 'I called them, but they're never in their office,' or 'They won't be here after a certain time of day,'" said a woman in anatomy.

More subtly, a Latina who runs a lab recalled that, after she had a baby, colleagues related to her as a mother rather than a scientist, "they thought that there was nothing that they could talk to you other than, 'Oh, how's your son?'" She recognized that they meant well, "But, I have lots of other things to talk about."

Even some women without children reported maternal wall bias against colleagues with children. A biologist recalled "Some guy saying he was not going to hire a female research assistant because it's likely that she was going to get pregnant and then he'll just have to find for maternity leave and those things." One year, noted a Latina engineer, "a lot of men especially started taking me a lot more seriously because I was the single woman, gung-ho, very career focused. So I was taken very seriously by men." An engineer spoke of a colleague who returned to teaching three days after a Cesarean section because "'I don't want to be perceived as not doing my job because I have a kid.' I said, 'But you just had a C-section.'"

Hostile disapproval of working mothers.
Assumptions that mothers were not committed were matched by judgments if they were: A biomedical engineer reported, "many people say…I would never let somebody else…raise my children as if like our nanny is raising our children."

Some mentioned a double standard for mothers and fathers. A Latina biologist noted that when men said they had to leave to pick up their children, "people will stop and say, 'Oh, you are such a great dad. That is so wonderful that you spend time with your kids.'" The reaction when women did the same was very different.

Bias avoidance.
The pattern of bias avoidance (Bardoel, Drago, Cooper, & Colbeck, 2011) documented by Robert Drago and his colleagues emerged in a comment by a Latina engineer who said she had decided, for now, not to have children because other women in her department did not, and the wives of the male faculty "are not working mothers, they are at home taking care of the kids." Of course, if young women feel that they will not be able to have children if they choose science, fewer will choose science – that's a price male scientists don't have to pay.

Family pressures to have children.
In the survey, 69% of both Latinas and Asian-Americans described pressure from their families to have children (as contrasted with 60% of Whites and 31% of Blacks), but family pressure to have children emerged strongly only in the interviews of Latinas – especially Mexican-Americans. Said a Latina biochemist, "Every good Mexican woman has kids in their 20s. Like I told

you, I'm not following the norm with my culture. I address that like anything else. It's like it's my life, I will have kids when and if I want them." The notion that traditional Chicano/Mexican culture "Places a higher premium on motherhood" has been noted in other studies of women of color in academia (Stanley, 2006).

Other women received the message not only that they should have children but that they should not have careers. Said a Latina bioengineer, "Family is extremely important. Achieving for something higher, at least in my case, it was seen as a waste of time. 'Why are you pursuing graduate school when you should be working?' or 'Why are you pursuing graduate school when you have a husband to take care of?'" Others faced expectations that they would shoulder all or most of the family work. "[B]eing a mother I think goes across all cultures," mused an immunologist, "and it's just a challenge for all. In terms of being a Hispanic mother…our culture expects women to definitely be the primary caregiver….99 percent of the work was my responsibility." A Latina doctor noted, "I feel like I have a very specific role in keeping my family running," a pressure she saw as self-imposed.

Once again there were happy stories. A Latina engineer who found out she was expecting shortly after she accepted her position found that her "colleagues are extremely supportive. I bring my child three times a week into my office. I take her up to the lab when I need to, you know, set up stuff. Nobody – if I need an extra pair of hands, somebody will knock on my door, one of the guys, and said, 'Oh, let me hold the baby for a little bit.'" Because of the support from her colleagues, she felt no need to stop the tenure clock. She took six weeks of maternity leave, and was encouraged to come back slowly. "So, I really – I have had a very, very good experience so far."

A Latina biochemist had a similar experience. "[M]y employer is a fantastic employer…. As an institution, they get it that…women have a right to have babies…[and take] maternity leave." Noting that her department chair is a "family man," she said he set the tone for the rest of the department. When she had trouble with a nanny who did not arrive as planned, "…he basically said, 'Just do what you need to do to take care of your baby.'"

Several Latinas expressed concern about losing a lot of women scientists because they are pushed out after they have children. Said one, "you're just losing a lot of people that eventually will probably still even go back to putting in like even more time later on. I don't know if that makes any sense." Latinas, like women from other groups, pointed out that the mothers they knew had become more efficient scientists since they had children.

Again, a simple way to keep women in STEM is not to drive them out after they have children.

Tug Of War

"Female rivalry in the workplace may sometimes be as important as sexism in holding women back in their careers," opined an article in London's Sunday Times (Dobson & Iredale, 2006). But female rivalry is often the result of sexism. Two 2011 studies found that a common strategy for women experiencing gender discrimination in the course of their careers was to stereotype, distance themselves from, and criticize, other women (Derks, Ellemers, van Laar, & de Groot, 2011; Derks, van Laar & de Groot, 2011).

An important proviso: by discussing the gender dynamics that set women against each other, we are not saying that women never support each other. As has been noted, three-quarters (75.5%) of the scientists surveyed reported that the women in their environments supported each other. Nor are we saying that women should support each other every single millisecond: to say that would be to enforce the prescriptive stereotype that women ought to be endlessly selfless and communal. Men don't always support each other, and when they don't, the immediate assumption is not that they have personality problems.

Instead our contention is that women's workplace disputes over gender play a much larger role in complicating office politics for women than do men's disputes over gender with men. The reasons for this are complex, and it's the bottom line that's important – gender bias against women often fuels conflict among women.

The survey results highlight the complexity of this phenomenon. Although three-fourths of the scientists said that women support each other, Black women (56.0%) were far less likely than other groups of women to agree with this statement (70.5% of Asian-Americans, 76.9% of Whites, and 78.9% of Latinas did).

In addition, when asked more specific questions, patterned conflicts emerged. One is a pass-through of Tightrope bias. As women walk the tightrope between being seen as too masculine and too feminine, they may end up judging each other for failing to achieve the right balance. Roughly half of the scientists surveyed agreed that "some women have just 'turned into men.'" Once again answers differed markedly by race/ethnicity. Asian-American scientists were far more likely (70.5%) to agree than were other groups (50.0% of Latinas, 48.8% of Black women, 42.1% of Whites).

Maternal wall bias also can be passed through from woman to woman. Thus 41.7% of those surveyed agreed that "some women just don't understand the level of commitment it takes to be a scientist." This pattern differed less by race/ethnicity: 42.1% of Whites, 38.6% of Asian-Americans, 37.5% of Latinas, and 36.9% of Black women agreed.

Another Tug of War problem is when women professionals find it difficult to get administrative support personnel (who are typically women)

to do their work. This may occur because support personnel feel more comfortable pushing back against women than men, or because support personnel perceive men as having more power to help their careers, or for other reasons. “I have heard administrative assistants say that they would not want to work with a woman boss – because they’re harder to work with – which I thought was astounding,” remarked one scientist. This was relatively rare overall: only 18.2% of women reported it as a problem. But Latinas were far more likely (35.5%) to report it than were other groups (20.5% of Asian-Americans, 16.9% of Whites, and 15.4% of Black women). The interviews suggest this combines racial and gender bias: One scientist was very aware of the racial dynamic involved, saying “conscious or unconscious,” there is resistance based on the fact that “there is this Mexican woman telling them what to do.”

A final pattern is tokenism, where women are forced to compete with each other for the one “woman’s spot.” About a fifth (20.6%) of scientists surveyed reported this, but the incidence varied a lot by race. About a third of Black women (32.0%) and Asian-American (29.9%) women reported this problem, as compared with lower levels among Latinas (21.9%) and Whites (17.3%).

Some women reported no Tug of War because there were too few women in their departments. Said one, “It’s probably because, in engineering, there are very few women, and it happens that I most of the time was the only one.” An engineer agreed. “So I don’t think we have enough females in the department or the school for such patterns to happen,” she said.

Women often support each other.

First, the good news. Said a Latina biochemist, “the women in my department and especially the women doing science here in my institution, we are really – we bond together. We support each other a lot. If anything, I’ve gotten a lot of support.” “I’ve been very impressed at my current workplace of this solidarity among women,” said another Latina scientist. An Asian-American pathologist said, “[T]he women faculty I met that older than me [are] always very encouraging, very helpful and very kind to me.” An Asian-American geophysicist agreed: “I’ve had senior women administrators been so supportive with me that I have just good feelings and good thoughts about that.”

An Asian-American soil microbiologist spoke of how supportive other women were when her daughter got sick “for quite a long time and so I actually ended up getting behind in my research. Whenever I would sort of go into this panicky mode of ‘Oh my God, will I ever go back to writing papers?’ – I actually had a couple of senior colleagues elsewhere who [were]…incredibly supportive. One of them very clearly said ‘You know, right now you take care of your kid because she’s sick. Just remember that

way back, you knew how to do a Ph.D. so you know exactly how to write papers. It'll happen.'"

Nonetheless, the interviews and survey also reported several classic Tugs of War.

Tokenism.
A fifth of the scientists surveyed (20.6%) reported "I feel like I am competing with my female colleagues for the 'woman's spot.'" Tokenism often fuels conflict among women, as politically savvy and ambitious women vie for the woman's spot. The three other types of gender bias also can fuel Tugs of War.

Prove-It-Again pass-through.
Older women who have had to prove themselves over and over again may hold younger women to higher standards than men. An Asian-American woman in statistics described an experience told to her by a woman colleague: "I did not know the older senior female scientist personally, but as we talked it became evident to me that the older woman scientist probably had to go through hell to get to where she was – you know to get to her senior position. Since she had had to go through hell, she wanted to make sure that everybody else had to go through hell." As a result, she said, her "junior scientist was just having a horrible, horrible time of it."

Pass-through of Tightrope bias.
If the Tightrope often requires women to balance the masculine and the feminine, women may be divided by different balances. An Asian-American described a colleague who "was very much the 'I will bake cookies for my students, I'll pick up everyone's plates after a lunch.'" Her colleague asked her, "'Well, how can you leave your baby at home?' It's like 'Well, I work. I don't think babies need to come to the Statistics Department.' [Laughs] I have colleagues, I mean, we all had kids about the same age, but they were never questioned about 'Was it okay for' – you know, so somehow I wasn't being feminine enough by actually just coming to work. [Laughs]." Note how the more stereotypically feminine woman judged her colleague for making the wrong balance between being too masculine and too feminine. Survey participants suggested this is common: 51.4% agreed that "I feel some women have just 'turned into men,' assimilating to the way men run their careers and their lives."

In addition, sometimes women expect other women to shoulder the kind of office housework that is rarely extracted from men. Said an Asian-American, "I feel that female leaders can be as bad as a male leader in terms of gender bias." Her female boss expected her to edit her grant, a "secretarial job….And I'm sure that she will not ask men to do that." This may be driven

by stereotyping – women are expected to be helpful – or it may simply reflect that the leader sensed the political reality that asking a man to do this kind of work might be politically more costly than asking a woman.

Mommy wars.
Because mothers and women without children encounter quite different types of maternal wall bias, it's not surprising to find women judging each other around issues related to children. On the one hand, mothers may resent non-mothers on the grounds that they have it easy. On the other hand, non-mothers may resent mothers for getting "special treatment" or for reinforcing stereotypes that women need special treatment.

One scientist recalled conflict over a women's group when another professor said "'Well you just don't understand because you don't want kids, and that's not your plan.'…I was a little flabbergasted….I don't think a women's group is synonymous with a mother's group. I felt like perhaps she was angry at women like me."

Mothers who feel judged for being mothers may sense that it's less risky to express anger at other women than at men. At a simpler level, the harsh fact that women of all races are often under hydraulic pressure to have children may make women who don't want children very emphatic. For all these reasons, gender bias against mothers turns into conflict among women.

Conflict between women scientists and their female bosses and students.
"Immediately," said a doctor, "the male doctor gets more attention than the female. And it's sad that it comes from other female administrators and the non-professionals in the system…that does occur a lot." A grad student reported colleagues who said they did not want to work with a woman: "I've also heard females say things like 'I want a male boss.' I'm like, why do you want a male advisor? It makes no sense.… [T]hey have the feeling that well maybe [a female advisor is], I don't know, they call it PMS, or something? That if she's going to take it out on them, that they are always very moody and stuff like that. It's a female thing…. It's, I don't know, even within ourselves, I still see the bias." Years of studies document that it's not only men who stereotype women. Women do, too.

Asian-Americans

Tokenism.
Many Asian-American women reported the tokenism effect. One Asian-American in biophysics pinpointed precisely how tokenism creates conflict among women, saying that when "each department wants to have a female faculty" a department with two women will find themselves pitted against each other: "one female will be the one to stay, the other one will not. And I

have seen that kind of situation." An Asian-American doctor pointed out that, if there were only one "man's position," men would behave the same: "they'll fight to death among themselves to reach the top. So why shouldn't a woman do that?" Said an Asian-American scientist, "Oh yes, the notion of there's only room for one, I face it very, very actively. As I told you, when I was hired, I was hired along with this older woman at the same position. And yeah, she still hasn't given up. We both got tenure. She tried to block my tenure. And also, there's a premium for being the first X, right, woman, first woman blah, blah, blah. And the minute there's another woman coming along the pike, you feel that you'll be displaced from this position of being like the first tenured woman or whatever, right, if you're a senior older woman. We try to take it for granted that women will help us, but they almost never do. Why is that?" If there's only room for one woman to succeed, undercutting the competition is a logical response.

Another Asian-American offered a slightly different theory, saying that she felt some of her female colleagues are "conflicted." On the one hand, they want to help younger women. "And yet, at the same time, they don't want to lose their…power positions." Her approach was to acknowledge that she wouldn't be there absent the efforts of the older women: I "remember to thank them and remind them that, without them, I wouldn't be here. I wouldn't have made it. So I'm continuously humble." She noted "it's the same in general when…you express respect and gratitude to your grandparents or even your great-grandparents if they are still alive. You have to recognize what they had to go through and appreciate what they had to go through in order for you to have what you have today." Here the Asian tradition of respect to elders clearly had served her well in defusing potential conflict.

Another Asian-American described a situation where she and another woman of color, somewhat older than she, joined their department at the same time: "Intensively competitive because of that, because she always felt she needed – she should have a higher salary because she has more experience." Studies show that women tend to compare their salaries with other women's rather than men's (Buchanan, 2005).

In addition, the tokenism effect can fuel conflict among women when White women attempt to deploy their racial privilege to cushion the effect of gender bias. One Asian-American described situations where "women would deprive me of information or resources that I'm entitled to.… I'm a person of color, they felt it was easier for them to try and undermine me."

An Asian-American geophysicist clearly recognized that the tokenism effect disappears when women are no longer tokens, saying "you reach this tipping point where there can no longer just be one spot, that there's not a quota, we have to have our token woman, and then you want to be that token woman – where sort of having them around is just sort of more normal, it's

not an oddity. And when you get to that point, then the competition goes down because you're not fighting for that one position."

Tightrope pass-through.
A self-aware Asian-American physicist noted that "it does seem like there is a tightrope of not too feminine, not too masculine." She noticed herself "wincing when some [undergraduates] seem in my mind a little bit more feminine than I would feel professionally comfortable with. On the other hand, I'm happy that they feel comfortable being the way they are."

Prove-It-Again pass-through.
"I know women can be very prejudiced against other women and if one woman is in a higher position and could be super critical of other women and wouldn't support them," said another Asian-American. "They're harsher to women in some cases. Well, I think there are several reasons behind that because the person at the top could be there because she struggled a lot and had to work extra hard and so expects other women to have done as much as she has." Another scientist agreed that sometimes happened. "I was very much encouraged because I had a woman mentor." In fact, she noted, that's why she went into her field. "But, I have seen how other – sometimes, it's other women harder on other women…. 'Well, I had to fight my way to the top. You need to do that, too, on your own,' attitude."

Mommy wars.
A simple, straightforward reason that resentments arise between mothers and women without children is that the latter often feel they get work dumped on them by parents. Said one Asian-American scientist, "People immediately assume that because I don't have children that I should be the person who takes our colloquium guest every Thursday when we have a colloquium to dinner, that I should be there as the faculty member, because they all have their wives and their great husbands and their children to go back to, and someone who's single basically can be called upon to do this all the time…."

Other Asian-American scientists without children described resentment by mothers. Said an Asian-American, "[T]he older White women, for them they can't handle the fact that I am single, living it up." Said another, "I don't want to get married to some guy, some random guy, and have 2.2 children because that's what everybody does. And until I meet somebody I really want to be with, I don't. I'm not interested in buying a house and settling down. And so, I live in apartments and I just have a single lifestyle. And that annoys all these women no end." Do they make snarky comments, asked the interviewer? "Oh, totally."

Note how the mothers judge women without children. Another woman recalled when a female colleague "opined that the university 'is full of these

super ambitious women like you who are so focused on their career that they don't have a concept of family. It has all passed them by and that's why we have not had childcare here, because the university is filled with powerful women like you,' a really backhanded way, 'Powerful women like you who just don't care.'" She continued, "Everybody came up to me afterwards and said, 'My God, you had so much poise when this woman attacked you.' This woman didn't even realize that she attacked me. She didn't even apologize." She continued, "There's an enormous amount of resentment at women who, like my generation now, are actually making a choice to be single. We are not left on the shelf because we wear thick glasses and we are unattractive and we can't find any man. We are making a choice that, 'You know what? I don't like this traditional marriage thing. I don't want to do it. I am not sure I want to have children, so I'm – my clock isn't ticking. And if it's ticking, I'm not listening.'" She continued, "I have had many senior women come up to me and say, "'You should have children. It's very selfish to not have children….' [S]he was trying to figure out if I was lesbian. It's just unbelievable."

This dynamic is further fueled when women have eldercare responsibilities that they don't feel are given the same deference as childcare. Said one woman, "Because women like me who don't have children, we have extra burdens. Like we have more responsibility on average. We're taking care of our elderly parents, right, because we are the single people in the family. Everybody – siblings are married and whatever, and those things – eldercare often comes on the plate of single people. I don't fit. It makes me feel acutely uncomfortable because I'm not interested in school districts. That's all they want to talk about. I have very little in common with most of these people."

Other women stressed generational divides. One senior Asian-American noted how tricky it is for women of her generation to give advice to younger women. Sometimes, she noted, "advice from us are not appropriate. Times have changed." For example, she noted that she had children later in life, but today you "can start a family almost any time. Just have to work out the problems and work out the situation. And – but, sometimes, I still tend to think, 'Don't have a family that soon,' but then I realize that may not be a good advice to the younger female faculty anymore."

Black Women

Tokenism.

Black women were much less likely than other women to feel that women in their environments supported each other. In the interviews, there was less talk of tokenism, and what there was concerned conflicts based on race, not gender. One Black woman noted that sometimes there was a dynamic by which Blacks were forced to compete because there was only room for "one

'chosen' one." Another described a senior woman who, "when she's speaking, she pretty much focuses her attention on the men…. So I'm thinking she might be one of those types of women where, okay, there's only room for one." She noted, "it's been a survival tactic on their part how to survive in a male dominated environment. And so they probably are not even conscious of what they're doing." Said another woman, "It was challenging to sit on that committee and have other women discredit what I had to contribute because I was a junior faculty member, because I was the only African American on this committee, and because I was coming from a historically Black institution. And so, they have stereotypes about that, too."

Tokenism also led to generational conflict. A Black microbiologist found more senior women discouraging her from trying to excel "because it wasn't going to do any good. It's kind of like, 'You're a Black woman. You're only going to get so far, so don't worry yourself out trying to go further than that.'" This is another very pure example of how gender bias against women fuels conflict among women.

Prove-It-Again pass-through.
A Black scientist noted that, when she initiated a conversation, a female colleague "told me that it wasn't fair that I was allowed to apply for a promotion" early, and that "I should go through exactly what she went through in order to earn promotion. And she had an awful experience." Another Black scientist described "a female colleague, and she is much more feminine than I am in terms of those stereotypical behaviors. When she fails to get something done or she repeatedly makes the same mistake over and over again, it's dismissed. Oh, that's just her, she needs somebody to take care of her…. But, when I do something, I'm definitely held accountable for any minor things that are not absolutely correct. And people get really upset and angry." Notice one woman's strategy to immunize herself against Prove-It-Again bias by presenting herself as very feminine.

Tightrope pass-through.
A Black biologist was very self-reflective about how her advice to a student to "man up" may have reflected the Tug of War. "I remember having a graduate student that we worked together on our PhD and that she more so had I guess those traditional female qualities that if would say, you know, kind of very passive or very soft spoken if you want to say. And then, she cried a lot. And I remember I would always tell her, you need to man up, you know, stop all that crying, because they are going to keep walking over you and keep criticizing you on your research and your papers and things like that if you don't stand up and take charge…. Probably I could have told her in a different way."

A Black doctor interpreted White women's insistence on empathy through a racial lens, referring to the "mammy syndrome:" White women, in her view, expect Black women "to be understanding and be kind of nurturing because I'm Black and because I understand what it's like to be oppressed."

Conflict between professionals and admins.
Unlike Asian-Americans, Black women and Latinas reported a lot of conflict between women professionals and administrative support personnel. Said a microbiologist, "I've noticed that administrative staff sometimes they don't respect people. I don't even know if I would use the word 'respect,' but I think they respond differently to when they have a male boss than a female boss. I've seen it with my own eyes and it's unfortunate." She noted this issue can become more complicated for women of color.

A few women also felt that admins expected women professionals to do a specific kind of office housework: emotion work. Said a Black female doctor, "I do think that there's an expectation from female staff that the female supervisors will be more – will be easier, will be more nurturing, will be more understanding, for example, if they have to leave if – because of their families…." She continued: "staff are less tolerant of women who are not like that…. I think that often causes problems between female staff and female supervisors."

She also felt there was a racial dimension that fueled conflict between herself and White administrative support staff. Black women support personnel, she noted, "do not expect me to want to know anything about their personal business. But yet, we are very respectful to each other…. I feel that I know these women well and that we're good colleagues and work well together. And if I go and ask them for something, they try their best to help me. And the same with me." But there's "no expectation of knowing people's lives." In contrast, "White women share a lot of personal business, and it's a bonding with them. And I don't think that that expectation occurs among Black women."

Mommy wars.
Black women also spoke less of mommy wars. An engineer noted that older colleagues sometimes advised younger colleagues "not to take advantage of their rights" to things such as maternity leave and stop-the-clock. Another Black woman discussed her advisor, who said, after she got pregnant, that after the grant finished, she'd have to leave. "So it was very upsetting. So I wrote a letter stating what I had done and how I had kept up even though I had to take some time off. But, essentially, she was saying, 'Having a family is more important for you. You should just stay home and do that. I don't think you can be – have an academic scientific career.'" She was remarkably understanding, saying "You have to deal with it and try to understand it and

know that they were doing the best that they knew how…. [You] could see in her face" that the senior woman had had lots of disappointments, "and I think lots of regret." In her view, the senior women "didn't mean any harm. They were I guess trying to protect me from grief."

Latinas

Tokenism.
One Latina engineer observed that she has seen women very much taking care of their turf. "It's, 'If I let go of this turf, then who am I? I'm not going to let the younger women in,' even though I'm here telling them that I will let them in. And when you hear the words it's, 'Yes, yes, yes. Let's do this. I'll let you in. I want you to succeed.' But when you start getting close to succeed, the doors just start closing." Another Latina, a doctor, was very self-reflective about how Tugs of War stem from tokenism, specifically from the tendency to compare women with women. "I'm facing a difficult promotion right now," she said, "because I don't have good NIH funding. And one of my female colleagues who's a few years ahead of me, and she's doing really well right now, I'll admit, I'm jealous. And part of it is every success that she achieves makes me look worse…."

Prove-It-Again pass-through.
A Latina engineer described generational conflict surrounding work-life balance. The older women, she said, "were just very, 'This is what we need to do. This is how we do it now.' They just don't care about anything else. They just want to work, work, work, and prove themselves all the time. I struggled with that a lot because I felt that you should have a little bit more balance."

Tightrope pass-through.
One Latina reflected on women divided by the masculine-feminine balancing act: "There's so few females that if you are the type to sort of dress up and be very girly you'll be kind of on your own because most of the females that are in the department are not the girly type."

Conflict between professionals and admins.
Like Black women, Latinas reported a lot of conflict with admins. One scientist was very aware of the racial dynamic involved, saying "conscious or unconscious," there is resistance based on the fact that "there is this Mexican woman telling them what to do." "I have heard administrative assistants say that they would not want to work with a woman boss – because they're harder to work with – which I thought was astounding. This was an older White woman who said this, who had been working for a White male for a very long time and we hired a minority woman and she did not

want to work for her. Her expression of that was, 'I don't want to work for a woman.' I don't know how much of it was truly gender or gender bias and how much of it was ethnic, race related…It was easier to say, 'I don't want to work for a woman,' than, 'I don't want to work for a Latina woman.'" Another Latina agreed that a racial dynamic is sometimes involved, saying "most of the times female bosses have a lot more resistance from other females in the group, not from everybody, but it happens especially if there's a difference in race." She described a White woman who had "a lot of resistance from African-American women working under her." Another Latina also felt that "African-American females are much more reluctant to work with a White female. It is a big, big, big issue." The interviewer asked whether they could work with Latinas. "No, no, no. They will work with other African-American women or with males."

Others framed the issue as one of gender. An engineer noted that admins expressed the view that their women bosses were "too demanding. I said, 'Well, but, the boss that you had before was equally demanding. The guy that you were working under was equally demanding.' 'Yeah, but, it's different.' I said, 'What is the difference?' 'Well, that she's a woman. And she should understand that we – sometimes we don't want to do this.' I said, 'Well, no, but the thing is, the work is one, and it has to be done.' In particular, for example, that they will be more lenient if they have to leave or if they don't feel like coming one day or there's a deadline that they have to allow them a little bit, slacking a little bit more the deadline, which they would never do with a male boss." Others felt that age also played a factor. Said one Latina, "I don't know if it was also age…. I was younger than her…. And she felt like, you know, 'How could this young person be my boss and make me wait. You know, I'm working 30 extra minutes here. This is completely unacceptable,' kind of thing."

Several other Latinas reported that support personnel undercut their authority by calling women by their first name but men by their titles. Said one Latina, "sometimes you go and talk to one secretary and there is a group of faculty in the room and she addresses you by your first name but addresses everybody else as doctors. You're like well I'm also a doctor what is the difference here?"

Mommy wars.

The pass-through was clearest from the comments of a doctor, who said, "People are surprised – they're still, even at this age, that they're surprised that you can have children and still continue to do research and hopefully do good work. If you meet other women that are not in science and having decided to be primary caregivers to their children, those are the ones that precisely tell you, 'Well, I could never do that….'" Note how one group of mothers is judging another group as bad mothers. Another mother reflected,

"If women don't have children, then a scientist – we tend to think, 'Well, of course they can do great work.'…Then sometimes we tend to ascribe their success to the fact that they don't have children…which is probably not fair to them either."

If mothers judge non-mothers, women without children judge right back. Said an engineer, "I think at first I was a little bit shocked and hurt because I had been working with her. It really made me say, 'Hey, I'm not just – I believe in family, and I believe in becoming a mom. I believe in doing that, but I also believe in having a career.' It just made me push harder to get my degree." Said a doctor, "There's that interesting internal gender bias with women who aren't supportive of my decision not to have a family, as if that undermines the whole women's cause [chuckles.]"

Women without children have "no life."

Latinas without children were far more likely than other women to report assumptions that they should work all the time because they had "no lives" outside of work, which of course fueled resentment by the women without children. One described the White male chair of her department, who would say, "'Oh, since you don't have children, can you please do this evening thing since you don't have a family to go home to?'…And so, one day I said, 'You know what? I have a family. It's composed of a husband, and I want to be home in the evening as well. So you're discriminating against me because I have no children.' And that put a pretty quick stop to that…. And if you are reluctant to get the mothers or the fathers away from their children, then don't have these functions at night."

Latinas reported that pressures on women without children came from men as well as women. Said an engineer, "a lot of my female friends who had children started actually putting a lot on me as in, 'We have kids. Can you do this? Can you stay over this meeting? Can you do this committee for me? Can you do all of these extra things for me because I have kids?'" She continued, "they let me put the extra hours in for them and let me put these extra hours – let me do this extra thing and just one more…. We're actually bringing up that kind of bias and trying to have a very open talk between the women who have children and women who don't." "Where it shows up most," said an engineer, is "when I'm writing proposals with women who do have children, I always get sent the proposal by 5:00 p.m. and be asked to have my revision back by morning because they cannot work at night and I can." "[T]hat happens a lot," she noted. Another Latina mused, "At the moment, I was probably mad at the women that had children, thinking 'Why should I, who do not have children, pick up the slack for the women that have children? It's a choice.' And then, of course you think about this for 10 minutes, and you realize it's not the women you need to be pissed off at. It's the men that make the assignments…." Note how, at first, her anger at gender bias was

directed against other women. Then she made a self-conscious correcting, recognizing that gender bias was also putting other women in a difficult situation.

Women of Color also Experience Bias that Does Not Fit the Four Patterns Template

Although women of color experience the same bias patterns encountered by White women (often in somewhat different ways), they also experience patterns of bias that do not fit the Four Patterns template.

Most notably, nearly half of Black women (48.0%) and Latinas (46.9%) report having been mistaken for administrative or custodial staff, an experience far less common for White (32.4%) and Asian-American (23.3%) women scientists. Black women tend to attribute this to their race (44.12%) while White women (37.8%) and Asian-Americans (26.7%) tend to attribute this to gender, with Latinas about evenly split (29.2%: gender, 22.9%: race).

This reflected a general pattern. Black women generally were more likely than other groups to attribute bias to race as opposed to gender. For example, Black women (43.8%) tended to attribute prove-it-again problems with both their colleagues and students to their race, whereas the other three groups tended to attribute them to gender.

All groups of women tend to attribute tightrope problems to gender. All groups of women tended to attribute pressures to play traditionally feminine roles to gender, although Black women and Latinas were less likely to do so than Whites and Asian Americans. All groups again attribute backlash for assertiveness and self-promotion to gender, although race still is more salient for Black women than for other women. Black women were more likely to attribute pushback for expressions of anger to race, whereas the other three groups of women tend to attribute them to gender.

In addition, each group of women of color reported experiences that differ substantially from those of White women – and each other.

Black Women

Isolation.

The interviews with women of color reflected a sense of bleak isolation not evidenced by Williams' interviews of White women (using the same protocol) (Williams & Dempsey, 2014). A microbiologist reported "feelings of inadequacy" and "some depression," which she attributed to racial bias. "It just takes you longer," she said, "because you really don't have the support that you need."

This isolation sometimes reflects exclusion. Said a biologist, "So a lot of times, there are things that people exclude me from because they say, 'oh, she would be uncomfortable….' [T]hey think for me… 'Oh, well, she's going to be the only Black person there… just don't invite her, she won't feel comfortable.'"

Another biologist described "Isolation… you don't know who you can trust…. And alienating – this has been a very lonely life." Another scientist said she did not socialize with her colleagues because, "when you get to know people more socially, that's where the – to me, that lessens your authority." She worried that, as a junior person, if "it's too social, then I think there's a greater risk of you being put in that subservient position, or being looked at that way." She attributed this problem to gender, but it is a problem only Black women mentioned – and they mentioned it often.

"Do I socialize with any of my colleagues?," said a doctor. "Not really." Official office parties she attended but just, "'Oh, it's after work. Let's go get a drink and hang out.' I don't really do that and I guess part of that, particularly with the men in the division, I don't want to lose that edge, I guess. I don't want it perceived as, 'Well, you know, she comes out drinking with us. She's just one of us so we can treat her however.'"

Although Black women (41.7%) were the most likely to report on the survey that "I feel that socially engaging with my colleagues may negatively affect perceptions of my competence," many Latinas (37.5%), Asian-American women (36.4%), and White women (31.8%) reported the same thing – but this pattern showed up only in interviews with Black women. "I do not discuss personal things with people," said a microbiologist. "Judge me for me, not my personal life." She said she kept her personal life separate because "I don't want anything in my family life to be used against me."

Racial stereotypes.

Black women also reported being openly confronted by negative racial stereotypes. The post-doctoral advisor of a biologist "turns to me and says, hey, do you have any family on drugs or in jail…." Another recalled when a professor made a comment about how she would understand about rats because she came from an urban area "and everyone laughed. I didn't think it was funny. And that no one – and that the other students, specifically my colleagues didn't – my female colleagues didn't understand why I was upset or more so offended. And so, when explaining the situation in class many of the White female students thought that they were being overly sensitive and that they just needed to get over it." Another biologist recalled starting a new job where she was the only Black person and a lot of people came in and started telling her negative stories about people of color. "I didn't think much about it," she said. "But I just thought it was strange that she just came out and told me that her parents just didn't like African Americans and that they

still don't now and that when African Americans moved in their neighborhood during that time period that it was a lot of tension. And I was just like, oh, okay."

Latinas

Isolation.
Isolation came up less often among Latinas. However, a Latina geographer had a different take on social isolation, saying that White people are "afraid of people of color in a way, like just worried about like they're going to say the wrong thing or do the wrong thing. So they avoid that entirely."

Disrespect.
A distinctive flavor springs out from some of the interviews of Latinas in STEM: disrespect. A Latina in chemical and biomedical engineering learned from a student that one of her colleagues had "called me nauseatingly stupid in class to the other students." The comment still haunts her, she said. Every time she doesn't get a grant, "the first thing that comes to my mind is, 'Well, he did indeed tell me that I was nauseatingly stupid, and that's probably why I'm not getting this grant,' even though I have grants…. [T]here's a lot of that internalizing. And after talking to a lot of women who are minorities, there's a lot of that."

Racial stereotypes.
More commonly, Latinas encountered racial stereotypes. "Just comments here and there, assumptions people made, 'Oh, you're Hispanic so you love tacos and you love spicy foods.' That's not true. Just, 'Oh, you're very into drinking and music,' and just stereotyping, a lot of stereotyping," said a bio-engineer. A neuroscientist recalled a "joke": "'Oh, be careful. She's Puerto Rican and she may be carrying a knife in her purse.'"

A woman of Mexican heritage commented, "There seems to be a stereotype that, if you are from Mexico, you are lazy, and you only like to either sleep by a cactus or party. And I've really battled extremely hard all of these stereotypes. I work really hard at it." Note how she attributed her Prove-It-Again problems to race rather than gender, and felt the brunt of negative competence assumptions based on race. "I have actually heard people discuss Hispanic people as being lazy," said a Latina in anatomy. "I immediately tell them that my mother is Mexican-American, and that usually makes them very uncomfortable. At which point I've even had people say, 'Oh but you're just half.'" Another Latina noted that pervasive image "of the friendly Mexican or the passive Mexican or the disorganized Mexican, you know, I am much more organized than the average faculty member in my department. And the ethnic stereotype wouldn't tell you that. People would think that, you know,

we Mexicans are always late, and we're disorganized." A woman originally from Brazil also encountered stereotypes, saying that Whites "tend to think Brazilians are very friendly and approachable. Even I don't know party animals maybe…. Because the only image that they show about Brazil most of the time on TV internationally is Carnival, right, Mardi Gras. It is soccer time and World Cup time when everybody's on the street jumping around and laughing and having fun."

Assumed to be janitors.
Latinas encountered persistent assumptions that they were janitorial staff, even if they had on white lab coats. A statistician said that she accepted that perhaps she is around the lab when other professors aren't "but they assume that I am the janitor, okay?...I always amuse my friends with my janitor stories, but it has happened, not only at weird hours." She calmly informed someone that she only had the key to the office, not the janitor's closet.

Assumed to be admins.
Latinas also are assumed to be administrative support staff. "First thing, for a woman, they always assume I am the secretary of the faculty around, so if they see my door open, they come and ask me if doctor so and so, somebody that doesn't have a doctoral degree, but they assume, because he's a man, that it's a doctor. They come and they ask me if doctor so and so is going to come. I said, 'I don't know. You'll have to ask him.' First, they assume I am the secretary for all the faculty around, and second, sometimes they assume I am the janitor, even during office hours."

Accent discrimination.
One Latina also encountered accent discrimination, noting that a colleague is "very open with me, and he says, 'Yeah, in the moment you open your mouth and you have an accent, people dismiss what you are saying,' so my greatest barrier is that people listen to what I say and not how I talk." She commented, "You develop a thick skin."

Asian-American Women

Racial stereotypes.
Asian-American women also reported stereotypes, notably the "forever foreign" assumption that they were foreigners. Said a physicist, "I've had a number of conversations where people ask me where am I from. And the answer I'm from Pittsburgh is really not what they want, right? And the fact of the matter is that I grew up in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and I went to an expensive private school and then I went to Princeton and Cornell. So, I've had like sort of a really high end Ivy League education, right? And I speak English 'surprisingly well.' I should speak English surprisingly well," she noted dryly.

Isolation.
Again, isolation came up less commonly among Asian-American women than among Black women. But for some, it was a factor. Said an astrophysicist, "I don't look like anybody else along any dimension. And that has been very, very isolating. Very, very isolating…."

Demeaning comments.
A biologist recalled a diagram "to illustrate our department and the expertise and who interacts with who," drawn by the department head "with three circles overlapping. I am in one of those circles way out on the edge and I said, 'You know if I am a little bit more to the right, I would be outside the department.'" Again, this kind of demeaning comments did not emerge in interviews with White women.

Accent discrimination.
An immunologist said that her colleagues made fun of her accent when she was a student. One told her, "oh, if you can speak English without accent and then you can come back and discuss with me…. I was very angry. I reported to my mentor" who told her "don't ever write anything down if you cannot say anything nice." So she let it go.

Conclusion

Of the 60 scientists interviewed for this study, only one was Native American. While she is not necessarily representative, her viewpoint highlights how race can deeply shape the ways women of color experience gender identity, and gender bias. While she said that each of the four patterns of bias sounded familiar, she felt that the challenges she had faced were attributable more to "cultural differences" between herself and members of the "dominant society" than to gender.

She repeatedly raised the difficulty she faces in relating to her colleagues, particularly White men. "I come from a totally different culture." She likened her experiences communicating with members of the dominant culture to "two aliens meet[ing]." "There's no common understanding…." To be a scientist who is also a Native American, "You have to be okay with being totally ostracized in every way…. You have to be willing to continually confront that." Her lack of a support group meant that she had to advocate for herself.

In addition, her experience of the Tightrope was unique. She explained that the gender roles in her culture are the "reverse" of the roles in "dominant society." She described how in her culture, women are considered more confident and dominant and typically play the "provider" role, whereas men are considered "submissive." "In our culture, it's more common for women to do really well in sciences, and engineering, and things like that, than it is

for men," she noted. "In my society, I'm the man. [Laughter.] I'm not the woman. The men in my society are your society's women," she observed. She believes her strong, dominant manner leads to clashes with male colleagues who expect her to behave in a more subservient way. She recounted that when she has a dispute with a White man, she often seeks advice from White women on how to act. "It's just I can't automatically receive that cultural information that a White woman would [have], but I don't."

In sharp contrast, her concerns raised about the Maternal Wall were similar to those raised by other women. She observed that many women in her field "do not have children and delay childbirth for a very long time to pursue career interests…. I've thought about it myself, and I don't know what the solution is. I personally am planning to have children in my late 30s simply because of the career issue. If you would have asked me when I was 22, 'When are you gonna have your first child?' I was happy to think, 'Oh, 27…. I'll have my career going by then. Things'll be set.' No. Wasn't true. Twenty-seven came and went. Then, when I was 27, I did the readjustment. I was, 'Maybe 31, 32.' Nope. That didn't happen. Now, I'm, 'Maybe 38.' [Laughter.]"

This interview serves to highlight just how little is known about the experience of women of color, how little is known about how the experience of gender and gender bias differs by race, and how little is known about how racial bias is experienced in science. This report cannot fill that void – far from it. But our hope is to help the many well-intentioned people working to retain women in STEM to forge new, more inclusive conversations in which women's varied experiences feel honored, and in which a broad range of women feel included.

Bias Interrupters

Most of the research on interrupting subtle bias has focused on self-monitoring (e.g., Rudman, Ashmore, Gary, 2001). Williams has developed a different approach that focuses on redesigning basic business systems to interrupt subtle bias in real time (Williams, 2014), a model of organizational change called "Metrics-Driven Bias Interrupters."

The basic model has four steps:

1) ASSESS. Using interviews or focus groups, investigate whether, and how, subtle bias is playing out in your institution in hiring, Rank and Tenure processes, compensation, and elsewhere. Where bias is suspected, identify an objective metric that will measure whether bias exists.

2) IMPLEMENT A BIAS INTERRUPTER. Put in place a Bias Interrupter.

3) MEASURE. Measure to see if the intervention interrupted the bias effectively enough so that the metric improved.

4) RATCHET UP IF NECESSARY. If the metric did not show improvement, strengthen or modify the Interrupters until it does.

This report will allow STEM departments to jump over the first step of determining whether subtle bias exists, and move directly to developing objective metrics to assess how the bias is playing out in everyday ways.

Example: Start-up packages

1) ASSESS. Measure start-up packages of men and women in your department. Is there a patterned difference? While you are at it, compare the start-up packages of different racial groups.

2) IMPLEMENT A BIAS INTERRUPTER. Change procedures to interrupt bias. You might start with a gentle interrupter, say by assigning each professor a mentor as soon as a job offer is made, with a mandate to help the candidate successfully negotiate a fair start-up package.

3) MEASURE. Did the metric improve?

4) RATCHET UP IF NECESSARY. A stronger interrupter would be to have the department chair negotiate all start-up packages, described below.

Example: Office housework

1) ASSESS. Use interviews or focus groups to identify the kinds of "office housework" that exist in your department. Here are some common types:

- Routine housework: Planning parties, scheduling meetings, ordering supplies, taking notes, doing other administrative tasks or (literal) housework.
- Undervalued work: Mentoring other people's students, serving on low-power committees, putting on programs for students, etc.

Once you have identified the office housework, develop objective metrics to measure who is doing it, e.g., by analyzing the membership of high-power versus low-power committees over a period of years; or a survey given to both male and female faculty members asking whether they have done various tasks (e.g. planned a party, mentored another professor's students, ordered equipment).

2) IMPLEMENT A BIAS INTERRUPTER. If women are planning the parties, assign an admin to plan the parties. If women are ordering equipment, establish a rule that each professor orders his or her own equipment, or that admins order all equipment. If women are mentoring other people's students, implement a system whereby professors notify the department chair each time they mentor another professor's students.

3) MEASURE. Follow up to see whether the "housework" is more evenly distributed among professors.

4) RATCHET UP IF NECESSARY. For example, if women are still mentoring far more students than men, it may be time to establish clear rules, e.g. that professors all make time to mentor their own students, or that

professors who spend a lot of time mentoring the students of others are relieved of committee work (on the grounds that their service is mentoring).

Best Practices

Throughout recruiting, hiring, tenure and promotions processes
1. Send a clear message that stereotypes exist, but that they can be overcome – and that the institution has a commitment to controlling them. An experiment found that merely informing people of the existence of stereotypes risks increasing the penalties incident to stereotyping. This can be controlled by communicating that a "vast majority of people try to overcome their stereotypic preconceptions" – a simple statement that sharply reduced stereotyping, and the penalties to diverse candidates often associated with it. http://psycnet.apa.org/psycinfo/2014-43472-001.

Recruiting and Hiring

Guide to best practice:
http://sitemaker.umich.edu/advance/files/HandbookforFacultySearchesandHiring.pdf.

1. Defining the parameters of the search. Defining the parameters of the search in too narrow a way can bleach women out of the application pool in many fields, particularly those with few women. For excellent guidance on how to define a search, see http://advance.cornell.edu/documents/planning-the-search.pdf.

2. Drafting the advertisement. Ads that use masculine-gendered words like "competitive," "assertive," and "ambitious" tend to decrease the number of women applicants (Gaucher, Friesen, & Kay, 2011). Because women in STEM are far more likely than men to have a professional spouse, it is important to signal openness to dual-career hiring. For a good example of language that signals openness to diversity and dual-career hiring, see http://advance.cornell.edu/documents/Sample-Lang-for-Ad.pdf.

3. Reviewing resumes. When women musicians began to audition behind a screen, the percentage of women hired by symphony orchestras increased by 46% (Goldin & Rouse, 2000). Initial resume screenings should be blinded for race and gender wherever possible. Establish criteria before screening begins to avoid "casuistry:" an experiment found that, when a man had more education, subjects tended to choose the man and cite education as important, whereas when a woman had more education, they tended to hire the man and cite experience as important (Uhlmann & Cohen, 2005).

4. How to conduct a search process to control for bias. For an excellent, evidence-based protocol for the search process that is designed to control for bias, see http://advance.cornell.edu/documents/Vet-School-Search-Process.pdf.

5. Require an evidence-based bias training of each search committee. For examples: http://search.committee.module.rutgers.edu/otherAAUs.shtml.

A training available to all will soon be posted on toolsforchangeinstem.org. Best practice: the University of Florida requires that every search committee member participate in an online training module; a refresher course is required every three years.

6. Manage the campus visit to control for bias. For an excellent, evidence-based protocol for how to handle the campus visit to control for bias, see http://advance.cornell.edu/documents/Managing-the-Campus-Visits.pdf.

7. Provide structured way to provide feedback on the candidates. For an excellent form designed to control for bias, see http://advance.cornell.edu/documents/CandidateEvaluationTool.pdf.

8. Legal and illegal questions. For a good brief guide, see http://www.hr.umich.edu/empserv/department/empsel/legalchart.html. A fast-growing area of employment law involves lawsuits by mothers, and others, for discrimination based on family responsibilities. To avoid problems, see http://advance.cornell.edu/documents/October2010EmployerAlert.doc.

9. Dual-career hiring and other family friendly policies. Women scientists are far more likely than male scientists to be married to other scientists, so a dual-career hiring program is vital to successful recruitment of women. For a good model universities can use in preparing an FAQ for search committees, see http://www.advance.rackham.umich.edu/FAQDualCareer.pdf. For a good guide for university administrators on how to establish a best-practice program, see http://gender.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/DualCareerFinal_0.pdf.

10. Start-up packages. Women who negotiate hard tend to encounter backlash (Bowles, Babcock & Lei, 2007). Some department chairs at the University of Michigan negotiate for resources with a list of requested items from potential new hires. http://worklifelaw.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/Effective-Policies-and-Programs-for-Retention-and-Advancement-of-Women-in-Academia.pdf#cb2.

Committee Assignments & Other Office Housework

Divide high-profile glamour work committees from low-profile "office housework" and keep track of how many committees and other service obligations male and female faculty have. If there's a significant imbalance, interrupt the bias by redistributing assignments (or at least limiting the number of low-power committees women serve on).

Promotion and Tenure

1. Self-promotion. Processes that require people to brag will push women onto the tightrope – disliked but respected if they do, and liked but not

respected if they don't (Rudman, 1998). Self-promotion should be limited to formal contexts in which both men and women are sent the message that everyone is expected to share his or her accomplishments. Best practice: the department chair asks everyone for their accomplishments periodically and sends around a list. Best practice: establish a norm discouraging self-promotion in informal contexts.

2. Language in P & T Letters. Put language in all Rank and Tenure letters to ensure that people are not penalized for stopping-the-clock and/or using parental leave policies, following the example of the University of California, Davis. http://worklifelaw.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/Effective-Policies-and-Programs-for-Retention-and-Advancement-of-Women-in-Academia.pdf#cb2

3. Bias check. Have someone trained in the Four Patterns of Gender Bias read through all P & T letters to check for common patterns of gender bias. Provide a feedback loop to faculty colleagues whose letters consistently reflect bias; obviously, this feedback loop has to be designed carefully in order not to trigger backlash. Trainings will soon be available at www.worklifelaw.org.

4. Student evaluations. Evaluations should be presented as distributions rather than averages, in order not to penalize women for polarized evaluations (Fleming, Petty, & White, 2005; Linville & Jones, 1980). When evaluations are polarized, analyze whether the dynamic has been affected by race and/or gender. Provide coaching for women and minorities who have polarized evaluations.

Climate

In addition to the many excellent climate surveys available on-line, two specific issues emerge from the bias literature.

1. "Screamers" and Bullying. A department climate that tolerates bullies and "screamers" will systematically disadvantage women and people of color. This is because prescriptive gender bias means that women often are punished for open displays of anger even in environments where men find that displays of anger actually increase their status (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008). Both Black men and Black women tend to encounter backlash if they are seen as "angry Blacks." In addition, in a social context where Latinos (probably of both sexes) are often written off as overly emotional ("fiery Latins") even if they don't show anger, open displays of anger may well also carry negative consequences for Latinos.

2. Self-promotion. A departmental climate that encourages open self-promotion also will systematically disadvantage women. This is because prescriptive gender bias means that women who self-promote often trigger dislike and other forms of backlash, even when men are doing precisely the same thing (Rudman, 1998). The Interrupter is to limit self-promotion to

formal contexts or, if that's impossible, at least to establish formal ways in which women can publicize their accomplishments in a way that seems socially appropriate. Examples are a monthly email from the Chair publicizing publications, conference presentations, grants, prizes and other accomplishments of members of the department or – better yet – a section of departmental meetings that does so. This also will help modest men, who encounter pushback when they don't self-promote (Moss-Racusin, Phelan & Rudman, 2010), as well as Black men, who often encounter a backlash when they do (Hall & Livingston, 2012).

Trainings

An influential study found that trainings did not improve outcomes for women and diverse candidates (Kalev, Kelly, & Dobbin, 2006). This study did not control for the quality of the training provided. Its findings probably were influenced by the many unscientific, sensitivity-type trainings offered by diversity trainers.

Particularly in science, evidence-based trainings are required. The ideal is where information about subtle biases is built into trainings that also cover other, "hard" topics. An example is a Training for Search Committees that discusses their duties and university procedures, and also discusses how biases can creep into hiring decisions. Bias training should be incorporated into annual workshops for Department Chairs and Search Committees.

For online trainings to address gender bias in STEM, see http://www.toolsforchangeinstem.org/workshop-catalog/ and http://www.hunter.cuny.edu/gendertutorial/tutorial1.html.

For an online training on bias designed for department chairs, see http://www.toolsforchangeinstem.org/workshop-catalog/ (Building a Department in an Era of Tight Budgets: It's Cheaper to Keep Her).

For an online training that focuses on how to avoid legal liability related to gender bias, see http://www.toolsforchangeinstem.org/workshop-catalog/ (Some Things Are Illegal).

An effective model for delivering bias training is the STRIDE program at the University of Michigan. STRIDE recruits full professors to participate in an ongoing committee that provides advice on how to recruit and retain a diverse faculty. Each STRIDE member attends three half-days of training and reads from a recommended reading list. They receive teaching relief for participating in the program. Colleagues then can request that a STRIDE member lead workshops for department chairs, search committees, and in other venues to educate their peers.

Parenthood and Family Caregiving

For trainings for department chairs and others on parenthood and science, see http://www.toolsforchangeinstem.org/workshop-catalog/ (Do Babies Matter?; The Competitive Edge: Best Practices for Family Friendly Policies).

For a comprehensive list of best family friendly practices, see http://www.worklifelaw.org/pubs/worklife_academia_FINAL.pdf.

Appendix

Survey respondents were recruited through the Association for Women in Science (AWIS), which sent emails to its membership recruiting participants.

Interviewees also were recruited through AWIS. Interviewees, who are all scientists, were equally divided between Latinas, Asian-Americans, and Black women, with one interview of a Native American.

Breakdown of survey respondents:

Race of Respondent	N	%
White/Caucasian	398	72.4
Black/African-American	26	4.7
Hispanic/Latino	32	5.8
Asian	45	8.2
Native-American	2	.4
Pacific Islander	0	0
Mixed Race	39	7.1
Other	8	1.5
Total	550	100%

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"DUMB COOZES" AND DAMAGED MEN: FEMALE STEREOTYPES, MALE VICTIMIZATION, AND MANIPULATIVE NARRATION IN *THE THINGS THEY CARRIED* AND *IN THE LAKE OF THE WOODS*

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ABSTRACT. In this study I propose that during the Vietnam War American soldiers' relationships were sustained by their shared resentment of American women both during their conflict and afterwards. In two of Tim O'Brien's novels, *The Things They Carried* and *In the Lake of the Woods*, a soldier's bond to his fellow men is actually strengthened upon that soldier's firm rejection of his "insensitive" girlfriend/lover, a character who repeatedly appears as the representation of the American woman in much of Vietnam War narrative, particularly in O'Brien's works. The soldiers, Jimmy Cross (*Things*) and John Wade (*Lake*), are moreover depicted as victims to their lovers' lack of sympathy for their trauma. Specifically, I analyze the destructive effect that this unsympathetic woman has on the soldier's/vet's masculinity and stability, and the inappropriate merging of love and violence that spawns from the woman's rejection (or the soldier's/vet's fear of rejection). Finally, I examine O'Brien's manipulative and coercive narration, which asks readers and critics alike to excuse his character's "hard, hating kind of love" due to his lover's failure to truly understand his war, and, furthermore, invites the reader to join him in blaming the "insensitive woman" for the soldier's bad acts both during and after his tour of duty. I trace the birth of the uncaring female character, Martha, in *The Things They Carried* on to her eventual demise (as Kathy Wade) in *In the Lake of the Woods*, and therefore show the disturbing escalation of violence and misogyny from battlefield soldier to eventual husband, a horrific glimpse into a "what if" scenario whereby the veteran marries this insensitive woman and tries to reject his platoon's deadly history.

Keywords: Vietnam War; trauma; masculinity; male victimization; insensitive women; gender

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> "I have done bad things for love, bad things to stay loved. Kate is one case. Vietnam is another" (Tim O'Brien, "The Vietnam in Me").
>
> "It was the nature of love that John Wade went to the war. Not to hurt or be hurt, not to be a good citizen or a hero or a moral man. Only for love. Only to be loved" (O'Brien, *In the Lake of the Woods*).
>
> "Did I choose this life of illusion? Don't be mad. My bed was made, I just lied in it" (John Wade, *In the Lake of the Woods*).

Many critics of Vietnam War literature have long examined the variables of male bonding in a combat zone and the subsequent sexual perversion that resulted from losing one's identity in a group superficially connected by the more macabre aspects of war. However, very little interest has been garnered regarding the residual misogynistic impulses that carried over to American women after the vets returned home. Author of multiple essays, short stories, and prizewinning novels on the Vietnam War (including, most notably, *Going After Cacciato*, recipient of the National Book Award), Tim O'Brien has frequently been tagged as *the* voice of the Vietnam soldier. Obsessed with "truth," O'Brien has painstakingly crafted a unique type of storytelling, one that admittedly embellishes to convey the "realness" of his actual war experience – with the "realness" allegedly found specifically in the fabrication. During his career O'Brien has repeatedly defended the intermingling of fact and fiction that makes his works undoubtedly his. In his article, "Tim O'Brien's 'True Lies'"? Tobey C. Herzog uses the release of *In the Lake of the Woods* as an opportunity to once again examine the role of O'Brien's real life in his "fictional" texts. While he concedes that "all fiction writers are literary liars" because "deceit is fundamental to their art," he notes that O'Brien stands apart from his peers due to the fact that "unlike many writers, [he] draws an inordinate amount of attention to this authorial deceit in a very self-reflexive manner, and his deception is often personal" (895). After considering various possibilities, Herzog theorizes that maybe vanity drives O'Brien's need to plant himself into his fiction: "Is it conceivable that a writer would consciously deflect attention away from his work onto himself in order to massage the ego, attract reviewers' attention, or sell books?" (912).

While "ego" goes a long way to explain how "Tim" finds his way into many short stories and novel chapters, it does not fully explain the very "true" ways O'Brien (the narrator and/or character) seems to resent the girls that Tim and his buddies pine for back home. Among all the Vietnam War writers, O'Brien's works most often emphasize soldiers' destructive feelings towards American, rather than Vietnamese, women, both during and after their combat tour. In fact, O'Brien's novels are curiously devoid of sexual assault, even when in a book as graphic as *In the Lake of the Woods* he records everything

John Wade sees during the infamous My Lai massacre. Instead of showing his protagonist sodomizing village girls or VC soldiers, O'Brien reveals his character's overwhelming anxieties about his American girlfriend, and suggests that not only are his insecurities valid and legitimate – rather than created or embellished – but that they also push the soldier to his breaking point rendering the woman who prompted his anguish liable for his actions: even for ones many years after his war.

Indeed, with the release and subsequent adulation of *Lake* in 1994, O'Brien's treatment of his female characters – coupled with the knowledge that O'Brien writes himself into his novels – deserves more attention than previously bestowed. Once regarded with scorn and obsessed over from afar by soldiers in his other novels, doubly reduced to a "dumb cooze" via a frustrated Rat Kiley and equally aggravated O'Brien (the "character") in *The Things They Carried*, the unsympathetic female in *Lake* is suddenly and brutally murdered by her traumatized veteran, with whom we are subtly yet distinctly encouraged to sympathize and render blameless. My primary focus in this study, then, will be uncovering the misogyny stewing within O'Brien's "damaged" men and showing how this chauvinism is often effectively masked by their trauma. In so doing, I will expose the soldier's unrealistic perceptions and expectations of the American woman both while in the war zone and especially back home, and how his so-called love nervously transforms into obsessive (and sometimes deadly) desire when she fails to meet his idealistic needs. More importantly, I will address O'Brien's consistently one-sided depictions of these women, tracing the most noteworthy representations of the "unsympathetic female" all the way back to her first significant appearance (Martha in *The Things They Carried*) and on to her tragic curtain call (Kathy in *In the Lake of the Woods*). I will also analyze O'Brien's crafty manipulation of his readers, and how he ever so gently coerces them not only to excuse the soldier's/vet's odd and often dangerous behavior, but to also join him in loathing the uncaring woman who, through her coldness and incredulity, forces the soldier/vet to do "the things men do" (*Things* 29).

To put my argument in proper context, it is useful to explore an introspective essay O'Brien wrote and published in the *New York Times* in 1994, right before the release of *In the Lake of the Woods*. In "The Vietnam in Me," O'Brien simultaneously discusses the aftereffects of a return trip to Vietnam and the demise of a romantic relationship he had with the woman who accompanied him. In fact, the essay splits down the middle, as O'Brien goes back and forth from rice paddies and former battlefields (in February) to his lowly computer desk in Cambridge, Massachusetts (in June/July), speaking of both in the present tense. Accordingly, he creates some suspense about exactly how and why his relationship ended, and also how he arrived at his present suicidal state, which he disturbingly confesses to the reader: "Last

night, suicide was on my mind. Not whether, but how. Tonight it will be on my mind again." O'Brien eventually reveals that he has spent thousands of dollars on controlling a depression that was prompted by his war experience and is now spinning out of control. More important for my purposes here, though, he gives a subtly scathing portrayal of his onetime girlfriend (who accompanied him on the trip) that is eerily reminiscent of his former character, Martha, and his present (at the time of the article) character, Kathy, all the while eliciting sympathy for himself because of his ex's purportedly callous insensitivity and incomprehension – just as he has done and continues to do for his male characters.

Immediately after O'Brien divulges his despair, he lends an indication to what (or really who) caused him to relapse. His former girlfriend, Kate, a twenty-eight year old Harvard student, has recently left him and shacked up with someone else, much to his chagrin: "She's with another man, seven blocks away. This I learned yesterday afternoon. My own fault, Kate would say, and she would be mostly right. Not entirely." Because this revelation follows quickly upon the heels of O'Brien's confession of suicidal longing, the reader instantly thinks (at O'Brien's controlling, manipulative assistance) that Kate's sexual and emotional rejection, more than his trip in February, has pushed him to his breaking point.

Moreover, although O'Brien is a war veteran with lingering issues about his tour of duty, he makes certain to inform his reader that his much younger girlfriend was the one who pushed him to return to Vietnam: "[…] it was Kate who insisted we come here. I was more than reluctant – I was petrified, I looked for excuses. Bad dreams and so on. But Kate's enthusiasm won me over; she wanted to share in my past, the shapes of things, the smells and sunlight." While his tone is far from accusatory, O'Brien's little fact-dropping still assures us that what we learn about the trip from this moment on (including his consequent, deteriorating emotional state) we will blame on Kate – the person directly responsible for making him unwillingly relive his trauma. Indeed, even though O'Brien never overtly vilifies Kate, and although he assumes most of the responsibility for the relationship's failure, in the remainder of his essay he slyly encourages the reader to resent her and to pity him because of her alleged thoughtlessness and lack of understanding.

For all her importance in affecting his mental health, Kate is never really known as anything more than some sort of virginal flower-child, blissfully unaware of the evils all around her and poorly equipped to deal with the shock of Vietnam – reminiscent of all the major American female characters in O'Brien's narratives. The vast age difference between her and O'Brien suggests a maturity difference as well. For example, O'Brien clearly intimates that Kate can never understand his war experience when he says the following:

> In 1969, when I went to war, Kate was 3 years old. Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, McNamara, Bunker, Rogers, Bundy, Rusk, Abrams, Rostow -- for her, these names are like the listings on a foreign menu. Some she recognizes not at all, some she recalls from books or old television clips. But she never tasted the dishes. She does not know ice cream from Brussels sprouts. Three years old – how could she?

Although Kate is a doctoral candidate at America's most prestigious university, O'Brien says she nonetheless remains amazingly ignorant of the main players behind the Vietnam War (even Kennedy?), which, accounting for America's period of denial and her young age, still seems very hard to believe. And, even though he longs for a woman who can understand the terror of his war, O'Brien strangely chooses to date someone who was a child during its most pivotal years. Nevertheless, Kate undoubtedly did not want to go all the way to Vietnam to see its beautiful beaches, but to see the war up close – a war she presumably knows something about since she once gravitated towards one of its most renowned writers.

However, O'Brien steadfastly holds to portraying Kate as childlike and, as a result, repeatedly downplays her obvious intelligence. When they arrive in Vietnam, he says Kate "takes delight" in the little things, "a chicken wired to someone's bicycle, an old woman's enormous fingernails, an infant slung casually on the hip of a tiny 7-year-old," seemingly blind to the war's enduring presence by which O'Brien is instantly engulfed. In the couple's hotel room she merrily sings in the shower, "attuned to the pleasures and beauty of the world," while O'Brien morosely tries to cope with the reemergence of his very adult trauma. When O'Brien takes her to the prettiest spot he can remember, a piece of beach near the Batangan Peninsula, she playfully splashes around in the water with the village's small children as O'Brien deals with the harsh realization that they are not at some resort, but a former war zone with a bloody, deadly history. More often than not, Kate seems to be O'Brien's child rather than his lover, and he reaches disturbing moments of clarity while she (possibly) fiddles with her hair.

Nevertheless, back in Cambridge O'Brien comes across as the immature partner in the relationship, unable to move past a hard break up and wallowing in his self-pity. He pines over what Kate is doing with her new boyfriend, and even makes her a mixed tape of "love-me songs" that he finally drops off at her new doorstep. Far from the romantic gesture of a forty-six year old man, the mixed tape undoubtedly evokes bad memories of junior high boyfriends in adult women around the country. However, we are supposed to see O'Brien's juvenile gesture as part of his intense suffering, and yet one more thing Kate will coldly reject and discard: "The tape of songs did nothing. Everything will always do nothing."

In fact, O'Brien not only splits his essay chronologically but he also divides Kate's personality into two distinct parts, for when he tires of showing all her endearing, "childlike" qualities, he reveals moments during which he perceives her to be sulky and insensitive. Indeed, aside from the fact that Kate is too young (in O'Brien's opinion) to truly know his war, even when the two go to his former combat zones O'Brien still hangs on to the notion that his experience cannot penetrate Kate's bubble gum world, which on some level rings true, but on another level comes across as narcissistic and demeaning. He takes her to Thuan Yen, what the American military formerly labeled as My Lai 4, and speaks to two female survivors of the legendary slaughter. Kate cries as the women tell their stories, and O'Brien assumes that her tears symbolize her newly formed opinion of him, that she now sees him as the soldiers who committed the atrocities. Selfishly, he never considers that she shares a sorrow for the situation that is all her own, a profound sadness from one woman to another that is independent of his experience or former actions. Moreover, after the Vietnamese women leave and O'Brien stands in a guilt-ridden stupor, Kate softly touches him, which he is sure is a clear sign of the relationship's ruin, rather than her attempt to comfort or sympathize: "Kate walks up, hooks my arm, doesn't say anything, doesn't have to, leads me into a future that I know will hold misery for both of us." No matter what Kate does – through words, gestures, looks, etc. – O'Brien translates all of her efforts to understand his distress as simply more proof of her inconstancy.

Finally, soon before they leave Vietnam O'Brien takes Kate to the location of his most traumatic war memory, the place he knew as Pinkville, where his platoon participated in a particularly deadly and violent battle. He is determined that Kate sees the impetus for his long lasting pain and briefly realizes the ridiculousness of trying to force his trauma upon her: "This [horrible memory] I dreamed of giving her. This I dreamed of sharing." When she approaches the rice field where O'Brien's worst night occurred, he initially finds himself at a loss for words to adequately describe his hurt, even after all these years:

> I don't cry. I don't know what to do. At one point I hear myself talking about what happened here so long ago, motioning out at the rice, describing chaos and horror beyond anything I would experience until a few months later. I tell her how Paige lost his lower leg, how we had to probe for McElhaney in the flooded paddy, how the gunfire went on and on, how in the course of two hell-on-earth hours we took 13 casualties.

For the first time probably ever in their relationship, O'Brien seeks to share a specific trauma. He wants Kate to feel everything that he, a Vietnam combat soldier, felt while enduring fright beyond his most horrific nightmares. Kate, a twenty-eight year old grad student, cannot relive the scene of carnage with

him, nor can she channel his intricate and complex pain. Consequently, O'Brien takes her inability to feel/heal his trauma as an unwillingness to remotely understand it: "I doubt Kate remembers a word. Maybe she shouldn't." Essentially, O'Brien interprets her silence as insensitivity, rejection, and ignorance rather than what it is, a person patiently empathizing with a situation she cannot experience herself, a woman trying to console a vet who is on the constant lookout for her disapproval.

Nevertheless, despite O'Brien's dismal assessment of their future together, the discussion with the My Lai survivors occurs "before" she sings happily in their hotel shower and frolics on the beach, while he looks on adoringly. The trip to his most memorable war zone also occurs "before" the couple takes their touristy trip around Vietnam, during which they shop, sunbathe, write postcards, and take snapshots of one another like any other loving couple. After the end of the relationship then, in retrospect, O'Brien tries to find an excuse for why Kate eventually left him, and Vietnam itself seems to be an easy one, even though the months between February and July go completely unaccounted for. O'Brien basically denies the reader any knowledge to the inner workings of his relationship other than what he wants to reveal and further closes the door for speculation by portraying Kate as immature and uncaring. We are meant to think that, unwilling to nurture her traumatized veteran, Kate bailed for a saner (and most likely younger) man, and we are not allowed to consider anything else that could have caused the relationship to stall.

In his book, *A Trauma Artist: Tim O'Brien and the Fiction of Vietnam*, Mark A. Heberle briefly addresses the essay above, noting his surprise at the dilapidated condition of O'Brien's mental health: "O'Brien's self revelation shocked many of his readers because, unlike many combat veterans, he had seemed to be relatively unaffected psychologically by his experiences in Viet Nam" (3). Indeed, the essay actually prompts Heberle to now place all of O'Brien's works and their respective protagonists in the context of trauma. However, Heberle also recognizes that O'Brien wrote the essay months after he returned from Vietnam, and concludes that the piece "is thus not direct self-revelation but a refashioning of actual experiences in which O'Brien represents himself as a double trauma survivor" (5). O'Brien is not only a victim to the United States Government and its military, but also to Kate, who many readers jump to the presumption fled because she could not cope. Therefore, O'Brien's purposeful manipulation of events allows the piece, according to Heberle, to "[straddle] the border between confession and contrivance, nonfiction and fiction […]," and even prompted the *New York Times Magazine* editors to "characterize it as a 'fractured love story'" (qtd. in Heberle 5), as opposed to a work of straight truth.

Although critics are repeatedly warned not to confuse writers with their characters, O'Brien plainly puts himself in our crosshairs and leaves himself wide open for some targeted inspection. First, striking similarities exist between his essay and his novel, *In the Lake of the Woods*, and between him and that novel's troubled veteran, John Wade: both he and Wade share the same childhood trauma of alcoholic fathers, chubbiness, and rejection; both went to war, consequently, to "be loved"; both are rejected by the women they adore – O'Brien by "Kate" and Wade by "Kathy." These are just some obvious points of interest that allow us to read O'Brien's essay with even more scrutiny than we would otherwise (for a more detailed listing of parallels between author and character, see Heberle's book, 249–250). Critic Barbara Kowalczuk has also noted the likenesses between O'Brien and his book's tortured protagonist. In her article "My Lai's 'Fucking flies!:' The Stigmata of Trauma in Tim O'Brien's *In the Lake of the Woods*," Kowalczuk asserts that the "uncanny déjà-vu feeling" that plays on repeat in *Lake* "impregnates" O'Brien's personal essay (8). Moreover, as O'Brien relays his troubling assertions Kowalczuk recognizes that his tone signifies "too much knowing combined with a deep feeling of betrayal," completely in lockstep with John Wade's ruminations (8). The overriding commonality I wish to expose, however, exists between the subtle blame placed upon Kate in the article, Kathy in the novel, and O'Brien's suggestion that both he and John Wade are not only victims to the circumstances of war, but also that their trauma is further exacerbated by women who can not or will not understand it.

In her groundbreaking work, *The Remasculinization of America*, Susan Jeffords devotes a whole chapter to a theme of "victimization" that not only surfaced in O'Brien's essay, but has also consistently appeared throughout his (and others') works. Jeffords argues that in the years following the Vietnam War, a shift in perception of the Vietnam veteran occurred, largely due to the voluminous number of war narratives published by veterans themselves. No longer perceived as crazed, doped-up killers, the vets began to be seen as victims of forces beyond their control: an unsympathetic public, an unfair draft system, their alleged allies – the South Vietnamese, their government, their military, their very own weaponry (agent orange), and, notably, the women's movement which rebuked their status as breadwinners (121–125). Accordingly, Jeffords argues that American manhood was "revived" and "re-generated" through this new perception of the Vietnam veteran (116). Men were no longer viewed as society's oppressors, but "as themselves oppressed," primarily by the overall "feminization of loss" (169). O'Brien, more than any other Vietnam War writer, has continually written soldiers and veterans much of his reading public can feel "good" about befriending; and he achieves this feat by exercising the very formula Jeffords uncovered years ago. His soldiers kill more buffalo than they do Vietnamese, surprisingly abstain from

drugs, alcohol, and sex with local women, and pine for virginal girls back home with whom they can share their sincere, troubled emotions – a dream, unfortunately, that is never realized.

One would be incorrect to argue against the fact that veterans were used and thrown away by the very people and organizations that were supposed to support them. However, one must not write off, excuse, accept, or especially ignore as a consequence certain actions committed by veterans against women under the pretense of male victimization. One must look past understandable sympathy for the veteran writer and hold him accountable for the way he chooses to portray his female characters, and particularly for the treatment they endure at the hands of his heartbreakingly authentic, ultimately innocent, yet all too often frighteningly violent protagonists. As one of the best-known and anthologized writers on the Vietnam War, and one who consistently claims to tell the "truth" about one of America's darkest periods, O'Brien's texts (in which women are harshly depicted and openly loathed) must be subjected to this analysis.

I

Amid the outpouring of extensive praise for the *The Things They Carried*, in 1994 critic Lorrie N. Smith nonetheless ventured to "account for [her] own discomfort as a female reader" (17) against O'Brien's insistence that his book was steeped in raw and unadulterated "truth." While she admits that no one can "devalue O'Brien's technical skill or emotional depth," Smith asserts that his text "offers no challenge to a discourse of war in which apparently innocent American men are tragically wounded and women are objectified, excluded, and silenced" (17). In her article, "'The Things Men Do:' The Gendered Subtext in Tim O'Brien's *Esquire* Stories," Smith brings to light a disturbing theme I will revisit and develop further here: how, in these emotionally-charged, masculinist texts, "O'Brien represents women not as characters with agency and sensibility of their own, but as projections of a narrator trying to resolve the trauma of the war" (19). I argue that these generalized projections possess one very specific and realistic personality trait – they are consistently unsympathetic – and they are therefore ultimately blamed for the soldier's/vet's "bad acts."

Written before the publication of *Lake*, Smith's article discusses the female characters in *Things*, and the revelations of her study are telling. Not only does she reveal the nuanced and suave manner in which O'Brien evokes sympathy for even the most questionable actions of the boy soldiers (she notes the repetitive tag line of "he's just a boy" used in the book when Azar needlessly kills another soldier's puppy, when Rat Kiley slowly kills a baby buffalo, and later, when Rat seethes at the "dumb cooze" who did not write

him back), but she also manages to look past such feelings to the things that bond these "boys" together – frequently, as she observes, their forceful and sometimes violent expulsion of their collective femininity. This rejection of the feminine appears, for instance, in a crucial passage Smith cites (only partially here) in which O'Brien explains the typical "woman's" reaction to the story of Curt Lemon's death.

> Now and then, when I tell this story, someone will come up to me afterward and say she liked it. It's always a woman. Usually it's an older woman of kindly temperament and humane politics. She'll explain that as a rule she hates war stories; [. . .] But this one she liked. The poor baby buffalo, it made her sad. Sometimes, even, there are little tears (O'Brien 84).

Smith believes that O'Brien uses this postscript "to solidify the male bond and ridicule and reject the feminine […]." (31), which he accomplishes by strategically placed, effeminate adjectives that highlight the woman's "otherness," or "femininity." Additionally, the woman's "kindly temperament" and "humane politics" generalize her to the point of an "everywoman:" a "generic" or "typical" female reader.

Furthermore, O'Brien uses the older woman to connect with a buddy who was not only traumatized by Curt's death, but also by the fact that Curt's sister did not respond to his letter in which he expressed his pain over losing Curt. O'Brien remembers Rat Kiley's characterization of that sister as a "dumb cooze," and appropriately attaches that name to yet another woman who simply cannot grasp the soldier's experience:

> I'll picture Rat Kiley's face, his grief, and I'll think, *You dumb cooze.*
> Because she wasn't listening.
> It wasn't a *war* story. It was a *love* story (85).

In her article "Tim O'Brien and Gender: A Defense of *The Things They Carried*," Susan Farrell cautions the reader against confusing O'Brien the narrator with O'Brien the author. She maintains that "while obviously thoughtful and intelligent in many ways," O'Brien the narrator "is not immune to some of the same blindnesses as the other soldier characters […] he, too is damaged by his wartime experiences" (113). And this damage allegedly accounts for the misogynistic comments above as well as other points in the novel.

But I caution the reader against buying that theory, especially when it stands in such unambiguous and blatant contrast to his aforementioned "true" essay about the arguable "dumb cooze" who dumped him, and, as we will see, especially with O'Brien's habit of contradicting himself in interviews (one of which Farrell cited as proof of her assertion). In the excerpt above,

the woman's inability to understand his story – his *trauma* – is entirely *her* fault. O'Brien knowingly and unapologetically blames her for her incomprehension, and does not indicate any obligation or desire to bring her into his exclusively male reading circle, only his aggravation at her ignorance, perhaps her very presence. Not only are women unable to understand the soldiers' trauma, but O'Brien also suggests women cannot understand their *love*. O'Brien moves closer to the memory of Rat Kiley by rejecting a woman's perspective.

Right after this particular chapter, however, O'Brien investigates the possibilities of a "freakish" woman who understands the vet's trauma because she experiences it. In "The Sweetheart of Song Tra Bong," a bored medic at an uneventful outpost passes the time with his girlfriend, Mary Anne, who mysteriously manages to arrive at a war zone without any problems. Naturally, Mary Anne is the archetypical all-American girl of the Vietnam soldier's imagination: beautiful, simple, nurturing, sweet, loving, and conciliatory. Initially, O'Brien seems to play with this stereotype and quickly turns simple-minded Mary Anne into something refreshingly atypical. The girl who arrived in culottes and a pink sweater goes on patrols with the green berets, dons fatigues, and wears her very own necklace of tongues. Smith believes that O'Brien begins to "[deconstruct] gender difference by imagining a woman warrior, suggesting that *even* women can be corrupted by war" (32). As the story progresses, however, the infusion of the feminine with the masculine disrupts the male homogeny at the base, and Mary Anne's low voice, firm body, and nightly patrols reduce her, argues Smith, to something "monstrous and unnatural" (32).

Beyond exploring gender dynamics, however, I posit that O'Brien creates Mary Anne specifically for the soldiers who listen so intently to Rat Kiley as he recounts Mary Anne's tale. The young men become so engrossed in the details of the girl's transformation from sweetheart to soldier that they continually insist that Rat tell her story "right" (107) whenever they feel he wanders off track. At the end of his story, Rat states the girl's real importance, and the reader realizes why Mary Anne's plight is able to transfix the weary soldiers:

> The way she looked, Mary Anne made you think about those girls back home, how clean and innocent they all are, how they'll never understand any of this, not in a billion years. Try to tell them about it, they'll just stare at you with those big round candy eyes. They won't understand zip. [. . .] and that's the thing with Mary Anne. She was *there*. She was up to her eyeballs in it. After the war, man, I promise you, you won't find nobody like her (114–115).

Pamela Smiley, author of "The Role of the Ideal (Female) Reader in Tim O'Brien's *The Things They Carried*: Why Should Real Women Play?" notes

that "against the figure of Martha who crosses her arms against understanding 'the things men do,' stands Mary Anne […]" who understands "the things men do" because she *does* them as well (75). Finally, the men have someone with whom they can share their once wholly masculine experience, and the female reader is presumably released from the supposed confines of her gender – and allowed into the reading circle. Due to O'Brien's earlier irritation with the old woman, and Rat's exasperation with the "dumb cooze" who did not write back, the emotional need for a "Mary Anne" comes across as authentic and genuine. Even Smiley declares that "the central project" of the novel itself is "to make the Marthas who stayed home during the sixties and seventies playing volleyball, going to college, reading Virginia Woolf, to make such women understand their brothers, friends, and lovers who went to Vietnam" (75).

But the woman's time in the circle is ultimately short-lived. O'Brien's ending for Mary Anne, his anti-Martha, is ambiguous and confusing. He leaves Mary Anne in literary limbo, allowing Rat to speculate that she had disappeared to become one with the bush: "She was wearing her culottes, her pink sweater, and a necklace of human tongues. She was dangerous. She was ready for the kill" (115–116). Due to this ambiguity, critics have struggled to find meaning and fill in the cavernous gaps. Susan Farrell suggests that Mary Anne isn't lost as much as she has "switched political allegiance," and her ending thus "deconstructs American imperialistic tendencies as well as traditional gender imperatives" (122). Additionally, in his article, "Resisting Remasculinization: Tim O'Brien's 'Sweetheart of the Song Tra Bong'" Chris Vanderwees says that Mary Anne's ending is not that weird at all, considering that another character, Elroy Berdahl, disappears as well, and, "while Mary Anne's disappearance might be more extensively dramatized, it is not unlike Elroy's" (199). Ultimately, Vanderwees argues that the vanishing act of both characters is meant to highlight that "masculinity is also an illusion, whether it be quiet and stoic or animalistic and monstrous" (199).

However, both theories, while intriguing, are off the mark. The problem with Farrell's theory is that O'Brien's novels almost always center on the soldiers and their traumas, not the politics that put them in Vietnam. Furthermore, to believe her presumption reduces Mary Ann to little more than a political statement, an idea that seems far-removed from both the gender discussion on which she based the bulk of her analysis as well as Rat's impassioned speech, and therefore comes across as grasping. Vanderwees' argument also proves problematic because Elroy's story is simply much more realistic than Mary Anne's. First, Elroy's tale is told by O'Brien the character about the "true" draft notice, and the "true" feelings he felt as a result of receiving it. In contrast, the veracity of Mary Ann's story is continuously questioned because it is highly unlikely a soldier can successfully

transport his girlfriend to a warzone. But, as history amply shows, American men fleeing the country for the sanctity of Canada upon receiving their draft notice was a well-established occurrence. Second, O'Brien painstakingly paints Elroy as a character who will not sway his decision, nor will he *judge* his decision. His "disappearance" is in fact a man who respectfully keeps a distance once the decision has been made, so as not to give the impression that he either approves or disapproves of it. What we can conclude, then, is that O'Brien leaves the only "understanding" woman in his text lost in a speculative world of rumor and dreams. With Mary Anne's open ending, the story moves away from a coming together of the genders via mutual understanding and closer to a supernatural horror tale – Frankenstein's monster has indeed escaped, whereabouts unknown.

Along with the unattainable need for a woman's understanding, O'Brien's soldiers also express the need for a woman's unconditional love, during and after the war experience. As with Mary Anne's story, O'Brien never fully requites his characters' desires; although he reels them in with a promise of their very own (virginal) farm girl, he eventually writes his female characters in the spirit of the "dumb cooze" who wants the vet to "put it all behind [him]" [and] "find new stories to tell" (84). With the introduction of the virgin/non virgin Martha, Jimmy Cross's love in the very first chapter of *The Things They Carried*, we witness the original prototype of the typical unsympathetic woman O'Brien repeatedly uses in his text. Moreover, the soldier loves this woman so intensely, and is so disappointed by her inability to feel/heal his trauma, that the so-called love disintegrates into a feeling that can best be described as a hybrid of lust, obsession, and hate.

II

In the very first chapter of *Things*, the reader is introduced to the young, inexperienced, albeit eminently honorable first lieutenant of the book's fictional platoon, Jimmy Cross. He carries letters from a girl named Martha, about whom we will know nothing significant except that she attends Mount Sebastian College in New Jersey, has gray eyes, writes poetry, and, of course, does not reciprocate Jimmy's love or understand his war. Furthermore, she is described either in terms of her virginity or non-virginity, as Cross deems her angelically innocent or salaciously experienced depending on his mood, and, as Smith previously noted, her allegedly cold words are often "paraphrased" (25) by the subjective narrator. Consequently, both Jimmy and the narrator impel the reader to accept a narrow interpretation of Martha's thoughts and actions. So important is the vastly underdeveloped Martha to O'Brien's text, though, she becomes the central focus in the book's very first sentences as O'Brien explains Jimmy Cross's daily ritual of reading her letters:

> They were not love letters, but Lieutenant Cross was hoping, so he kept them folded in plastic at the bottom of his rucksack. In the late afternoon, after a day's march, he would dig his foxhole, wash his hands under a canteen, unwrap the letters, hold them with the tips of his fingers, and spend the last hour of light pretending. […] He would sometimes taste the envelope flaps, knowing her tongue had been there. More than anything, he wanted Martha to love him as he loved her […] (1).

At once, Martha is defined as Cross's *only* sense of hope and joy after long, stressful days that are consumed with (at best) nerve-wracking anticipation and (at worst) deadly violence. Moreover, although Cross has undoubtedly been trained to kill the enemy without the slightest hesitation, he treats her letters and pictures with a careful, gentle, and loving touch that quickly diminishes the violence we equate with a Vietnam combat soldier. Cross appears peaceful, tender, sensitive, not a willing soldier but the war machine's sacrificial lamb (one cannot help but notice his initials – J. C., his last name – Cross, the immense weight he must carry, etc.). O'Brien effectually uses Martha as a tool to convey Cross's ultimate virtue and innocence in the face of his overwhelming burden (the war in which he does not believe nor wants to fight). Indeed, Smith concludes Martha is little more than "a plot device" (28), specifically manufactured to embellish the contradiction between Jimmy Cross's passive and seemingly loving nature and his corruptive war.

As quickly as we are told about Cross's immense love for the gray-eyed girl, the narrator also informs us that Martha does not love Jimmy and that her rejection wounds him profoundly. As a result, Cross lies to himself so he can better cope with his hell-on-earth existence, essentially "pretends" that she feels for him as he does for her. Unfortunately, the vast concentration he devotes to this charade proves to be a large deterrence to his mission. For instance, after reading her letters for hours in his foxhole at night, Cross would routinely emerge to check the perimeter, during which he was supposed to assure his soldiers' safety while their guard was somewhat down. Despite his very important purpose, he nonetheless walked among his men "slowly" and "a bit distracted," preoccupied with thoughts of returning to his foxhole where he could again touch the letters, "watch the night and wonder if Martha was a virgin" (2). From dawn to dusk, then, the platoon leader is only half-aware of his and his men's overall surroundings – like John Wade, he lives in the mirrors in his mind.

But the narrator's initial description of Martha also makes it unclear why Cross would love her so much, as he implies that her letters reveal no sweet terms of endearment, but primarily the *boring* chit-chat of any English major: "[…] she wrote beautifully about her professors and roommates and midterm exams, about her respect for Chaucer and her great affection for Virginia

Woolf. She often quoted lines of poetry" (1). As important, the narrator consistently reminds us that in those all-important letters "she never mentioned the war, except to say, Jimmy, take care of yourself" (1–2), and even though the letters were signed *Love*, "Lieutenant Cross understood that Love was only a way of signing and did not mean what he sometimes pretended it meant" (1–2). Initially, based on Jimmy's and the narrator's pessimism, the reader certainly considers the possibility that Martha writes to Jimmy only to be "nice," and that she harbors no romantic or loving feelings for him. In fact, she selfishly discusses the inconsequentials of her mundane life and refuses to ask Jimmy about his far more important daily happenings in Vietnam.

However, as the chapter progresses, one notices some disturbing things about Cross's perceptions of Martha and his reading (or misreading) of these ostensibly cold letters. The reader soon learns that Martha did write at least one letter in which she expressed genuine affection and concern. In this particular correspondence, Martha included a small rock, and the story of the rock reveals her undeniably amorous feelings for Jimmy. Notably, we cannot hear this anecdote in her own words – they are rehashed by a narrator who is already convinced of her insincerity, but even he cannot squash the story's overall message:

> […] Martha wrote that she had found the pebble on the Jersey shoreline, precisely where the land touched water at high tide, where things came together but also separated. It was this separate-but-together quality, she wrote, that had inspired her to pick up the pebble and to carry it in her breast pocket for several days, where it seemed weightless, and then to send it through the mail, by air, as a token of her truest feelings for him (8).

Martha's rock is undoubtedly a romantic gesture. In a sense, she validates Cross's wish of ownership, implicitly promises her faithfulness during this period of separation. Such sentiment debunks the notion that she flatly rejects Jimmy's love, as she not only accepts it but also returns it in the most poignant way she knows how.

Unfortunately, Jimmy misinterprets this letter; or, more specifically, he overlooks Martha's assurances in favor of feeding his insecurities (just as O'Brien arguably misread Kate's signals in order to nurture his own paranoia). Because of his distrust and doubt, Jimmy twists the letter's intended meaning into yet another snub:

> […] he wondered what her truest feelings were, exactly, and what she meant by separate-but-together. […] and though it was painful, he wondered who had been with her that afternoon. He imagined a pair of shadows moving along the strip of sand where things come together but also separated. It was phantom jealousy, he knew, but he couldn't help himself. He loved her so much (8).

Jimmy subsequently obsesses over Martha's involvement with other men throughout the chapter. In one of the photographs Martha gave him, she stands against a bare brick wall (an unusual and ironic choice in backdrop, certainly indicative of her character's depth), and Cross fretfully worries about who took the picture, "because he knew she had boyfriends, because he loved her so much, and because he could see the shadow of the picture-taker spreading out against the brick wall" (4). One begins to think that perhaps Jimmy's obsessive suspicion, rather than Martha's supposed insensitivity, is what keeps him in such turmoil and her at a safe distance. However, we are asked to excuse Jimmy's agitation because "he loved her so much" (4), and this repetitive tag line will become a sinister entreaty in *Lake*, when the narrator solicits forgiveness for far more than a vet's "phantom jealousy."

Not only does Cross use the stone as yet another means to doubt Martha's fidelity, but the innocent pebble which represented Martha's sincerest affection also becomes the catalyst for Jimmy Cross's largest burden, Ted Lavender's death, which "was something he would have to carry like a stone in his stomach for the rest of the war" (16). After Cross receives the small rock, he becomes even more preoccupied with Martha and takes to carrying the pebble around in his mouth just so he can feel closer to her (8). As a result, "his mind wandered. He had difficulty keeping his attention on the war. On occasion he would yell at his men to spread out the column, to keep their eyes open, but then he would slip away into daydreams, just pretending, walking barefoot along the Jersey shore, with Martha, carrying nothing" (8–9). Martha has unwittingly caused Cross to detach himself further from his primary objective, from keeping himself and his men out of harm's way. The stone (and, by extension, Martha), begins a chain reaction of events from which Jimmy Cross will never recover.

Predictably, Cross eventually pays dearly for his careless distraction. When Lee Strunk pulls dreaded tunnel duty, the platoon breathlessly waits for him to climb out of the hole safely, including, seemingly, his lieutenant. However, Cross's mind is elsewhere: "Lieutenant Cross gazed at the tunnel. But he was not there. He was buried with Martha under the white sand at the Jersey shore. They were pressed together, and the pebble in his mouth was her tongue. He was smiling" (12). Cross's peculiar sexual appetites are not lost on the reader. Aside from the fact that he obsesses (at great length) over Martha's virginity or lack thereof, he also carries the stone in his mouth because of its previously close proximity to her breast. Moreover, Cross has a reoccurring fantasy in which he "bravely" ties an unwilling Martha to her bed and gleefully tickles her knee, essentially forcing his "love" upon her. Most importantly, though, he not only dreams of his and Martha's entombment under the Jersey shore, but also of being in the stifling tunnel with Martha at the moment of its deadly (albeit lovely) collapse, allowing both of

them to be "buried alive under all that weight," to succumb to their sweet, "dense, crushing love" (11). As he waits for Strunk to come out of the tunnel, then, images of violence and death evocative of his current existence infuse with his "love" and sexual desire for Martha, and this already volatile mix is further destabilized by Martha's alleged lack of emotion and his subsequent anxiety. Accordingly, Cross's fantasies are often colored with sexual violence. Although he does not dream of rape, he imagines "tickling" a bound Martha into submission, and can only envision her reciprocating his love at the moment of their mutual, suffocating deaths, in which he *squeezes* her consent out of her.

When one reads about John and Kathy Wade in *Lake*, the revelations of Jimmy Cross's desire appear even more troubling, especially when he describes why he loved Martha so much and how that love made him feel. Although he reads her letters religiously and looks upon her virginal face for hours, Jimmy's adoration does not bring him true happiness; in fact, Martha ultimately acts as yet one more weight he must shoulder during his already traumatic time. When dreamily gazing at the tunnel, Cross's strange love becomes apparent, for he feels weak, frustrated, desperate, impotent, effectually trapped:

> […] he felt paralyzed, he wanted to sleep inside her lungs and breathe her blood and be smothered. He wanted her to be a virgin and not a virgin, all at once. He wanted to know her. Intimate secrets: Why poetry? Why so sad? Why that grayness in her eyes? Why so alone? Not lonely, just alone […] and it was that aloneness that filled him with love (12).

Similarly, John Wade spies on Kathy because she is a loner, "fiercely private, fiercely independent" (*Lake* 33). Like Cross, his lover's so-called secrecy fuels his dark desire to know her completely and makes him *love* her all the more. Just as Cross constantly fixates on picture-takers and mystery men at the Jersey shore, Wade also "looked for signs of betrayal" from his then college girlfriend, "the way she smiled at people, the way she carried herself around other men" (*Lake* 33). While Cross wants to take up residence in Martha's organs and drown in her blood, Wade also wishes to "open up Kathy's belly and crawl inside," where he can then "swim through her blood" forever (*Lake* 71). Obviously, Jimmy's feelings for Martha (the reason for his attraction, and especially how it weakens him to the point of emotional paralysis) effectively lay the groundwork for John's feelings for Kathy – the only difference between the two is that Jimmy stops short of his ultimate desire to know Martha inside and out. However, after one reads *Lake* and discovers the connection between not only Martha and Kathy, but also between the soldiers, Jimmy does not seem so harmless anymore. In fact, he becomes less of an actual character and more of an omen for the "real" story to follow.

Nevertheless, all daydreams, especially in O'Brien's fiction, eventually give way to the harsh light of reality. Therefore, as Jimmy imagines blissful death with Martha's tongue in his mouth, Ted Lavender is on his way back from peeing, and at the precise moment Strunk joyously emerges from the tunnel unharmed, Lavender is gunned down by a sniper. As the lieutenant, Cross realizes he is directly responsible for the integrity of their perimeter and any breaches. However, the narrator implores the reader's forgiveness for Cross's laxity because, ultimately, "he could not bring himself to worry about matters of security. He was beyond that. He was just a kid at war, in love. He was twenty-four years old. He couldn't help it" (12). If Cross is not to blame for the death of his man, nor, evidently, is the sniper who pulled the trigger (as he remains conspicuously absent from Cross's thoughts and the narrator's rendering of events), then the list of the guilty has suddenly grown terribly short.

After Lavender's death, Cross's ill-placed romantic desire turns into seething hatred for the object of his lustful affection. Although O'Brien says Cross "felt the pain" and "blamed himself" (6), he clearly held one more person accountable, for he kept envisioning "Martha's smooth young face, thinking he loved her more than anything, more than his men, and now Ted Lavender was dead because he loved her so much and could not stop thinking about her" (6–7). Cross finally puts all niceties aside, succumbs to his previously suppressed rage, and seeks to scorch Martha's very presence from the earth. Before he burns her letters and pictures, however, Smith noted in her article that he seeks a "My Lai-like retribution" (26) for his men, leading them in the fiery destruction of a local village after Lavender's body was evacuated (16). But no mention is ever made of a particular enemy encounter, nor do the other men verbally express any hatred for a likely shooter. Accordingly, as the last culpable party, not only is Martha indirectly responsible for Lavender's death, but she now also bares the burden for whatever atrocities Jimmy committed in the tumultuous aftermath, for *she*, not the Vietnamese sniper, was the real source of anger that drove his presumed carnage. Most importantly, Jimmy's participation in the village's destruction immediately after he acknowledges the finality of Martha's rejection is terrifically similar to *Lake*, as John Wade takes part in the *actual* My Lai massacre mere hours after he reads Kathy's latest letter, in which she reveals she has been seeing other men (*Lake* 104). He, like Cross, is blinded by rage. Consequently, both Martha and Kathy inadvertently share blame for the crimes the men carry out.

After he and his men destroy the village, Cross experiences a breakdown. He tries to bury himself so he cannot feel the venomous sting of Martha's unloving nature and Lavender's death. Even as Cross digs his foxhole, one can witness the ongoing mutation of his one-time love, for "he used his en-

trenching tool like an ax, slashing, feeling both love and hate […]" (16), and the reader can easily guess who he envisages during each and every swing. After Cross is at his point of refuge, however, his violence once again dissipates when he indulges his overpowering feelings of weakness and true sadness:

> […] he sat at the bottom of his foxhole and wept. It went on for a long while. In part, he was grieving for Ted Lavender, but mostly it was for Martha, and for himself, because she belonged to another world, which was not quite real, and because she was a junior at Mount Sebastian College in New Jersey, a poet and a virgin and uninvolved, and because he realized she did not love him and never would (16–17).

Essentially, the narrator wants the reader to sympathize with Cross, not to be startled or turned off by his hostile thoughts. Cross's effeminate tears offset his almost pathological behavior and further deter the reader from holding him liable for Lavender's death. Because he feels so guilty, the reader also might construe his newly formed hatred for Martha (which he openly confesses after his crying spell) as simply the emotional knee-jerk reaction of a traumatized soldier trying to cope with a devastating blow. Nevertheless, the tears only misdirect the reader from the disturbing fact that, in his mind where he once safely nurtured his false reality, Cross now hears a slow, steady, bubbling buzz, signaling that reality's decay. He does not feel real sorrow for Ted or Martha – just fear at his own brush with depravity, and, of course, intense fury at the woman who will not love him.

In fact, Cross performs a cleansing ritual of sorts in which he attempts to "purge" himself of Martha, to rid himself of the lie once and for all so he can reclaim control over his fragile psyche. He dramatically burns her correspondence, but realizes that destroying the mementos was an empty gesture, for "Lavender was dead. You couldn't burn the *blame*" (emphasis added 23). He also angrily remembers that in the once prized letters, Martha "never mentioned the war" and "wasn't involved" in his trauma (24), which means that Lavender's death was an even bigger waste because all of Cross's attention was diverted for nothing. Due to her insensitivity, her cruel teasing, and, ultimately, her purported complicity in Lavender's demise, he wills himself to repay her in kind by no longer holding her in her previously all-important regard: "Henceforth, when he thought about Martha, it would be only to think that she belonged elsewhere" (24). Although he says twice that he "hates" Martha (24), the assertion, like the bonfire, is more bravado than substance, for he confesses that in spite of himself he *still* loves Martha, and this begrudging affection, coupled with his established hatred, morphs into a "hard, hating kind of love" (24).

Yet the narrator again persuades the reader to overlook Jimmy's fervent disdain because, after all, he only "hated" Martha to be a better leader, to

prevent another death like the one of Lavender's. Ultimately, Cross must "dispense with love" (26) so he can focus on his men, and is that not the goal of any good soldier? Furthermore, Cross's new perception of Martha seems to hurt him more than her, for it struck him as "very sad […]. The things men carried inside. The things men did or felt they had to do" (25) to survive their war. At the end of the chapter, Jimmy is devotedly laying the groundwork for his platoon's new safety measures (on whose well-being he is now truly focused), regretting that he allowed himself to indulge in futile diversions, and, finally, still nursing a broken heart. Essentially, his calm, sober demeanor and modest attitude make one forget his "hating love" because he seems like good ole Jimmy again – the same lovelorn boy who gingerly handled love letters, the same honorable young soldier with good intentions, the same scared kid who was doing the best he could in a nightmarish situation.

Smith, however, has other ideas: rather than sending the message of a matured lieutenant righting his wrongs, she argues that the story and especially its conclusion "[establish] an inexorable equation: imagination = women = distraction = danger = death" (24). Therefore, Martha's appearance in the text acts as a sort of foreboding lesson to soldiers everywhere – not only are all women insensitive and incapable of understanding your war, but loving them also can prove fatal. However, if Jimmy and Martha's story ended here, the savvy reader might forgo the innuendos of the biased narrator, look past Jimmy's angry slurs, and forever believe that Martha indeed cared for Jimmy, just as the little details suggest. O'Brien is committed to Cross's ultimate innocence, though, so he offers a "follow-up" story in which he quells, once and for all, any suggestion of Martha's love for Cross.

When Martha and Jimmy run into one another at a college reunion years after Jimmy's war (reminiscent of the protagonist and his lover's reconnection at a reunion in O'Brien's other novel, *July, July*), Martha appears aloof and blatantly uninterested in Jimmy's persistent romantic intentions, essentially validating his perceptions of her and her former letters. Moreover, not only does she reject Jimmy but also *all* men, as she has devoted her life to God by becoming a Lutheran missionary, worked as a nurse in impoverished countries, and, the narrator suggests, presumably abstained from *any* sexual relationship: "She had never married, she said, and probably never would. She didn't know why. But as she said this, her eyes seemed to slide sideways, and it occurred to [Jimmy] that there were things about her he would never know" (28). The reader is expected to forget Martha's previous affection for Cross (as well as her alleged other boyfriends) and to now believe that she could never love any man, period. Furthermore, Martha exhibits the same callousness of which the narrator also previously accused her. Jimmy finally does something "brave" and tells Martha exactly how he feels, how he has always felt. Disregarding both Jimmy and his sentiments completely, "[Martha] kept

walking and didn't answer and then after several minutes looked at her wristwatch and said it was getting late" (29). Through his detailed description of Martha's dismissive attitude, the narrator makes perfectly clear that she is truly unconcerned with Jimmy's emotional well being.

The next morning, however, Martha apologizes for her snooty behavior, offers Jimmy another replica of the picture he burned so long ago, and consequently gives him just enough encouragement to reel him in yet again. Almost a decade after his war, then, Jimmy still holds out hope for a hopeless situation. Loving Martha has basically scarred him for life, ruined him for the love of any willing woman. When visiting O'Brien's (the character's) home after the reunion, he gives O'Brien permission to write about him and Martha, and holds out scarce confidence that O'Brien's "love" story will jar Martha to her senses: "'Maybe she'll read it and come begging. There's always hope, right?'" (29). Nevertheless, the prevailing theme of both chapters is despair, for just as Cross suspected and the narrator intimated, Martha never loved him and never will. While Cross continues his life in a restricted emotional state, he appears even more honorable, likable, and sympathetic for enduring the inconsiderate treatment of a cold woman he cannot help but love. Martha quickly becomes little more than a bad memory, forever banished to the fringes of O'Brien's text, taking her place as *Things*' primary representation of the detached, unloving female. From her ashes, however, Kathy Wade will rise – and fall.

III

Although John Wade and his unfortunate wife clearly mirror Jimmy Cross and his gray-eyed poet, only one critic has made a scant connection between the characters and their respective texts. In her article, "The Autobiography of Guilt: Tim O'Brien and Vietnam," Mary McCay briefly references *Things* when explaining John's overwhelming need for love: "As Lieutenant Jimmy Cross in *The Things They Carried* so desperately wanted Martha to return his love, so John Wade wants to be loved by Kathy, by the party, and by the voters" (120). McCay spends the bulk of her article, however, likening John to a better-known and perhaps even more desperate literary figure, Hawthorne's Arthur Dimmesdale. She specifically explores how Wade "recapitulates the classic story of sin and guilt" by "[trading] his actual past for one [everyone] can love," just like the tortured preacher (120). John's "sin and guilt," though, apparently has little to do with Kathy or her demise (even though his alleged counterpart's turmoil had everything to do with Hester Prynne). Instead, McCay analyzes the "guilt festering in [John's] soul" for his sins at My Lai and how the trauma of his father's death possibly unleashed the evil that drove him to kill – on *that* day (120).

Unfortunately, not only does McCay flatly drop the vital Jimmy/Martha link, but she also flatly drops Kathy *and* her possible homicide, as she only refers to John as a "murderer" when questioning his slayings of PFC Weatherby and a Vietnamese farmer. Like many reviewers of the critically-acclaimed book, McCay obviously believes in O'Brien's repeated protestations (in various interviews) that his novel, and specifically Kathy Wade's disappearance, is a mystery. Although she concedes that O'Brien offers "evidence galore" in support of Wade's probable murder of Kathy, she nonetheless concludes that "no certainty" (120) can be deduced from the text. As a result, she totally discards Kathy's trauma and turns to John's to find her critical slant.

And McCay's sentiment has been echoed repeatedly. Almost all critics and readers have become so engrossed in John Wade's alleged love for his wife as well as his troubled past that they have too easily accepted O'Brien's contention that Kathy's fate is utterly unknowable. During the book's press tour O'Brien successfully planted the seeds of emotion and doubt over reason and probability, all in an effort to shape readers' opinions of his text and particularly of his beloved protagonist. In one interview with Dave Edelman entitled "Tim O'Brien on Love, Murder, and Vietnam," when asked to briefly describe his latest novel, O'Brien handily overlooks both "murder" and "Vietnam" and highlights the narrative's *upside*: "'If I were to tag *In the Lake of the Woods* […] I'd call it a love story.'" By repeatedly characterizing his work as a romance, O'Brien all but diminishes the solvability of his book's crucial mystery – what horrible end befell Kathy Wade? – and condescendingly encourages readers to focus on John's torment and/or immense love for her instead.

Similarly, in an interview for Penguin Books, even when pushed for the specifics of Kathy's fate, O'Brien once again artfully dodges *any* discussion about John's horrid actions by referring the interviewer and readers to watered-down versions of his hypotheses – all of which supposedly "could" have happened, none of which, however, contain murderous details or should be dwelled on at any length:

> John may have killed Kathy. Or Kathy may have run off with someone else. Or maybe she simply drowned. Or got lost in that vast wilderness. I believed in each hypothesis as I wrote it. I inserted evidence to support each hypothesis – just as life itself gives us contradictory evidence about a great many things. But in the end, it's all a mystery, insoluble, beyond certainty.

In the same interview, though, O'Brien also warns readers against "'[jumping] to the obvious and macabre conclusion'" that John killed Kathy simply because he killed at My Lai, and points out that "'the search of the cottage produces nothing incriminating'" against him. O'Brien makes similar claims in the Edelman piece, in which he eventually advocates a hypothesis that

opportunely clears John of any wrongdoing: "'My feeling is that John Wade didn't kill her. […] I think she just got in the boat one day and got lost.'" Evidently, one *can* know what happened to Kathy, as long as one concludes that John was not involved.

Nevertheless, one critic has surmised *just* that, in spite of the "contradictory evidence." In his article, "Kicking the Denial Syndrome: Tim O'Brien's *In the Lake of the Woods*," H. Bruce Franklin not only *believes* that John killed Kathy, but he also unequivocally proves it by revealing the various "inconsistencies" of the *false* hypotheses (338). Furthermore, although John purportedly cannot "remember" the crime, Franklin contends that John actually *denies* the crime; he both knows and remembers what happened at the cabin, just as he knows and remembers his actions at My-Lai, and he actively works to suppress that knowledge (339). Not surprisingly, O'Brien sought to answer Franklin in a brief yet puzzling essay called "The Whole Story." Though the title promised a counterattack, to set Franklin straight about his presumably wrong conclusions, it delivered no punches. On the contrary, O'Brien called Franklin's argument "convincing," admitted to having "very little" to say about *Lake*, and only took issue with an off-hand comment Franklin made regarding an entirely different novel, *Things* (344).

But O'Brien's uncharacteristic silence should not be construed as a sudden change of heart. His unwillingness to challenge Franklin's thesis, to tell "the whole story" about Kathy's disappearance, actually reinforces a hesitancy that runs throughout his interviews to discuss John as a cold-blooded killer, hypothetically or otherwise. Although O'Brien readily admits John's lethal actions during My Lai, he repeatedly clams up about any deadly force John took against his wife, which, as he revealed through his meticulous, deliberative narration, he knows to be the *true* hypothesis. Instead, he offers cliff-note-type comments that reduce his work to a simplistic love-tale somehow gone terribly awry and suavely leans readers towards John innocence. Not only do O'Brien's interpretations conveniently free John Wade of all responsibility, but they also open the door for Kathy's vilification, as her perceived inability to reciprocate John's love causes numerous disasters, all the way from Vietnam to her very own death.

In fact, in the Penguin interview O'Brien says that John cannot be held accountable for *any* of his "'bad choices'" because his "'freedom to choose has been limited by an overwhelming need to be loved, at almost any cost.'" Basically, if John's father had not been a suicidal alcoholic and especially if his wife had not been so blatantly insensitive, he evidently never would have done such "bad things" (lying, murder, etc.) for their much wanted attention. Indeed, O'Brien implores readers to remember that John is "'terrified of losing the woman he loves'" when he needs her the most, that his trampled heart cannot take yet another beating. While O'Brien never concedes John's

actual guilt, then, he nonetheless insinuates that "if" John murdered his wife it was only because he *loved* her so much, and because she, his *last* potential source for acceptance and comfort, denied him the reassurance he badly needed – and subsequently prompted his long-expected, inevitable breakdown. In short, she made him do a *very* bad thing.

O'Brien's comments, in which he not only expresses an undeniable affinity for victimized John, but also quietly portrays Kathy as the straw that broke his battered back, set the tone for *Lake*. Once again, O'Brien unabashedly uses "the insensitive woman" to relay the depth of her vet's (in this case, also her murderer's) "love" and sickness, and to elicit sympathy for him via her alleged lack of concern for his trauma. Accordingly, echoes of Jimmy Cross's story abound: the soldier/vet is so overwhelmed by love for his unfeeling woman and so emotionally wrecked by her supposed rejection that his "freedom of choice" becomes muddled, making her responsible for his "bad" acts, even if in this case, they are inflicted upon *her*. Unfortunately, though O'Brien uses these interviews to warm readers up to John Wade, he unknowingly braces them for another trip down misogyny lane – one from which this insensitive woman will not return.

IV

While I intend to highlight the similarities between Martha and Kathy (which will inevitably reveal parallels between Jimmy and John), it is important to note that not only do the characters meet different ends, but their stories begin dissimilarly as well. Even though we open with John and Kathy, just as we began with Jimmy and Martha through his reading of her letters, the couple's relationship is clearly not in good condition (the title of the first chapter, after all, is "How Unhappy They Were"). Thus, the first few pages of *Lake* are not marked by Jimmy's characteristic emotion and boyish charm, or even the allure of Martha's stoic gray eyes. John is no longer a young, naïve combat soldier, but a jaded forty-one year old veteran who has just suffered a crushing defeat in his bid for senatorial office due to the revelation of his war crimes. Kathy is also not a vibrant, thoughtful co-ed, but an exhausted middle-aged woman caught in the midst of her husband's breakdown. The narrator therefore does not so much allude to problems as he bluntly lays them on the table, and we really do not learn of John and Kathy's "love story" until after John kills her. Essentially, we have to go backwards in time to find links between the four characters, to see John and Kathy as young, vibrant lovers.

But first, O'Brien introduces the reader to the John and Kathy of the present, a far cry from the lustful, playful college kids of their youths. After John's political career ends on a desperately low note, the embittered couple

retreat to a remote cabin under the guise of getting their life in order, but we soon learn that their personal problems extend well beyond the previous turn of events. The tension between the two is consistently palpable, even during the first few days when they allegedly get along; although they attempted sex, it "had not gone well" (1), and though they spoke, they restricted their conversation to daydreams and wish lists, carefully sidestepping the "trapdoor feelings in their stomachs" (2). The couple's strained smiles and idle chitchat do not sustain them for long, however – this eerie calm soon gives way to John's roaring thunder, and the picturesque cottage becomes the scene of John's mental collapse and Kathy's homicide.

Apparently, despite John's promises to Kathy of a busload of children and excursions in Verona, of jumpstarting the life they always wanted, his sanity has thoroughly disintegrated with no signs of repair, and he has much darker things on his shattered mind. The severity of his madness is evidenced during one disturbing piece of prose when John tries to pinpoint the trigger of his ailment, which he suddenly realizes entails "more than a lost election" (5):

> Humiliation, that was part of it, and the wreckage in his chest and stomach, and then the rage, how it surged up into his throat and how he wanted to scream the most terrible thing he could scream – *Kill Jesus!* – and how he couldn't help himself and couldn't think straight and couldn't stop screaming it inside his head – *Kill Jesus!* – because nothing could be done, and because it was so brutal and disgraceful and final. He felt crazy sometimes. Real depravity. Late at night an electric sizzle came into his blood, a tight pumped-up killing rage, and he couldn't keep it in and he couldn't let it out. He wanted to hurt things. Grab a knife and start cutting and slashing and never stop (5).

The reader soon learns that John's electoral defeat pales in comparison to the distress of losing his father as a child, and particularly to his Vietnam War trauma, which he had, until now, successfully managed with lies and denial. The infusion of the three, though, causes John to relapse to the seething, blind rage that defined those periods in his life. Accordingly, every injustice he feels he endured during these eras (and every person who caused them) claw their way back to the surface of his memory, adding on to his most recent and devastating disgrace, and igniting the incomprehensible anguish above.

As a result, John no longer looks upon Kathy as his loving wife, but as the same girl he met in college and loved wildly, and who consequently rejected his love the day before the My Lai scandal that has now ruined his political career and overall life. Although John harbors no specific thoughts of malice towards her (at this point), and even though the narrator has yet to reveal Kathy's purported complicity in John's war crimes, the narrator none-

theless points to John's wife as the primary contributor to his current mental state. Immediately before John becomes lost in the wonders of his own malaise, Kathy coincidentally speaks of their direct (rather than dreamy and distant) future, one he obviously cannot envision. Her simple and harmless suggestion, that John "hook up with one of those fancy law firms in Minneapolis" (3) when they return home, not only initiates his intense pondering but eventually slams him into a disturbing realization: he has been severely wronged, humiliated beyond repair, and someone has to pay. The passage perfectly encapsulates John's ability and perhaps subconscious desire to murder his wife, to rid himself of the walking reminder of his multiple emasculations, the very woman who is inwardly pleased at his debilitating embarrassment. The above lines amply prove that not only does John *never* intend to return to the outside world, but that he also kills Kathy repeatedly in his mind before he does so in reality.

While the degree of John's unhinged state is fully articulated in the first chapter, we know virtually nothing about the woman who purportedly causes his grief, except, perhaps, that she fears her husband and suspects him of the resentment he tries so hard to repress. Though the narrator does not yet divulge her thoughts, we can nevertheless sense Kathy's doubt and tentativeness as she tiptoes around the subject of the recent election as well as John's overall behavior, which grows increasingly alarming by the hour. When she carelessly refers to the aftermath as "the stupid thing [they] have to get through," she quickly scrambles to undo the damage and avoid John's expectant wrath: "'John, listen, I can't always come up with the right words. All I meant was – you know – I meant there's this wonderful man I love and I want him to be happy and that's all I *care* about. Not elections'" (7). Kathy is clearly aware, on some level, that John (who responds to her entreaties with a curt "'fine, then'") has an inkling of how she *really* felt about his political career and that she in fact takes pleasure in the end of his life's work (7). Despite the tension, though, she takes John in her arms and says that she only wants him to be "happy" (7). John, on the other hand, stoically stares into the void.

Nevertheless, in the very first chapter and particularly in this exchange, O'Brien presents Kathy (though flimsily) as a wife who cares deeply for her husband and their marriage. When she speaks to John about trips to Italy, children, and a new career, she seems concerned, helpful, even slightly hopeful; John, in contrast, seems distant, moody, *homicidal*, and completely unconcerned with how she might be coping with their new circumstances, and especially with how they will rebuild their life. In fact, the moment after their tiff, the narrator mentions that Kathy would go missing only days later, and the timing of that reminder seems to point to John's involvement. However, if O'Brien continued to depict Kathy as the supporting spouse and John

as the aloof, deadly husband, she would have little in common with Martha and would garner no sympathy whatsoever for John. John therefore undergoes a dramatic transformation, allowing the narrator's impression of him (and Kathy) to change almost instantaneously.

John's "rehabilitation" begins immediately in a brief but poignant chapter called "The Nature of Loss." O'Brien takes the reader back to a catastrophic moment in John's childhood, when, while playing basketball in his junior high gymnasium, his mother pulled him out of school with the news of his father's suicide. We are meant to see this tragic event as the impetus for John's fractured emotional self and his murderous aptitude, for the narrator says "what John felt that night, and for many nights afterward, was the desire to kill" (14). Indeed, during his father's funeral John imagined murdering everyone in attendance, presumably members of his family and friends of his parents. Most importantly, though, he yearned to hurt the person he loved the most, as "he wanted to take a hammer and crawl into the casket and kill his father for dying" (14). Instead, John begins to trick himself into believing his dad was still alive, and "[carried] on whole conversations about baseball and school and girls" (14) with his late father throughout his adolescence. John essentially uses his imagination not only to resurrect his dad but also to make him into the loving and supportive parent he always wanted him to be.

John's communicating at such length with his dead father certainly strikes a chord within the reader, as he appears desperately heartbroken and confused. Yet, although the narrator characterizes John as a young, frightened boy who uses these lies as "a way of coping" (15) with overpowering emotions, John's behavior nonetheless reveals both a sophistication and anger that one would not readily attribute to a middle-schooler. After all, when John's father was alive, he derided John on a daily basis. The acrimony between the two is well established in the following chapters, in which we discover that the father/son relationship of John's imagination has virtually nothing in common with how the two *really* got along. After his father's passing, then, John does not so much grieve as he begins a detailed and elaborate double life, one that not only overtakes his "real" life but is also supported by a seemingly mature talent for deceit and denial. O'Brien furthermore admits that John was not delusional (i.e. helplessly lost in the "mirrors in his mind") when he says that "despite the daydreams, John could not fool himself. He knew the truth" (15). While O'Brien clearly uses his father's death to elicit empathy for John and to help justify his later choices and actions, he actually shows how John knowingly uses lies to tenuously suppress an underlying yet intense resentment for being mistreated and abandoned. On the afternoon of his father's funeral, John expresses anger, not sadness, to a one-way mirror acting as a stand-in for the man who constantly scoffed at his weight, among so many

other things: "'I wasn't fat,' he said, 'I was *normal*.' […] 'And I didn't jiggle. Not even once. I just *didn't*.'" (75).

In effect, this flashback sets the tone for the back and forth psychological banter that began in the interviews and continues for the remainder of the novel. Even though O'Brien reveals the disturbing and inappropriate thoughts festering within John during and after his father's funeral, he juxtaposes them against John's grand attempts to revive his "ideal" father in his mind, simultaneously admitting John's capacity for destruction and pardoning him for it, due to his dire need for love. This singular idea – acknowledge and forgive – applies to everything John Wade does after his father's death, including spying on Kathy, committing fratricide, killing a Vietnamese civilian, and, later, murdering his wife. Nevertheless, someone must be held responsible for each of these "bad choices;" though John and the narrator initially indicate that his father deserves all the credit, they ultimately point their fingers to an even guiltier party.

Understandably, it is only *after* the narrator reveals the most traumatic event of John's young life and sets both John and his *first* trauma in the desired context that he finally returns us to the placid lake, to John and his beloved during the immediate hours before Kathy's "disappearance," during which the reader discovers that Kathy (*not* John) precipitated the events that led to her death. As with the first chapter, we see Kathy still struggling with their problems, although her confidence for a peaceful resolution has clearly waned. Rather than trying to force John to divulge his feelings, which has only proven to incite his anger, Kathy has decided to let him make the first move. It comes as no surprise, then, that the couple's now seventh day "passed quietly" (16), as John was not willing to disclose to his wife the tumultuous storm brewing in his head. We soon learn, though, that John's inability or unwillingness to confide in Kathy is somehow *her* fault, for despite her previous attempts to encourage John and to be *included* in his turmoil, she has allegedly become cold and distant. John snaps back into reality just long enough to notice her bad attitude when she washes the breakfast dishes:

> […] Kathy made a low sound in her throat and began to say something, just a word or two, then her eyes focused elsewhere, beyond him, beyond the walls of the cottage, and then after a time she looked down at the dishwater and did not look back again. *It was an image that would not go away*. Twenty-four hours later, when she was gone, John Wade would remember the enormous distance that had come into her face at that instant […] (emphasis added 17).

John is not merely struck by Kathy's disconnection from her overall surroundings, but specifically by what he perceives to be her extreme indifference to his very presence, how she slowly did her chores and sullenly sauntered out of the kitchen "without looking at him" (17) even once. Since John cannot

"pretend" Kathy into loving him as he once did his father, he begins to quietly implode.

In fact, John becomes so bothered by the remembrance of Kathy looking "beyond him" (17) that he finally considers the episode to be the stimulus for the horrific, unnamable thing that would eventually happen at the lake. The more he pictures her stone-like face (which never glanced in his direction), the more the narrator says he stews about what Kathy could have done differently *right then* to prevent that ghastly "thing" from occurring:

> What if she'd spoken?
> What if she'd leaned against the refrigerator and said, "Let's do some loving right here," and what if they had, and what if everything that happened could not have happened because of those other happenings? (17).

The narrator conveniently fails to mention that Kathy asked John that very morning if he was "'all right,'" and John responded that he was "'perfect'" (18). And, when Kathy asked the question again, he blasted her for prodding: "'Oh, Christ,' he said. 'Fuck it'" (18). Kathy also tried to initiate sex with John only days ago, but he found the attention "irritating" and refused her (4). Now that Kathy is past the point of coddling him, John uses his imagination to think of a better scenario (a *better* Kathy), an action that insinuates the *real* Kathy did not try to reach out. John, of course, never contemplates what he could have done differently to restore their relationship and avert her murder. Kathy is apparently solely responsible for John's worst "happening" of all.

On the actual day of Kathy's disappearance/death, things between the couple have further deteriorated, a decline evidently prompted by more instances of Kathy's inattentiveness and lack of concern. Even when John occasionally manages to emerge from the shadows of his sickness, Kathy only argues with him, which naturally causes more friction. Accordingly, although John's memory of that particular day is allegedly hazy (he tells others he can remember only bits and pieces of their ride to and from the diner/grocery store, and only snippets of things that happened there and afterward), he *just so happens* to clearly and accurately recall each time Kathy was irritable or detached, including when they went on a walk:

> In the coming days, John Wade would remember how he reached out to take her hand, the easy lacing of their fingers. But he would also remember how Kathy pulled away after a few steps. She folded her arms across her chest and walked up to the yellow cottage and went inside without waiting for him (22).

The narrator's mentioning of time both in this passage and the previous ("twenty-four hours later," "in the coming days"), shows their true significance.

Even in the confusion of his wife's "disappearance," amid the murkiness of his so-called fractured memory, John will secretly continue to both *remember* and resent her sheer coldness, her overall incapacity to do something as simple as love him.

O'Brien chooses to close Kathy's "pre-death" chapter with the most flagrant example of her supposed insensitivity. In Kathy's last interaction with her clearly troubled husband, O'Brien reveals that not only does *she* apparently refuse to mend the relationship about which she cares so dearly, but that she actively prevents John from repairing it as well. During a silent game of backgammon, John experiences a slight moment of normalcy and courageously attempts to tell her about "that stuff in the newspapers" (22), to finally cleanse himself of the My Lai garbage that has enveloped him for decades. Unfortunately, his wife's response is thoughtlessly abrupt and distant. Before John can unburden himself and possibly achieve redemption (the one thing that might allow him to return to the living), Kathy cuts him off with a swift pass of the dice and a tight-lipped "'Your move'" (22). Kathy's careless last words serve as her dying declaration, for John regrettably accepts her veiled challenge.

Nevertheless, the narrator unwittingly undermines the vital traumas which supposedly cause John's upcoming "bad" decision; when recounting the critical hours before his wife's death, he shows that John thinks specifically of Kathy's insincerity – Vietnam and his father might as well be on another planet. Still, the final communication that occurs between John and Kathy nonetheless depicts an emotional John trying to open up and a miffed Kathy closing him down. The narrator cleverly portrays John as a distraught husband putting forth one last effort to save his marriage, as if *he* has been the one trying to keep things afloat. In essence, the narrator discreetly asks readers to ignore the previous foray into John's abnormal psyche and to suddenly believe that – for this very short, pivotal time – he is suddenly a rational, gentle man, simply pleading for the love of a woman who promised to care for him unconditionally. Moreover, this lasting image prefaces everything we learn about John and Kathy's past, including the very beginning of their relationship, and especially how they got along while John was in Vietnam and immediately afterwards. In the remaining chapters, then, as the narrator grapples to reconcile John's past with his present, we see clear and concise glimpses of John and Kathy in seemingly happier times, and, as a result of certain revelations, realize their undeniable kinship with Jimmy and Martha – particularly how Martha and Kathy, via their supposedly fickle, unsympathetic natures and actions, caused their soldiers such intense anxiety and overwhelming pain that both men were helplessly driven to do considerably "bad things" in the war zone.

V

John first meets nineteen-year-old Kathy during his senior year of college, and we are told he was instantly smitten, much like Jimmy was initially taken with Martha before his love turned into suffocating obsession. Nevertheless, as with Jimmy and Martha (and O'Brien and Kate), we do not know *how* the two became close, and we only know details about the relationship that John and the narrator choose to disclose. Accordingly, we are thrown into what appears to be the midpoint of the young couple's romance (actually before John's tour of duty), when John's love for Kathy has grown just enough to become marked by the compulsive angst that eventually consumed Jimmy Cross. In fact, just as Jimmy constantly created reasons to doubt Martha's love, John also convinces himself that his girlfriend does not *really* love him and, furthermore, could abandon him at any moment without word or warning, leaving him with nothing but memories of the father who did the same. John grows so frightened of Kathy's inconstancy that "sometimes he'd jerk awake at night, dreaming she'd left him" (32). However, unlike Cross, who only *dreams* of tickling Martha's knee all night long (i.e. forcing her love), John resolutely vows "to make [Kathy] love him and never stop" (32).

John consequently resorts to drastic measures to assure Kathy's love and devotion. In order to be absolutely certain that Kathy did not direct her attention towards anyone else, John began to covertly "station himself outside her dormitory," wait for her to exit, and then "track her to the student union or the library or wherever else she went" (33). John eventually learns what kind of athlete Kathy is, her preferred chocolate bar, her favorite pizza, her study habits, and many harmless things. After all, his motives, so he claims, were innocent: "The issue wasn't trust or distrust. The whole world worked by subterfuge and the will to believe" (33). But the "issue" is John's lack of trust, for he does not necessarily care about Kathy's daily regimen – he specifically wants to assure her loyalty and to protect himself from another devastating heartbreak.

Before John resorted to the spying, though, he once tried to logically explain his fears to Kathy, something Jimmy never had the opportunity or courage to do with Martha until almost a decade too late. John professes his undying love to the college freshman and tells her that he constantly worried that she would betray him. Despite her young years, Kathy seeks to comfort him much like any wife would reassure her husband: "Kathy laughed and told him to cut it out, she'd never leave, and in any case thinking that way was destructive, it was negative and unhealthy" (32). Although John has the assurance for which Jimmy desperately longed, something about Kathy's response leaves him unsettled; he pondered it for "several days" (32), and, rather than finding solace in her promises, he discovered merely criticism of

his love and belittlement of his pain. Because of her alleged mockery and insincerity, John only hesitantly agrees that she will stay by his side: "'Well, all right [. . .] but it still worries me. Things go wrong. Things don't always last'" (32). John uses Kathy's words and gestures as more proof of her inherent culpability, something Jimmy (and O'Brien) know about all too well.

Expectedly, the old fears persist, and the spying stops encouraging John's adoration. Despite the fact he has uncovered no infidelity, he watches Kathy more rather than less, and when he realizes that he spends more time trailing her than he does "with" her, he briefly understood something was wrong, but "he couldn't bring himself to stop" (33). More importantly, though, because John never wants to assume responsibility for his strange behavior, he begins to blame Kathy for allowing things to escalate:

> In part, he thought, Kathy had brought it on herself: she had a personality that lured him on. […] They'd be at a movie together, or at a party, and she'd simply vanish; she'd go out for a pack of gum and forget to return. It wasn't thoughtlessness, really, but it wasn't thoughtful either. […] All this put a sharp chill in his heart. He understood her need to be alone, to reserve time for herself, but too often she carried things to an extreme that made him wonder (33–34).

Notably, every time Kathy does something that is consistent with a flippant college freshman (she is still a teenager, after all) John believes that she forsakes him for a steamy rendezvous, as if she is the master of deception and leading a double-life. Furthermore, John blaming Kathy for *his* spying begins a disturbing pattern; he will now hold Kathy responsible for *all* of his negative actions or experiences.

Not only is Kathy apparently insensitive to John's *understandable* neediness, but, later in the relationship, she also challenges the motives behind his life-altering decisions, such as joining the war and going into politics, and specifically going to war to boost his chances at a successful political career. When John tells Kathy about his ambitions, she brazenly suggests that his master plan sounds manipulative and contrived, and he realizes that Kathy might be the one person his magic cannot deceive, which frightens him:

> Nineteen years old, yes, but still there was something flat and skeptical in her eyes, something terrifying. She returned his gaze without backing off. She was hard to fool. Again, briefly, he was assailed by the sudden fear of losing her, of bungling things, and for a long while he tried to explain how wrong she was. […] Yet, even as he spoke, John realized he was not telling the full truth (35).

Kathy not only leaves John on numerous occasions, but she also threatens his one area of confidence: his ability for trickery and misdirection. His initial resentment for her abandonment finds a kindred sister, for she now

compromises the most definable aspect of his masculinity, the only area in which he felt in control of himself and others. Moreover, John knows the real reason he wants to go to Vietnam (and later into politics) is so that his dead father will finally love him: "He imagined his father […] saying to him, 'Well, you did it, you hung in there, and I'm so proud, just so incredibly goddamn proud'" (59). While John wants Kathy to believe that he is patriotic and noble, he is still just the angry, rejected boy seeking long-awaited validation – if he must, he will kill for it. Soon after this conversation, in spite of Kathy's doubts, John heads overseas.

O'Brien's "mini-back-story" into the couple's relationship gives the reader far more insight than he had into Jimmy and Martha's pseudo-coupling. John's behavioral patterns have been firmly established, and the reader has a real sense of how he and Kathy communicate under "normal" circumstances. One knows for certain that not only does Kathy care for John, but that John constantly looks for reasons to doubt her sincerity, and this minimal knowledge automatically connects Jimmy and John and Martha and Kathy in the reader's mind. However, the link between the four characters is strongest when John goes to war, during which the reader sees an almost play-by-play reenactment of *Things*' first chapter. Although John's tour of duty ends far more bleakly than Jimmy's, the fundamental theme remains the same: soldier = good, woman = bad.

VI

As to be expected, John's misgivings about his beloved girlfriend follow him all the way to Vietnam, where they naturally intensify since he can no longer follow Kathy undetected and track her every action. Nevertheless, like Jimmy Cross, John tries to repress his doubts, and for a short while, he proves semi-successful. In the early weeks, he actually treasures Kathy's "cheerful and newsy" letters and especially the particulars of her ordinary campus life: "[…] he found comfort in her chitchat about family and friends. She told funny stories about her sister Pat, about her teachers and roommates and basketball team. She rarely mentioned the war" (36). Eventually, though, the fact that she "rarely" brings up Vietnam, consistent with Martha's avoidance of the subject, rankles the embattled new soldier.

However, unlike Martha, who continually spoke to Jimmy about light-hearted topics (though Jimmy still found fault in all of them), Kathy eventually takes her "chitchat" into a more sober direction by again challenging John's core values. The narrator says although Kathy expressed "[concern] for [John's] safety" in her once-prized letters (as did Martha with Jimmy), she also repeatedly voiced "doubts about his motives, his reasons for being there" (36). John felt "hurt" and bewildered by her accusations and simply "couldn't

understand how she could think such things" (36). Even though John readily admitted that "he sometimes imagined returning home a hero, looking spiffy in a crisp new uniform, smiling at the crowds and carrying himself with appropriate modesty and decorum" (36), he did not know why Kathy could not appreciate his need for such innocent gratification. In fact, the more he thought about her cruel allegations, the more "he felt abused" (36). Unsure of what to do, he simply asked for her support: "'I love you,' he wrote back, 'and I hope someday you'll believe in me'" (36). Like Jimmy Cross, John seizes upon the *slightest* example of supposed insincerity and translates it into coldhearted deceit, not to mention an overall incomprehension of what it means to be a soldier at war. As a result, not only does he resent Kathy's naïveté, but he carefully investigates her subsequent letters for signs of her alleged unfaithfulness.

In the meantime, John must also cope with the shock of Vietnam, and he soon discovers that he *needs* to tell Kathy, the only person to whom he has any kind of real connection, about his daily fears and concerns. Nonetheless, because Kathy never expresses her confidence in John's decision to fight (as Martha presumably never did with Jimmy), he hides behind the ghoulish actions of his alter-ego Sorcerer, who relished doing tricks "with a jackknife and a corpse" (38) in front of a captive audience. When John unwisely introduces Sorcerer and his antics to Kathy via brief, nonsensical letters, she then disconnects herself from John for many weeks. When Kathy finally writes back, "there were no endearments, no funny stories" to be found. Instead, the short postcard included only one simple, disastrous warning: "'A piece of advice. Be careful with the tricks. One of these days you'll make me disappear'" (38). Evidently, Kathy does not care so much about reassuring John anymore, and she has decided to withhold that simple comfort at the most chaotic point of his troubled life.

Naturally, the more Kathy pulls away, the more John suspects her of the worst possible actions, and the particularly grim tone of her latest correspondence opens the floodgates; "John felt the old terrors rise up again," and all of the images he tried so fervently to push out of his mind come in a furious flash: "Even in bright daylight the pictures kept blowing through his head. Dark bedrooms, for instance. Kathy's diaphragm. What he wanted was to spy on her again – it was like a craving – but all he could do was wait. At night, his blood bubbled. He couldn't stop wondering" (38–39).

Whenever Martha sent Jimmy a picture, he would hole himself up in his foxhole for hours on end, during which he would soon stop focusing on her beauty and narrow in on the shadow of the picture-taker – one of many other alleged boyfriends. John exhibits the exact same practice with Kathy's writing; while scrutinizing the words on the page, he mistakes her noticeable alarm for adulterous disloyalty.

Obviously, when Kathy sends John an actual letter a few weeks later, his worries have had ample time to grow and heighten. He had pictured Kathy in the arms of so many random men that the actual content really had no relevance. He therefore paid little attention to the substance of her latest note and simply convinced himself that everything he feared above had come to fruition: "[…] he detected a new coolness in her tone, a new distance and formality. She talked about a movie she'd seen, an art gallery she'd visited, a terrific Spanish beer she'd discovered. His imagination filled in the details" (39). John misconstrues Kathy's attempt at a "normal" letter, in which she includes the chitchat that once brought him solace, just as Jimmy misinterpreted Martha's rock. John will consequently spend the rest of his lengthy tour in Vietnam "filling in the details" of Kathy's purportedly secret life. As a result, Kathy goes from a cute college co-ed with a Hershey bar fetish and other endearing, girlish traits to a sultry, two-timing vixen, capable of reaching new heights in betrayal and seduction. Like Martha, the nature of her sexuality depends on her soldier's mood, and John is *not* a happy boy.

John predictably focuses so intently on Kathy's supposed salacious outings that he becomes detached from his mission, just like Jimmy, with similar results. First, his confidence in Sorcerer noticeably begins to fade, and, unfortunately for John, this coincides with a perilous chain of events: "Two men were lost to land mines. A third was shot through the neck. Weber died of an exploding kidney. Morale was low" (39). Consequently, not only must John contend with Kathy's lack of support, but he also must endure the harsh judgment of his very own men, who "talked in quiet voices about how the magic had worn off, how Sorcerer had lost contact with the spirit world" (39). As the days passed and the deaths continued to mount, the soldiers stopped looking upon John as their good-luck charm and began to see him as their jinx. They distanced themselves, and made "no more requests for tricks" (39). All of this proves too much for John; as with Jimmy before Lavender's death, he felt "a stranded sensation – totally lost" (39). At this point, John appears not as a violent, out-of-control, blood-thirsty warrior, but as a frightened, confused, heartbroken, and utterly abandoned soul. Once again, the narrator has successfully prefaced events – we have a clear reason for why John is not *truly* responsible for his upcoming acts at My Lai, just as Jimmy was not entirely responsible for Lavender's death.

However, in case the reader should not connect the intended dots, O'Brien offers up one more letter that more blatantly points towards Kathy's fault in the disaster to come and throws John into the greatest disarray at the worst possible time – March 15th, the day before the My Lai massacres. Before John even reads the note's contents, he can immediately discern a difference in Kathy's tone, for "her handwriting was dark and confident" (103), and she had written more than she had in many months. Yet, neither indicator ade-

quately prepares John for the bombshell news Kathy chooses to reveal while he stands helpless and frightened in a dangerous war zone:

> What I hope […] is that someday you'll understand that I need things for myself. I need a productive future – a real life. When you get home, John, you'll have to treat me like the human being I am. I've grown up. I'm different now, and you are too, and we'll both have to make adjustments. We have to be looser with each other, not so wound up or something – you can't *squeeze* me so much – I need to feel like I'm not a puppet or something. Anyway, just so you know, I've been going out with a couple of guys. It's nothing serious. Repeat: nothing serious. I love you, and I think we can be wonderful together (103–104).

Even though Kathy professes her love, John can hardly take it seriously. After all, she has just confirmed his very worst fears. Jimmy Cross was blessed with a lack of details; no matter how many times he *worried* about Martha's infidelity, his ignorance was the only thing that leaned him more towards mere paranoia and away from crazed delusion, and the very thing that allowed him to pull himself together for his men, even if he still harbored some nasty thoughts for Martha. Although John *imagined* Kathy in various sexual scenarios, before now he was never cursed with cold-hard facts. The very next morning, he becomes part of the worst American military debacle on record.

Kathy's crushing news conveniently lessens the blow of a soldier who, in a matter of hours, will both participate in and silently watch numerous war crimes. In fact, after the revelation of Kathy's adultery, the narrator *instantly* shows John boarding a helicopter on the way to My Lai, with nothing occurring in between. Moreover, John is apparently so horribly devastated by Kathy's letter that he has no choice but to rely on his sinister persona to get him through his mission. When he boards the chopper the narrator says "*Sorcerer* felt dazed and half asleep […]" (emphasis added 104), a fact that doubly reinforces John's ultimate innocence in the murders he will soon witness and carry out. And, even though Sorcerer once prided himself on masterminding the "disappearance" of an entire village, he has allegedly grown timid. Not only does Sorcerer withhold his customary deadly magic when the bloodbath begins, but he merely *happens upon* various scenes of carnage, like some innocent bystander after an extreme accident who has yet to make sense of his surroundings:

> He *found* a pretty girl with her pants down. […] He *found* dead dogs. […] He *found* ducks pecking at a dead toddler. […] He *came across* a GI with a woman's black ponytail flowing from his helmet. […] he *found* someone stabbing people with a big silver knife […] he *found* a young woman laid open without a chest or lungs (emphasis added 106–108).

After the mayhem, the real, lucid John "*found* himself at the bottom of an irrigation ditch" (emphasis added 109) that contained the recently raped, sodomized, beaten, shot, and mutilated: "There were many bodies present, maybe a hundred. He was caught up in the slime" (110). As John, terrified and confused, flails in the blood, guts, and intestines of the innocent slain, one realizes the relationship between this gory scene and Jimmy Cross's shit-field, the emotional equivalence. Both men, defeated and broken by those they love the most, helplessly drown in their war. John cannot be more sympathetic than he is at this moment, for his future political defeat does not remotely compete with this day of reckoning. O'Brien carefully builds John's My Lai experience in painful layers, with Kathy's letters acting as the unshakable foundation. *If* she had not methodically and totally destroyed him, then all these "other happenings" could have been avoided. At the weakest time of his "adult" life, then, after the failed election, the Kathy "before" My Lai fuses with the Kathy "after" My Lai – John resents her all over again.

During the remainder of John's tour of duty, we hear nothing more about Kathy's correspondence, except the note she wrote when he informed her that he was extending another year, in which she expressed that she hoped his decision was not a "career move" (147). Yet, they must have had some communication because after John serves his second year in Vietnam (during which he takes a desk job and erases himself from My Lai history) he returns home hoping to find what he left behind. He regrettably brings Sorcerer and Thuan-Yen with him; he then presents his hefty emotional baggage to a woman who is evidently ill-equipped to carry it.

Although Jimmy and Martha do not reconnect until ten years after his war, when he finally sees her she is nonetheless portrayed as the insensitive, uncaring woman the narrator and Jimmy always thought her to be. O'Brien shows Martha cruelly rejecting Jimmy's love face-to-face, leaving the reader little opportunity to believe that Jimmy's paranoia is still controlling his perception of her behavior. Consistent with his previous prototype, O'Brien wastes little time in depicting Kathy as fickle and adulterous, just as John had always feared and imagined. From the moment he arrives in country and on through the beginning stages of their marriage, O'Brien maps out for the reader the numerous ways Kathy both antagonizes and disappoints her traumatized vet.

VII

As soon as he lands in the states, John is intent on seeing Kathy (still *madly* in love, despite her supposed cruelty) and stations himself outside her dormitory where he nervously awaits her arrival. As the hours pass with no signs of Kathy, though, John's thoughts quickly turn unsavory: "He compiled

mental lists of the various places she might be, the things she might be doing. Nothing wholesome came to mind" (41). One can easily guess that John once again envisions dark rooms and diaphragms. Nevertheless, John still considers Kathy to be his girlfriend, as he makes plans to have a little talk with her about true meaning of "steadfastness and love and fidelity and trust and all the related issues of sticking power" (41) – when and if she finally appears. John's mental notes reveal how he *really* feels about Kathy; although he loves her in his characteristically morbid, twisted way, he certainly thinks she abandoned and betrayed him in his most desperate moment of need, and that she possibly betrays him still.

However, when John actually sees Kathy walking towards her dorm, he loses some of his previous excitement and particularly his resolve to set her straight about a few things. Kathy seemed more confident than he remembered, "[moved] with a quicker, nimbler, more impulsive stride" that caused him to feel "uneasy" (42). John consequently cowers behind a bush when she passes and then makes a quick retreat to the sanctity of his hotel room. Later that night, John repeatedly awoke from a fitful sleep with extremely odd dreams: "Kathy shoveling rain off a sidewalk. Kathy waving at him from the wing of an airplane" (42). Yet, the strange dreams that began with Kathy soon evolved into far more frightening delusions:

> At one point, near dawn, he found himself curled up on the floor, wide awake, conversing with the dark. He was asking his father to please stop dying. Over and over he kept saying please, but his father wouldn't listen and wouldn't stop, he just kept dying. 'God I love you,' John said, and then he curled up tighter and stared into the dark and found himself at his father's funeral […] except the funeral was being conducted in bright sunlight along an irrigation ditch at Thuan Yen – mourners squatting on their heels and wailing and clawing at their eyes […] and John wanted to kill everybody who was weeping and everybody who wasn't […] he wanted to grab a hammer and scramble down into the ditch and kill his father for dying (42).

The insecurity John felt upon seeing Kathy essentially sparked his mind to recall and manifest every other moment of anxiety and fear that John ever experienced. Hence, the mere *appearance* of Kathy's disloyalty, the new and unidentifiable skip in her step, incites a terrible fusion of John's worst moments. John becomes so bitter about Kathy's expected rejection and supposed unfaithfulness that he immediately connects her with the biggest injustices he believes he has ever received. In this passage, Kathy, the person most readily on his mind, really steps in for John's father. He is truly begging *her* to love him, he finds himself in the ditch at Thuan Yen because

he loves *her* so much, and he wants to pound *her* to death for not loving him back. The "blame" torch has been officially passed.

The next day John tracks his target again until he surprisingly loses her – and his worst possible fears are confirmed when Kathy does not return to her dorm until the following morning. Yet, despite their obvious problems, John and Kathy eventually wed and occasionally pass for an ordinary and loving couple. At the outset of his political career, John appears to effectively manage his dark urges and transforms into a man who would supposedly make his father proud. But all of John's outward successes merely mask his inner demons. While making dinner in their apartment one night, John tries to express to Kathy, the person he loves the most, that he is not well, just as he tried to do in Vietnam: "'It's hard to explain […] but I don't feel real sometimes. Like I'm not *here* […] I'm afraid to look at myself. Literally. I can't even look at my own eyes in the mirror, not for long. I'm afraid I won't be there'" (73–74). Kathy's response to John's much hoped for frankness, however, is surprisingly cagey. She first tries to joke away John's declaration, hoping he will drop the subject. Instead, John insists that he needs to talk – but Kathy refuses to hear him:

> "Kath, listen, I need to *tell* you this. Something's wrong. I've *done* things."
> "It doesn't matter."
> "It does."
> She smiled brightly at a spot over his shoulder. "We could catch a movie."
> "Ugly things."
> "A good movie wouldn't hurt."
> "Christ, you're not –"
> [. . .] "We'll be fine. Totally fine."
> "Sure," he said.
> "Wait and see."
> "Sure."
> They were very quiet for a moment. He looked at her, she looked at him. Anything could've happened. (74)

As with Kathy's dismissive attitude during college, before My Lai, and at the cabin sink, the next series of events, "the other happenings," could have been altered by her willingness to help, to at least acknowledge John's trauma and to show the appropriate concern. Unfortunately, she wants nothing to do with John's turmoil. At long last, we realize that Kathy has routinely prevented John from speaking about and inevitably working through his war trauma, which the narrator says "was in the nature of their love" (74). After John's most earnest cry for help goes unanswered, he starts keeping things inside. Even during the public revelation of his My Lai involvement, when Kathy *finally* asks for details, John can no longer conjure them on cue. Her

unwillingness to fix John early on evidently caused his damage to be permanent – and fatal.

However, for the narrator to give readers sufficient proof of Kathy's painful rejections, to essentially validate *all* of John's long-held opinions and fears, he must finally give Kathy a minute voice (just as O'Brien ever so briefly gave Martha) that is seemingly independent of John's perception and biases. In certain "Hypotheses" chapters, during which Kathy flees the cabin by boat, gets lost, sets up camp, and, most importantly, reflects on her life with John, O'Brien seeks to definitively substantiate John's paranoia via Kathy's very own, allegedly unadulterated, thoughts. Critically very little has been written about these chapters as they pertain to Kathy's feelings. However, in his article "Missing in Action: Vietnam and Sadism in Tim O'Brien's *In the Lake of the Woods*," William Young has noted the strange soldier-like language that permeates the hypotheses sections, language that is far more attuned to John Wade than to Kathy. Young argues that words like "flanked" (to describe the geography) and "sharp bites" (to describe the wind) "evoke military, as well as sexual associations" (131+). Not only does the language sound like a soldier describing Vietnam's treacherous landscape, but, Young contends, phrases like "Kathy spanked her hands together" and "wrung [her jeans] out […] evoke both masochistic and sadistic scenarios," all of which prompts him to ultimately ask "Is John, and even O'Brien, replaying Vietnam nightmares by putting Kathy through her own Vietnam-like experience?" (131+).

Young's theory opens up a very interesting possibility and begs another question: why would John, and even O'Brien, want Kathy to endure her own Vietnam? I think the answer has now become obvious: because they want to punish her for not understanding or caring about their trauma. But first, the narrator must make Kathy a person worthy of such punishment, and that brings us to one other out of place detail that defines the hypotheses chapters: Kathy's horrendously bad attitude. In his previously mentioned book, *A Trauma Artist, Tim O'Brien and the Fiction of Vietnam*, Mark Heberle referred to Kathy's chapters – the ones from her perspective – as "the most conventionally realistic and coherent chapters in the novel," because, he argues, John Wade discovered that Kathy was secretly pleased with the end of his political career (248). The presumption, then, is that Kathy's seething rage and deliberate escape is a believable response to John's deceit. However, Heberle neglects to notice that the Kathy we witness lost on the lake has very little to do with the Kathy we met in the days leading up to her disappearance. Allegedly lost in rough terrain with no idea how to proceed, O'Brien presents a woman who is not nearly as much in fear for her life as she is just sick and tired of her whiny husband. Not once does Kathy reflect on John's double-traumas: the passing of his father and the unmatched horror of

Vietnam. Instead, she mulls over John's political career, briefly ponders her adulterous affair, and subsequently ruminates about all the things in their marriage that have, in short, pissed her off. She fantasizes about finally releasing the bitterness she has held in for so many years in the form of a tirade:

> [The political career] was finished now and she could confess to how much she always hated it. The polls and the cameras and the crowds. Real hate, she'd say. She hated the speeches and petty conspiracies and fake smiles and greedy old pols with their Velcro votes and greasy hands. She hated the stink of cigarettes and betrayal. There were times, she'd tell him, when the hating made her stomach hurt; it was like a rock inside her, a huge heavy rock, and she'd *tell* him that. […] Hate, she'd say. Deep, thick, honest hate. She would present a long, detailed list of the things she hated […] (113).

Kathy does not display the understanding feelings of hurt or disappointment, which would be consistent with her character in the first chapter, but fickleness and spite, which align her with the Kathy in John's tortured and imaginary world. When she imagines having this long-awaited talk with John, she clearly poises herself for an all-out attack, a confrontation that would simply buttress John's assumptions of her "true" feelings. She does not yearn to take John into her arms and console him (as she did at the lake), but to corner him and "recite a list of all the things she resented […] the manipulation and secrecy and self-pity and paranoia. Tell him it had to end" (116). Though one cannot begrudge Kathy for wanting John to "snap out" of his prolonged sickness, she withholds the customary love and support (which she previously offered) that would help jumpstart that process; in their place, she gives John a litany of his faults and frightening ultimatums. The narrator essentially extinguishes the supportive, saddened wife who appeared in the first chapter and breathes life into the uncaring and unfaithful Kathy of John's twisted imagination.

Furthermore, even though Kathy becomes fearful at the prospect of becoming lost in the expansive, winding lake, she strangely takes the time to delight in the fact that her lengthy excursion would make John realize that "he was in jeopardy of losing something more than a lost election" (166). Consistent with her verbal onslaught above, she dreams of threatening John into some sort of weakened submission: "You could get lost in all sorts of ways – ways he'd never considered – and she'd *tell* him that" (166). Though Kathy's fright noticeably grows in each boat/hypothesis chapter, she nonetheless relaxes at the mere knowledge that her current, stressful state has *finally* freed her of John's numerous problems. When she pictured the "sadness under the flat gray surface of [John's] eyes," Kathy felt neither compassion

nor empathy, not even a twinge of guilt, but "good" – downright glad to be away from his thousand-meter stare (167). If the hypotheses chapters are to be believed, John's once loving wife effectively chooses death by starvation over dealing with his baggage. Evidence of her earlier sincerity has been disposed of along with her "hypothetically" dead body.

VIII

Nonetheless, all of Kathy's excruciating condemnations (both "real" and imagined) ironically make John more eager and desperate for her love. Accordingly, by the novel's end, readers and critics are encouraged to conclude that John is sad rather than sinister. Of course, they also must gloss over the fact that John's uniquely heartbreaking love prompted his most disturbing impulses: to dismember his wife, to bathe in her blood, to feed off her insides (71). When John flees the cabin in a boat (supposedly looking for the wife he submerged under the boat dock days ago) and eventually collapses on one of the lake's many small, uninhabited isles, one assumes that finally, with Kathy long since dead, John will accept responsibility for *something* and no longer blame his deceased wife for *everything*. Yet, even in Kathy's demise, John still tells the reader *she* brought him to this horrible impasse. Although he calls Kathy his "love," "life," and "the girl of his dreams," (285), and even though he reminisces sweetly about how she routinely chased him around their apartment with a squirt gun, he still refers to her as "the purpose of all deceit" (285). If each lie has brought John to this final resting place, and if Kathy is the reason behind "all" of his lies, then one can only infer that Kathy forced John to do all of the "bad things" he had done upon meeting her, a span of time that would encompass My Lai, the cover-up, his breakdown, and her murder.

Just in case the reader is tempted to believe that O'Brien (the author) simply relays John Wade's thoughts *without* endorsing them, we are presented with other characters who join John in the blame game, and thus give the reader permission to forget about Kathy and her outcome and to focus on John instead. First, the man who rents the cabin to John, Claude Rasmussen, validates John's "innocence" by way of a heartfelt letter. Even though he suspects John murdered Kathy, he excuses John of any wrongdoing and sympathizes with his plight as an eternal victim of circumstance:

> Whether you're nuts or not, I don't know, […] but I can honestly say that I don't blame you for nothing. Understand me? Not for *nothing*. The choices funnel down and you go where the funnel goes. No matter what, you were in for a lynching. People make assumptions and pretty soon assumptions turn into fact and there's not a damn thing you can do about it. Anyhow, I've got this theory.

> […] Your wife got herself lost. The end. Period. Nothing else. That's all anybody knows and the rest is Bullshit. Am I right? (279).

Finally, the investigator who narrates the numerous hypotheses chapters chimes in as the most authoritative voice to declare John's blamelessness in his most egregious sin. The fellow war veteran ceases to investigate the victim's "disappearance" in favor of pondering the "love" and torment of her number one murder suspect:

> Is it possible that even to John Wade everything was the purest puzzle? That one day he woke up to find his wife missing, and missing forever, and that all else was unknown? That the clues led nowhere? That explanations were beyond him? Sorrow, it seems to me, may be the true absolute. John grieved for Kathy. She was his world. *They could have been so happy together*. He loved her and she was gone and he could not bear the horror (emphasis added 302).

O'Brien's voice resonates loudest in this passage. The interviews in which he expressed the same sentiments simply reinforced the overall message he wanted readers to take away from his novel. Again, we are reminded of the possibility of a different outcome, of all the "ifs" and "maybes" that never came to fruition and consequently caused all of John's colossally "bad" choices. *If* Kathy had simply loved and supported him, sympathized with his trauma, *then* "they could have been so happy together" – as could have Jimmy and Martha, and, of course, as could have O'Brien and Kate.

Even in the book's last pages, the supposedly objective investigator implies that John Wade cannot help himself. He murdered his wife, but the reader should not hold it against him. Consistent with O'Brien and Rat Kiley in *Things*, the investigator has moved closer to the memory of John Wade by rejecting the woman who tormented him.

Like her counterpart, Martha, Kathy has been subtly vilified and softly pushed aside; O'Brien performs both tricks so effectively, so cunningly, that the reader often does not notice him behind the curtain, pulling the necessary strings with a wink and a smile. In a piece for *Lighthouse Writers* entitled, "Interview with Tim O'Brien – From Life to Fiction," Karen Rosica asked O'Brien if he ever encountered difficulty when writing from a woman's viewpoint. His answer was characteristic O'Brien:

> No, easy as heck. You don't have to commit murder to write about murder, and you don't have to be a woman to write about being a woman. Flaubert proved it. Same for women – you don't have to be a man to write about men. That's probably why I love writing novels, is I can enter into other skins and other ways of looking at the world.

Considering that O'Brien has one consistent woman who reappears in the form of various assumed identities (Kate, Martha, Kathy, the "old woman" at the reading, Curt Lemon's "dumb cooze" of a sister), one has to concede that he probably finds little trouble in recopying and renaming "the insensitive woman." Moreover, he has mastered the art of using her to align the reader with the man who loathes her, the unfortunate Vietnam vet who, due to *her* pitilessness, is presented as doubly victimized.

In all these respects, new questions must be asked of Vietnam War writers, particularly O'Brien, who writes male characters deserving of our sincerest sympathy at the expense of female characters apparently worthy of our deepest scorn. Despite O'Brien's best attempts to label *Lake* as a "love story," romance fans will be gravely disappointed, for his novel ends *not* with the sexy, steamy union of two long lost lovers, but with a horrendous spousal homicide. Mystery fans will have to look elsewhere also, as the book offers no traditional mystery of any kind (except, perhaps, philosophical ones concerning man and war, although they – along with everything else – become lost among the details of John's tormented life). In actuality, Kathy's character did not disappear; she was dead in the water long before John put her there, for she is but a mere rewrite. And, most disturbing of all, Kathy's death is not her own. Not only is the grisly reality of her murder cloaked in a magical "hypotheses" wonderland, but it is used just to reinforce the truly tragic, beleaguered, heartbreaking life of her murderer. To really *love* and sympathize with the war veteran in Tim O'Brien's novels, the reader must essentially discard and disavow the woman in the vet's life – which, as we have seen, seems to be a reappearing (and largely unchallenged) theme.

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FAMILY AND MATERNITY PERCEIVED AND PICTURED BY A MIGRANT ARTIST: PAINTINGS OF CONSTANTINE ANDREOU

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ABSTRACT. The representation of the female has been common practice in art since prehistoric times to the present. There are several characteristics attributed to the female, who remains eminent in various cultures through time. The maternal aspect of women, along with the institution of the family, occupies a major part of these representations. In order to interpret the theoretical background of these artworks, we, frequently, turn towards social sciences, that provide the necessary knowledge for their understanding. It is, therefore, evident that the representation of maternity as well as that of the family constitutes a complex issue that demands an interdisciplinary approach, mainly in a feminist context. This paper analyses that bidirectional approach from a male perspective, in paintings of a Greek artist, Constantine Andreou, who lived most of his life in France, where he became influenced by the artistic movements of the 20th century. His work is presented, mainly from an art-historical aspect, in chronological order, with the aim to portray his artistic evolution, and includes paintings of mothers, mothers with children and families, beginning with one of his premature works, the portrait of his mother. Within a global visual arts community, we will discern that the artist sought to express his own subjectivity, his own psyche which, in spite of his particularity, has acted as a code for deciphering the positions and concepts of the complexity of contemporary world. We will prove that the representation of the mother, aside from a means of expression for artists, also functions as a means of communication, aimed at raising the public's awareness about social and political issues. Finally, we will deduct that the notion of motherhood is related to his diasporic identity, formed by the memories of his mother land.

Keywords: Andreou; gender studies; psychology; maternity; art; family; diaspora

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Introduction: Representations of Maternity in Art

The representation of maternity in visual arts has an intertemporal and ecumenical character, and since prehistoric times to this day there has been an immense variety and innumerable versions thereof (Betterton, 2006). Maternity's ecumenical dimension (Simonton, 2011) is marked by the fact that it is related to unchanging, or very slowly changing, elements, which allow us to consider them as stable, due to the relatively stable subjective human situation in terms of anatomy and biology, whereas it is always experienced in specific changing and varying conditions, clad with the corresponding ideology. Due to the position she *de facto* holds, for better or for worse, in the family with regard to giving birth to and raising the children, the mother is a carrier of ideology, given that she reproduces within the family nucleus the values of the social system (Castilla del Pino, 1973).

Furthermore, representation of the mother in art is related to its psychological meaning as well as to the artist's social determinations (Jennings & Minde, 1996), which affect not only the material and the style, but also the ideological patterns used by him/her. Various psychoanalytic approaches of artwork attempting to interpret the artist's unconscious – in particular in works of Futurist, avant-garde and also conceptual as well as feminist artists (Heath, 2013; Meskimmon, 2007) – have asserted the relevance of aesthetic experience and creation with the relationship to the mother, which has been established not only as the archetype of relationships with people, but also as the archetype of the first aesthetic experience (Chernick & Klein, 2011). It has been argued that the idiom, the particular manner in which a mother takes care of the baby and the experience of such handling by the child, constitutes the first human aesthetic which, when further extended, looks like the early sense of unity with the mother (Spitz, 1985). Besides, all the more recent correlations between psychoanalytical data and art are based on the explicit or implicit assumption of the ability of adults to retrogress – while remaining adults – to the mental situation of the first experiences, which are reactivated and re-experienced as such throughout the course of an individual's life, so as to operate in a layered model of mental significance (Kristeva, 1995), directly linked to the so-called visual mechanism through which, even when the representation of the image changes, the representation of the feeling cladding it remains unaltered. Thus, the deferred experience helps understand the artwork.

Julia Kristeva, pioneer semiologist and psychoanalyst, reduces the entire artistic creation to the relationship with the mother, which she qualifies as the semiotic chora, coming into action in every artwork, even where the latter does not depict maternity. Irrespective of the form of the final product, the mother's body is what is preserved and restored (Fuller, 1988). Nevertheless,

researchers who themselves refer to psychology in order to interpret artwork, readily admit that, no matter how detailed such an interpretation may be, it remains incomplete if it does not also take into account other cultural factors (Spitz, 1985), which, according to Yung's followers, include the group, the race, the people, the historical context, the actual circumstances, etc. (Newman, 1974a). Following an analysis of maternity, Chodorow (1978) states that traits identified in the mother/child relationship are potentially present in the personality of the mothers taking care of the children and are expected in the children due to the care they receive from their mothers, but their manifestation depends on the specific organization of the family and the institution of maternity in every society.

Depictions of the mother in art usually revolve around two main axes, although this does certainly not mean that there exist clear boundaries between them. On one hand, representations of the concept of maternity and, on the other hand, depictions of specific persons, portraits, namely of the artist's mother or his wife with his child, which are invested with mental meanings and ideologically charged, not only by the artists but also by society in whose context artists create their works (Buller, 2012).

The mother/child relationship emerges out of the artist's feelings, it is elevated to a symbolic pedestal, and it is almost always charged with positive attributes, although the influence of modernistic movements has led artists away from visual reality turning them towards the more direct recording of feelings and the liberation of the work's mental dimension. Indeed, the figure of the artist's mother is dominant in works having an autobiographical background (Davis, 2011). However, many works, going beyond the personal, individual, and material element, refer, at a second level, to human existence, human condition, and mortality (Kouria, 2009).

Morphological Representations of Maternity in Constantine Andreou's Paintings

Constantine Andreou, sculptor, painter, engraver, stage designer, model maker, an artist with a plethora of interests, was born on March 24, 1917, in Sao Paolo, Brazil, one of the seven children of Kimon and Athena, Greeks of the diaspora in Brazil. He himself migrated, as a scholar of the French State, in Paris in 1945 (Mortaki, 2014).

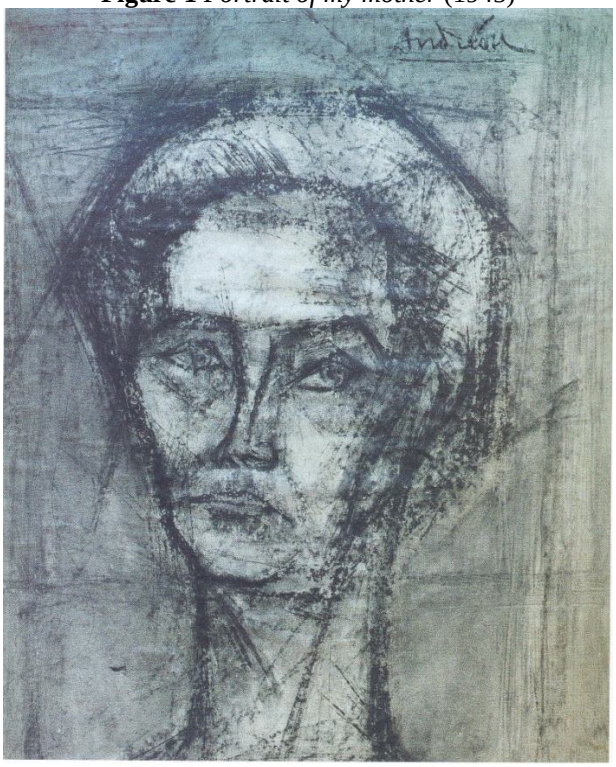
In the post-war Paris the disorder and instability caused by the wars resulted in the appearance of a plurality of artistic movements that influenced the progressive advancement of Art. In the French capital, Andreou realized that he lived in a different world and that his former knowledge was not related to reality (Spiteris, 1979). Inside this different artistic atmosphere of Paris, armed with great equanimity, maturity, determination, persistence and

naturally his talent and despite the adverse living conditions, Andreou commenced his personal journey in order to achieve his own plastic language by experiencing every form of expression. In the provocative atmosphere of Paris he will manage to succeed and to assert himself in the international artistic field (Kazazi, 1992). The formation of his artistic identity emerged from the contribution and the interaction of factors that were eminent in the country of origin, on one side, and the dominant conditions in the host country, on the other side (Hirschon, 2004).

The former explain the appearance of the theme of maternity and family throughout his long artistic career (Mortaki, 2014). Like maternity, family is an institution appearing in varying forms in all societies and at all times. Its universality consists in the fact that a stable network of relationships among socially determined roles exists in all societies: the husband/father, the wife/mother and the (their) child (Baldock et al, 2012). A triad of persons/roles that constitutes (at least as part of mainstream sociology) the basis of the nucleus of any family model, a triad by which we understand the term family/nucleus and which is characterized by universality (Mousourou, 1993).

Over the course of the last decades, the representation and theorization of the subject of maternity has become a particularly rich area of interdisciplinary inquiry, mainly in a feminist context. A range of historical and contemporary artistic explorations of motherhood have been examined, as images of maternity pervade the history of Western art, in order to theorize its notion and examine its implications within and outside the nucleus of the family (Heath, 2013). We shall approach this matter in an art-historical way from the perspective of a male artist. Through the description of his paintings referring to his mother, the relationship between mother and child, as well as the issue of maternity within the family, we shall identify the complexities and diversities of motherhood experiences, as perceived by a man. At the same time, as the artworks are presented in a chronological order, we will also observe the evolution of Andreou's artistic idiom, by detecting the influences from his current artistic movements. Moreover, we will observe that the issue of motherhood is eminent throughout his artistic creation, as it has psychological and personal correlations, as explained in the introductory chapter of this paper.

Figure 1 *Portrait of my mother* (1945)



Portrait of my mother (1945) is one of Andreou's first paintings. The artist's mother is a given subject, even if not mentioned in the work's title, perhaps because the mother archetype is, according to Jung, dominant in the creative individual. As pointed out by Newmann (1974a), in all specific cases where this subject has been investigated, the artists' dedication to their mothers was revealed, who idealized them, thereby reinforcing their egoism, a mentality maintained throughout their life (Chodorow, 1978).

The figure of Andreou's mother is stylistically and, in particular, chromatically different from other of his works of the same period, probably due to the particular psychological effect she had on the artist. Her bust emerges imposing from a flat, neutral, almost metaphysical, background, where cold and dark hues are prevalent, with a particular emphasis on cold green, green grey, passive black, through which the portrait is rendered. Dark black brushstrokes, vertical and cyclical, are used to architecturally structure her facial features, faithfully, clearly and realistically outlining her contour, thus demonstrating the artist's passion for the substantial. Her forehead is the main source of light, which is dispersed into her neat hairdo thus creating a natural halo reminiscent of the figure of the Virgin Mary. She is standing

erect with a tendency to disembodiment. The manifest respect for her facial features and her idiosyncrasy and the relief of her emaciated face together with the strong contrast between light and dark transform her into a spiritualistic vision. The slanting black lines at the eyes and eyebrows and the vertical lines at the nose, which give her the expression of a mask, allow us to characterize her as serious, or even aggressive, but, under no circumstances, as tender. Her appearance is strict, serious, rugged, cold, self-confident, and monumental, as may be deduced from her non-smiling lips, her authoritative jaw, her pensive look, and it transmits the constant concern of a mother who is never caught off-guard. She appears to have transformed her pain into anger, but with gentleness and spirituality, which are manifested in the verticality of the lines, the natural luminosity of her face, and the elongation of her neck. She appears to be earthly and dark and her age is indeterminate, projecting to the beholder, with an extraordinary directness, an almost "sculptural" plasticity. Her look is tired and extrovert, her face is severe and ascetic, and they both refer to the accumulated tiredness of a hard life spent on giving.

This is an austere and unadorned figure, bare of any embellishment whatsoever, undoubtedly showing that this is a "saintly" woman, as almost all painters characteristically depict their mothers in such portraits. She is severe and respectable, like the Virgin Mary or the holy Mother (Heath, 2013). Light is essentially emitted from the mother's face and it is transformed, just like Rembrandt's divine light, into a realistic experience of radiating energy into a dark word, so that the mother's physical presence acquires a visionary and metaphysical character (Arnheim, 2004). She is not elevated or idealized, but natural and thoughtful, the figure has been worked upon with a naturalistic classical-like purity and clarity, as well as with heavy and dark colors, corresponding to the mental climate of the work. The artist deals with the subject in a simple manner, he brings out the facial features through rough realism emphasizing the spiritual character of the mother figure, which refers to Jung's appreciation about the dimension of the Virgin Sophia taken up by the mother archetype as divine anima in artists (Newmann, 1974b).

The work is not dated but, in our opinion, it should be dated around the first years of the artist's life in Paris, when the memories of war, occupation and the family's difficult financial situation, the struggle of the parents for the survival of the family and the well-being of the children, are still raw. Thus, Andreou's mother is the archetypal Greek mother, a symbol of the hardships that humanity had to face due to the irrational passions of the wars and the barbarity of the conquerors (Lambraki-Plaka, 2009).

Figure 2 *Maternity* (1956)



The subject of the painting includes a mother and her son, the most common basic pair, in their natural space, the home, in a room set against the external light. The space is dull, geometric, enigmatic, dense, devoid of any gaps and breaths, reminiscent at the same time of archaic symbols of maternity, home, drapes, and child. Dark black colors are predominant providing the work with a dramatic content. Darkness spreads over the surface of the painting which is illuminated by the colors of the figures and the limited interferences of warm colors, especially on one drape, such as red, ochre, orange, and blue, which actively break apart the dark depth, energize the whole, and enrich the painted surface with new more symbolic extensions. The free rectilinear oblique and vertical geometric themes highlight the internal architecture of the picture thus achieving greater oversight and reduction to the substantial, increased security, internal completeness, and an abstract mood.

Mother and child co-exist in harmony in the same physical and mental space and are delimited within such space. The mother's figure is dominant alongside the painting's main axis, and it is an enigmatic figure that, although not embracing her child, is psychologically turned towards it. The child has no contact with the mother's body, in the sense that the drape with its gloomy black color interferes between them, it looks like foreign, and it might have been absent without the mother's figure being considerably affected from such absence. Their figures are formed through shapes of different colors, they are

perceivable, geometrically solid, whereas the rectilinear associations and the contrasts of colors stress the structural arrangement of the construction, and one can perceive an effort to give the structure of a mental choc. Specifically, the mother, although she is not a young mother, does exactly what she can do because of her nature: she is turned towards her child and she determines herself through her relationship with the child. This is suggested by the curvature of her face and, in general, by her more actively oriented towards the child "aura." Her face bears an expression of serene satisfaction reinforced by the overall stance of her body. She calmly crosses her two hands; a sense of indolence and somnolence is suggested by her relaxed members, as if she were carefree and assured about her child.

On the other hand, the son is no longer at a toddler's tender age, his features have taken shape and are intense, the color red being predominant in the largest part of his face and, with his full lips, he is reminiscent of a figure of the artist's place of birth and childhood. He only directs his glance to his mother through half-closed eyes and has strong features, he is independent, distances himself from his mother, and is comfortable heading outside to the world. This is how the mental dimension of the mother/child relationship is rendered: through shapes and colors of black, yellow, blue, pink, purple, red, the artist's feelings and experiences take shape and are recorded thus leading to dream and fantasy.

The dreamlike character is due to the fact that the figures, although solid, are made with colors, the mother's head is turned towards the child's face, and, while the handling of the colors by the artist gives off a warm quality, this is undermined by the mother's expressionless face staring into the void, alienated and estranged from both the child and herself. Thus, the turn towards the child may be interpreted as an expression of possessiveness rather than motherly tenderness. This impression is also reinforced by the child's posture, stance and expression, his figure appearing to be annihilated, since a part thereof is covered by the heavy drape, and whose calm and melancholic look directly projects to the beholder something from his concern, his vague sadness, or even his fear.

This work by Andreou represents the artist's shift from painting rendering visual reality to painting of abstract formulation. In the works he created around 1956 (*Landscape* 1953, *Woman indoors* 1956, *Corner in the studio* 1957, *Landscape with bulls* 1958) one can still identify the basic features of older directions, the structural organization and the forming of geometrical and organic themes, the emphasis on energetic movement, and the internal color. His course would be completed after 1960, when his painting would stand out not only because of the absolute mastering of abstract types but also because of his purely personal voice. We have here an expressionistic version of maternity whose main characteristics are deformation, flatness,

and the color infringement of contours, the difference being that in this case figures are not merged but delimited. At the same time, one can see an expressionist-like rendering of the decorativeness of the space surrounding the figures and the architectonic elements of the space. The whole mental climate suggests nostalgic daydreaming or some unfulfilled need to search for what is different.

Figure 3 *Family* (1968)

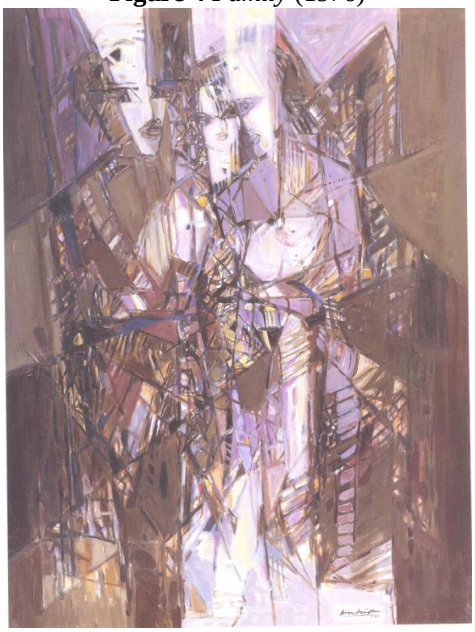


On the scenery frame of the canvas' declaratory space, the painter displays an array of tiny figures divided into social groups. The closed triangular shape encompasses the family, not only in its nuclear but also in its multifaceted form. In the foreground, with an austere expressionist rendering and Fauvist resonances, we can see the three nuclear members of the family (Mousourou, 1993), the father higher up with his face covered by a mask, the mother whose dimensions are wider, and the child with slightly brighter colors, and in the background, in the same triangle, two figures on the right and four figures on the left, equally expressionistic. Aside from the triangular space, we can see a group of small figures on the left and four figures on the right in a boat sailing in dark calm waters, although isolated by a continuous black line, forced to remain immobile without any possibility of escape. Complementary illustrative elements provide gravity as to the conceptual contents. Some figures are visible, while others are hidden in the dark, only illuminated by the colors to be found in some parts, the emphasis being on the limited red and the light blue that break through the dark depth thus activating the whole and enriching the entire painting surface with new more symbolic representations.

However, the primary role is played by the dark black colors providing the work with dramatic contents, giving the beholder the strong impression

of forms and objects that emerge from a state of non-existence where they may return. The artist depicts life as an occurrence of appearance and disappearance (Arnheim, 2004). The absence of any portraitistic features and the liberties taken by the artist in rendering body parts are Fauvism resonances. Highly elliptic features, faces devoid of features, and forms partially depicted suggest that the painter does not care about the immediately recognizable naturalistic description, but focuses his attention on reality, the hardships, the peoples' efforts to gather together, to denounce, and to face together the problems and the risks threatening them.

Figure 4 *Family* (1976)



A space of dispersion and interpenetration, where forms and shapes blend together and the limits separating them disappear. The three bodies have lost their integrity, they disappear in the shapes formed by the lines, and they are limited to the faces (Fuller, 1988). Using the technique of free line, the artist stresses the elements he considers important and draws the beholder's attention to them. The family's psychosomatic unity is suggested by the drawing organization, but mostly by the color organization, by the identical bright and dark shades on the faces, as well by the closeness of both the figures and the heads, where mother and daughter touch one another at almost the same height. Decorativeness is widespread throughout the work. This is an orderly whole, worked in a masterly manner, animated by a gentle and a balanced idealistic mood that elevates the relationship among these three persons above the everyday intimacy to a transcendental sphere. The painter

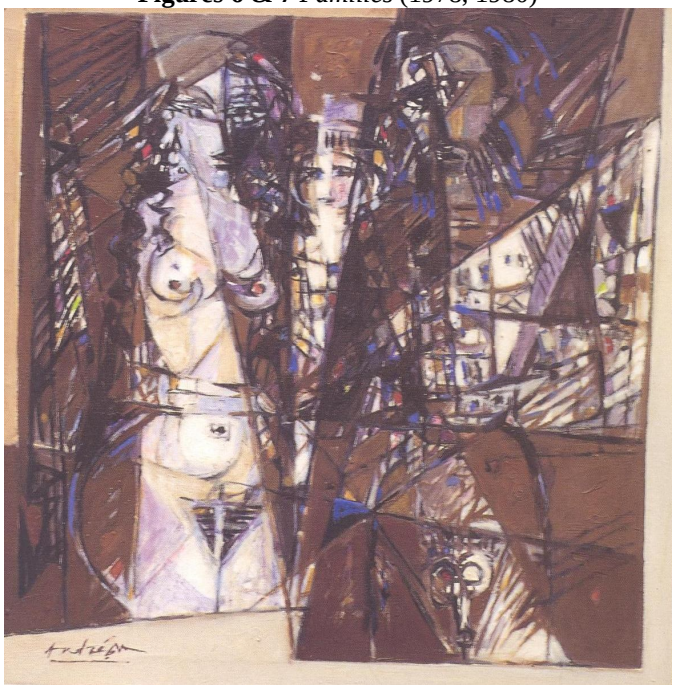
is using the game of light and shade to place his physiognomies in his own space, to penetrate deeply within them, and to render in a manner as impressive as possible everything that a human face may contain.

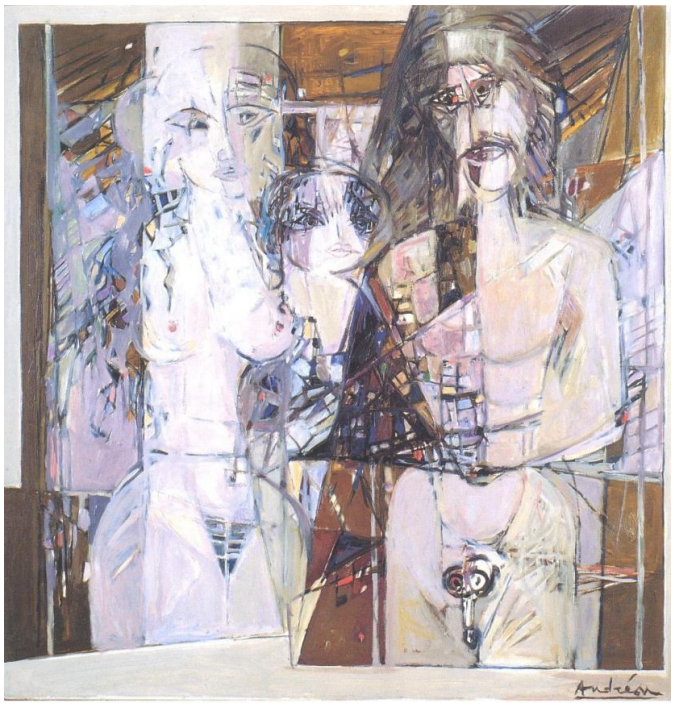
Figure 5 *Maternity* (1978)



In this work, the figure of the mother is dominant in the foreground, outlined almost throughout the width of the painting, naked and lying, with a dynamic combination of curves and broken lines. The white light, entering from various directions, dissolves her figure, except for the clearly distinguishable face, with emphasis on her eye and breast, in a particularly sensual manner. On the left, in her arms, the baby is feeding from her voluptuous and provocative breast, a symbol of Cybele's and Isis' fertility, while her head is united with that of an older figure, who, in a richly ornamented outfit, embraces the entire composition, as if offering care and protection. It is clear here that the mother relives, through her own maternity, the union with her own mother, and Andreou gives us a contemporary and subjective version of the Holy Family, with the figures of the Holy Infant, the Virgin Mary, and her mother, Saint Anna, different but also identical (Lambraki-Plaka, 1996). The figures, united at a fixed point, restore unity in a closed, ambiguous, and dreamlike composition due to the alternation of light and darkness, the iridescence of colors, the scattered tesserae representing the eyes and mostly the overwhelming light that disembodies the work seeking to place it in a symbolic sphere as part of an idealistic mood purified by infantile innocence (Kouria, 1985b).

Figures 6 & 7 *Families* (1978, 1980)





In these works, in a subject laden with ideological overtones, the artist dares to freely express, without inhibitions and *petit-bourgeois* conventions, his personal sensuality regarding the naked body. The two naked bodies (a man's and a woman's), with emphasis on the reproductive organs and the woman's voluptuous bosom, refer to fertility, while at the same time the representation acquires a essence transcending time, being reduced to the symbolic level, symbolizing birth and creation. Nakedness is revealed, and at the same time purified, by the white light, a symbol of purity which inundates the figures. It is further idealized by the oblique axes that frame the figures, by the color decorative focal points, and the chiaroscuro in the handling of color together with the austere frontal view of the figures and their drawing, reminiscent of Byzantine painting, but mostly, the figures of the children, upon which the entire ideological significance that the artist is seeking to confer to the painting is focused. The children, bearing an expression which is no longer infantile, project to the outer world, through a direct gaze, their own psyche and concerns. Their relationship with the parents is conceptualized by bodily contact, through which the artist, using the dynamics of style and brushstroke, is seeking to transmit the vibration and the emotion existing among them, asking from us to elicit his own truth, something out of his particular psyche and idiosyncrasy.

Figure 8 *Portrait of a mother with a child* (1979)



In this work by Andreou, the mother's figure occupies almost the entire painting and dominates through the color splendor of the earthy ochre. The infant child is drawn within the mother's body, it appears to be safely sitting in her lap, and, while its face is touching her, it is not turned towards her, in the manner the mother/child relationship is usually represented by painters. The child's physiognomy, with strong features and the complete contour of the face, suggests a figure originating from the artist's country of birth. However, what is most impressive is its early maturity, the lack of any child-like features in its expression, which is being characterized by a thoughtfulness illustrating its psyche and its anxiety (Kouria, 1985a).

The mother dominates on account of her size, she is not coquettish, and she embraces her child as if she wishes to protect and to encourage it to grow up. The framing of the infant by the dark black axis of the drape, on the one side, and the large figure of his mother, on the other, gives the impression that the child is in a protected space of intimacy and safety, a strong yet ambiguous bond (Liss, 2009), freeing it from any fears and anxieties, and at the same time reinforces the fusion of mother and child in the same space. The dark black brushstrokes surrounding the mother and shaping, albeit elliptically, her portrait, on the one hand, highlight her luminosity, through the contrast with the ochre, and, on the other hand, appear to be threatening it, through the elliptical lack of clarity of the contours. The black angular shapes that correspond to the orbits of her eyes, the lines of the nose in association with the contours of the figures, and the sudden alteration with the ochre, give her an uncanny shine. Her face is glacially expressionless, severe but not grim and, like the Great Goddess – Mother, she gazes straight ahead, majestic and devoid of emotions, monumentally embodying nature's indifference towards anything depending on it (Newmann, 1974b).

Mother and child are in close bodily contact and they gaze at the world with their large open eyes, asking it questions but not expecting any answers. The artist is preoccupied by the possibility of transferring the internal to the external, the soul to the body. The beholder ignores what attracts the mother's attention and the work's atmosphere becomes enigmatic.

In *Portrait of a mother with a child*, Andreou, freer, idealizes not persons or social positions but the status and the relationship of maternity itself in an ideal type, that of virginal, spiritual maternity. The mother-child composition takes up an abstract archetypal character. The manner in which the mother holds the daughter demonstrates protection rather tenderness. Her seriousness is also transfused to the face of the daughter who appears to have started understanding her role, to emulate the mother and to become adequately prepared for her own life as a mother (Rubin Suleiman, 1986). Although mother and daughter do not look at each other, are not attentive to one another, the girl has, as asserted by contemporary psychoanalysis, internalized forever the

mother's archetype. The work is an austere figurative theme which includes graphism, abstractionism in addition to the evocativeness, the transparency and the clarity that distinguish it.

Figure 9 *Family* (1979)



In *Family* (1979), Andreou renounces the traditional concept of form proclaimed by Kandinsky (Deligiannis, 1989) and produces a work where space and figures, together with graphism and the alternation of colors, constitute a single whole. The only exceptions are the heads of the members of the nuclear family (mother, father, child), which, although delimited, are subjected to the color grid of the composition. The two thick lines on the sides, with dark blue color, delimit the painting and transfer its action to the centre, where horizontal, vertical, oblique, semi-circular blue and black brushstrokes organize the planes with numerous color alternations – light blue, yellow, brown, pink, purple, orange, multi-colored decorative dots and small luminous color sources seem to be revealing some kind of mystery through the overall sensation of the figures' immobility. With regard to the father's figure, the absence of any delimitation and facial features makes it more distant, and highlights his leading role in the family, enhanced by the golden color that confers hierarchical austerity and Byzantine sanctity.

Figure 10 *Brazilian family* (1994)



The spectacular Brazil of his childhood memories is revived through Andreou's *Brazilian family* and the painting is characterized by the melancholic cultural environment of his country of birth. The space is structured through lines and vertical, oblique and cyclical planes, rhythmic color alternations, where colors are generated one after the other and cover through their tones the background of the painting, while conferring it an intense musicality by transforming the line into points and musical notation.

The painting's theme develops gradually through the consecutive color musical metastases, so as to cover the entire plane of the painting and progressively reveal its object, starting with the shaped face of the child, and higher above, in a totally abstractionist, surrealistic and suggestive manner, the faces of its parents, emphasizing on the eye. The expressionist spirit is prevalent as a result of vital joy and strength. The flow of colors and sensations, like a flame rising up, demonstrates the creator's craving, the bond with the flow of life itself. Art in its entirety is an arcane ritual symbolizing, or revealing through symbols, the personal experience of a natural but at the same time transcendental world (Lydakis, 1987). This is a highly musical work, with rich color transformations in mostly dark colors, such as black, brown, and blue, contrasting blue and red, where each color produces its own sound, and where one needs to listen to them, sense their pulsations, to be able to feel the music of painting (Deligiannis, 1989).

Figure 11 *Maternity* (1997a)



Andreou aligns in the same painting two mothers, one next to the other, holding in their arms their two small children, in such a manner that their bodies are convoluted around those of the children as if trying to protect them from anything that might threaten their existence. The children's bodies are almost merged into those of the mothers, in the youngest the mother's naked breast penetrating its body, experiencing the archetype of the almighty magic woman, on whom they are totally dependent (Newmann, 1974a). This highlights the warmth of the tender motherly embrace, recalling that the child's need for the mother is absolute, while the mother's need for the child is relative (Chodorow, 1978).

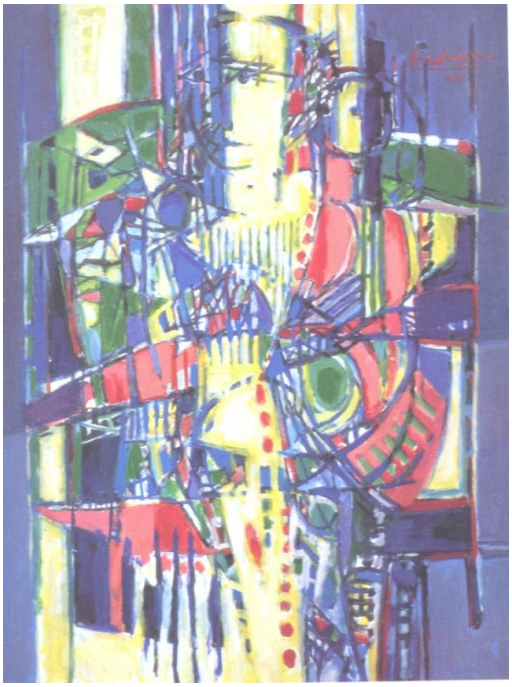
Despite the abstractionist style of the composition, the mothers' faces are shaped through the small luminous and shady lines and they are reminiscent of visual forms in Byzantine art, by reference to the Byzantine Virgin Mary, a fact also accentuated by both the halo surrounding one mother's head and the supernatural light invading the painting from above and illuminating the mothers' and the children's faces, conferring them a lyrical mood.

The rectilinear, triangular and austere geometrical themes of the drapes, reminiscent of archetypal maternity symbols, further stress the depth of the painting and highlight the subject. On the other hand, the crossed oblique

axes, the angular and cyclical contours, the association of colors in dark ascetic tones of black and brown form the figures, whereas the gaps remaining between them look like luminous color spots on white, yellow, blue, very little red, and they create strange luminous paths that traverse the painting (Skaltsa, 1990), and they highlight through the color contrasts the architectural arrangement of the construction.

In this modern and free composition, Andreou includes morphological elements of tradition, allowing it to express the mental content of the mother/child relationship. He attempts a more direct and more spontaneous expression of the emotions emerging from the representation of the mother, he adopts surrealistic and expressionistic idioms, thereby inevitably distancing himself from the reference to the Virgin Mary, without however fully avoiding to create a spiritual atmosphere with the corresponding symbolic charge. The certainty dictated by the stance and the widely open eyes of the mothers suggests a steady internal strength or perhaps their own threatening disposition against anything that might threaten their children. They are united, strong, and determined to raise and protect their children and therefore their figures become a picture of life.

Figure 12 *Maternity* (1997b)



This painting depicts another reality of the artist's creation, a composition of maternity that is lighter with happier, spring, colors, whose characteristics

include a full space, without any gaps, figuration of volumes through color surfaces and shaping of figures, homogeneity of the materiality of space and figures, architecturalization of composition, elimination of the chiaroscuro, and abstractionism of its details. The artist uses vivid and strong colors that reflect his Parisian influences screened through the filter of his Greek temperament, together with strong autobiographical elements. Blue, black, red, green, pink, and yellow colors intertwine, collaborate, repel one another, move, and carry the beholder away in their course, having the magic of the unknown and the weight of the substantial. On color surfaces, lines, some black but most blue, give shape to the contours of the figures, so that the line that dominates almost the entire work, linear themes clearly imposing themselves, acquires self-worth and becomes autonomous, without ceasing to function together with the color and the background.

The artist abolishes any single focal illumination lying outside the plane of the painting by applying the multifocal color illumination of Byzantine painting and the scattered shade, nevertheless achieving volume and relief (Skaltsa, 1990). The figures' faces are shaped through geometrical cycles. Mother and child are interlinked into a solid architectural construction. With her left hand, the mother tightly and tenderly holds in her arms the child, who enjoys the warmth of the bodily contact. She is impressive, strong, and taller than her child. The faces, devoid of any rough contours and with smooth figurations, are characterized by their secretiveness and enigmatic stance. The mother does not turn towards the child and neither does the child turn towards the mother. Both figures focus their gaze outside the painting, and the mother's pensive look betrays a constant concern that is never appeased.

The fact that the mother appears to be solid, strong and optimistic, without any trace of female weakness, while violating at the same time many of the elements that make up the mythicized perception of maternity, should be attributed to Andreou's ideology on women, whom he considers of equal value and worth to men. The mother is displayed as a woman in a rich tunic, but both in her case and in the child's case the loss of their bodies' physical limits is apparent. The artist eliminates features of the naturalistic representation and acts in a more abstractionist manner in order to express an internal world in an internal space. He places particular emphasis on the autonomy of color and form, covered by the rich yellow tunic, distinguished by its immediacy and lyrical disposition, which is more clearly highlighted by the particular use of small red mottled dots of a decorative nature, better completing the dreamlike sensation, recalling something from the visionist idiom, subjected to the strict architectural structure. The dreamlike atmosphere is further intensified by the bright and rich colors of the clothes, the rigidity of the figures, and the lack of clear recording of space and place. The mother's enigmatic and cold smile, like an extract of tragic irony and pain, displays

the expression of death and her effort to capture life's ultimate secrets, whereas the child's fixed gaze has little to do with the attractive image of childhood (Kouria, 1985a).

Figure 13 *Mother and child* (1997)



In this work, Andreou distances himself from the usual, traditional manner of depicting maternity (the embrace) and, in a dark blue background reminiscent of water, like an ambiguous archetypal symbol of death and birth (Corbin, 2007), he freely renders the mother with the daughter like two independent figure entities in a space fluid with lines, shapes, and colors. The main element is the nude, with emphasis placed on the breasts, which, apart from connoting the absolute intimacy between mother and child, is also used by artists in the sense of the primary nude bare from any individualized or circumstantial identification (Kouria, 2009).

The two figures emerge from multiple color surfaces, of blue, light blue, red, and black, bathed in the light created by the colors themselves, breaking them apart in their individual hues, so that, without losing its internal unity, the work becomes enriched by a certain musicality. The sensuality of the composition, enhanced by the sensual thick red surface on the mother's thighs, by which she appears to be protecting her daughter, is compensated by the spirituality of the persons, the abstractionist gestural style that seeks to

translate the intensity and the depth of the emotional/mental bond between the mother and her daughter, using the light, which disembodies the work and places it in a symbolic sphere analogous to its title. Bathed in light, the mother's figure, with an air of propriety and seriousness, a glassy and soulless gaze, conferring to the work an evident realistic disposition and some idealistic/romantic background, is turned in the direction opposite to that of her daughter's and gazes at something which she wants to protect her daughter from, using her thighs, thus expressing affection and tenderness towards her child. The daughter, serious, pensive, thoughtful, appears to be concerned, instead of enjoying the advantages of her young age, whereas the infantile freshness and innocence, which are pervasive, disembody the erotic element. A certain type of halo taking shape over the heads of the two figures out of two cyclical lines and their extension does not indicate the artist's intention to include them into Byzantine hagiography, but is an attempt to correlate traditional Byzantine elements with interesting modern perceptions.

Afterword

Andreou has represented the mother in all forms – the artist's mother, mother and child, nuclear and broader family. His depictions show his stylistic transformation under the influence of modern trends, as well as the ideological and morphological combination of his concerns.

The influence of modern trends on artists has, on the one hand, distanced them from the idyllically graphic maternity and, on the other hand, allowed them the capture more freely and directly the mental traces of the early relationship with the mother, through a more abstractionist style, while allowing at the same time the appearance in their works of areas and experiences censored or set aside. Under the influence of such trends and of the Cézanesque perception of space, artists started conferring to the mother, apart from the visual and tactile qualities, a bodily materiality and referring to the sense of fusion with it. The representation of the mother, aside from a means of expression for artists, also functions (revising the traditional perceptions about the function of art) as a means of communication aimed at raising the public's awareness about social and political issues, this phenomenon intensifying, as expected, in more appropriate historical periods.

Andreou does not approach maternity exclusively or mainly from the perspective of the child or, even, the man, but he promotes and supports its subjectivity. Mothers emit assuredness, solidity, determination, concern, at times even anxiety. With their gaze turned outside the frame or observing some event or some unclear point, they are concerned about the quality of the world in which their child is going to live, but at the same time the artist also highlights their spiritual dimension. The manifest accentuation of the

eyes, of both the mother and the children, aside from the symbolism of the eye from times immemorial, with all related associations, also causes a reciprocity with the beholder (between viewer and viewed), where, on the one hand, like in the so-called mirror stage of childhood, mother and child also reflect and confirm their existence (Lacan, 1982), while, on the other hand, they also invite the beholder to take a stance on the (social and political) issues of the modern world. The children's bodies that are always in contact with that of the mother's is a reference to the pre-Oedipal stage of the child, primary in both sexes, according to Freud, since everybody's life begins with attachment to a mother, who, through her influence on their subsequent life, remains an internal mental object (Chodorow, 1978).

Furthermore, Andreou dared to correlate the mother with sexuality, as well as approach and reveal the inside of the female body, a fact that is related to his male perspective on the subject. Thus, moving beyond the free, dream-like, and enigmatic rendering of the mother/child relationship, he dared to give sharp representations, sneering at the established and generally accepted motherly role, and he rendered in a magnificent manner the perpetual search that went on throughout his life (Kazazi, 1992). Each one of his paintings bears the marks of a personal and drawing technique and style, seeking to prove to what extent he has been influenced by modern trends and what elements have come from his origins, his soul, so as to make visible, almost tactile, the strength and the weakness of man (Andreou, Kazazi & Perrot, 1997).

The choice of colors is interesting, although the expressionistic models are not conspicuous. On the contrary, he tries to reveal purely personal, individual, tones, whereas his decorative ability is evident in every line and every colored dot. His concerns about social and moral issues are also revealed by various complementary elements, the small objects and the ornaments appearing in his compositions (Papanikolaou, 2006). In representations of the mother with the child, the artist, free from any prejudice, does not idealize persons or social positions, but the mother/child relationship itself, reducing it in an ideal type, that of the virginal spiritual maternity, so that the composition of mother and child itself is clad with an abstract archetypal character. Generally speaking, Andreou's mother is not the clearly virtual mother, but Kristeva's semiotic chora, the rhythm and the chaotic psychological chora, composed of semiotic elements, such as colors, sounds, and rhythm. Within a global visual arts community, the artist sought to express, and indeed expressed, his own subjectivity, his own psyche which, in spite of his particularity, has acted as a code for deciphering the positions and concepts of the complexity of contemporary world. The image of the artist's mother, and all its variations mentioned above, constitutes a basic element, a point of reference, of his identity as a migrant, which was molded in conditions of convergence and interaction of different civilizations.

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ENGENDERING THE EVALUATION OF ANTI-TRAFFICKING POLICY: A GENDER SENSITIVE APPROACH

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ABSTRACT. Trafficking in persons (TIP) has become a globally prominent issue which has attracted the attention of countries worldwide because of its devastating consequences on human beings. The Vietnamese National Action Program against Trafficking in Women and Children 2004–2010 (the VNAP) was considered to be the state's official commitment to fight against TIP. Evaluating the VNAP and its impacts on target populations is the main objective of this paper using both primary and secondary data. This paper presents a Gender Sensitive Approach to evaluate anti-TIP policy. By using gender as an umbrella analytical category, the GSA helps evaluate both the state's commitments and women's effort[1] in promoting gender empowerment, and the fulfillment of women's needs. The findings show that although the Vietnamese government has demonstrated a strong determination to combat TIP, anti-TIP policy in Vietnam is still incompatible with gender sensitive development practices. The VNAP has helped engender women's security to reduce risks of being trafficked; however, the available support was not suitable to promote sufficient empowerment for women to achieve positive changes in their lives.

Keywords: anti-human trafficking policy; gender; empowerment; women's needs

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Introduction

This paper explores the state's anti-trafficking policy using gender as an active analytical tool. By making visible women's voices and their specific needs within different processes of the state's policy, and the state's account-ability to what it has done for women under the policy framework, I seek to

evaluate the VNAP's success in terms of promoting women's empowerment, improving gender equality, and reducing women's vulnerability, especially those of trafficking returnees. While gender has been described as a proactive way to understand human trafficking within the last two decades by feminist scholars like D'Cunha (2002) Heyzer (2006), and Samarasinghe (2008), inadequate attention has been given to integrating gender into policy evaluation of anti-human trafficking strategies. To bridge this theoretical gap, I seek to formulate a Gender Sensitive Approach as an evaluation framework for anti-human trafficking policy. Application of the GSA into gender evaluation of the VNAP will help answer the research question: To what extent was the VNAP a gender-sensitive policy? The paper therefore is divided into two main parts: the formulation of the GSA, and a brief gender evaluation of the VNAP using the GSA.

A Gender Sensitive Approach to Evaluating Anti-TIP Policy

Conceptualizing Gender: Gender and Power

Gender has been established as a major factor in development studies. Truong, Wieringa and Chhachhi (2006) emphasize gender equality and gender empowerment as important tools to engender women's security. Specifically, gender equality and equity are central to human development and to supporting women's human rights. Further, as it has been argued by Jackson and Scott (2002), all aspects of life are gendered. It means that gender is present itself in all life issues; and human trafficking is no exception.

Historically, gender has become a key social science term since the rebirth of feminism in the 1970s. After four decades, gender is still a large-theme idea and contested concept. Early, in her influential book *Sex, Gender and Society*, Oakley (1972) defined gender as a psychological and cultural concept rather than a term with biological connotations. Accordingly, gender is differentiated from sex. While sex is biologically constructed and refers to biological differences between male and female, gender refers to socio-cultural classification into masculine and feminine. In the word of Oakley, gender is "the amount of masculinity or femininity found in a person" (p. 159).

Being emphasized as a key category that affects different aspects of our personal lives, social relations, and culture (Connell, 2002; Bradley, 2007), the term "gender" has created burgeoning literature of both feminists and scholars. The term, today, is fully conceptualized. Jackson and Scott (2002) depict gender as a construction that: "[D]enotes hierarchical division between women and men embedded in both social institutions and social practices. Gender is thus a social structural phenomenon but it is also produced, negotiated and sustained at the level of everyday interaction" (p. 1).

Clearly, the concept of gender has been extended in comparison to its former defined meanings. Gender is no longer a simple basic distinction between the sexes; it has become a multi-faceted structure that is socially, historically, culturally, and politically constructed and has become a crucial factor of development.

To serve the aim of policy evaluation in this paper, the concept of gender is deliberately utilized as socially and politically constructed; gender relations are as relations of power defined by who has power and who does not. Following the Gender in Development (GID) approach, gender, in this article, is conceptualized as a social structure that is deeply embedded in society, creating opportunities or constraints to people at different levels (Risman, 2004). At the individual level, gender denotes self-reliance, internal strength, and the ability to determine choices. At the inter-personal level, gender emphasizes interaction between men and women, women and community actors, between women and others in the family, and in the community. At the institutional level, gender refers to gender-specific policy regulations, and distribution of resources. Gender, in other words, is a domain of power, regulating individual empowerment capacity, and power relations between men and women in terms of their gender role and gender stereotypes, and between women and the state. Gender, in this policy evaluation denotes a power relation between women (as a subordinate group) and men or the state (as a dominant group). The latter is more privileged, especially the state which has the power to decide priorities and define resource allocation. This power relation underpins not only the decision making agenda, but also the consciousness of the various actors involved in the policy program. As Lukes (1974) noted, it shapes how different actors perceive their interests and how those interests will be taken into account as a priority.

Gender in Policy Process: Women's Participation and the Fulfillment of Women's Needs

The state is gendered and is expressing this by public policies concerned with gender issues conveying gender meanings. In other words, public policy is a gender tool of the contemporary state[2] to deal with gender inequality and gender discrimination. It is, according to Connell (2002), the politics of gender which do not only regulate gender relations in the society, but also help to constitute gender relations and form gender identities. The categories of "victims" and "traffickers" are partly constructed through the state anti-human trafficking politics and related legal documents, especially anti-TIP law. Actions to combat TIP, therefore, are engendered through the rules, procedures, and practices initiated and implemented by the state.

The state is the visible centre of power. This, however, does not mean that the state can successfully impose its power on the regulation of society by

formulating and implementing policies. Evidence shows that women have cooperative power and they can use their own power to influence public policy and request policy improvement.[3] Power, in public policy, therefore, is institutionalized, diffuse and discursive, producing effects on life by engendering gender relations. Development literature has provided enough evidence to conclude that women (both as professionals and as members of the public) play a very important role in policy planning, decision making, and policy implementation. By involvement in gender planning and policy process, women can incorporate their needs in the political agenda rather than leaving gender issues being simply "added in" by men. According to Little (1994), a lack of women's participation in the formal policy making and political processes may result in the neglect of women's interests and in gender stereotypical results. Moser (1993) and Karl (1995) emphasize the same truth. The fulfilment of women's needs in particular policy depends greatly on the state's efforts in reducing women's vulnerability and on how the state perceives and interprets women's needs.

Gender and Rights in Public Policy: Accountability and Women's Empowerment

The discussion above shows that gender can be seen as a powerful tool for understanding women's experiences in a patriarchal relationship between women and men, and women and the state; therefore it is important for tracing the effectiveness of gender-related public policy in terms of gender equality and its gender-sensitiveness. Gender, however, will become a better tool if it is discussed in line with rights, because public policy also needs to be evaluated more specifically in terms of its achievement in the promotion and protection of women's human rights, and women's empowerment. This evaluation does not use gender and rights as two separate analytical tools, it uses gender as a main umbrella in which human rights is a means to promote gender equality, and considers gender and rights to be causal and linking concepts.

Gender and rights are two important dimensions of human beings. Both categories play a highly ambivalent role in extending power relations between women as a subordinate group and their dominant counterparts, men and the state. Gender and rights do not only challenge but also sustain particular forms of power. Interestingly, gender and rights can be seen as a means or an end of either category, interchangeably. Being a means, gender mainstreaming and gender equality help protect women's human rights: being an end, gender equality and women's advancement become a result of human rights fulfillment.

Violence against women, including TIP, has been a matter of international concern, and emphasized in international conventions as a serious violation

of human rights. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979) emphasize that violence against women is a crime that violates and impairs the women's enjoyment of their human rights and fundamental freedoms. Also, it has been commonly stated that governments should promote an active and visible strategy of mainstreaming gender and rights perspectives into different policy processes, and assessment of the policy impacts on women and men needs to be made in turn, based on those criteria.

It should be noted that to secure women's human rights, accountability is important as accountability is a proactive means to hold the state accountable in terms of respecting, protecting, and fulfilling rights. Accountability also relates to the degree to which information about the policy and policy options are widely available to women, especially to those who are illiterate. Accountability in anti-TIP politics is connected to and has an impact on power dynamics between women and the state and chances for victims to present their voices and specific needs. Accountability, on the one hand, is manifested in the role of monitoring and evaluating anti-trafficking responses of different actors involved. On the other hand, accountability shows the ability of the state at different levels to successfully implement policy intervention and to increase women's empowerment.

Gender and Women's Identity

In considering the impacts of anti-TIP policy on women's status, especially the socio-political status of trafficking returnees, I also explore gender in terms of identity. It is visible in the existing literature that women are perceived as disadvantaged groups who are less powerful than men. Worldwide, a large portion of trafficking victims are women, more specifically, most of the victims are women from Third World countries (Schauer & Wheaton, 2006), and trafficking in women is particularly rampant in developing countries where women have less equality than men, and women have little access to resources.

Identity cannot be separated from the cultural and historical context. Women's identity in the Third Word has been discussed in a close relation to the process of national building and nationalism (Yuval-Davis & Anthias, 1989). They are circumscribed as care takers, housewives, and as reproducers of the national population and have an indirect relationship to the state. Rai (2008) emphasizes that women are made invisible through universalized discourses of citizenship and economic development. There are two reasons for the gender stereotype of women's low identity. First, women are not considered to be crucial contributors to socio-political development and they are not recognized as important in the development process, therefore not included in policy planning (Moser, 1993; Rai, 2008). Second, women's work within

the household is normally not accounted in national income calculations. Thus, the ideology of women as bearers of cultural and of national identity has been challenging women's progress and makes it difficult for women to enjoy full-fledged citizenship because of the many roles imposed on women. This discussion somehow helps answer the questions: Why women? Why Third World women? There are different causes of TIP; many of them can be identified in terms of women's low identity, caused by women's social oppression in the society, women's lack of engagement with the state, women's low status in the household and in the community, due to persistent patriarchal norms and gender stereotypes.

Identity in this policy evaluation is explored in terms of identity as a public self rather than identity as a lived self.[4] Accordingly, the evaluation traces how the term human trafficking is constructed, how trafficking victims are ultimately perceived by different actors, especially the state ones who directly influence policy processes. In turn, the evaluation examines how these specific constructions and perceptions shape the intervention activities of the state and impact on the improvement of women's identity.

My intention in integrating gender into policy evaluation serves two aims: to understand gendered implications of anti-TIP policy that contribute to policy success or failure, and to uncover different aspects of exclusion and inequality that hamper women's progress. The GSA therefore, becomes an evaluation tool to engender human trafficking politics through policy evaluation. To ensure a comprehensive evaluation of anti-TIP policy, following the discussion above, five main gender-sensitive indicators are chosen: participation, accountability, empowerment, fulfillment of women's needs, and women's identity. The next part will present key findings on gender evaluation of the VNAP using a gender sensitive approach.

Gender Concerns in the VNAP

The VNAP was born in 2004, showing the strong commitments of the Vietnamese government to driving back the trafficking crime. The VNAP gives priority to the prevention of trafficking in women and children (TWC) and pays attention to both fighting against TWC and supporting trafficking returnees to reintegrate in the community. The policy goal is to create radical changes in awareness and action among people in the entire society to prevent and combat TWC and considerably reduce TWC in 2010. The VNAP is a top-down policy, being deployed in 64 cities and provinces countrywide. Five main state actors are involved in policy processes: the Vietnam Women's Union, the Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Public Security, and the Ministry of Defence.

Participation and Inclusion of Women in the VNAP Processes

The most notable inclusion of women in the VNAP processes was the participation of the Vietnam Women's Union (VWU) as one of five main state actors and as a social political body operating under the directive of the Vietnamese Communist party (VCP) to provide support for promoting women's legitimate rights and interests, and to serve the course of national emancipation and women's empowerment. Having dealt for a long time with TWC independently before the birth of the VNAP, the VWU contributed valuable comments to the government and was assigned to be in charge of the VNAP's first component focusing on the prevention of TWC which had been a focal point of the policy. The representation of the VWU in the decision making process of the VNAP ensured that women's particular concerns were taken into account and would provide favorable conditions for women to be empowered. Representation by a large union like the VWU[5] was meaningful for women's progress, but not enough. As argued by non-state actors, to ensure an effective inclusion of women in the VNAP, the voices of poor women, trafficked women, women of ethnic minorities and border areas needed to be taken into account along with a better representation of women at different levels of governance. The lack of inclusion of women's and trafficked women's voices was the consequence of limited research and surveys done on human trafficking due to poor budgets and limited attention paid to pre-policy preparation.

Women's collective participation with men and with non-state actors was limited in scope. It is hard to find evidence for men's participation in the fight against TWC as human trafficking was being constructed to be a women's issue in Vietnam. Several reasons added to men's ignorance on such an important issue as TIP. First, information on TIP was frequently not provided. At the grassroots level, TIP information was mainly distributed by local women's union through periodical meetings of the union members who are all women. In a patriarchal society like Vietnam, it was strange for men to attend women's meetings, especially to listen to what was perceived as a women's issue. Second, men were busy with migrating to other areas to get a higher income, rather than relying on limited agricultural resources in the village. Additionally, many Vietnamese men, especially young ones, did not recognize the need to involve themselves in social activities, therefore, stayed outside the battle against TIP and left their women to struggle by themselves with the increasing human trafficking risks. In terms of women's collective participation with NGOs, in the context of resource scarcity, non-state actors had become active sponsors for women to improve their lives. The VNAP itself, however, encouraged participation of non-state actors in anti-human trafficking activities, but did not offer solutions for strengthening post-project achievement, leaving project achievements unattended or unfunded. There

was no visible evidence for women-NGOs engagement in prosecution of the VNAP, leaving prosecution to be a solely gender-blind issue and there was no difference in the sentence for male and female perpetrators.

State Accountability and Women's Voices in the VNAP

In a decentralized top-down implementation of the VNAP, accountability was difficult to achieve. According to both state and non-state actors, it was challenging for local governments to fit all arrangements and responses to TWC into one comprehensive institutional pathway administered by the central state. Negotiation of such politics was not easy, especially in a common context of high bureaucracy and complicated administrative practices.

Some other factors should be noted as constraints for the state in achieving strong accountability. Studies on human trafficking and migration in Vietnam highlighted cases of government officials who made use of their power to achieve personal interests (Derks, 1998). Further, the reporting system was not reliable enough. Data provided was insufficient, not openly available and it was necessary to have personal contacts with the authorities to obtain annual reports and data. Data on trafficking in Vietnam were collected in a bottom-up way, where figures were reported by local government to the central government. Poor staff capacity, along with budget insufficiency, delay in reporting, especially the lack of a comprehensive data system, all resulted in a disordered, incorrect data set.

Moreover, local governments that were affected by the so-called "achievement disease" in which the localities tried to be accountable to the central state by reporting good results while failing to be accountable and responsible to women's vulnerability. There was also a lack of effective intervention in setting up comprehensive grievance mechanisms at the grass-roots level to increase citizens' responsiveness, to hold them accountable to their own safety, and to help functioning organizations in the investigation, prosecution, and conviction of criminals. Such a network could easily have been built up and maintained by women in cooperation with men.

Next, the presence of the independent steering committee at different government levels for overseeing the VNAP execution was problematic. At the central level, the steering committee acted in a leading role in guiding activities rather than in monitoring and auditing. At the local level, there was a committee for Women's Advancement, chaired by a male leader. Such a seemingly gendered unit, however, as noted by a state actor in my fieldwork, was "quite formalist and did not take the function of monitoring and evaluating activities." This created different concerns. Non-state actors found it difficult to determine whether their funds reached trafficked victims and disadvantaged women and girls. For women, they were not sure if their

expectations and recommendations could reach the government, or whether better service and support would be delivered.

State accountability in the VNAP intervention was still under-represented so that a good connection between policy implementers (government) and policy beneficiaries (women) was not assured to keep governments responsive and responsible for anti-trafficking activities, and to make women's voice heard.

Empowerment

In Vietnam, to combat TWC, economic empowerment was indispensable to support women with essential needs as many of the returnees are left with few avenues to receive assistance. Women, as well as trafficking returnees, in Vietnam received very limited support from partners or husbands; the situation was more challenging for those who returned with children; that doubled their need of support and there was no official support package for children of trafficking survivors. There was also a high number of self-returnees or of unofficial survivors, who received mainly spiritual support or mutual support from women in the community.

Two main ways of economic empowerment for trafficking returnees that should be analyzed in terms of gender are micro-finance and job creation schemes. Within the VNAP five-year implementation, the VWU, in cooperation with national credit funds and banks supported trafficked women with short-term loans. The number of women supported, however, was very tinny in comparison with the number of victims defined. Eighty-four percent of returnees did not get a chance to access micro-credit service (VWU, 2010). Apart from the figures released by the VWU in its report, no data on the state's micro-finance for trafficking returnees could be found. A micro-credit loan scheme was implemented in the research sites, but was not connected with skill training to give beneficiaries informed choices to best utilize the loan in a given timeframe. Women who received the loan, therefore, struggled with finding their own ways to sustainable livelihoods given that the amount was small (maximum $500 per portion) and normally collateral assets were required. Significantly, due to a limited budget, the state offered one kind of training package for most of the returnees. Although the training was culturally sensitive (such as trainings on pottery, bamboo knitting, raising animals), the outputs were poor because important issues such as market information, suitability of the jobs to women's age, habit, customs were neglected. Trainings provided by NGOs, however, provided good results as they were flexible in meeting women's expectations and the user's demand.

Another gender concern was the issue of women's health improvement. Health care access for trafficked women was limited. It was reported by the government that trafficking returnees were entitled to free health care and medical treatment. However, that support was one-time support and only for

"official victims" as defined by the authorities. Critically, under the VNAP, there was no special provision for trafficking returnees with HIV-AIDs or mental illness. Thus, they were subjected not only to unexpected health risks but also to the risk of having life-threatening diseases untreated.

Fulfillment of Women's Needs

Obviously, a policy is designed to meet the needs of its beneficiaries. A successful policy therefore must satisfy gender strategic needs which are identified by women's subordinate position.[6] Women interviewed expressed different strategic needs. However, the most striking and frequently mentioned needs were sustainable livelihoods that provide women with a certain income, financial support for setting up street-vending business or small trade, job training based on their own choices, and removal of discrimination against trafficking victims. All those women's expected needs relate to the empowerment approach which improves and strengthens women's capacity to increase their own self-reliance and internal strength while the state's intervention in the VNAP is linked to anti-poverty solutions.[7]

The disconnectedness between women's needs and the policy intervention approach can be explained by the fact that women's interests were assumed by a group of powerful politicians rather than being based on women's expectations. A non-state actor in my fieldwork pointed out that the VNAP was built up without an evidence-based framework; no survey or research was undertaken prior to the policy formulation to make sure that interventions would focus on the areas or gaps to empower the vulnerable. This was contrary to the development standard that policy planning for poor women must be based on their needs or prioritized concerns (Moser, 1989). Further, women's needs were taken into account, but separately to men's needs, that left human trafficking as a women's issue and gender was an "add-in" factor that was simply integrated into development process.

While gender and gender mainstreaming are frequently mentioned in every policy discussion in Vietnam, policy planners were not aware of gender sensitivity in the VNAP. Knowing my intention of doing gender analysis of the policy, at least three actors in my fieldwork argued that they did not think that TIP was a gender issue, especially when it had a clear focus on women and children, in the context of Vietnam. Such blindness to gender sensitivity is dangerous because when policy planners are blind to gender, they cannot formulate intervention activities that are based on the complexities of gender relations, rather, they use a gender-blind approach in different policy processes by defining and tackling the issue as "women-centered" or simply applying the rules of "masculine" management in solving the problem.

Further, failure of the VNAP intervention in satisfying women's strategic needs can be explained by conflict between the state's and women's interests.

Like other developing countries, Vietnam takes economic development and industrialization as development priorities while those areas have different negative impacts on women, such as unsafe migration, prostitution, exploitation of women and girls, or widening the gap between the rich and the poor. The state's interests are more universal and overarching; again, women are faced with another imbalanced power relation and it is difficult for them to request state's accountability as discussed earlier.

Women's Identity and Gender Issues

Women's identity has been chosen as the last gender-sensitive indicator for this gender evaluation. There are two main reasons for doing so. First, as discussed earlier, women's low identity contributes to their vulnerability and risks of being trafficked. Second, identity is very important to each individual. We need to know who we are, what are the differences between ourselves and the other people living around us, what we need to do to improve our "selves." In other words, improvement of identity is an end of gender-sensitive promotion as a means.

Within the VNAP, the term "trafficking in women and children" was socially constructed, mainly for women and girl children. It was evident that data on human trafficking reported only cases of trafficking in women and girls, and the prominent trafficking type mentioned was sex trafficking. Similar questions to those discussed in the theoretical part can be posed: Why women? Why sexual exploitation? Answers can be found in the patriarchal relations between women and men, in which women are subordinate due to and gender stereotypes. Although after the VNAP, in early 2012, the Law on Human Trafficking came into effect in Vietnam; negative influences of the widely perceived TWC concept still exist and need time to be alleviated.

Again, patriarchy can be found to intersect with women's identity in the "moral education" solution applied to prostitutes. I need to confirm that prostitution is not always linked to human trafficking; however, there is a close link between prostitution and sex trafficking (Peach, 2008; Limoncelli, 2010). From a demand standpoint, men fuel sex trafficking because many of them become customers, buyers, and sexual exploiters of women and girls. In the VNAP time, prostitution was completely prohibited in Vietnam and the penalty was applied to both prostitutes and clients. Controversially, the fine for sex buyers was very minimal while prostitutes were sent to education centers for "recovering morality" as being involved in "a dirty work" and needing to be re-educated before re-integrating in the community.

Moral discourses around prostitution and sex trafficking were discussed in my fieldwork. Most actors opposed the penalties against prostitutes. The effectiveness of such a compulsory measure for "re-education" was low as the majority of "learners" returned to prostitution after being "re-educated" due

to its high income (Vu, 2012). The failure of this solution can be addressed using a gender perspective. If prostitution is an issue of moral deprivation, both sex sellers and sex buyers need to experience a "moral recovery;" and the sex buyers need to bear higher penalties because they are more active (having money, providing demand).

If women's morality could be recovered or re-educated, it is not assured that they would not fall into prostitution again, as explained by Manifesto (cited in Connor and Healy, 2006). Women in prostitution do not choose to be prostitutes, and they are chosen by poverty, pimps, and sex buyers. Moral recovery, applied to women only, was, therefore, ineffective. Although the original purpose of this method was providing prostitutes with chances for compulsory medical treatment, training, and labor exercises – as confirmed by a senior state actor in my fieldwork, it reduced women's mobility and isolated them from the community. It should be noted that, although the "re-education" approach was abolished in Vietnam,[8] it still can be a lesson to be discussed in terms of its gender stereotypes and deprivation of women's identity.

Conclusions

In this paper I have outlined a gender sensitive approach for evaluation of anti-TIP policy and provided a range of gender sensitive criteria which can be seen not only as evaluation indicators but also as solutions that can be applied to engender women's security. Visibly, while it is important to understand gender, to keep in mind that gender mainstreaming is necessary in different processes of development policy, it is more important to learn how to engender every policy activity to ensure that women are not excluded, that their voices are heard, especially the voices of the disadvantaged like trafficked women. As a feminist scholar, I strongly call for a boycott of gender-blindness in development practices as well as in policy processes. Scholars and policy planners need to avoid any gender-blind interpretation and transfer such a determination to other people as well.

The analysis of this paper shows that gender alone is a perspective, but gender, as a universal factor, in cooperation with rights, empowerment, and identity's improvement helps form an important framework to engendering anti-human trafficking evaluation.

Gender evaluation of the VNAP shows that although focusing on women and girls as an important part of the gender domain, the VNAP was not a gender sensitive instrument as it focused on women while it ignored gender, therefore excluded gender and isolated women from men and separated human trafficking from the persistent hierarchical gender relations between men and women. Different gender concerns pointed out in the evaluation suggests that human trafficking is a multi-dimensional issue that is related to different

aspects of human beings. Anti-trafficking solutions therefore must be comprehensive and must be mainstreamed with national macro-development policies to make the crime a "must" for elimination from different socio-economic areas. To do so, the nation state has to take the human trafficking issue into account in development planning processes to ensure that the state's achievement would not erode women's human rights, contribute to women's vulnerability, or strengthen gender discriminatory practices.

NOTES

1. Women here refers to both women in the community and female trafficking returnees. They are all the beneficiaries of the state's anti-trafficking intervention.

2. Traditional theories of the state were often gender-blind and did not talk about gender as gender was not the focus, and because they could not see gender where everywhere there was a presence of men's power and women were totally excluded (Connell, 2002).

3. I am very much impressed with women's movements around the world, in Canada, in America, in the former Soviet Union, etc. to protest against American War in Vietnam in the late 1960s. The women's movements worldwide and in America itself, especially the protest of 50,000 American people, many of whom were women profoundly changed the agenda of American politics at that time by raising the issue of human security and justice. Thus, women, in this case, have turned their concerns into public issues.

4. Alcoff (2006) argues that there are two types of identity: public identity and lived subjectivity. Public identity is socially perceived self within the system of perception and classification and the community networks where people live. Lived subjectivity is how we experience ourselves and who we understand ourselves to be.

5. Up to 2014, the VWU has more than 15 million members countrywide and it has a four-level network of central, provincial, district and communal levels.

6. There are two types of gender needs: Strategic gender needs and practical gender needs or basic needs. While strategic needs relate to women's subordination to men in the society, practical gender needs refer to what women perceive as immediate necessities such as accommodation, food, and water.

7. Development studies acknowledge five main policy approaches to address gender strategic needs: the welfare approach (to bring women into development as better mothers); the equity approach (to gain equity for women in the development process); the anti-poverty approach (to ensure that poor women increase their productivity); the efficiency approach (to ensure the efficiency and effectiveness of women's economic contribution); and the empowerment approach (to empower women through greater self-reliance) (Moser, 1989, 1993).

8. In June 2012, the Government of Vietnam enacted the Law on administrative violations and sanctions. This law was fully valid on January 1st, 2014.

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THE ROAD TO MANDALAY: ORIENTALISM, "BURMA GIRLS" AND WESTERN MUSIC

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ABSTRACT. The West's early fascination with the "Orient," its biased descriptions of that part of the world, and the portrayal of its women in stereotypically sexist terms, have all been the subject of close examination. However, Burma has rarely figured in such studies, and almost no attention has been paid to the portrayal of Burma and so-called "Burma Girls" in Western music. This article surveys a wide range of contemporary sources, including 180 or so songs and instrumental compositions which specifically refer to Burma. It aims to describe how the country was viewed by Western society, particularly during the colonial period, and how Burma's female population came to be codified in popular music as attractive, demure and available. While other Asian women were often portrayed in a similar fashion, in Burma's case their reputation derived largely from the extraordinary impact on the West's popular imagination of Rudyard Kipling's 1890 ballad "The Road to Mandalay," which set a pattern for later artistic works, of all kinds.

Keywords: Orientalism; Burma; Kipling; empire; popular music

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Over the past 70 years, considerable attention has been paid to the ways in which Burma was portrayed during the colonial era (1826–1948). However, to date no-one has looked in a systematic way at how Western music played a role in influencing and reflecting popular perceptions. This is curious, as during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries music was a powerful cultural vector, strongly affecting public attitudes to foreign places and events. Images of the "Orient," and of Oriental women in particular, were conveyed

through songs and popular entertainments. To a surprising extent, this included portrayals of Burma, and "Burma girls." From the publication of Rudyard Kipling's enormously popular ballad "Mandalay" in 1890, until Burma regained its independence from Britain in 1948, more than 180 songs and tunes were published with Burmese themes, helping to create a codified image of Burma's women as demure, attractive and available. In doing so, however, these compositions probably revealed as much about contemporary Western society as they did about the "Far East."

The Research Problem

For decades, scholars and commentators have tried to answer the questions: how was colonial Burma perceived in and by the Western world, how did people in countries like the United Kingdom (UK) and United States (US) form their views, and how were they manifested?

Historians led the way, not only by informing Western audiences about developments in Burma but also by describing how European contacts over the centuries gave rise to a wide range of myths and misconceptions.[1] Other social scientists made useful contributions. In 1985, for example, Josef Silverstein discussed the portrayal of Burma in a number of novels by European and American authors.[2] Clive Christie and Stephen Keck later surveyed the travel literature produced during the colonial period, and weighed its impact on Western perceptions of Burma.[3] Deborah Boyer searched through Victorian-era periodicals for references to Burma and its role in the British Empire.[4] In 2009, this author examined the way in which Burma had been represented in Hollywood movies and how this might have influenced views of the country.[5] Others have commented on the paintings of Burma and Burmese people produced by British artists during the colonial period.[6] Engravings, photographs and picture postcards also influenced the way in which Burma was seen in the UK, US and elsewhere.[7]

To date, however, no-one has looked in a systematic way at how Western views of colonial Burma were influenced by popular music. Indeed, music has been absent from almost all overviews of the country.[8] This is surprising, as during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries songs and tunes were powerful cultural vectors, highly influential in shaping not only attitudes to domestic developments but also perceptions of foreign places and events.[9] As well as live performances, both in public and in private, broadsides and commercial sheet music were important means of conveying images and ideas about the countries and peoples that were being conquered as part of Britain's second great burst of imperial expansion. The transmission process rapidly increased in scope and pace after the turn of the twentieth century, encouraged by the development of gramophone records, commercial radio

stations and "talking" pictures. Music became an even more important vehicle for reflecting – and influencing – popular perceptions.

This phenomenon has been recognized by cultural historians and musicologists in other fields, but so far its implications for Burma seem to have escaped their attention.[10]

One reason why Burma seems to have been overlooked as a discrete subject for analysis in this regard is that it was never seen as a noteworthy example of wider historical and socio-cultural trends. The nineteenth century was a time of far-reaching political, economic and social change. It was also a time of vigorous Western expansion into other parts of the world, including the so-called "Far East." Even before popular music became a significant factor, and was recognized as such, vivid images of the "Orient" had been formed in the West through novels, poems, paintings and operas. In all these and other mediums, such as fashion, particular attention was given to the role of Oriental women and their (often imagined) attributes and characteristics. In some respects, they became emblematic of the West's perceptions of, and approach to, foreign lands and peoples. Burma was not well known to Western populations, however, so played a relatively minor part in all these processes. In its own way, however, it did conform to broader patterns.

One aspect of this subject that deserves close attention is the way in which Burmese women were perceived and portrayed by Western commentators and, specifically, by composers and song-writers. For, in the writings of visitors to colonial Burma, the female population was described in ways that helped plant in the popular imagination a picture that was both alluring and shocking. After publication of Rudyard Kipling's enormously influential poem "Mandalay" in 1890, and subsequent musical settings, that image became more codified, as "Burma girls" were repeatedly portrayed in compositions as attractive, demure and available. Over the next 60 or so years, as the market for popular songs grew, and was flooded by works with "Oriental" themes, this stereotype became even stronger. Between 1890 and 1948, when Burma regained its independence from Britain, more than 180 songs were written which referred to Burmese "girls" – rarely "women" – waiting in bucolic tropical surroundings for their European lovers to return. The few compositions that deliberately challenged this convention only helped to underscore the dominance of the main theme in popular Western culture.

To understand all these developments, it is helpful first to survey the way in which Britain and other Western countries perceived the "Orient" during the imperial era and, secondly, to look more closely at how Burma (and Burmese women) played a role in the formation and demonstration of such views. With that in mind, it is easier to appreciate the way in which Burmese women were portrayed in the popular songs of the period.

The West and the "Orient"

The 100 years between 1815 and 1914 have been described as the UK's "imperial century." During this period, most of which coincided with the reign of Queen Victoria, Britain consolidated its hold over India and acquired control over vast new territories in Africa, Southeast Asia and China.[11] While driven as much by commercial imperatives as by political and strategic interests, this expansion was clothed in the rhetoric of a philanthropic mission. Influenced by social Darwinism – the application of biological concepts like "the survival of the fittest" to entire societies – and emerging theories of eugenics, the British were convinced that they had a special role to bring peace, order and technology to the lesser races of the world. Different approaches were taken by the Conservative and Liberal Parties but, to quote a character in George Orwell's 1934 novel *Burmese Days*, successive British governments saw themselves as "torchbearers upon the path of progress."[12] By 1881, Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli could claim with some justification that Britain had "stamped its diligent and methodic character on the century."[13]

Britain's profound sense of imperial destiny, and the support given to this notion by "white" colonies like Australia, New Zealand and Canada, inspired songs like "It's the English-Speaking Race against the World." Made famous in the late 19th century by the renowned music hall performer Charles Godfrey, the song began:

> We're brothers of the self-same race,
> Speakers of the self-same tongue,
> With the same brave hearts that feel no fears
> From fighting sires of a thousand years;
> Folks say, 'What will Britain do?
> Will she rest with banners furled?'
> No! No! No!
> When we go to meet the foe,
> It's the English-speaking race against the world.[14]

The British believed that they had won what the imperialist Cecil Rhodes called "the lottery of life," and represented rationality, energy, cultural superiority and technical skills.[15] Their colonial subjects, in Africa and Asia at least, were considered much less fortunate. They were invariably characterized as lawless, listless, undeveloped and unpredictable, sorely in need of the UK's civilizing presence.

These intellectual and social currents were found not only at the elite level, in government, business and the armed forces, but also among the wider British public. Particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, after the Crimean War (1853–1856) and Indian Mutiny (1857), they

were reflected in popular culture. Crossing class lines, the "imperial ethos" manifested itself in theatres, music halls, taverns, barracks and classrooms.[16] This enthusiasm for overseas adventures, however, did not translate into a greater knowledge of foreign places and peoples. Indeed, one striking aspect of Victorian imperialism was the profound ignorance of the countries that were falling to the crown. The public was dependent for its understanding of events on an unreliable press and an entertainment industry that, both deliberately and incidentally, conveyed a distorted picture.[17] In the case of India (which then included Burma), for example, extreme views were possible due to "the paucity of its defenders and the utter ignorance of the British reading public" beyond a small circle of specialists.[18] These views conformed – and contributed – to a mindset that has come to be known as "Orientalism."

There is a long tradition of Western authors, musicians, artists and architects drawing on foreign countries and cultures for inspiration. Many writers on this subject have taken Edward Said's controversial 1978 book *Orientalism* as a starting point.[19] In a sweeping judgment that has since been challenged at several levels, Said wrote that "Orientalism is a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient."[20] He suggested that, through many often subtle ways, the West had successfully established itself as the acceptable norm, while the "Orient" (in his book, mainly the Middle East) was relegated to the status of the foreign "Other." While relevant to the discussion that follows, it is not proposed to explore this complex subject here. However, to provide a broad framework for the consideration of music related to Burma, and references in such works to "Burma girls," it is worth briefly touching upon the impact of "the East" on popular perceptions and the way that they affected Western music and the West's portrayal of Asian women.

For centuries, Western literature and art referred to what the poet William Wordsworth, among others, called "the gorgeous East."[21] While its geographical focus shifted over time, it was invariably portrayed as an exotic part of the world, the social customs, architecture, fauna and even climate of which were quite different from those "at home." Fanciful visions of Oriental life were conveyed directly or indirectly in novels like William Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* (1848), Wilkie Collins' *The Moonstone* (1868) and Anatole France's *Thais* (1890). The opulence of the East was a common theme. For the narrator of Charles Dickens' *Dombey and Son* (1848), for example, the prospect of "rich East India House" in London spontaneously evoked visions of:

> precious stuff and stones, tigers, elephants, howdahs, hookahs, umbrellas, palm trees, palanquins, and gorgeous princes of brown complexion sitting on carpets, with their slippers very much turned up at the toes.[22]

Equally dramatic pictures were painted by poems like Percy Shelley's "Ozymandias" (1818) and Ralph Waldo Emerson's "Indian Superstition" (1821), in which "Dishonoured India clanks her sullen chain."[23] Edwin Arnold's 1879 narrative poem *The Light of Asia* captivated Western audiences and created a picture of "that noble hero and reformer, Prince Gautama of India, the founder of Buddhism," that endured for decades.[24] "Hindoo" and "Mohammedan" architectural motifs, such as vaulted roofs, "onion" domes and "Moorish" windows became fashionable throughout Europe. For example, the Royal Pavilion at Brighton, which was completed in 1822, incorporated a wide range of Oriental styles, both internally and externally.

Initially, the West focused its attentions on the "Near East," notably Turkey, which had been a source of interest since the Ottoman invasions of the seventeenth century. During the nineteenth century, however, European authors and artists increasingly travelled to North Africa, the Middle East and the Far East, widening the geographical scope of their work. For example, French painters like Eugene Delacroix began by depicting scenes in Morocco and Algeria. He was followed by artists such as Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, Henri Regnaut and Gustave Guillaumet. Europe's long interest in *Chinoiserie* was joined in mid-century by *Japonisme*, which became an important influence on Western art. These trends were given a fillip by the expansion of the European powers, reflecting not only colonial conquests but also developments like the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the dramatic growth in railways, the increasing number of steamships and, by the 1920s, the advent of inter-continental air travel. The Orient became more accessible and safer to visit, prompting greater middle and upper class tourism.[25]

It might be expected that a greater familiarity with Asian countries, including a degree of firsthand knowledge of their peoples and cultures, would lead to a better understanding of the region and more realistic representations in print and on canvas. Certainly, many paintings of the period conveyed remarkably evocative pictures of life in foreign climes.[26] Yet, as a general rule, their educative value was slight. The aura of mystery and glamour – even decadence – surrounding Asia was remarkably persistent. This was in part because many visitors to the region were like Kipling's "Globe-trotter" ("who 'does' kingdoms in days and writes books upon them in weeks").[27] It was also because descriptions that catered to the curious and romantic tended to be more attractive (and doubtless more profitable to publishers and producers) than unvarnished factual accounts. This was particularly the case when supposedly Oriental beliefs, practices and styles were embraced by fashionable society.

Throughout the mid-late Victorian era, for example, the English-speaking world was captivated by Asian mysticism and magic tricks which called up "a thousand thoughts and fancies associated with all that is weird and

mysterious."[28] Among those happy to exploit the credulousness of Western audiences, by claiming special insights into arcane "Eastern" knowledge, was a British illusionist named Isaiah Hughes. Active around the mid-nineteenth century, he wore dark makeup and exotic clothes, styled himself "The Fakir of Ava, Chief of Staff of Conjurors to His Sublime Greatness the Nanka of Aristaphae," and claimed to have come from Burma.[29] Also, during the Edwardian era designers like Paul Poiret were quick to capitalize on the public's continuing fascination with the East. Inspired in part by Leon Bakst's exotic costumes for the Ballets Russes, Poiret promoted such Orientalist fashions as "lampshade" tunics, "harem" pantaloons, turbans, jewelled slippers and parasols.[30] They became the rage in London, Paris and New York.

Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century there were occasional attempts to counter what one hard-headed rationalist described as "the romance clinging to all things oriental."[31] However, even among those not taken in by fake fakirs and shonky spiritualists, or attracted to sensuality and ornamentalism, the East remained a source of fascination and wonder. As Clive Christie has described, in the 1920s and 1930s, Western literature about the "Far East" was still "saturated with 'exoticism' and 'orientalism."'[32] Describing his voyage to China in 1937, for example, the British poet W. H. Auden wrote:

> Slowly our Western culture in full pomp progresses
> Over the barren plains of the sea; somewhere ahead
> A septic East, odd fowl and flowers, odder dresses.[33]

Despite, or perhaps even because of, the writings of such "literary travelers," there remained a profound ignorance of real life in Asia. This applied as much to the region's admirers as to its detractors. Not everyone learnt, as did Aldous Huxley (who visited Burma in 1926), that "The philosophies, the civilisations which seem, at a distance, so superior to those current at home, all prove on closer inspection to be in their own way just as hopelessly imperfect."[34]

The Orientalist strain in music followed the progress of European interest in and travel to the East. For example, Mozart's *Abduction from the Seraglio* (1782) reflected Europe's contacts with Turkey in the seventeenth century and prevailing myths about Middle Eastern sexual mores. Rossini's opera *The Italian Girl in Algiers* (1813) and Verdi's *Aida* (1871) were influenced by Europe's increasing presence in and colonization of North Africa, including Egypt. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, attention moved further east and there was a renewed interest in musical representations of Asia, coinciding with various imperial ventures and the growing number of references to that part of the world in the popular press. For example, Bizet's *Pearl Fishers* (1863) was set in Ceylon and Gilbert and Sullivan's *Mikado*

(1885) employed a Japanese theme. Puccini's *Turandot* (1926) was set in China.[35] Perhaps more than most, Edward Elgar's masque *Crown of India* (1912) exposed the imperialistic and Orientalist overtones of the music of the period.[36]

Mention must also be made of developments in popular entertainment, in particular the appearance of revues, musical comedies and comic operas. During the second half of the nineteenth century, music halls became enormously popular. By 1892, an estimated 14 million seats were sold annually in 35 music halls in London alone.[37] The imperialist and Orientalist themes of acts at such venues not only catered to the insular outlook and provincial tastes of their largely working class audiences, but they also reflected deeper undercurrents in British society. As one popular song went:

> Oriental eyes,
> Oriental moons,
> Oriental sighs,
> And oriental tunes,
> They simply get me going,
> I do things without knowing.
> Eastern perfume in the air,
> Oh! Let me live and give you there,
> That oriental kiss
> In an oriental way,
> One can never miss what one has never had, they say.
>
> I want it, want it!
> I won't deny it!
> I'd sell my soul to try it,
> That's why I'm strong for,
> That's why I long for,
> Something O – O – Oriental![38]

The depiction of foreigners in musical comedies and operettas tended to be a little more restrained, probably to appeal to more genteel audiences, but they still permitted the producers considerable licence.[39] Not only did shows with Oriental themes lend themselves to exotic settings and splendid costumes, but because of the "foreignness" of their subject matter they permitted scenes and the representation of ideas that were not otherwise acceptable in polite Victorian society. Oriental stereotypes such as cruel despots, depraved luxury and orgiastic rites were all popular fare, albeit presented as non-Christian practices to be abhorred. "Under cover of moral censure an otherwise inadmissible voyeurism could be indulged."[40]

A key aspect of all these works was the way in which they depicted females. At first, plots tended to revolve around the abduction of Western women by Eastern potentates, but by the nineteenth century the focus had

changed. Reflecting the racial ethic of the times, and doubtless the influence of the imperialist project, stage productions increasingly included stories of Western men winning the hearts of foreign girls. An obvious example is Puccini's *Madam Butterfly* (1904). Also, as seen in operas like Bizet's *Carmen* (1875) and Delibes' *Lakme* (1883), the protagonist was often a European soldier who fell in love with a woman from the conquered country. He then leaves her, responding to the call of duty or for less honorable reasons.[41] The fiery Carmen is a notable exception, but such women were usually described in terms which emphasized their childlike and stereotypical "feminine" attributes. The Orient was a place of masculine dreams and desires, as suggested in the musical comedy *A Chinese Honeymoon* (1899):

> It was a truly happy land,
> I pictured in my dreams,
> Each household was a model, and
> Each husband reigned supreme.
> There wives ne'er raised a noisy din
> But wore a smile so bland,
> They lived to serve her husband in
> This truly happy land.[42]

If popular entertainment in Victorian Britain was any guide, ideal marriages were based on orderly, compliant females deferring to sexist and patriarchal husbands.[43] There was always the hint, however, of attractions outside such relationships.

In Said's 1978 critique, "the orient was a place where one could look for sexual experience unobtainable in Europe," and from an early date popular attitudes towards sex played an important part in establishing the parameters of the Orientalist scene.[44] As Ian Buruma has written:

> Neither puritanism nor sensuality was ever unique to East or West, yet, on the whole, it is for the latter that Westerners have looked East. There has been a sensual, even erotic, element in encounters – imaginary or real – between East and West since the ancient Greeks. The European idea of the Orient as female, voluptuous, decadent, amoral – in short, as dangerously seductive – long predates the European empires in India and Southeast Asia.[45]

The Orient was seen as a sexual playground, a view encouraged by personal accounts of life in the region, both published and unpublished. For example, one British army officer wrote in the 1840s that Asian women "understand in perfection all the arts and wiles of love, are capable of gratifying any tastes, and in face and figure they are unsurpassed by any women in the world."[46] This was contrasted with the reputedly moralistic and sexually inhibited women found in the West. Even popular fiction referred to "the luresome,

caressing smile of the East" and "the numerous and exotic vices which have sprung from the soil of the Orient."[47]

In this wide-ranging and multi-layered discourse, conducted over many decades in the UK, US and elsewhere, Burma and the Burmese were rarely singled out for attention. However, when they were mentioned during this period, representations of the country and its peoples tended to conform to the same broad patterns.

Burma and the Popular Imagination

European contacts with Burma began during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In their ship's logs and private journals, early explorers described a society and culture that was quite different from any they had encountered before. Inevitably, they emphasized the sensational and shocking, such as Burma's reputedly fabulous wealth and its inhabitants' sexual freedom. For example, travelers never tired of describing Pegu's shrines "filled with images of massy gold and gems."[48] There were also reports that Burmese women went about "in almost complete nudity to entice the men and to keep them away from sodomy."[49] Such stories were given wide circulation. As foreign contacts grew, and Burma came to be visited more often by traders, officials and missionaries, accounts grew in range and number. As a rule, they became more comprehensive and reflective, but many continued to promote outlandish ideas.[50]

In one way or another, these works touched upon almost every aspect of life in Burma, but they achieved little in terms of educating the Western world about the country and its culture. Even after the First Anglo-Burmese War, and the annexation of parts of coastal Burma in 1826, it is unlikely that many people in the UK had even heard of it. If they had, it was probably only in connection with unusual phenomena like Burma's "hairy families," news of which caused a sensation throughout Western Europe, and later the US.[51] Another subject considered worthy of comment at the time was the spicy side dish known as *ngapi*, which some commentators considered "the rankest filth," "perfectly unbearable to the European."[52] Yet another source of fascination was the "giraffe-neck" Padaung women of eastern Burma who, like the country's "hairy families," were put on public display by circuses in the UK and US.[53] As Jonathan Saha has observed, accounts of such unusual people and practices were "no doubt a way of portraying Burma as a strange and backward place."[54]

This situation did not really change after the Second Anglo-Burmese War in 1852, and the annexation of Lower Burma in January 1853. This was due in large part to a lack of reporting on the country. As Deborah Boyer has noted, "In the early 1870s, Burma was considered an uneventful backwater,

worthy of little attention in Britain."[55] Many in the UK and US saw it simply as an extension of India (which technically it was, until it became a colony in its own right in 1937), and often confused the two places. There were descriptions of Burma in the memoirs of officials, missionaries and soldiers who had been posted there, but the readership of such works was small. In any case, the general mood was one of complacency. In 1860, one official described the "general character of the Burman" as "naturally gay and careless."[56] "At all times," wrote another observer in 1878, the Burmese "frankly yield to the superiority of the European."[57] As far as it went, the popular view was summed up in 1882 by the Indian Civil Service (ICS) officer George Scott, writing under the pseudonym "Shway Yoe." To his mind, "the Burman is the most calm and contented of mortals," with a "light heart and buoyant disposition."[58]

Around 1880, however, relations between the British government and the Burmese monarchy began to deteriorate. Stories about Burma in the popular press in the UK began to take on a much more critical tone. King Mindon (reigned 1853–1878) had been seen by most foreigners as a moderate and sensible reformer. However, his successor King Thibaw (reigned 1878–1885) was increasingly portrayed either as a fool and a weakling manipulated by his scheming and vicious wife, Queen Supayalat, or as a drunken and blood-thirsty tyrant who cared little for his country or people. Concerns in London were further raised when Mandalay opened negotiations with the French government, a "sly move" in the eyes of the British, which threatened India and upset the balance of power in Southeast Asia.[59] In both stories and editorials, newspapers like *The Times*, periodicals like *Punch* and pictorial publications like *The Graphic* began to lay the groundwork for a noble military venture that would not only protect British strategic and commercial interests in the region, but also free the Burmese people from the yoke of oppression.

The Third Anglo-Burmese War of 1885 was covered by the British press in predictably jingoistic terms, with the inevitable fanfare after the fall of Mandalay and subsequent exile of King Thibaw and his wife to India. To the conquerors, the benefits of British rule were felt to be obvious. According to one contemporary commentator:

> If riches and personal comfort, protection of property, just laws, incorruptible judges and rulers, are blessings as a set-off against Utopian dreams of freedom, then Jack Burman has a happy future.[60]

Another saw the new political order improving the character of the Burmese people:

> European civilisation will become engrafted on Oriental customs, and British energy will banish to some extent Burmese indolence.

> It cannot but be good for the Burmans to undergo the discipline of British rule.[61]

The Burmese themselves, however, were not as quick to embrace the blessings of a colonial administration as their conquerors expected.

Before Mandalay fell, it had been supposed by British officials that "the prospects of the substitution of a strong and orderly government for the incompetent and cruel tyranny of their former ruler" would be welcomed by the local population.[62] It was not long, however, before this assumption was proven wrong. Newspapers and periodicals in the UK began to report on a drawn-out campaign being waged to "pacify" Upper Burma, mainly through a series of small-scale engagements against former members of Thibaw's army, other nationalists and lawless elements.[63] Also, as the British extended their reach further north and west, they encountered opposition from some of the ethnic minorities, usually described as "hill tribes." These operations necessitated the deployment of additional army units from India and, in 1887, the creation of the Burma Military Police (BMP), a powerful force that before long took over primary responsibility for the province's internal security.[64] Those Burmese violently resisting the imposition of British rule were not accorded any political status, but were simply described as *dacoits*, or armed bandits.

Initially, breathless accounts of British derring-do in far-off Burma were followed with interest by the wider public in the UK, and elsewhere. The efforts of the soldiers and military policemen conducting counter-insurgency campaigns were reported in positive terms. Those men killed were extolled in the news media as heroes. As noted by Deborah Boyer, however:

> People tired quickly of the reports of violence in Burma, and by March 1886, Burma was rarely mentioned in the press. The articles that did appear again shifted their depictions of the Burmans towards the palatable.[65]

In 1887, the commander of military forces in Burma reported that "the country was gradually becoming quiet." In part, he put this down to "the entire absence of fanaticism amongst the Burmese, and their cheerful, happy natures."[66] Burma was effectively under military rule, and indeed remained so for most of the colonial period, but it came to be described as a kind of earthly "Arcadia" populated by a gentle and generous people.[67] By 1916, the Burmese were routinely being described in the West as "the happiest people on earth."[68]

In 1893, Burma was considered sufficiently settled and secure to permit a glittering state tour by the Viceroy of India, Lord Landsdowne. The country was also visited by a growing number of tourists and artists, several of whom published enthusiastic accounts of the UK's picturesque new possession. At

the end of the century one female traveler summarized the prevailing mood in glowing terms:

> Burma combines so much: the glory of the East; the mystery of the unknown, in its strange tribes and races as yet but half understood, even by those who have studied them most; the fascination of nature untamed; and the comfort of travelling under British rule.[69]

The people too were described in glowing, if rather patronizing, terms. When the Prince of Wales (later George V) toured Burma in 1906, for example, the "real Burmese" were described by a journalist in his party as:

> the clean, happy-go-lucky aristocratic children of the land, content to leave the sordid pursuit of lucre to their more astute and prosaic competitors from East and West … It is an idyllic people, almost unreal in its delicate quaintness.[70]

Reminiscing about his career many years later, the historian (and former ICS member) G.E. Harvey recalled that:

> When I was sent to Burma in 1912 everyone congratulated me on being sent to the happiest and most charming people in India, laughing fairskinned Mongolians, quite unspoilt, quite unlike the sullen seditious Indians.[71]

Doubtless prompted by the successful campaign waged by the army and military police after the fall of Mandalay, and the subsequent installation of British administration throughout the country, yet another foreign observer wrote in the 1920s that "the Burman is adaptable and easily civilised."[72] This visitor envisaged a politically stable and prosperous province for years to come.

Perhaps reflecting the debate over female emancipation then occurring in the West, but more likely the enduring preoccupations of Western men, one constant focus of the attention being paid to Burma during the colonial period was its women.

The West and "Burma Girls"

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were three parallel narratives governing the perceived status and character of Burmese women.

In the first, foreign observers saw them as independent and liberated, by contemporary standards. There were frequent comparisons with less tolerant cultures and approving references to the fact that in Buddhist Burma women did not have to submit to practices such as *sati* or *purdah*.[73] For example, the American Baptist missionary Ann Judson wrote in 1823 that "the sexes have equally free intercourse as in Europe."[74] In 1878, Charles Forbes wrote that:

> Though the inferiority of the softer sex is a point that has never been disputed, in Burma women enjoy a much freer and higher position than elsewhere in the East; indeed, in some matters they have attained rights that their sisters in England are still seeking to obtain, or have only lately gained.[75]

George Scott (again writing as "Shway Yoe") felt that "Burmese maidens … enjoy a freer and happier position than in any other Eastern country, and in some respects are better off even than women in England."[76]

In the same vein, Harold Fielding Hall, a senior government official in Burma between 1887 and 1891, wrote an article for the *Scientific American* in 1895 (under the name Fielding) which began:

> Nowhere under the sun has any nation accorded to its women such absolute freedom, such entire command of their lives and property, as have the Burmese. They stand in every way on an absolute equality with men, as far as law, as religion, and as custom are concerned.[77]

Expounding on this theme in a later book, Fielding Hall claimed that a Burmese woman, unlike her European or Indian counterparts, "has been bound by no ties:"

> In Burma she has been neither confined nor guided. In Europe and India for very long the idea was to make woman a hot-house plant, to see that no rough winds struck her, that no injuries overtook her. In Burma she has had to look out for herself: she has had freedom to come to grief as well as to come to strength.[78]

He felt that this experience made Burmese women stronger and more independent than the women of other cultures.

They were also considered excellent business and household managers. Writing about Burmese wives, for example, George Scott stated that "she keeps the shop that is to be found in almost every house in the country towns, and usually makes far more money than the goodman himself."[79] In Burma, wrote another observer, "few husbands would dare to enter into any mercantile arrangements without the aid or advice of their wives."[80] Other foreign visitors commented on the dominant role that Burmese women played in the local markets and bazaars. In his short story "Georgie Porgie" (1888), for example, Rudyard Kipling wrote that:

> No race, men say who know, produces such good wives and heads of households as the Burmese … When all our troops are back from Burma there will be a proverb in their mouths, 'As thrifty as a Burmese wife.' … English ladies will wonder what it means.[81]

Burmese women were contrasted with "ornamental" European women, who were described by some colonials as "a useless, expensive misery."[82] Writing

soon after the Second World War, during which he served in Burma, the Australian journalist Wilfred Burchett stated of Burmese women that "Throughout the East they are known for their shrewdness in business dealings, their independence, and the fact of their higher social status than any of their sisters in Asia."[83]

As scholars like Chie Ikeya and Jessica Harriden have pointed out, the lot of women in Burma was in fact much more complicated, and the widespread perception of their "traditional" high status was in part the result of self-serving misrepresentations by European colonialists and missionaries.[84] Even so, foreign observers both during this period and since have generally agreed that, compared to their counterparts elsewhere in Asia, Burmese women enjoyed a "remarkable degree of independence."[85]

One corollary of this perceived independence, however, and the apparent ease with which Burmese women could secure a divorce, was the implication of sexual availability, even licentiousness. For example, an 1826 guide book entitled *The Modern Traveller* stated that:

> Unfortunately, however, for the perpetuity of conjugal felicity, in no country, perhaps, is the marriage contract regarded with so little respect, or maintained with so little propriety as in Birmah.[86]

Other Europeans described what they saw as evidence of the ingrained promiscuity of Burmese women. For example, in 1827 Thomas Trant wrote that "Chastity, in the sense we understand the word, is but little known."[87] W. H. Marshall opined in 1860 that the dress of Burmese women was "unbecoming and indecent."[88] Gwendolen Trench Gascoigne was hinting at their sexual freedom when she wrote in 1896 that "Utterly unlike their miserable Mahomedan and Hindoo sisters, they enjoy absolute liberty – a liberty of which, if rumour prove true, they make ample use."[89] The painter Robert Kelly was reflecting a widely held belief that Burmese men were lazy and effeminate, and Burmese women free and easy, when he wrote in 1905 that the latter preferred "to mate with the more energetic males of other countries."[90]

These views seem to have been widely held. They also maintained their currency over a considerable period. For example, one British character in Orwell's *Burmese Days*, published in 1934, remarks to a compatriot that "These people's sense of decency isn't the same as ours."[91]

The judgments implicit in this second narrative were applied to other social behaviors. For example, there was a widespread belief in the West that, according to Burmese custom, there was "nothing dishonourable or wrong" in taking a woman as a mistress or "local wife."[92] Several seventeenth century visitors to the southern Burmese kingdoms of Arakan and Pegu had described the local custom of offering guests women for their amusement and comfort.[93] After his visit to Burma in 1795, the British envoy Michael Symes wrote that:

> The lower class of Burmans make no scruple of selling their daughters, and even their wives, to foreigners, who come to pass a temporary residence among them. It reflects no disgrace on any of the parties, and the woman is not dishonoured by the connection.[94]

Colonial officials later posted to Burma were happy to take advantage of this custom. They found that it was not difficult to recruit a local girl to act as a concubine. This was the subject of Kipling's "Georgie Porgie," in which a British officer purchases a Burmese girl, but later returns to the UK to marry a European woman.[95] In that story, the girl accepted her abandonment quietly, unlike the Burmese mistresses portrayed in Orwell's *Burmese Days* and Pablo Neruda's poem "Widower's Tango."[96]

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, cohabitation with local women was much more common among Europeans in Burma than it was among the expatriate community in India. One ICS officer posted to Burma in 1898 estimated that 90 per cent of the British men there had local mistresses.[97] A special school was founded in Rangoon to educate children with European fathers. Such a situation inevitably aroused some controversy.[98] Groups like the London-based Association for Moral and Social Hygiene reported disapprovingly that "The general attitude of the Local [colonial] Government towards the concubinage of Europeans with Burmese women and girls has been one not only of leniency and condonation, but of positive friendliness."[99] Faced with persistent pressure from such groups, and their supporters in the British parliament, the colonial authorities issued four official notices to restrict the practice in Burma, but they were only partially successful.[100] Perhaps it was this situation which prompted one expatriate to write in 1916 that, of all countries, Burma was "one of the most immoral in the world."[101]

In the third narrative, Burmese females enjoyed a more positive image. They were described by most foreign observers as "on the whole, remarkably good-looking," with "faultless figures."[102] According to the Burmese scholar Maung Htin Aung, "Even that proud conqueror of Ava, Lord Dufferin, although he was received with dark looks by the Burmese during his state visit to Mandalay early in 1886, wrote back to a friend in England, extolling the grace, charm and freedom of Burmese women."[103] A few years later, the painter Robert Kelly wrote that "among the women and young girls I have seen many of extreme beauty."[104] Rudyard Kipling too felt that "seriously, the Burmese girls are very pretty."[105] In 1946, Wilfred Burchett described Burmese women as "slim, sprightly and beautiful, with a natural exquisite taste for dress and decoration."[106]

At the same time, however, they were constantly patronized and infantilized, treated as though they (and the Burmese people more generally) were "immature and incomplete, and therefore in need of protection and control

by a more historically adult people, which is how the British thought of and represented themselves."[107] While at one level their independence and managerial capabilities were acknowledged, Burmese women were repeatedly dismissed by officials, tourists and others as "happy, smiling, care-free little women" and "grinning, good-humoured little maidens."[108] One observer felt that "a more cheery little body is not to be met with on earth."[109] Burmese girls were also praised for their delicate charm and "winsome womanhood."[110] In 1907, a female visitor to Burma described them as "dear coquettish little things."[111] Six years later, a book published in London on the vexed subject of *Western Men with Eastern Morals* argued that, in Burma's rural districts, "the maidens are as simple and sweet as wild flowers."[112] In 1921, an American missionary posted to Burma described its "dainty damsels" and "little silken ladies."[113]

George Scott felt that, unlike the women of some other Asian cultures, Burmese wives treated their husbands as comrades, not idols.[114] Even so, the English-language literature of the time made frequent references to Burmese women in terms which emphasized their apparent submissiveness and willingness to cater to men's needs and desires. For example, one study of "Oriental women" written in 1915 stated:

> The Burmese wife makes no demands upon her lord and master; she is obedient, attendant to his every want, and never scolding and discontented. As far as material wants are concerned, the native woman of any Eastern country makes an ideal wife for the average European … he is always her lord, she is always his slave.[115]

To a greater or lesser degree, these sentiments were echoed by other observers, strengthening the view in the West that "Burma girls" were invariably meek and obedient. As companions, they were compared favorably to their British counterparts, who were implicitly described as cold and formal, and bound by rigid conventions.[116] One traditionally-minded European visiting Burma in the 1890s went further, describing emancipated British women as the "shrieking, lecturing, struggling, unmannerly female, this terrible product of the nineteenth century."[117]

These images were strengthened by pictorial representations of Burma and Burmese women by British artists such as Frederick Goodall, Robert Talbot Kelly, W.G. Burn Murdoch, A. Hugh Fisher, Gerald Kelly and James Raeburn Middleton.[118] All except Goodall visited Burma, and for his painting "The Road to Mandalay" (1899) Goodall drew on the advice of people familiar with the country.[119] Almost without exception, in oil paintings, watercolors and sketches, the works of these artists emphasized the slightness, natural elegance and beauty of their subjects, who were usually dressed in colorful traditional costumes and posed in exotic settings.[120] Such portraits proved immensely popular. For example, a number of Gerald Kelly's 20 or

so iconic portraits of the Burmese "princess" Sao Ohn Nyunt, painted during the 1930s, were made into limited edition prints and posters. Sales of the latter over the years exceeded 50,000 copies, and some are still available.[121] Revealingly, the writer Somerset Maugham said of Kelly's Burma paintings that he had "given us the character of the East as we of our generation see it."[122]

As more and more people visited Burma after its "pacification," the country became a little better known, helped by the increasing flow of memoirs, travel books and (to a lesser extent) novels about the country.[123] Juvenile literature too proved to be an effective means for the diffusion of ideas and attitudes. They were not uniform, but the main themes were surprisingly consistent, and conformed to well-established images of the country and its people. This included depictions of Burmese women. As Lucy Delap has argued, "Despite portrayals as 'new' and 'modern' womanhood, Burmese women were usually seen as ignorant, eroticised and physically 'other."'[124] These views tapped into racial stereotypes regarding the sexual propensities of Asian women as well as other views prevalent at the time, for example that a tropical climate accentuated physical desires and made them harder to resist.[125] All these images were tied to a re-emergence of wider Western interest in what Scott O'Connor and others called the "silken East."[126]

Such an Orientalist picture catered to the fantasies of many white men at the time, but apparently it was also accepted as valid by many European and American women. It made all of them, and those who followed after them, highly receptive to romanticized images of exotic places far away, and sentimental odes to demure and love-struck Asian girls. As song-writers, composers and producers had discovered long before then, a potent means of exploiting such feelings and turning them into a profit was through music.

Sexism and Songs

The portrayal of Burmese women in popular songs during the colonial period was affected not just by a sense of racial and cultural superiority but also by the deeply patriarchal nature of Victorian society. Even the UK's imperial expansion was expressed in terms of a strong, masculine Britain imposing its will on weak, feminine foreigners. In addition to those deeply ingrained attitudes, the treatment of Burmese women was affected by their Orientalist image in the West and the mixed reactions this provoked. For, as noted by Ian Buruma, even before Britain's conquest of Burma, Asian women were portrayed in Western literature and music as exotic beauties, figures of mystery, objects of desire, and the potential sources of unimaginable pleasures. This added to their erotic fascination for many men.

As far as Burma was concerned, popular music in the West took its tone from Rudyard Kipling's "Mandalay" (1890), a poem of six stanzas in which a former British soldier, discharged from military service and working in a London bank, reviews his experiences during the recent Burma campaign. He expresses his longing for a young Burmese girl, who is described as waiting in idyllic surroundings for her sweetheart to return.

> By the old Moulmein Pagoda, lookin' eastward to the sea,
> There's a Burma girl a-settin', and I know she thinks o' me;
> For the wind is in the palm-trees, and the temple-bells they say:
> 'Come you back, you British soldier; come you back to Mandalay!'[127]

This poem, with its timeless themes of idealized romance, cultural fusion and exotic locales, had an extraordinary impact on the popular imagination in the West. It inspired more than 24 different musical settings, usually published under the title of "On The Road to Mandalay," and colored hundreds of later works with similar themes.

An early example was a song by Roderic Penfield and Hans Scherber entitled "My Maid of Mandalay" (1907), which followed the Kipling story closely. The singer pines for "My little girl in green" who "lifted up her tear-dimmed eyes to look a last goodbye."

> The palm trees trembled in the breeze,
> The temple bells rang out,
> Their music floated far across the water of the bay;
> She said her heart was mine, all
> My maid of Mandalay.[128]

During the jazz age (1918–1929), the composers and songwriters of America's Tin Pan Alley, and its UK counterpart, produced dozens of songs that depicted young Burmese women pining for their foreign lovers. "Down in Old Rangoon" (1923), with words by Win Ewart and music by Charles Prentice, was typical of the genre:

> Down in old Rangoon
> 'Neath the shining moon
> Sings a maiden fair,
> Clear in the evening air.
> Sad and lone is she,
> Singing to her boy o'er the sea.[129]

As an aside, this song is noteworthy for being one of the few musical works of the period that specifically mentioned the administrative and commercial capital of the colonial regime, which was built by the British after the Second Anglo-Burmese War.[130] Thanks to Kipling's abiding influence, most songs with Burmese themes referred only to Mandalay.

A slightly different approach taken by some lyricists was to describe a Western man fondly recalling his days in Asia and the local girl who had kept him company there. This was the theme, for example, of "Moonlight in Mandalay" (1925) by Lou Herscher, Elmer Naylor and Marty Fay:

> Oh take me back to Mandalay,
> My land of dreams;
> Where palm trees sway and moon beams play
> On silv'ry streams
> With lips aflame, oh let me claim
> The heart I stole away.[131]

It was released by Victor Records in 1926 starring Edwin J. McEnelly's orchestra, and with vocals by Lewis James.

In these and many other songs, Burmese women were consistently infantilized and praised for their supposedly childlike qualities. They were repeatedly described as "maids" or "little girls."[132] The song "In Mandalay" (1918), for example, speaks of a "little Burmese maiden" and a "brown eyed wonder."[133] They are typically "sweet and gentle."[134] Even when played by an English girl in disguise, as in the musical comedy *The Blue Moon* (1905), they are "dark, demure and dreamy."[135] This romantic picture found a ready audience in Western countries. It not only fitted prevailing male ideas of ideal womanhood, but it also conformed to other common beliefs. For example, notwithstanding the widespread views of "primitive" foreigners, many Europeans were still attracted to the romantic notion of the "noble savage," uncorrupted by Western civilization, which had taken a hold on the popular imagination the previous century.[136]

Burmese women were also portrayed as essentially passive figures, accepting of their lot in life, even if that was to be abandoned by their European lover or temporary "husband." Indeed, their apparently uncomplicated lifestyle and simple tastes were seen as highly desirable, making them even more attractive to Western men:

> Oh Burmah girl you're quite divine,
> Would we had met before,
> On my half pay if you were mine
> I could do so much more;
> You do not ask for rows of pearls
> To trim your frenzied frocks,
> You only need a simple bead,
> You've got no op'ra box.
> Burmah, Burmah, Burmah girl
> You don't spend your days at
> Woolland's and Jay's,
> You don't fret to play roulette,
> Making a poor man squirm, ah!

Burmah, Burmah, Burmah girl no Carlton for you,
No supper for two,
I've made up my mind,
If a wife I find I shall bring her to live in Burmah.[137]

Again emphasizing the supposed simple pleasures of life with a Burmese girl, "My Song of India" (1921) claimed that "wealth means nothing down old Burmah way."[138]

Similar sentiments were expressed by some British colonial civil servants (and amateur songwriters) who were living in Burma at the time. They contrasted the behavior and demeanor of local women with those of their counterparts back home in the UK, who were agitating for equal rights with men:

Come where the *mingaley* reigns supreme,
Beyond the hope of the Feminist's dream;
Where the pranks of the hooligan Suffragette
Are quite as unknown as the wilds of Thibet.
The sceptre she wields is a winsome smile,
Mightier far than 'political bile:'
As sparkling champagne surpasses the Nile,
Or the skin of an apple the core![139]

A "mingaley" (or *mingale*) is a young Burmese girl. One verse of the song's chorus referred to "dear old Burma / Where votes do not vex / The feminine sex."[140]

In popular songs, "Burma girls" were frequently compared with the women of other countries, usually with positive results. Kipling started the practice in "Mandalay" by referring to "fifty 'ousemaids outer Chelsea to the Strand" with "Beefy face an' grubby 'and," who did not understand the wants and needs of servicemen returned from the East. He longed for a "neater, sweeter maiden" in a "cleaner, greener land."[141] Also, as a song in *The Blue Moon* made clear:

Throughout the world I've been or seen
Girls of each sort and kind,
But not one have I met as yet
With qualities so defined.
The Irish girl, the Scottish lass, delightful in their way,
And English girls, forgive me please, but I am bound to say:
Burmah, Burmah, Burmah girl
You stand alone of all I have known
With your smiles and roguish wiles,
How can a man be firm, ah! ...[142]

Over and again in the songs of the day European men declaimed that "Other girls are lovely yet / You are still my eastern Queen."[143]

In most of these works, sex is only hinted at, but it is an ever-present consideration. For example, there is the suggestion in "Mandalay" that Kipling's British soldier did more than just kiss his "Burma girl" by the pagoda. Many of Kipling's readers would have known that in 1886 the poet had written another work, called "The Ladies," which included a verse about Burmese women:

> Then I was ordered to Burma,
> Actin' in charge o' Bazar,
> An' I got me a tiddy live 'eathen
> Through buyin' supplies off 'er pa.
> Funny and yellow an' faithful
> Doll in a teacup she were
> But we lived on the square, like a true-married pair,
> An' I learned about women from 'er![144]

The narrator adds, "But the things you will learn from the Yellow an' Brown, / They'll 'elp you a lot with the White!"

In such cases, Kipling's sympathies tended to be with the women left behind, but he also understood the impulses which prompted men in Burma and India proper to take "local wives" and, in most cases, eventually leave them behind. To criticisms of such behavior, his response was:

> civilised people who eat out of china and carry card-cases have no right to apply their standard of right and wrong to an unsettled land … The men who run ahead of the cars of Decency and Propriety, and make the jungle ways straight, cannot be judged in the same manner as the stay-at-home folks of the ranks of the regular Tchin.[145]

"Tchin" appears to be a reference to "the ranks," that is officials and civil servants not posted abroad. Kipling's was a view that was shared by many European men at the time, including those in Burma where, after all, "there aren't no ten commandments."[146] When it became the subject of a heated public debate in the UK in 1912, similar views were expressed by a senior ICS officer who, referring to the health risks associated with prostitution, felt that "the Burman system of concubinage, with its attendant evils, is, after all, more moral than a less permanent tie."[147]

Music hall performances and vaudeville shows during the Victorian and Edwardian eras could be rather bawdy but the mood in musical comedies and operettas tended to be a little more restrained. As Michael Newbury has noted, it was "prim but sexually promising, decent but potentially disruptive."[148] This theme of coy suggestiveness was carried over to many Burma-related songs. The artwork on the covers of some sheet music alludes to a sexual liaison, with its pictures of girls dressed for the *harem*, or women with off-the-shoulder dresses giving arch backward looks of the kind associated with

something more than an innocent kiss behind the pagoda.[149] In the song "Moonlight in Mandalay" (1920), the allusion is stronger:

> 'Neath your skies tender eyes are burning,
> Oh Mandalay,
> My Mandalay!
> 'Neath your palms slender arms are yearning,
> And I am far away.[150]

On the cover of the sheet music for "Burma Nights" (1922), the woman appears topless, in what could be mistaken for a South Pacific scene. The song's lyrics hint at "mystic sweet delights" (Valentine and St Clair, 1922). The song "I'm Goin' to Jazz My Way to Mandalay" (1924), which was a hit for the Swanee Syncopators and Charles "Nat" Star's Orchestra, was a knowing reference to unbridled sexual activity.[151]

In a major departure from the mainstream, sex was a central theme of Bertolt Brecht and Kurt Weill's 1929 musical *Happy End*. In a deliberate challenge to the stereotypical heroine of "Mandalay" and its imitators, the "Burma girl" is a prostitute working in a brothel. She is clearly in great demand, if not actually overworked:

> Faster, Johnny hey, faster, Johnny, hey,
> Sing the man the song of Mandalay:
> Love doesn't have days and weeks to be reckoned,
> Johnny, come on, don't you dare waste a second![152]

In the show, Burma is summed up by the line:

> All the girls are cute as they can be,
> Even if they won't put out for free.[153]

Fantasizing about such matters was common musical comedy fare, but Brecht and Weill took the popular myth of the sexual allure and availability of Asian women, and stood it on its head. In doing so they successfully challenged not only the social conventions of the day (although Berlin between the wars was pretty relaxed about such matters) but also one of the most durable myths prevailing in the Western world about Burmese "maids."

There is unlikely to be a direct connection, but this cynical view of Burmese girls echoes a poem by George Orwell, written around 1925 when he was serving in Burma with the Indian Imperial Police. It was ironically titled "A Romance:"

> When I was young and had no sense
> In far-off Mandalay
> I lost my heart to a Burmese girl
> As lovely as the day.
>
> Her skin was gold, her hair was jet,
> Her teeth were ivory;

I said 'For twenty silver pieces,
Maiden sleep with me.'

She looked at me, so pure, so sad,
The loveliest thing alive,
And in her lisping, virgin voice,
Stood out for twenty-five'.[154]

This poem does not appear ever to have been published, at least not in Orwell's lifetime. However, it neatly captures some of the abiding perceptions of "Burma girls" during the colonial period – namely their attractiveness, their demureness and their availability – which featured so strongly in popular Western music.

Afterword

At this stage, it might be asked why all these songs with a Burma theme were so popular. Many were ephemeral pieces and quickly forgotten, but Kipling's ballad and its key elements, enshrined in so many later songs, have clearly endured. The easy answer is that, regardless of their structure or subject matter, they were entertaining. They provided enjoyment and amusement. They were written to catchy tunes and met the immediate needs of the day, whether that was for songs in music halls and theatres, or for lively dance tunes. More than that, however, to most songwriters of the period Burma, and Mandalay in particular, became a potent symbol of the distant, exotic and mythical, where the codified "Burma girl" waited patiently for her European lover to return. As Edward Said wrote, "In a system of knowledge about the Orient, the orient is less a place than a *topos*, a set of references."[155] They in turn made these songs and tunes enormously attractive to their prime audiences in the West, albeit usually at the expense of accuracy, balance and perspective.

Perhaps it is within the historical context that the ultimate explanation of the popularity of these Burma-related songs must be sought. To use James Dormon's argument about the popularity of "coon songs" during much the same period, Burma-related songs conveyed "a multi-layered set of meanings and images, at times shifting and even contradictory in its implications."[156] They appealed at many different levels. At the risk of straying into socio-psychological analysis, there seems to have been a need in Western societies at the time for something that was offered by these songs and others like them. Again drawing on Dormon's analysis, if the complex signals operating at the conscious, cognitive level were to be construed as a symbolic statement, the songs might be said to have constituted a form of rhetoric encompassing an

ideology, a belief system reflecting the social needs of bourgeois society in the West.

This system seems to have included a need to judge and ultimately to dominate a society and culture that, despite its usual portrayal as "primitive," in some way threatened the West's sense of itself. On the surface, the songs suggested confidence – even arrogance. Looked at from another perspective, however, these works arguably revealed what Nigel Leask has described as "anxieties and instabilities" in Western society, not just "positivities and totalities."[157] While popular perceptions of the orient were clearly rooted in a sense of superiority, there was also recognition of a kind that aspects of the East undermined such a claim. This tension exposed the Western world's political and economic insecurities and its concerns over issues relating to religion, race and gender. At a deep level, the songs and tunes of the day seemed to offer comfort and reassurance about such matters, doubtless adding to their appeal and, in the case of Kipling's ballad "Mandalay," their durability.

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134. "I'm On My Way to Mandalay," words by Alfred L. Bryan and music by Fred Fisher (New York: Leo Feist Inc., 1913).

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THE ROLE OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JOB QUALITY AND FERTILITY INTENTIONS

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ABSTRACT. Where changes in fertility timing and sequencing do not suffice in explaining low fertility, scholars typically turn to socioeconomic determinants of fertility intentions like income, employment status, or work hours. Yet, few studies have focused on the importance of job quality and its relation to gender role attitudes. We examine in what way perceived job quality in terms of job stability and prestige are associated with the intention to have a child for men and women in the low fertility context Switzerland, whether job quality matters equally for first and subsequent child intentions, and whether a gender-unequal attitude changes the effects of job quality on the childbearing intentions of men and women. Using data from the Swiss Household Panel (waves 2002–2011), we estimate separate logit models of the fertility intentions of men and women without children and those with at least one child. We find that perceived job instability negatively affects the intention of having a first child for women but not for men. Our analyses suggest that the relation between perceived job quality and fertility intention is partially mediated by gender attitudes in so far as they modify the salience of job quality for men and women.

Keywords: maternal employment; job quality; fertility intention

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1. Introduction

In contrast to the United States, in some European countries, fertility has fallen below 1.5 births per woman. Family formation has been postponed to later ages, and childlessness rates have increased substantially (Johnson-Hanks et al., 2012). Among demographers there is a consensus that low fertility has emerged directly from fertility postponement and is mainly a consequence of changes in fertility timing (Kohler, Billari, & Ortega, 2002; Lutz, O'Neill, & Scherbov, 2004; Sobotka, 2004). Were postponement the only cause of fertility decline, such a decline would not persist, and a trend reversal would be expected. Indeed, most low-fertility European countries have recently experienced a reversal of fertility decline. Yet in all three German-speaking countries (Austria, Germany, and Switzerland), fertility has remained unchanged (Goldstein, Sobotka, & Jasilioniene, 2009; Sobotka & Zeman, 2011). Freijka & Sardon (2004, p. 376) estimated that women born in 1975 might reach completed fertility rates of 1.2–1.3 births by the end of their childbearing years in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland. Therefore, German-speaking countries are the only exception to the current reversal of fertility trends in Europe.

These developments make it crucial to understand intervening mechanisms other than demographic ones that can sustain such low total fertility rates. An emerging area of research focuses on the impact of housing conditions as mechanisms for determining fertility intentions. For example, Vignoli, Rinesi, & Mussino (2012) showed in a study using the Italian variant of the Generations and Gender Survey, a clear gradient between the fertility intentions of couples and the degree to which they feel secure about their housing situation. Home ownership represents one of the main sources of investment for family savings; it provides an indirect source of income (i.e. the imputed rent), it enables future and sustainable consumption (Dewilde & Raeymaeckers, 2008), and protects against risks of eviction (Mulder & Hooimeijer, 1999), thereby promoting the formation of childbearing intentions. Another important factor in the literature on fertility intentions are social network mechanisms. Social influence can help explain representations of parenthood and ideal family size (Bernardi, 2003), social learning mechanisms have been considered crucial to distinguish who forms childbearing intentions and puts them into practice, while finally social interaction is

important to fertility because relationships and informal support networks can complement the institutional provision of childcare (Bernardi & Rossier, 2009; Bernardi & Klärner, 2014). Researchers also derive fertility differentials from the design of family and employment policies to facilitate the reconciliation of work and family (Hoem, 2005; Kaufman & Bernhardt; Oláh & Bernhardt, 2008; Billingsley & Ferrarini, 2014).

Other scholars have emphasized the role of employment conditions on fertility (Blossfeld & Hofmeister, 2007; Blossfeld, Klijzing, Mills, & Kurz, 2005; Kreyenfeld, Andersson, & Pailhé, 2012; Sobotka, Skirbekk, & Philipov, 2011). Unemployment has been repeatedly related to low fertility, especially among men (Adsera, 2005; Pailhé & Solaz, 2012; Schmitt, 2012), and precarious work has been claimed to contribute to fertility postponement (Bernardi, Klaerner, & von der Lippe, 2008; Hanappi, Ryser, Bernardi, & Le Goff, 2012; Scherer, 2009; Steiber & Haas, 2009). Overall, findings suggest that the quality of a job matters in determining how easily parents can sustain the financial burden of a child and combine work and family, and therefore contributes to explaining childbearing intentions (Begall & Mills, 2011; Del Bono et al., 2014; Cazzola et al. 2016).

Far less is known about the effects of gender attitudes. Gender attitudes have been shown to influence work and care choices, as well as family planning (Rindfuss & Brewester, 1996; McQuillan et al., 2015). In contexts where women are disadvantaged in the work sphere (due to a large pay gap, less influential and often part-time positions, lower or uncertain income at retirement, and gender-biased parental leave) often such disadvantage translates in higher levels of childlessness and later transitions to motherhood. This is especially the case where the normative frame, expressed by individual attitudes towards care and maternal employment, does not sustain gender equality in the private sphere. The more unequal gender attitudes in the home the more likely families are under pressure, as women fulfill tasks in the labor market but still carry out most of the caregiving and domestic tasks, which puts great pressure on families to limit fertility (Neyer, Lappegård, & Vignoli, 2013; Oláh, 2003). Especially attitudes towards maternal employment are decisive in how families distribute work and care burdens. The latest discourse about maternal employment has been characterized by a re-traditionalization of gender attitudes in the private sphere. Wall (2013), in her media discourse analysis of Canada's leading family magazine, reports that there is a growing tendency to insist on "putting families first" rather than on improving conditions for work-family reconciliation for parents (mothers). If this is true two questions arise: On this basis are women and men who disapprove of maternal employment less likely to intend to have a child? And if so, do such attitudes change the relationship between job quality and fertility intention for them? To the best of our knowledge there is no previous study that has so far addressed this specific question.

In this article we therefore examined whether attitudes towards maternal employment change the relationship between job quality and the intention to have a child. First, we examined in what way job quality is associated with the intention to have a child and how this association differed for men and women; in a next step, we examined this association for first and subsequent child intentions (i.e., the childless versus parents) and again looked for gender differences. Subsequently, we examined the interaction between job quality and the gender-role attitude toward maternal employment and elaborated on how this attitude changes the effects of job quality on the childbearing intentions of men and women.

Our analysis is based on the Swiss Household Panel (2002–2011) and takes advantage of information on job stability and occupational prestige as two measures of job quality and the intention to have a child within 24 months. We thus account for the effects of occupational privileges – such as flexible work hours or the possibility of delegating work tasks to others if necessary – on the intention to have and raise children. We include interactions between individual gender-role attitudes, measuring how approval of maternal employment affects the link between job quality and fertility intentions. Whereas the concept of gender-role attitudes is relatively wide and contains gender roles in the public sphere (e.g., the belief that women are generally penalized), we focus on whether respondents approve of maternal employment because this attitude affects most how work and care choices are made upon the arrival of a child.

Given the reciprocal influences of partners on each other's fertility intentions, we control for partners' fertility intentions and a number of partners' characteristics (Cavalli & Rosina, 2011; Miller & Pasta, 1996; Vignoli, Drefahl, & De Santis, 2012). We make assumptions, based on previous empirical evidence, on the causal direction of the association between job quality and fertility intentions.

The Swiss case is particularly interesting as it is one of the few exceptions to the abovementioned fertility reversal. This country showcases a pattern whereby if women are disadvantaged at work and gender inegalitarian norms dominate, the outcome is low fertility and high rates of childlessness. According to SHP data concrete intentions to have children of 2.19 for men and 2.21 for women by far exceed actual fertility (i.e. the total fertility rate amounts to about 1.5) (for details see Philipov and Bernardi, 2011, p. 511). According to this panel data, 55 per cent of the respondents who declared they want a child within the next two years realized this intention, compared to for instance the Netherlands were this holds for 75 per cent of respondents (Philipov & Bernardi, 2011, p. 515). Most of the respondents who did not realize their intention declared an intention to have a child during the subsequent three years (Hanappi, 2014). Though such a finding is often observed in low fertility contexts and thus is not peculiar to

Switzerland, the rather large gap between fertility intentions and their realization suggests that Switzerland's particularly low gender equality at work and in the family have made Switzerland the locus of a "third fertility compromise," whereby a hardly bearable compromise between working and having children are considered crucial for low fertility rates (Caldwell, 2008).

2. Background

Many studies have aimed to identify factors that have been associated with a decline of micro- and macro-level fertility over the past quarter century. In the microeconomic literature employment is considered a key determinant in fertility differentials. Men's employment has been consistently described as a major factor associated with increasing fertility, whereas increasing female labor force participation has often been seen in relationship with fertility decline during that period (Engelhardt, Kögel, & Prskawetz, 2004). Female employment is seen to have two effects on fertility: first, women's employment might contribute to increasing household income and therefore improve the family's capacity to meet its budget, which might increase fertility by an income effect. Alternatively, a substitution effect might decrease fertility because a woman's temporary absence from the labor market due to childbearing might result in an earnings decline over the life course (Kohler & Kohler, 2002). Empirical studies seem to bear this out, having supported ambiguous employment effects on micro-level fertility (see Blossfeld & Hofmeister, 2007; Özcan, Mayer, & Luedicke, 2010, for examples).

2.1. Job Quality, Gender Roles, and Fertility

Most microeconomic analyses examine the link between employment and fertility by focusing on employment status, types of contracts, and income (actual employment uncertainty). Empirical evidence is scarcer with respect to perceived job quality. The concept of job quality was most commonly conceived as job stability and, to some extent to occupational prestige (Hofmann & Hohmeyer, 2013). The higher the level of job stability and the higher the score of occupational prestige, the higher would be a person's *job quality*.

The gender literature on fertility intentions suggests that the *direct* relationship of perceived job quality on the intention to have a child is different for men and women (Neyer et al., 2013): in gender-unequal contexts women engage less in paid work and more in domestic work, so that the role job quality has for them in making childbearing decisions is a subordinate one. An approach that takes a similar perspective is the master status approach developed by Krüger & Levy (2001). They posited that despite some

progress toward egalitarian values in the Western World, men and women are still preferentially assigned to either the work domain (in the case of men) or the family (in the case of women). Men therefore comply with their master status if they invest in work, whereas women need to accommodate their work with family needs to comply with norms of good mothering.

Perceived job instability. Perceived job instability is one component of job quality and has increasingly been studied to estimate the impact of the economic recession on fertility. One major reason has been that societal transformations, labor market reforms, and increasing internationalization have increased uncertainties in individuals' lives. Beck (1999) coined the term "the risk society" to denote the effects of these developments. Many southern, central, and eastern European countries have indeed recorded substantial fertility declines in moments of economic and political uncertainty. Researchers have examined perceived rather than actual job instability (e.g., job fears versus limited duration contracts) with the idea that individuals may perceive job instability independently from their actual situation (for instance, fearing that their plant may close down despite having a permanent contract). If this were the case, the perception of losing one's job might restrain people as much as being actually unemployed (Kasl, Gore, & Cobb, 1975). Assuming the predictions of microeconomic theory and gender role theory on the effects of *perceived job instability* on fertility intentions, we expected that:

> Stable employment should be positively associated with fertility decisions, and thus fertility intentions. Job instability should be negatively associated with fertility intention. This association should be strong among men and weak among women (job instability hypothesis).

For men, we expect stable employment to strongly and positively affect their intention to have a child, because obtaining a stable income would support their breadwinner capacities and comply with existing norms of good fathering. For women, we expect a weaker positive impact of job stability on their fertility intentions because women are preferentially assigned the family and work is their subordinate domain.

Occupational prestige. Another component of job quality is occupational prestige. The literature on work–family conflict addresses the relationship between fertility decisions and *occupational prestige* – implying that occupational prestige matters for childbearing in different ways for men and women in gender-inegalitarian contexts: for men, prestigious jobs primarily imply higher income, while for women prestigious jobs are more about valuable resources to combine work and family (Voydanoff, 2005). For instance, people in high-prestige jobs might have the opportunity to work flexible hours and to delegate tasks and this might be especially important

for mothers (Hochschild & Manchung, 1989). This enables them to better cope with tensions between work and family life; such "good" jobs, as Begall & Mills (2001) called them, have been found to be positively linked with the intent to have a child. Accordingly, in gender-inegalitarian contexts, and because of the *direct* relationship that occupational prestige has with the intention to have a child, we expected that:

> Men in high-prestige more than low-prestige jobs will be prone to intend to have children because the widespread norms of good fathering define fathers as stable income providers and, therefore, are coherent with high-quality jobs. Women in high-prestige more than low-prestige jobs should also be prone to intend to have children; however, the widespread norms about good mothering define women as primary caregivers, and thus we expect the positive association between occupational prestige and childbearing intentions to be weaker among women compared to men (master status hypothesis I).

Gender roles. At the micro level, it is possible that the gender-role attitude toward maternal employment moderates the impact of job quality on fertility intentions. One explanation is that the gender-role attitude affects how men and women engage in working and caregiving within the couple (Buber-Ennser, 2015). Unequal gender roles make men more prone to engage in paid labor and women more prone to specialize in domestic work. Rind- fuss and Brewster (1996) observed such specialization, which, according to them, resulted in a more traditional division of household labor. Gender roles also have repercussions on other couple decisions such as the decision to have a child (Oláh & Bernhardt, 2008). Couples anticipate future work and care responsibilities arising from having children. In this way it is likely that the impact of job stability on child intentions is influenced by people's gender-role attitudes. In particular, their attitude toward maternal employment is central: If people are concerned about maternal employment, they implicitly assign caregiving to women, which affects their work and care choices. Given people assume a child suffers with a working mother, they may also believe men will need to earn most of the family income to sustain the household. This is coherent with the master status approach by Levy, Widmer, & Kellerhals (2002), which suggested the following substantial gender differences: Whereas a working father would meet societal expectations for him by merely being the provider of a stable income, mothers with a stable income would not necessarily meet expectations for them by providing most of the childcare. Even though in Switzerland many mothers have stable part-time jobs (Anxo, Fagan, Cebrian, & Moreno, 2007), their job stability is still subordinate to childrearing in order to reconcile work and family life. Consequently, do women concerned about maternal employment assign less importance to their own job stability in the formation of family plans. Simul-

taneously, do such attitudes increase the impact of job stability among men because they consider their ability to provide a stable income more important compared to those men with a gender-equal attitude.

Gender roles also influence the impact of occupational prestige on childbearing intentions. Occupational prestige is often linked with valuable resources to combine work and family (e.g., financial resources to outsource childcare, support from family). However, most women concerned about maternal employment may not base childbearing intentions on the availability of resources; rather, they rely on their partners. Men who disapprove of maternal employment consider themselves as the main income providers, and hence, gender roles should increase the association between occupational prestige and childbearing intentions. This means that the specific gender-role attitude toward maternal employment may bring gender differences to the forefront (Levy, Widmer, & Kellerhals, 2002; Oláh, 2003) in the effect of occupational prestige on fertility intentions. We therefore expect that:

> The attitude toward maternal employment increases the association between job quality (i.e., job stability and occupational prestige) and childbearing intention for men but weakens this association for women (Hank & Kreyenfeld, 2003; Rindfuss & Brewster, 1996) (master status hypothesis II).

2.2. Parenthood and Fertility

Research has shown variation among countries in the extent to which employment affects fertility decisions between mothers and fathers compared to childless women and men, respectively (Schmitt, 2012). Some have argued that this variation is closely related to the policy regime at work (Rindfuss, Guzzo, & Morgan, 2003), to the degree of gender equality (Neyer et al., 2013), and to common national labor-market participation patterns over the life course (Anxo, Fagan, Cebrian, & Moreno, 2007).[1] From a microeconomic perspective, low job quality will reduce the price of time required for family duties, in other words it will cost less to spend time with family because the time spent at work is of lesser value. Ignoring potential income effects, low job quality should have a positive association with fertility intentions due to the reduced opportunity-cost of the partner with a low-quality job; he or she can specialize in the homemaker role, and – in the case of parents – also in the caregiver role. However, there are practical (mostly financial) and normative limitations on the extent to which fathers can and are ready to take on a larger share of parental duties. Moreover, in countries such as Switzerland, where a male breadwinner model dominates, the negative social impacts of low father's job quality compared to low childless men's job quality may be stronger than opportunity costs arising from undertaking parental duties (e.g., forgone promotions, reduced income).

The job instability and master status I hypotheses shall translate as follows for men and women: in the case of men, there should be a stronger positive association between job quality and fertility intentions for fathers than childless men. Having a stable and high-status job is all the more important for fathers than men without children in a male breadwinner context, because each child increases the need for higher income. In the case of women, we expect to observe a weaker positive association among mothers when they are primary caregivers compared to childless women, because having children in the household increases the total housework and care load and then competes with often more demanding high-quality jobs.

Regarding parents, our master status II hypothesis draws on studies suggesting that parenthood renders actual care choices more important than attitudes toward gender roles. Two explanations are possible: first, men and women have to face practical limitations in their daily organization of work and care; and second, they face problems in putting their ideals about good parenting into practice; even if partners share similar ideas, each of them might have different expectations about how these are to be realized (Bernardi, Ryser, & Le Goff, 2013; Bühlmann, Elcheroth, & Tettamanti, 2009; Dribe & Stanfors, 2009). Given the practical limitations and gender-specific ideals about good parenting, we expect the following relationships between job quality and childbearing intentions: for men, whether they are fathers should not change the way in which gender-role attitudes affect the influence of job instability in relation to childbearing intentions; each additional child increases the need for higher income. For women, we expect that the effects of gender-role attitudes on the relationship between job quality and childbearing intentions should vanish for mothers while staying significant for childless women; particularly because mothers undertake less of the paid work. Another reason is that women who already have children are already in a partnership and their male partner often has a stable job so that women's own job stability or occupational prestige is less of an issue.

3. Employment and Fertility in Switzerland

The Swiss welfare state is characterized by a policy regime that is conservative in regard to family policies (Armingeon, 2001; Bonoli, 2008). The welfare provisions for families are weak, and public services for childcare are insufficient to meet the demand of the competitive and liberal Swiss labor market, in which women's labor force participation is high. This has made Switzerland (together with Austria and Germany) the locus of a "third fertility compromise," whereby a hardly bearable compromise between work and family has produced remarkably stable low fertility rates (Caldwell, 2008). In 2012, the total fertility rate in Switzerland was 1.53, ranking it below

the EU-27 average. More than 20% of highly educated women in Switzerland remained childless, and 73% of mothers worked part time (FSO, 2013).

Switzerland has not yet introduced parental leave policies. Maternity leave regulations grant mothers the right to take time off from work to care for children for 98 days following birth. The replacement rate amounts to 80% of previous earnings and is given in the form of daily allowances. This maternity insurance, introduced in 2005, grants mothers 14 weeks (98 days), with additional rights for weeks 15 and 16, such as staying home without pay.[2] Because benefits are related to previous earnings, these policies represent a strong incentive to enter the labor market before becoming a mother. As there is no paternity leave for fathers at federal level, mothers and fathers are differentially engaged in parenting newborns. Moreover, primary school schedules and rigid public office hours cause organizational hurdles for dual-earner families and single parents. In many Swiss cantons, primary school hours vary widely from day to day and from child to child, and children are dismissed daily for two-hour lunch breaks (Charles et al., 2001). According to the findings of these authors, most couples experience lower costs for women's time at home than for men's time, which makes employment more salient for men and reinforces the traditional household division of labor.

In the fertility literature, the existence of income and employment effects is well-known (see for studies on other European countries e.g., Kreyenfeld, Andersson, & Pailhé, 2012; Schmitt, 2012; Sobotka, Skirbekk, & Philipov, 2011). However, the empirical evidence for such effects is surprisingly scarce for Switzerland. This applies in particular to income and employment conditions. In a recent study using the Swiss Household Panel Survey (2002–2009), Bernardi et al. (2013) found indirect evidence that completing education and training more than actual hours worked plays a role in women's intention to have a first child. One reason is that couples who already have one child are likely to have adopted a more traditional role set (i.e., the male partner works full time) after the transition to parenthood, in which women are at most secondary earners and the quality of their jobs matters less compared to their childless counterparts. We expected men's job quality to affect their fertility intentions not only in relation to the first child but also in relation to any additional child, given that the need for higher income grows with family size.

4. Method

4.1. Data and Sample

We used data from the Swiss Household Panel (SHP) for 2002–2011, which includes information about fertility intentions since 2002. The SHP is based

at the Swiss Centre of Expertise in the Social Sciences (FORS see http://www.swisspanel.ch for a description of the data set). Three random samples were followed yearly, and all household members older than 14 years were interviewed separately. This computer-assisted telephone survey was based on a closed-ended questionnaire that was translated in the three main languages spoken in Switzerland (German, French, and Italian). The first sample had been followed since 1999, the second since 2004, and the third since 2013. We selected men and women who were living with a partner (married or cohabiting) and were in the age group 22 to 45 for women and 22 to 50 for men from 2002 to 2011 and for whom we also had their partner's interview data. Focusing on the pressures individuals experience to combine work and family, we also opted to examine only survey participants who were active in the labor market. Our sample contained 552 childless women, 588 childless men, and 923 women and 1119 men with at least one child. An analysis of employment trajectories among Swiss women showed most of them work before the arrival of a child, and it is the arrival of a second or subsequent child that causes many of them to drop out of the labor market. Those women that do so are characterized by modest social origin, a low level of education and household income in the Swiss Household Panel (SHP) (see Levy, Gauthier, & Widmer, 2006: pp. 481–482). These findings suggest that women in less prestigious jobs who become mothers are more likely to drop out of the labor market. For our results interpretation and conclusion this implies applying some caution.

We used at least one observation per respondent and a maximum of ten: The majority of respondents participated in between one and three waves; only 5.9% of respondents participated in all 10.[3] Descriptive statistics of sociodemographic and employment variables are shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Descriptive Sample Statistics

N	Childless women 552	Childless men 588	Women with at least one child 923	Men with at least one child 1119
Dependent variable				
Intention to have a child within 24 months				
• Yes	29.3%	26.0%	19.2%	21.6%
• No	59.2%	60.2%	55.3%	54.6%
• Do not know / no answer	11.4 %	13.8%	25.6%	23.8%
Sociodemographic factors				
Age groups				
• Mean age	31.2 years	34.05 years	36.3 years	38.39 years
• 22-30 years of age	53.6%	39.6%	12.8%	7.5%
• 31-39 years of age	29.2%	33.3%	58.3%	41.45%
• 40-45 years of age	17.2%	16.5%	28.9%	31.7%
• 46-50 years of age		10.5%		19.3%
Civil status				
• Single, never married	59.6%	54.4%	5.1%	6.0%
• Married	36.1%	36.2%	89.7%	90.3%
• Separated	0.7%	1.2%	0.9%	0.4%
• Divorced	3.4%	7.8%	4.1%	3.2%
• Widower/widow	0.2%	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%
Level of education				
• Low education	8.3%	5.3%	11.6%	5.1%
• Middle education	52.4%	45.2%	60.2%	44.8%
• High education	39.3%	49.5%	28.2%	50.1%
Being active on the labor market				
• Active on the labor market	98.4%	98.3%	98.4%	98.5%
• Unemployed	1.6%	1.7%	1.6%	1.5%
Yearly income: mean, CHF net				
• Yearly individual net	50138.45CHF	70621.50CHF	30718.80CHF	88519.45CHF
• Yearly household net	123010.90CHF	128081.75CHF	113172.35CHF	114486.25CHF
Number of children				
• One			37.7%	38.5%
• Two			42.0%	42.1%
• Three or plus			20.3%	19.4%
Explanatory variables				
Job quality measures				
• Job stability	79.3%	80.6%	78.3%	87.7%
• Job instability	18.3%	17.0%	17.0%	10.6%
• Occupational prestige: mean	47.13	47.56	44.24	46.73
Gender-role attitude: child suffers with a working mother				
• Not at all	53.3%	38.9%	58.2%	37.4%
• Yes	46.0%	59.7%	40.5%	61.8%

Note: Data are from the Swiss Household Panel (2002–2011); authors' calculations.

4.2. Measures

4.2.1. Dependent Variable

Our dependent variable is the intention to have a child (or another child) in the 24 months following the interview. We used the answers *yes* versus *no* to the question "Do you intend to have a child in the next 24 months"? Operating between ideal fertility and actual behavior, fertility intentions have been shown to correlate positively with subsequent childbearing behavior at the individual level (Ajzen, 1991; Miller & Pasta, 1995). Short-term fertility intentions are frequently used in micro-level studies to examine the effects of external conditions on fertility behavior (W.B. Miller & Pasta, 1995; Westoff & Ryder, 1977). In the short run, individuals can anticipate the effects of their partnerships, housing statuses, and economic conditions on the realization of their fertility plans (Billari, Philipov, & Testa, 2009; Heaton, Jacobson, & Holland, 1999).

4.2.2. Explanatory Variables

Job quality measures. We focus in our analysis on two measures of job quality: job instability and occupational prestige. *Job instability* is measured for employed (and self-employed) respondents and captures both subjective and objective job instability. Subjective job instability combines information about perceived job insecurity by permanent employees and self-employed respondents and about perceived contractual instability by temporary employees. Objective job instability refers to contracts shorter than three years. With these two sets of indicators we built a dichotomous variable combining both subjective and objective measures, for which 0 indicates *stable job conditions* and 1 indicates *unstable job conditions*. Unstable job conditions were those in which either individual expressed insecurity about his or her job or the contract was shorter than three years.

Occupational prestige. Occupational prestige is used to reflect privileged, high-status jobs and is measured by Treiman's prestige scale, which is based on occupational prestige ratings using the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO; Ganzeboom & Treiman, 1996). This scale models a prestige hierarchy whose scores range between 0 (*lowest prestige*) and 100 (*highest prestige*), and it is designed to be independent of national and cultural settings.

Gender-role attitude. This measure is based on a question from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) Families and Changing Gender Roles II/III. Respondents answer on a scale from 0 (*completely disagree*) to 10 (*completely agree*) whether they believe that a "Child suffers with a working mother," which reflects approval of maternal employment. This item has been recoded in a dichotomous variable such that 0 = *completely disagree* and 1 = *completely agree.*

Control variables. We controlled for a set of *sociodemographic variables.* The first was *age*, which was centered on the grand mean. Second, we distinguished low, medium, and high *level of education achieved*. For the highest level of education achieved, we distinguish low level (incomplete compulsory school, compulsory school, elementary vocational training, domestic science course, 1-year school of commerce, or general training school), middle level (apprenticeship, technical or vocational school, full-time vocational school, bachelor/maturity), and high level (vocational high school with a master's certificate or federal certificate, academic high school, or university). We included the *annual net household income* in its logged form (Kuhn, 2009; Lipps, 2010). To measure the *individual contribution to the household income*, we computed an indicator with 1 = individual income matches household income exactly (i.e., individual income is included in the nominator) with higher scores indicating a larger contribution to household income which reflects a practical aspect of gender role division. In the case of parents, we controlled for the *age of the youngest child* (coded as 1 = a child aged between 1 month and 3 years, 2 = a child aged between 4 and 5 years; 3 = a child aged between 6 and 12 years, 4 = a child aged 13 years or older). We controlled for whether participants were *married* or not, because although births outside marriage are relatively rare in Switzerland (Charton & Wanner, 2001; Le Goff et al., 2005), married couples may hold differing, potentially more unequal, gender attitudes (Bühlmann et al., 2009). We also controlled for *partner's childbearing intention* and *partner's occupational status*, distinguishing whether the partner is at home, in training, working full time or part time, or jobless.

4.3. Analytical Strategy

In order to estimate the associations between our explanatory variables and the intention to have a child, which is a binary dependent variable, we applied nested hierarchical two-level logit models. All covariates taken as independent variables were time-varying. We used data from multiple observations (DiPrete & Forristal, 1994) and adjusted for the dependency of observations. In this way each individual was allowed to contribute multiple observations (e.g., reports on job instability in several waves) that were considered more similar to one another than observations by different persons within the same wave (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). Our intra-individual measures were time-dependent and were retrieved from up to 10 time points nested in the individual respondent. We attained at least one declared fertility intention for each respondent in our 10-year annual panel, from 2002 to 2011. In most cases, the information on intentions covered multiple points in time. We used unit-specific models in which the lower level represented intra-individual measures (which vary across waves and are time dependent)

and the higher level represented the individual man or woman. The estimated multilevel models enabled us to disentangle inter-individual and intra-individual variability (Hox, 2002; Singer & Willett, 2003). We estimated fixed effects for the intercept and the different covariates, as well as a random effect for the intercept. The hypothesis was that the intercept varies for each respondent, according to unknown characteristics, while there are no variations in the effect among different covariates. This hypothesis concerning a random effect on the intercept is commonly made when one is dealing with a case of multilevel logistic regressions. Models were estimated using HLM software, version 6, and the chosen method of estimation was restricted maximum likelihood.[4]

5. Results

5.1. Descriptive Results

We start our analysis with a brief sample description and show fertility intentions for the following four groups in Table 1: childless women, childless men, mothers, and fathers.

There were differences in the composition of age and civil status for women and men in our sample. Women were on average younger than men, and respondents without children were younger than those who had children. For instance, childless women were on average 5.1 years younger than mothers, whereas the age difference was less pronounced between childless men and fathers (4.3 years). Most women and men without children were single or had never been married, whereas 90% of parents in our sample were married. On the contrary, differences in average individual net income between women and men were large. This difference was biggest among parents, where mothers earned on average one third less than fathers.

We next looked at the pattern of our explanatory variables: unlike gender, *parenthood* is what fuels gender differences in how job quality is distributed among men and women (see Table 1). The difference in job instability was greatest for fathers and childless men. More fathers than childless men reported having a stable job, and only about 11% of fathers mentioned having an unstable job at all. Conversely, job instability was similarly distributed among mothers and childless women. Most importantly, more mothers (17%) than fathers reported having an unstable job. This is not surprising because – in a male breadwinner context – parenthood is better compatible with men's than with women's paid work. This is also reflected by the difference in occupational prestige, where mothers score slightly lower than childless women. With respect to *gender-role attitude*, fewer mothers (41%) than childless women (46%) were concerned, but marginally more fathers (62%) than childless men (60%) had such concerns.

Descriptive statistics suggested that job quality and gender attitudes differ by parental status in first place and by gender in second place. In addition, Table 1 demonstrates that our SHP subsample is to some extent selective: The groups of highly educated men and women are overrepresented in our sample, because on the one hand men or women in a stable family and professional situation are overrepresented in the overall SHP sample. Men and women in precarious employment are underrepresented in the SHP sample. On the other hand, the arrival of a second or subsequent child causes many women to drop out of the labor market, so that there is by nature no data regarding their job quality. In general, we confirm findings by Levy, Gautier, & Widmer (2006) showing that those women are characterized by modest social origin, a low level of education and household income.

To obtain further evidence on the link between job quality measures, gender-role attitudes, and the formation of the intention to have a child, we now turn to the results of our multivariate analysis. This analysis directly tested whether job quality significantly related to fertility intentions for childless women and men, whether gender-role attitude had an impact on this relationship, and whether parenthood made a difference in this respect.

5.2. Multivariate Results

We ran four sets of estimations, first for childless women and men and then for mothers and fathers. All models were controlled for the sociodemographic factors mentioned above. We ran separate estimations for childless individuals and parents because the transition to parenthood is known to shape employment patterns for men and women as well as the couple's division of paid and unpaid work (Barber, 2001; Dommermuth, Klobas, & Lappegard, 2011; Hobcraft & Kiernan, 1995). Table 2 contains Models 1 and 2 for childless women and childless men. In Model 1 we estimate the effects of the indicators describing job quality measured by job instability (test of the job instability hypothesis) and occupational prestige (test of the master status hypothesis I) among childless respondents. In Model 2 we explore the interaction of gender-role attitudes on the relationship between job quality measures and fertility intentions for childless women and men (master status hypothesis II). Table 3 displays in Models 3 and 4 the test results of our three hypotheses for parents. In Model 3 we estimate the effects of job instability and occupational prestige, and Model 4 shows the interactions for parents.

We first turn to the results for Models 1 and 2 for childless women and men in Table 2. In each model, the intercepts show that the respondents were more likely to give a negative answer than to have the intention of having a child within 24 months. In addition, in all models the effect of age was significant and, as expected, showed that the intention to have a first child decreases with age (see e.g., Philipov, Spéder, & Billari, 2006). Looking at

covariates related to the couple situation, being married and having a partner who intends to have a child play a key role in increasing the chances that respondents intend to have a child. This is consistent with other studies on Switzerland, which have shown that individuals are less likely to give birth to a first child when unmarried (Charton & Wanner, 2001; Le Goff et al., 2005), and with an international study that shows the importance of couple's agreement in childbearing intentions (Berrington, 2004).

Model 1 indicates that a woman's intention to have a first child is affected by different job quality measures than would affect a man's intention. For women, as was expected in our job instability hypothesis, experiencing job instability makes them significantly less prone to intend to have a child (B = -0.853; $\underline{p} < 0.01$; odds ratio = 0.426), whereas women's occupational prestige does not seem to matter. For men our job instability hypothesis was not confirmed because there were no effects of job instability whatsoever. Results for men's and women's occupational prestige did not confirm our master status I hypothesis: Although high occupational prestige was positively associated with fertility intentions (which suggests that high-prestige jobs make the formation of a positive fertility intention more probable), the effects were not significant. In sum, Model 1 suggests that for childless women having a stable job (i.e., a stable income and a solid professional context) is conducive to entry into parenthood. Longer waiting time until occupational establishment presumably delays the timing of first births, which has been argued to potentially reduce the overall number of children these women actually intend to have (Bongaarts, 2002). Interestingly, Model 1 reveals that the female partner's job characteristics significantly affect a man's intention to become father. In particular, the negative association between having a female partner in training and men's intentions to have a first child (B = -0.982; $\underline{p} < 0.1$; odds ratio = 0.374) suggests the existence of social norms about sequencing of certain life course transitions – here, the start of family formation after having completed one's education (Bernardi, Klärner, & von der Lippe, 2008).

In Model 2 we tested whether childless women's and men's fertility intentions are also affected by factors other than job quality (job instability, occupational prestige). Here we tested our master status hypothesis II and introduced gender attitudes and the interactions between gender attitudes and job quality. The results provide evidence that first childbearing intentions are unrelated to a woman's gender-role attitude and do not act on the association of job quality and childbearing intentions. There is no difference between women who believe that a child suffers when the mother works and those who do not. In addition, interactions between gender-role attitudes and job quality measures have no effects. This implies at the same time that gender-role attitudes do not change the centrality of couple characteristics that we mentioned above (being married and the partner's intention to have a child).

For men we observe a different pattern of associations. Model 2 shows that if childless men have a high-prestige job and think that the child would suffer with a working mother, they are less prone to intend to have a child in the near future (i.e., the interaction effect of occupational prestige and gender-role attitudes is significant and negative for this category).

Table 2 Results of multilevel logit models for first-child intentions of childless women and men

	Model 1		**Model 2**	
***N*; Observations**	**Childless women 552; 1254**	**Childless men 588; 1338**	**Childless women 552; 1254**	**Childless men 588; 1338**
Fixed effects				
Intercept	-7.772*	-4.128	-8.389*	-4.516
	(0.0004)	(0.016)	(0.0002)	(0.011)
Job quality measures				
Job instability	-0.853**	0.065	-0.613	-0.250
(ref. stability)	(0.426)	(1.067)	(0.542)	(0.778)
Occupational prestige	0.009	0.005	0.012	0.023+
	(1.009)	(1.005)	(1.012)	(1.024)
Gender-role attitude				
Child suffers with working mother			0.630	1.462*
			(1.877)	(4.315)
Interactions				
Prof prest. * child suffers with			-0.006	-0.036**
working mother			(0.994)	(0.964)
Instability * child suffers with			-0.684	0.589
working mother			(0.505)	(1.802)
Socio-demographic factors				
Age	-0.085***	-0.052***	-0.087***	-0.053**
	(0.918)	(0.949)	(0.917)	(0.948)
Low level of education	-0.553	-0.047	-0.593	-0.047
(ref. middle)	(0.575)	(0.954)	(0.552)	(0.954)
High level of education	0.352	0.362	0.393+	0.349
(ref. middle)	(1.422)	(1.436)	(1.482)	(1.418)
Household income	0.390	0.073	0.416	0.035
	(1.477)	(1.076)	(1.515)	(1.035)
Contribution to the hh income	0.374	0.354	0.447	0.466
	(1.454)	(1.424)	(1.564)	(1.594)
Marital status	0.959***	0.892***	0.965***	0.882***
(1=married)	(2.609)	(2.441)	(2.626)	(2.415)
Partner characteristics				
Partner's child intention	3.467***	3.468***	3.483***	3.496***
	(32.035)	(32.070)	(32.567)	(32.981)
Partner at home	1.229	0.507	1.020	0.501
(ref. part time)	(3.417)	(1.661)	(2.774)	(1.650)
Partner training	-0.005	-0.982+	-0.006	-0.939
(ref. part time)	(0.995)	(0.374)	(0.994)	(0.391)
Partner full time	0.102	0.366	0.075	0.375
(ref. part time)	(1.107)	(1.442)	(1.078)	(1.456)
Partner jobless	-0.043	-0.921	-0.039	-0.941
(ref. part time)	(0.958)	(0.398)	(0.961)	(0.390)
Random effect				
Intercept	1.093	1.180	1.075	1.184
Log-Likelihood	*-1593.693*	*-1677.947*	*-1600.099*	*--1679,017*

Note: Data are from the Swiss Household Panel (2002–2011); authors' calculations.
Logit Models, coefficients, and odds ratio (round brackets).
+ $p \leq .1$;* $p \leq .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. Mode of estimates: restricted PQL.

We now proceed with Models 3 and 4 in Table 3 for parents, in which we assess whether job quality and gender-role attitudes affect mothers' and fathers' intentions differently. They allow us to evaluate whether these effects are similar to those we found for childless women and men or whether they differ according to life stage. Most importantly, across our models for parents we show that partner's intentions, own age, and the age of the youngest child are very important for mothers and crucial for fathers as well. As opposed to childless individuals, being married for parents does not significantly relate to intention to have another child; in other words, the transition to marriage has already occurred before the transition to the first child or marriage is not a precondition for having subsequent children. In order to explore the idea that parents need to combine work and different amounts of childcare, we controlled for the age of the youngest child. For both models, the results indicate that having at least one child under the age of 3 years in the home is strongly related to the intention to have a subsequent child: having children between 0 and 3 years more than having children between 4 and 5 years was positively related to the intention to have a subsequent child. This means that having children is possibly driven by age norms about spacing, or by institutional incentives to have children closer in age (i.e., paying less to have the second child in the same childcare facility). This would eventually mean that families economize total care over the reproductive life span, contradicting our expectation that current domestic workload would limit fertility in families with young children.

Model 3 indicates that a mother's intention to have a child is affected by different factors than affect a father's intention. For mothers, the results indicate no significant negative association between having an unstable job and intention to have another child. This result differs from the significant negative association we observed for childless women and confirms our expectation that job instability would be associated mainly with childless women's fertility intentions. For fathers we observed no effects whatsoever. Our job instability hypothesis is thus confirmed for women with and without children (but not for their male counterparts). Similar to the results in Model 1 for childless individuals, the results for mothers' and fathers' occupational prestige were insignificant and did not confirm our master status I hypothesis.

Model 4 tested our master status II hypothesis for mothers and fathers, and we introduced gender attitudes as well as the interactions between job quality measures and gender attitudes. The results demonstrated that for fathers, professional prestige was positively, but weakly, related to the intention to have another child ($B = 0.021$; $\underline{p} < 0.1$; odds ratio = 1.021). This reflects the idea that having a "good" job is all the more important for men, as their breadwinning responsibilities are higher. Moreover, the interaction effect between attitudes and job quality is significant: Fathers in high-prestige jobs who believed that a child suffers with a working mother were slightly

less likely to intend to have another child (B = -0.026; p < 0.1; odds ratio = 0.974). One explanation is that intentions among these men are strongly linked with general characteristics of their partners; for instance, those men who have a highly qualified partner who works or wants to work have negative intentions. Results also show that men in unstable jobs who believed that a child suffers with a working mother were prone to intend to have another child (B = 1.140; p < 0.05; odds ratio = 3.125). A plausible explanation for this result is that fathers who balance unstable jobs with family demands also assign high importance to both job and family. Therefore, these men are most likely to invest in paid labor while at the same time investing time at home and not compromising their family plans. For mothers, we found no significant interaction effects, and therefore concluded that gender roles do not act on the association of mother's job quality and their fertility intentions. In sum, the findings suggest that gender and life stage matter for how job quality measures and gender attitudes are associated with fertility intentions in the Swiss context.

Table 3 Results of multilevel logit models for subsequent childbearing intentions of mothers and fathers

	Model 3		**Model 4**	
***N*; Observations**	**Women with at least one child 923; 2771**	**Men with at least one child 1119; 3839**	**Women with at least one child 923; 2771**	**Men with at least one child 1119; 3839**
Fixed effects				
Intercept	-3.892	-5.908+	-3.469	-6.399+
	(0.020)	(0.002)	(0.031)	(0.002)
Job quality measures				
Job instability	0.096	0.222	0.307	-0.438
(ref. stability)	(1.101)	(1.249)	(1.359)	(0.645)
Occupational prestige	0.009	0.007	0.002	0.021+
	(1.009)	(1.007)	(1.002)	(1.021)
Gender-role attitude				
Child suffers with working mother			-0.771	1.099
			(0.462)	(3.002)
Interactions				
Prof prest. * child suffers with			0.021	-0.026+
working mother			(1.021)	(0.974)
Instability * child suffers with			-0.651	1.140*
working mother			(0.522)	(3.125)
Socio-demographic factors				
Age	-0.075*	-0.107***	-0.074*	-0.107***
	(0.927)	(0.899)	(0.928)	(0.898)
Low level of education	-0.372	0.991*	-0.300	0.946*
(ref. middle)	(0.689)	(2.693)	(0.741)	(2.577)
High level of education	0.258	0.168	0.292	0.163
(ref. middle)	(1.294)	(1.183)	(1.340)	(1.177)
Household income	-0.146	0.161	-0.161	0.147
	(0.864)	(1.175)	(0.851)	(1.159)
Contribution to the hh income	0.562	-0.558	0.616	-0.546
	(1.754)	(0.572)	(1.851)	(0.579)
Marital status	0.233	-0.310	0.229	-0.305
(1=married)	(1.263)	(0.733)	(1.257)	(0.737)

Partner characteristics				
Partner's child intention	4.329***	4.358***	4.362***	4.425***
	(75.876)	(78.071)	(78.390)	(83.498)
Partner at home	-0.217	0.012	-0.199	0.036
(ref. part time)	(0.805)	(1.013)	(0.819)	(1.036)
Partner training	-0.005	1.323	0.039	1.280
(ref. part time)	(0.995)	(3.755)	(1.040)	(3.598)
Partner full time	0.405	-0.114	0.408	-0.050
(ref. part time)	(1.499)	(0.892)	(1.503)	(0.951)
Partner jobless	-0.547	0.686	-0.591	0.650
(ref. part time)	(0.578)	(1.985)	(0.553)	(1.917)
Age of the youngest child				
Aged between 0-3	1.407***	1.377***	1.421***	1.362***
(ref. 6-12 years old)	(4.085)	(3.963)	(4.140)	(3.903)
Aged between 4-5	0.941**	0.449+	0.955**	0.427
(ref. 6-12 years old)	(2.562)	(1.566)	(2.599)	(1.533)
13 years old and older	-0.602	-0.141	-0.590	-0.153
(ref. 6-12 years old)	(0.547)	(0.868)	(0.554)	(0.858)
Random effect				
Intercept	1.182	1.121	1.185	1.134
Log-Likelihood	*-3100.743*	*-4404.816*	*-3093.488*	*-4387.659*

Note: Data are from the Swiss Household Panel (2002–2011); authors' calculations.
Logit Models, coefficients, and odds ratio (round brackets).
+ $p \leq .1$;* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$. Mode of estimates: restricted PQL.

6. Conclusion

The aim of our study was to provide empirical support for intervening mechanisms other than postponement for shrinking family sizes and the comparatively high childlessness rate in Switzerland. Using the Swiss Household Panel data (SHP 2002–2011) on job quality, gender-role attitudes, and fertility intentions, we estimated multilevel models in order to test whether, in addition to socio-demographic characteristics, the respondent's job quality, gender-role attitude, their interactions, and the partner's characteristics affect individuals' fertility intentions. We looked at men and women separately given the highly gendered specialization and expectations in terms of labor force participation and responsibility to the family.

As expected, intentions to have children were strongly age related. This is an indicator of the presence of a normative family life course in terms of both timing and sequencing of events. For both parents and non-parents, the intention to have a child is more likely to appear after some time spent in cohabitation, when marriage follows. A similar argument was developed by Sauvain-Dugerdil (2005) using the Swiss Fertility and Family Survey (FFS). In the 1990s, the youngest women in particular mentioned difficulties in reconciling their professional and family lives or unfavorable housing conditions as reasons not to intend a child.

Although there is a Europe-wide, universal policy of encouraging female labor-market participation as well as reducing the domestic workload, it has not yet resulted in major changes in social policy support for families in all

countries (Rubery, Smith, Anxo, & Flood, 2001). Our analysis points to major shortcomings in the functioning of the Swiss employment system, despite the fact that it has heavily promoted equal opportunities for men and women since the 1980s. The compatibility of childrearing and employment, with its specific demands regarding schedule flexibility and autonomy in the organization of work, was not yet part of the political agenda back then. High-status jobs were designed as career tracks that offer quality training and promotions against continuous work commitment – in other words, a men's track. Conservative parties insisted on the mother's primary role for her child's development and were reluctant to create alternative childcare systems. This combination of elements contributed to reduce the attractiveness of children, reduce fertility, and increase the age of first motherhood.

This study provided partial evidence that men and women in developed countries having better employment are more likely to intend to have a child, other things being equal. However, we also showed with some degree of confidence that parents – especially mothers – are less sensitive to job quality when intending additional children. This confirms, to a certain extent, Caldwell's (Caldwell, 2008) hypothesis at the micro level. When couples are able to combine quality jobs with childbearing, in a context in which institutions facilitate a compromise between work and family (which is hardly the case in Switzerland), the effects on fertility intentions are positive. Both job stability and occupational prestige make it more likely for couples to intend to have children.

To integrate work into couples' fertility planning, job designs and policies must provide options for pursuing both career and family planning goals; it is crucial that parents perceive such options to be stable and realistic. That said, family relations and age continue to explain intentions to a large extent.

We limited our analysis to time-dependent fertility intentions, as these are claimed to closely relate to actual fertility behavior compared to declared family size ideals (Philipov & Bernardi, 2011; Philipov, et al., 2006). Provided that fertility intentions remain relatively stable over a short period of time but are sensitive to external factors, we plan to conduct further research on the association between intentions and actual fertility and to explore the potential reasons for the observed gap between intentions and realization. The first step is a research priority in family demography and sociology in many low fertility countries (Kohler, Billari, & Ortega, 2002). The second is to verify whether apart from couple's fecundity issues, the gap may be due to changes in intentions. Men and women may abandon or postpone their positive intentions or may switch from a negative to a positive intention. Examining whether these changes occur because of changes in attitudes, changes in employment conditions, or changes in family relations will allow us to better delimit the scope for gender and family policies in this area.

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NOTES

1. In many ways the German-speaking countries can be viewed as less gender-equal countries, whereas a country like Sweden shows, in comparison to other European countries, a very distinct labor market situation between mothers and fathers (Pettit & Hook, 2009). The most common effect of parenthood is that fathers invest more in paid labor, and mothers invest in unpaid care work. In the German speaking countries women are covered by maternity leave schemes and thus withdraw from the labor market for longer periods. The general trend, across countries, however, indicates that more women participate in paid work, which renders their concrete employment situation as important as that of men (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004).

2. We may note that the duration of the maternity leaves has been set too short to substantially affect gender roles. It legitimizes women's rights to be paid during the period of initial nurturing and caring for the child. Apparently, this reform reinforces gender roles since it has been amply justified as a health measure for the mother to recover after delivery and for the child to develop a better attachment to the mother (Valarino & Bernardi, 2010).

3. An analysis by Lipps (2006) based on the waves 2000 to 2005 showed that attrition is comparatively high in the SHP compared to other European panel surveys (e.g., British household panel), but it is not particularly selective with respect to sociodemographic or socioeconomic variables. Voorpostel (2010) added that the bias is small and similar to that found in other panel studies.

4. One may note that because we measured fertility intentions at the same time than job quality and gender attitudes, differences between the groups may be due to selection processes. Yet, most childless people here still have the opportunity to have a child, so they are not necessarily different from parents, apart from the way in which they time their fertility. Therefore this group is very heterogeneous and there is no way to disentangle the possible selectivity into this group with our model.

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BULLYING EXPERIENCES AMONG SEXUAL MINORITY YOUTHS IN ENGLAND: THE NATURE, PREVALENCE AND ASSOCIATION WITH LIFE SATISFACTION

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ABSTRACT. This study investigates whether Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual (LGB) young adults are more at risk of bullying than their heterosexual peers using Next Steps, a nationally representative longitudinal dataset from England. The experiences of more than 7,200 young adults from across England who were born in 1989–90 are examined. At age 20, the young adults were asked about their sexual identity and whether they had been bullied in the previous 12 months and during secondary school. The findings show that young LGB adults had a 52 per cent chance of having been bullied in the past year at age 20, compared to a 38 per cent chance for their heterosexual peers, after taking into account other characteristics that may make someone more likely to be targeted, such as gender, ethnicity, disability, or family socioeconomic background. The situation had improved slightly since their school years. Between the ages of 14 and 16, young people who later went on to identify as LGB had a 56 per cent chance of having been bullied in the past year, compared to a 45 per cent chance for their heterosexual peers. Moreover LGB young people were at considerably greater risk of being bullied frequently – that is, once or more every fortnight – during secondary school. LGB young people were found to be more than twice as likely as their heterosexual classmates to be regularly physically bullied and excluded from social groups. This paper also examines the association between being bullied and life satisfaction: the findings show that by the time they reached age 20, young LGB adults were less likely than their heterosexual peers to report being "very satisfied" with how their lives had turned out so far. However, all young adults – regardless of sexual identity – were less likely to be very satisfied with their lives if they had been bullied. In summary, although all people are less likely to be bullied as they get older, young LGB adults remain at higher risk than their peers. These findings suggest that in order to tackle the problem, anti-bullying interventions cannot be focused only at schools and their pupils. Policymakers, employers, further education institutions and others working with young adults need to do just as much in order to challenge discrimination at all ages.

Keywords: bully-victimization; England; lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB); Next Steps; sexual minority

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Introduction

The detrimental effects of bullying, intentionally harmful and repetitive forms of aggression which involves an imbalance of power, are well documented. For example previous studies have shown that those who experience bullying in childhood have increased mental health problems, including increased levels of anxiety, depression, suicidal thoughts and self-harm (Arseneault, Bowes, & Shakoor, 2010) as well as poorer health (Nansel et al., 2001). This relationship has also been found to persist into early and late adulthood (Olweus, 1993; Takizawa, Maughan, & Arseneault, 2014). These pervasive negative associations highlight the importance of understanding who is at risk of being bullied. Recent research has shown that those from minority groups are at a greater risk, for example those with special education needs (e.g. Chatzitheochari, 2015), ethnic minorities (e.g. Durkin et al., 2012) and sexual minorities (e.g. Fedewa & Ahn, 2011).

This paper addresses the question of whether individuals from sexual minorities are more or less likely to experience being bullied throughout their teenage years and into early adulthood in England. To our knowledge there is little research examining sexual orientation and victimization in England which uses longitudinal data. As a result, this provides an exciting opportunity to explore the social experiences of this minority group and how these experiences vary over time. This contributes to the existing literature by describing the risk to young people over their teenage years and identifies the effect of experiencing bullying as well as the critical periods to focus interventions and support. The specific aims of this paper are to identify the association between sexual identity and bullying, including severity, form of bullying and prior experiences of bullying. The moderating role of sexual identity on the link between bulling experiences and life satisfaction at age 20 is also explored.

Review of Literature

Bullying is defined as repeated exposure to conduct which is intended to cause discomfort or injury upon another person (Olweus, 1993). More specifically, the conduct involves a power imbalance between the bully and the victim

(Rigby, 2002). There is a large body of research which documents the relationship between being bullied and negative health outcomes, academic outcomes, suicidal ideation and increased risk behaviors (Fedewa & Ahn, 2011; Hinduja & Patchin, 2010; Turner et al., 2013). Furthermore evidence from around the world indicates that sexual minority youth (i.e. lesbian, gay or bisexual (LGB) disproportionately experience bullying victimization (Fedewa & Ahn, 2011) and a number of studies document the high prevalence of school-based harassment among sexual minority youth (O'Shaughnessy et al., 2004; Kosciw et al., 2012; Birkett, Espelage, & Koenig, 2009). The context in which the bullying in early adulthood occurs may also vary. Previous research has shown that although rates of being bullied reduce as people age, bullying in early adulthood can occur at work or at university/college by peers rather than by older colleagues or people in positions of authority (Rivers, 2011). The aim of the current paper is to focus on victimization and harassment of young LGB adults, the exposure and effect as well as their experiences during compulsory schooling. Few previous studies in England have explored bullying experiences in early adulthood, and this paper seeks to address this gap.

One of the first studies to look into the lives and experiences of young LGB people took place in the UK (Warren, 1984). The aim of this study was to identify the pressures that LGB teenagers face in schools and in what ways they were discriminated against. Their study was informative regarding the difficulties these young people face, but the data was collected using a small sample which lacked a comparison group. More recently Ellis & High (2004) replicated Warren's work and found that there was some suggestion that there has been an increase in rates of bullying for lesbian, gay and bisexual youth. They found that compared to 1984, students surveyed in 2001 were found to be three times more likely to be physically assaulted, five times more likely to experience name calling and seven times more likely to be teased. These studies are typical of much of the research in this field (see Pilkington & D'Augelli, 1995; Gross, Aurand, & Adessa, 1988; Mason & Palmer, 1996; Hunt & Jensen, 2007), their starting point is with a sample of sexual minorities and then they examine the bullying experiences they face, rather than starting with bullying experiences of a whole population more generally to enable comparison. More recently the METRO Youth Chances project has found that sexual minority young people feel less accepted by the community, and are more likely to experience physical, verbal and sexual abuse in England (METRO Youth Chances, 2014).

Elsewhere research has shown that LGB youth reported daily experiences of within-school violence which they perceived as to be a result of sexual minority bullying (D'Augelli, Grossman, & Starks, 2006; Grossman, D'Augelli, & Salter, 2006). More specifically, a third of young people experience of violence at school within the previous year because of their actual or

perceived sexual orientation or gender identity by peers aged between 13–18 (Harris Interactive & GLSEN, 2005). In addition they find that motivations for victimization, such as those which relate to actual or perceived religion, disability, ethnic group and gender are more often experienced by LGB youth (90%) than by non-LGB youth (62%) in the previous twelve months.

The effects of such exposure to bullying have also been examined, for example Bontempo & D'Augelli (2002) found a negative association between the effect of sexual orientation status, bullying and health. Furthermore they find that victimized LGB youth are at an increased risk of substance abuse, suicidality, and sexual-risk behaviors than their victimized non-LGB peers. Russell et al. (2011) took a sample of individuals aged between 21 and 25 to examine the association between victimization in school (measured retrospectively) and social integration, life satisfaction, self-esteem, depression and suicidal ideation. They found significant associations between school victimization and higher levels of depression and suicidal ideation. With respect to health risk, they found an increased risk for STDs and HIV and no association between school victimization and adult substance abuse. Similarly, the METRO Youth Chances (2014) survey found that sexual minorities experienced significantly higher levels of mental health problems including anxiety, self-harm and suicidal thoughts. And non-heterosexual young people in England are found to be more unhappy (Chakraborty et al., 2011).

More recently McCormack has argued, based on his own ethnographic research, that there is evidence of more progressive attitudes towards homosexuality among heterosexual young people in schools (McCormack, 2011a, 2011b, 2012a). More specifically, he shows that young heterosexual men are happy to challenge homophobic views, maintain friendships with openly gay young people and advocate for gay rights (McCormack, 2012b). It is important to make the distinction however, between homophobic attitudes and bullying behavior directed toward LGB students. While it may be true, and indeed encouraging, that young people have recently reported being more accepting of homosexuality, it may also remain true that LGB young people remain at an increased risk of being victimized. Testament to this statement is the necessity for support platforms for young sexual minorities such as campaigns such as the "It Gets Better" in the USA and the Stonewall campaign in the UKs.

Mechanisms

Bullying, by definition, involves asymmetric power relationships (Faris & Felmlee, 2014). Sociological research suggests that bullying takes the form of highlighting the "other," e.g. those young people who in some way are different or occupy marginal positions. Goffman (1968) suggests that bullying is a manifestation of frustration towards not meeting the subliminal ideal, and that we are essentially challenged by the "other" as this threatens our

perfect existence. Acceptance by peers is important for young people and when the expectations of the group are not met, the individual may be rejected and bullied (Garcia-Continete et al., 2013; Richter et al., 2009; Schumann, Craig, & Rosu, 2014). The concept of "other" may be particularly true of sexual minorities as they may be perceived as different as result of being a statistical minority.

Sexual minorities are found to be more at risk of having mental health problems than the general population (Meyer, 2003). One explanation for this finding is due to an increased stigma, prejudice, and discrimination, which creates a more stressful social environment (Friedman, 1999). This is known as the minority stress hypothesis (Meyer, 1995) and includes stress, prejudice, experiences and perception of rejection, hiding and concealing and, in the case of sexual minorities, homophobia. The reason for these experiences is that the minority group clashes with the dominant culture and its norms (Meyer, 2003). Meyer argues that the minority stress hypothesis is particularly relevant to sexual minorities as they are likely to experience stressful events; they are also likely to have expectations about these stressful events which requires vigilance and they may also internalize negative societal attitudes. In addition, young people who are LGB are likely to face experiences that are unique to their group. For example, "coming out" to family and friends, familial conflict as a result of their sexual orientation (Remafedi, 1987), as well as cognitive dissonance and stress related to their sexuality (Rosario, Rotheram-Borus, & Reid, 1996). Pharr (1997) identified that young people who are gay, lesbian or bisexual are under more strain as a result of their sexual identity, the strain is as a result of complex family relationships, threats on safety, and dealing with homophobia. While there is some evidence that society is becoming more accepting of people sexual minorities, and young people are having more positive experiences when they "come out" to others than before (Eccles et al., 2003), it may not entirely mitigate the effects of these stressful experiences.

1. Are those who identify themselves as sexual minorities at age 20, defined as Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual (LGB), more likely to experience concurrent bullying and report ever being bullied in school?
2. Are LGB more likely to experience a particular type of bullying, e.g. verbal, physical, relational, and cyber bullying?
3. Do bullying experiences differentially affect LGB youth's life satisfaction?

Data

The Next Steps (formerly known as the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE)) began in 2004 when the sample members were aged

between 13 and 14 years. Each year the same young people and their parents have been interviewed, resulting in seven waves of data. For the purpose of this analysis we examine whether those who identify as a sexual minority at age 19/20 (wave seven) are more likely to be bullied at this age, and whether they were more likely to be bullied during their compulsory schooling (wave one to three). The association between timing of bullying and life satisfaction is also explored.

The sample is composed by taking wave seven data which was collected in 2010 where 8,682 young people took part in the survey. Observations were included in the analytic models if the dependent variable response is complete and they appeared in the sample at waves one, two, three and seven. 863 young people did not respond to the sexual identity question and an additional 599 did not respond to the bullying questions at age 19. To check whether this information is missing at random, a missing data analysis was run using a logistic regression with socio-demographic measures as independent variables. We found that these results were not statistically significant and therefore we can be confident that they were missing at random on observables. Following these exclusions, we are left with a sample of 7,220 young people.

Variables of Interest

Bullying experience

Slonje and Smith (2008) document some of the ways to conceptualize different types of bullying behavior. For example they note that the most common forms are physical, verbal and relational forms. More recently they propose cyber bullying as another form. The Next Steps data enable measurement of these types of bullying which are described below.

We code a number of different bullying variables which capture both the frequency, nature and timing of the bullying that the young people experience. During compulsory schooling (wave one to three) young people are asked the following questions: In the last 12 months: have you ever been upset by being called hurtful names by other students, including getting text messages or emails from them; have you ever been excluded from a group of friends or from joining in activities; have other students at your school ever made you give them money or personal possessions; have other students ever threatened to hit you, kick you or use any other form of violence against you; and have other students ever actually hit you, kicked you or used any other form of violence against you?

For each question there is a follow up about the frequency of the bullying they experienced in the last 12 months. The response categories are: every day; a few times a week; once or twice a week; once every two weeks; once a month; less often than this; it varies; don't know; don't want to answer. At

wave one to three, young people are not asked directly about cyber bullying, instead the main parent responses are used. The wording of the question is: As far as you know, have any of these things happened to (the young person) at (his/her) school in the last 12 months? One response is: Sent offensive or hurtful text messages or emails. This question is followed by the same question about frequency as before.

At wave seven the wording of the question to the young person varies slightly: In the past 12 month, how often (if at all) have you experienced the following while (text fill: at work/in your training/on your apprenticeship/ college/at university)…? The response categories are: name calling, being the butt of jokes or other verbal abuse; had gossip spread about you, been ignored or other emotional abuse; been punched, kicked, assaulted or other physical abuse; been harassed or bothered via mobile phone or email; had pictures of you or rumors spread about you via phone, email or the internet; and had things stolen from you. They are given the same frequency response categories as in the earlier waves.

We create a binary variable which captures whether the young people have ever experienced being bullied in the previous 12 months at age 19. In addition we identify whether they were ever bullied in school between the ages 13–15 (during compulsory schooling). This is a composite from three waves of the data asking whether they had experienced bullying in the previous 12 months. For both the age 19 measure and the compulsory schooling measure, we also adopt a strict definition of being bullied, e.g. those who experience being bullied "once every two weeks" or more following the convention set by Chatzitheochari, Parsons, & Platt (2015). We refer to this variable as experiencing frequent bullying. The advantage of making this distinction is that it captures the important aspect of repetition which is a crucial element across bullying definitions[2] (Olweus 1993). Additionally we combine the types of bullying experienced to identify whether the young person experienced physical, verbal, relational, or cyber bullying. We define physical forms of bullying as whether the young person experienced frequent physical attacks which may include punching, kicking or theft; frequent verbal aggression includes being called names or threatening behavior; frequent relational bullying which includes social exclusion; and frequent cyber bullying which is aggression which occurs through the internet and mobile phones.

Sexual identity

In order to measure the sexual identity of the young person, one item was asked at wave seven when the respondent is aged 19: Which of the following best describes how you think of yourself? The response categories are: heterosexual or straight; lesbian or gay, bisexual, or other. We recode the responses to create a binary outcome of heterosexual and lesbian, gay, bisexual or other (LGB) in order to increase power and avoid a Type II error.

3.64% of young people identify as LGB in this sample. In the general population of the UK, estimates of the proportion of people who identify as lesbian, gay or bisexual varies between 1.5% and 5%[1] (ONS, 2010; Johnson et al., 2001), our sample seems consistent with this estimate.

Life satisfaction

We use the report of the participants' life satisfaction at age 19 which is captured by the question: and how dissatisfied or satisfied you are about the way your life has turned out so far? The respondents are given five response categories: very satisfied; fairly satisfied; neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; fairly dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. We code this to run from 1–5 where 1 is "very dissatisfied" to 5 is "very satisfied." Life satisfaction is not measured during compulsory schooling.

The expanding literature on happiness has focused on a number of outcomes, including wellbeing, life satisfaction and mental health. These terms are often used interchangeably which can lead to confusion and conflation (Seligman, 2002). To clarify the interrelationships between these concepts for the present purposes, Diener (1984) argues that the overall judgment that "life is good" is a cognitive appraisal and is considered to be an assessment of life satisfaction, which is a component of wellbeing. Further, mental health is an important condition for life satisfaction which can promote wellbeing (Nelson, Lord, & Ochocka, 2001; Jones, 1942).

Much of the life satisfaction research examines the perceptions, mechanisms and dynamics involved in the relationships between reported wellbeing and situational circumstances (Diener et al., 1999). For example relationship harmony also influences life satisfaction (Reid, 2004), as do characteristics such as ethnicity, sex, highest level of education achieved, income and employment (Keyes & Waterman, 2003). And particularly relevant for the present study, peer victimization has been found to be related to lower life satisfaction (Valois, Kerr, & Huebner, 2012).

There are a number of assumptions upon which life satisfaction literature rests which are worth noting, albeit briefly. Some of these are problematic, not least the assumption that people are able to assess their own experiences and place them accurately on a single scale (Campbell, 1981). The nature of the report is susceptible to multiple biases including dependence on mood, the preceding questions and innumerable unobserved contextual factors. However because life satisfaction is a subjective phenomenon it can therefore be assessed well through self-report.

Covariates

Next Steps data enable us to control for a number of possibly confounding factors that may influence both the likelihood of being bullied and life satisfaction. Gender, ethnicity, young person's disability status, highest parental

education level achieved, social class, household tenure and family size are used. These independent variables are all taken from wave one. For the models which predict life satisfaction, some additional control variables are included: the young person's activity status at age 19, which captures whether they are studying or working; maternal disability; marital status of parents and young person's ability (measured by key stage 2 scores) have been shown to influence life satisfaction.

Methods

The risk of being bulled is measured using logistic regression analysis. We control for the socio-demographic characteristics outlined above in these models. We convert the results from the logistic regressions into predicted probabilities in order to ease comparison between models and classes. We make use of ordered logistic regression models to assess the association between being bullied and life satisfaction, as the dependent variable is an ordered categorical response where we do not know the spacing between responses.[3] Again these results are converted into predicted probabilities to enable comparison across models.

Results

Before presenting the results from the multivariate analysis, we present the descriptive statistics on the independent variables by sexuality in Table 1. In general we find similar patterns by sexuality for most of the independent variables. In our sample a higher proportion of young people who report being LGB are female. We find that a smaller proportion of young people who report being a sexual minority are ethnic minorities than the heterosexual group and a higher proportion of young people who report being sexual minorities also report disabilities (their own and their mother's) compared to the heterosexual group.

Table 1 Descriptive statistics by sexual identity column %/mean values

	Heterosexual	LGB	All
		%/mean	
Family Characteristics			
Housing			
Home owner	76.8	72.6	76.6
Renting	23.2	27.4	23.4
Education			
Degree or higher	35.4	38.4	35.5
A Level	17.7	16.0	17.7
GCSE	23.2	24.0	23.2
Level 1 or below	11.0	11.4	11.1
No qualifications	12.6	10.3	12.6
Household Type			

Single Parent	19.7	21.7	19.7
Workless household	15.3	12.2	15.1
Mean no. of children	2.3	2.2	2.3
Mother disabled	18.7	25.1	19.0
Young Person characteristics			
Male	47.6	46.0	47.52
Minority ethnic group	28.7	14.8	28.2
Disability	12.3	19.4	12.6
Mean Key stage 2 score	27.7	27.8	27.7

Sexual identity and experience of bullying

Table 2 shows bullying experience by sexual identity. From these raw percentages we can see that for all measures of being bullied, a greater proportion of LGB youth are bullied during compulsory schooling and at age 19 (both frequent forms and ever) compared with heterosexual young people.

Table 2 Descriptive statistics of bullying experience by sexual identity

	Ever Bullied in School %	Frequent bullying in School %	Ever Bullied age 19 %	Frequent bullying age 19 %
Heterosexual	45.4	6.1	38.0	7.8
LGB	60.5	19.0	53.2	11.0

We turn now to the results from a logistic regression which predict being bullied adjusted for family and individual characteristics. The results in Table 3, Model 1 show that young people who identify a LGB have significantly higher odds of ever being bullied in the previous 12 months at age 19/20 compared with heterosexual young people (OR 1.76, $p>0.05$). In Model 2 we see that young people who are LGB have higher odds of experiencing frequent bullying compared with heterosexual young people at age 19/20, however this is not only weakly significant (OR 1.43, $p>0.10$). Model 3 shows that relative to heterosexuals, LGB young people have higher odds of ever experiencing being bullied in school (OR 1.54, $p>0.01$). Lastly the odds of experiencing frequent bullying in school are measured (Model 4), the results show that LGB young people have significantly higher odds of experiencing intense bullying during their compulsory schooling (OR 3.29, $p<0.001$).

Table 3 Logistic regression predicting bullying at age 19/20 and 13–15

	Model 1 Bullying at age 19/20		Model 2 Frequent bullying at age 19/20 > Two weeks		Model 3 Bullying at age 13–15		Model 4 Frequent bullying 13–15 > Two weeks	
	OR	SE	OR	SE	OR	SE	OR	SE
Ref: Heterosexual								
LGB	1.76***	(0.22)	1.43+	(0.29)	1.54**	(0.21)	3.29***	(0.55)
Observations	7,220		7,220		7,220		7,220	

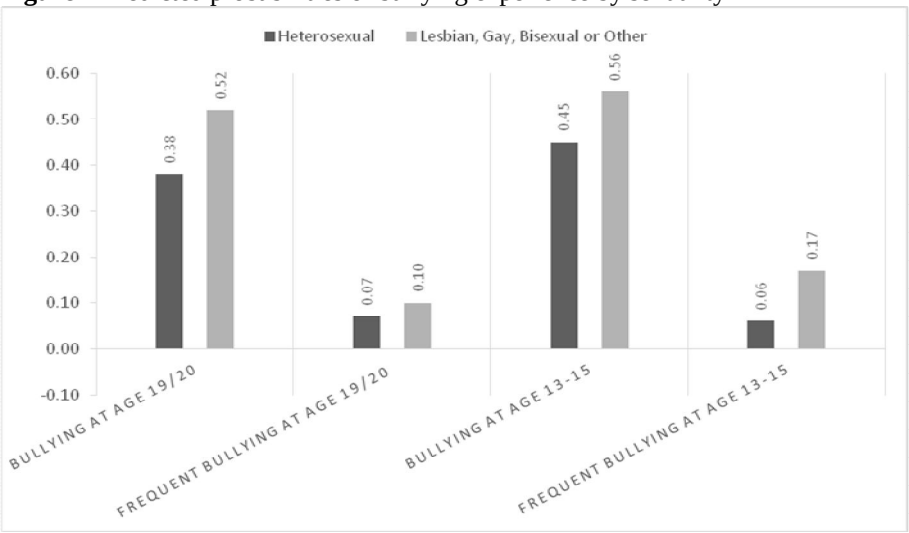
Controlling for housing, parental education, social class, number of children, gender, ethnicity, young person's disability status.

Standard Error in parentheses.

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10

Figure 1 presents the predicted probabilities of bullying experience by sexuality. LGB young people have a 52% probability of being bullied at age 19/20 and a 10% probability of being bullied frequently at age 19/20. In both cases this is higher than heterosexual young people, although this is not a significant difference for frequent bullying. During schooling the probabilities are higher for LGB young people: they have a 56% probability of ever being bullied during school and a 17% probability of being frequently bullied during compulsory schooling.

Figure 1 Predicted probabilities of bullying experience by sexuality



To summarize, there are differences in bullying experiences by sexual identity. LGB young people have higher odds of reporting bullying experiences. These differences are statistically significant if the young person ever experienced bullying in the previous 12 months at age 19/20 and during compulsory schooling, and if they experienced frequent bullying at age 13-15.

Sexual identity and type of bullying experienced

Adjusting for family and individual characteristics, the results in Table 4 show that young people who identify as LGB have higher odds of experiencing all types of bullying during compulsory schooling. Specifically, LGB youth have higher odds of experiencing intense physical bullying (OR 2.76, $p<0.001$), verbal bullying (OR 3.37, $p<0.001$), relational bullying (2.44, $p<0.001$) and cyber bullying (OR 1.38, $p<0.10$) compared to heterosexual young people. The results are all strongly significant, except that for cyber bullying, which is only significant to the 10% level.

At age 19/20 LGB youth also have higher odds but these results are not strongly significant.

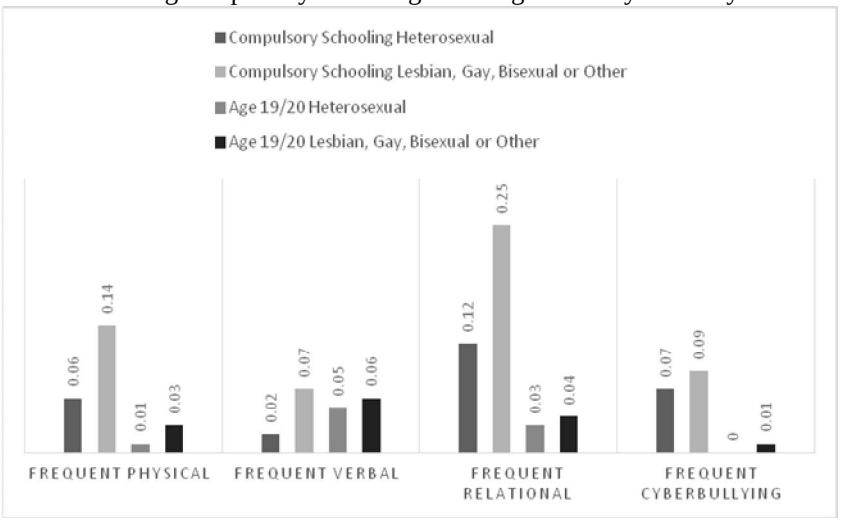
Table 4 Logistic regression predicting types of bullying experienced

	Model 1 Frequent Physical Bullying		Model 2 Frequent Verbal Bullying		Model 3 Frequent Relational Bullying		Model 4 Frequent Cyber Bullying	
	OR	SE	OR	SE	OR	SE	OR	SE
Compulsory Schooling								
Ref: Heterosexual								
LGB	2.76***	(0.49)	3.37***	(0.79)	2.44***	(0.35)	1.38+	(0.25)
Age 19/20								
Ref: Heterosexual								
LGB	2.07+	(0.83)	1.16	(0.28)	1.73+	(0.53)	3.24+	(2.01)
Observations	7,220		7,220		7,220		7,220	

Controlling for housing, parental education, social class, number of children, gender, ethnicity, young person's disability status.
Standard Error in parentheses.
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10.

The odds ratios have been converted into predicted probabilities in order to ease comparability and magnitude across groups. The results are shown in Figure 2. The results confirm that the risk of experiencing all types of bullying is greater for LGB youth. In addition we see that the probability of experiencing all types of bullying reduces as young people age, except that the probability of experiencing verbal bullying increases at age 19 for hetero-sexual young people.

Figure 2 Predicted probabilities of type of bullying experienced during compulsory schooling and at age 19/20 by sexuality



Bullying experiences and life satisfaction

The results from Table 5, Model 1 indicate that being bullied frequently during compulsory schooling lowers the log odds of reporting satisfaction with life, independent of familial and individual characteristics. We also see

that experiencing frequent bullying at age 19/20 yields significant and negative log odds. Compared to heterosexual young people LGB young people have lower log odds of being satisfied with life, this lends some support to the Minority Stress Hypothesis.

Table 5 Ordered logistic regression predicting life satisfaction

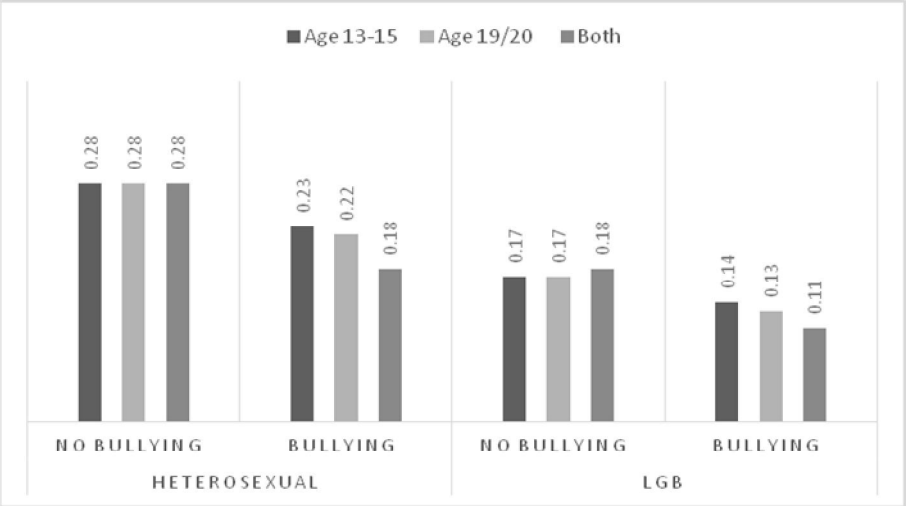
	Model 1 Main Effects		Model 2 Sexual ID X Bullying in School		Model 3 Sexual ID X Bullying at age 19	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Reference: Heterosexual						
LGB	-0.61***	(0.12)	-0.61***	(0.13)	-0.52***	(0.13)
Bullying in School	-0.26**	(0.09)	-0.26**	(0.10)	-0.25**	(0.09)
Bullying at age 19	-0.35***	(0.08)	-0.35***	(0.08)	-0.31***	(0.09)
LGB X Bullying in School			0.02	(0.31)		
LGB X Bullying at age 19					-0.69+	(0.36)
Cut 1	-4.85***	(0.26)	-4.85***	(0.26)	-4.85***	(0.26)
Cut 2	-3.46***	(0.25)	-3.46***	(0.25)	-3.46***	(0.25)
Cut 3	-2.35***	(0.25)	-2.35***	(0.25)	-2.34***	(0.25)
Cut 4	0.07	(0.25)	0.07	(0.25)	0.07	(0.25)
Observations	7,200		7,200		7,200	
Log likelihood	-9267		-9267		-9265	
DF	14		15		15	
Pseudo R2	0.02		0.02		0.02	

Controlling for housing, parental education, social class, number of children, gender, ethnicity, young person's disability status, young person's activity status at age 19, mother's disability, marital status of person and key stage 2 score.
Standard Error in parentheses.
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10.

So far we have looked at the effects of bullying and sexual minority separately, we now wish to see whether the *interaction* between bullying and sexual minority produce a result which is different from what each would produce alone. That is, whether the relationship between bullying and life satisfaction differs by sexual identity. Non-significant interaction effects would show that the effect of being bullied is the same on life satisfaction at all levels of sexual identity status. This is the case for being bullied intensely during compulsory schooling (Model 2). The interaction term between frequent bullying at age 19/20 and LGB is weakly significant ($p<0.10$) and negative (Model 3).

Interpreting log odds is complex, therefore to ease comparison between models we calculate predicted probabilities and test the significance of the contrasts. The results which predict being "very satisfied" are shown in Figure 3. This graphical representation reiterates that there is a small reduction in life satisfaction for those who have experienced bullying, and that young people who are sexual minorities have lower life satisfaction than young people who are heterosexual.

Figure 3 Predicted probabilities of being "very satisfied" with life



Discussion

The findings from this paper show that young people who identify LGB are more likely to have experienced any bullying during compulsory schooling and at age 19. LGB youth are also more likely to experience frequent bullying during compulsory schooling. This paper also explored whether sexual identity influences the type of bullying experienced in more depth. The findings show that LGB young people have a higher probability of experiencing frequent physical, verbal and relational forms of bullying during compulsory schooling (the finding for cyber bullying was not statistically significant). We see the same pattern at age 19: LGB have a higher probability of experiencing frequent forms of all bullying types, however these results are not statistically significant. This increased risk may be a result of the social environment which rejects those who do not conform to the norm.

It is also interesting to note that the probability of experiencing bullying falls considerably as young people reach early adulthood. This finding is consistent with previous literature in this field (for example, Green, Collingwood, and Ross (2010)). This may be the result of a number of different mechanisms, for young people may develop strategies to avoid bullies as they get older such as developing confidence, establishing stronger support networks, or it may reflect greater awareness about unacceptable bullying behaviors. Alternatively it may be related to the exposure to and behavior of bullies. As people age they are more likely to select into social groups which are similar to their own, this is less easy to do during compulsory schooling as it comprises a heterogeneous group. Or it may be a function that as bullies

age they may become less aggressive and more likely to conform to social norms which exclude victimizing behaviors. In addition, heterosexual young people are more likely to experience frequent verbal bullying at age 19 compared with heterosexual young people during compulsory schooling. This finding runs contrary to previous research.

Turning to life satisfaction, identifying as LGB significantly lowers life satisfaction, independent of bullying experience, familial and individual characteristics. This finding supports previous research which has shown that sexual minorities are found to be more unhappy (Chakraborty, 2011), and experience more stressful social environments (Friedman, 1999). We also find that being bullied frequently during school and being bullied frequently at age 19 is associated with a reduction in the probability of being very satisfied with life. Although there is a scarring effect of being bullied during school on life satisfaction at age 19, the association of being bullied frequently at age 19 and life satisfaction is a little stronger. This suggests that concurrent experiences of being bullied are more salient for young people's life satisfaction.

Limitations

Although the present analysis has provided critical findings which are applicable to young people, teachers and other professionals who work with youths, there are some limitations which should be addressed. This study utilized a single method of measurement, namely self-report of bullying victimization. Although self-report is considered to be the most appropriate method of assessing bullying experiences because it is a perceptual experience (Olewus, 2003). It does offer some limitations due to people being unable to compare and anchor their experiences with others. We adopt a stricter definition of bullying therefore our findings are conservative.

Our analysis relies on sexual identity as measured by self-report at age 19/20, and in addition to looking at concurrent bullying experiences, we look back at their reports of bullying experiences during compulsory schooling. This may present some challenges in terms of temporal ordering as the young person and their peers may not be aware of their sexual identity during schooling. However previous research suggests that many young people do not self-identify as a sexual minority until they are aged 19.7 on average (Floyd & Bakeman, 2006), more recently just over half of the respondents of the Youth Chances survey knew they were LGB, Transgender and Questioning by the age of 13 (METRO Youth Chances, 2014). Therefore even if there was data available on sexual identity at the earlier waves, it is likely to be quite a noisy measure. Previous studies of this nature take sexual identity at a current time point and ask them to retrospectively report their bullying experiences (for example Russell et al., 2011, and Greene, Britton, & Fitts, 2014) the present study advances work in this field as it reduces the recall

period and therefore reduces bias. However it is important to reiterate the limitations regarding causal inference that this study presents, it is not asserted that young people are bullied *because* they are a sexual minority, instead only an association can be established.

When examining issues that are sensitive and prone to social stigma, such as being bullied and sexual identity, there is no way to validate recall accuracy or truthfulness of reports. We recognize that there may be some under-reporting of behavior which is stigmatized.

Conclusion

Although there is an abundance of literature which examines bullying and a growing quantitative literature which examines bullying among sexual minorities, the current research contributes to this by making use of a large-scale study in England. This study is unique as it is a longitudinal study of young people which provides the opportunity to compare the probabilities of LGB youth being bullied with heterosexual youth over time. The longitudinal nature of the data reduces recall bias, and provides a rich set of variables which enable the examination of the timing and nature of bullying and its effect on life satisfaction. Knowledge about the bullying experiences of sexual minority groups is important for monitoring social inequalities, allocating resources and using targeted interventions. This is important particularly as bullying is also found to be associated with a number of persistent negative life outcomes which affect their health and wellbeing (Arseneault, Bowes, & Shakoor, 2010; Nansel et al., 2010; Olweus, 1993; Takizawa, Maughan, & Arseneault, 2014).

We find evidence that young people who are gay, bisexual or other are at a greater risk of experiencing bullying during compulsory schooling and in early adulthood in England. This is consistent with previous research in this field (for example, Rivers (2011)). We also find evidence that the prevalence bullying exposure reduces as the young people age, more specifically, the probability of being bullied at age 19/20 is lower than during compulsory schooling. With respect to the type of bullying experienced, we find that young people who identify as LGB have a higher probability of experiencing physical, verbal, relational, and cyber bullying during compulsory schooling. The pattern is the same at age 19/20, but is not statistically significant. Furthermore there is evidence that there are some adverse effects on life satisfaction of this bullying exposure during school and in early adulthood. However there is little evidence that the effects of bullying are differentially experienced by sexual minorities. The results confirm that sexual minorities report lower levels of life satisfaction than heterosexual groups which may be picking up differences in stress exposure in their social environment.

A number of implications can be put forward to policy makers and practitioners based on this research. Most notable is that those who identify as being a sexual minority are more likely to experience being bullied both in early adulthood and during compulsory schooling. Teachers and support staff should be aware of this vulnerability, in particular they should take some responsibility for ensuring that bullying behaviors are dealt with swiftly and appropriately, ensure that homophobic behavior is challenged at all levels within schools and encourage an understanding of alternative lifestyles and sexualities. School counselors and other professionals working with young people should mindful of the effects of bullying on life satisfaction and offer appropriate support to young people who experience it, with a particular focus on LGB youth. There is also an opportunity for peer support groups where LGB young people can discuss the issues they face in a safe space, particularly as they reach early adulthood. However it should be noted that although it is important to provide the opportunity of specialist support to LGB youth, it should not be assumed that these young people automatically need this support as this can reinforce sexual minorities' negative experiences (Formby, 2015).

Rivers (2011) suggests that those who experience traumatic events in childhood and adolescence have long term and debilitating effect upon the quality of adult life. We have found this to be true in the medium term with respect to bullying. However it is concerning to note that LGB youth are disproportionately more likely to experience bullying in the first place. Future research should concentrate on developing an understanding of resilience strategies for LGB youth during the transition to adulthood.

There remains an opportunity to examine the experiences of LGB youth using this dataset, for example examining the motivation for bullying. In addition there remains an opportunity to explore the efficacy of social support and parental support in reducing the risk of bullying exposure and mitigating the effects of bullying exposure on life satisfaction.

Acknowledgements
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NOTES

1. This variation is as a result of whether the question posed relates to sexual behaviour or same sex attraction.

2. According to Olweus bullying occurs when a person is "exposed, repeatedly and over time, to the negative actions on the part of one or more other students" (Olweus, 1993, p. 9).

3. The proportional odds assumption was tested using a likelihood ratio test to compare constrained and unconstrained models.

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REPETITION-DIFFERENTIATION IN AN ONLINE DEBATE ON SEXUALITIES: RE-IMAGINING IDENTITY MEANINGS

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ABSTRACT. This paper investigates textual activity in the comments section of an online newspaper in which participants respond to a brief article on a Brazilian soap-opera featuring a lesbian couple. Concentrating on this online interaction, it explores the pragmatics of iterability and probes the tension between repetition (of conservative views of sexuality) and renewal (its resignification potential), taking repetition and difference as intertwined domains. Theoretically, it draws on contemporary studies in the field of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and to the so-called philosophy of difference (Deleuze 1994). Methodologically, it tracks down text trajectories (Briggs 2005) to trace part of the Discourses on gender and sexuality that precipitate infectiously in this online environment, investigating how they interpellate interlocutors and locate them in the sociocultural world. My interest is to observe the interconnection between textual friction, scale shifts and resemiotization (Blommaert 2005; 2007). The analysis, focusing on audiences' uptake, detects oscillating movements around meanings attributed to sexuality – from normalization toward transformation – and shows that textual itineraries can be resisted, alternative meanings explored, and cemented plots re-imagined.

Keywords: sexuality; iterability; textual friction; repetition-difference

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Semiotic Mobility on the Web

In 2014, Globo TV – the leading Brazilian TV network – aired *Em família*, a primetime *telenovela* (soap opera) whose opening plot dealt with varied interwoven storylines on family drama, adultery, and love triangles, developed along mainstream heteronormative premises. In later episodes, however, the show started featuring the relationship between Clara – a simple bored married straight young woman, mother to an eight-year old boy – and Marina – a sensual successful lesbian photographer. The initial flirtation matured into a full blown love affair, leading Clara to disclose the infatuation to her family (parents, sisters, loving husband and son).

The madly-in-love couple ended up taking center stage, a scheme which, in a country anchored in Catholic tradition such as Brazil, gave rise to a lot of controversy and heated responses, triggering both backlash and support concerning alternative family bonds. Some fans reacted not only against same-sex pairing but also against the destruction of a "happy" family. Conversely, according to a whole lot of others, gay love was legitimate and the characters had the right to live it to the fullest; moreover, they demanded that the sexual innuendo between the two women be portrayed as explicitly as the intimate scenes involving the straight couples in the show were. Therefore, as Marina and Clara's relationship deepened and turned out to be quite steamy, many fans rooted for their bonding while others sided against it. Amidst these contrasting stances, a special concern gained ground: would a kiss between the two women be aired on a primetime program at a Brazilian television network? Being cast upon the audience, the doubt sparked all sort of speculation and dispute.

A great part of that contention took place in digital environments (social networks, blogs, websites and the like), producing Clara/Marina (Clarina) shippers[1] and texts which proliferated on the web. The hashtag #clarina, different fanfics in Portuguese and English (*All of me*, *Clarina day by day* etc.), and the virtual campaign *Globo makes Clarina happen* are just some of the examples of how the lesbian narrative became a viral phenomenon, following transnational trajectories – a characteristic of the intense transit of semiotic artifacts which have been marking contemporary communicative landscapes. Everything concerning the production and consumption of cycles of discourse – ideas, texts, images, discourses, knowledges, and identities, for example – moves at unprecedented speed as semioticized commodities (Agha 2011; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). This escalating process, propelled by the development of not only Web 2.0 technologies but also media contexts in general (digital, televisual, and print), intensifies the identity-alterity dialectics, increasing the tension between known and alien meaning repertoires and, as a corollary, enhancing performances of surveillance and protection of

perceived identity borders. Although violent language games are a very well-known outcome of such kind of attrition, leading very often to physical violence,[2] they may, conversely, result in subverting conventional familiarities and/or shaking normalizing apparatuses (Butler 2004; Puar 2005; Lima 2014; Lewis et al. 2014; Moita-Lopes 2015) – as illustrated by the *Clarina* event above.

In previous work I delved into such repetition-transformation activities concerning the negotiation of gendered cultural identities on the internet (Fabrício 2014; 2015). In this paper I shall explore the reification-dismantling of the heterosexual matrix in the cyberspace, by concentrating on the comments section of the digital version of a popular Brazilian newspaper, in which participants discuss the love affair between Clara and Marina. Upon approaching their online interaction, I examine how both replication and reorganization of heteronormativity coexist in that environment. In so doing, I seek to observe the pragmatics of iterability and probe the tension between repetition and renewal possibilities, proposing to take repetition-difference as an inseparable pair. Theoretically and methodologically, I draw on contemporary studies in the field of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and to the so-called philosophy of difference (Deleuze 1994), to map communicable cartographies (Briggs 2005) by 1) tracing part of the Discourses that precipitate and spread infectiously on the focused Internet site; 2) investigating how interlocutors get interpellated by them and are located in the sociocultural world; and 3) keeping an eye on the interconnection between textual friction, scale jumps and resemiotization (Blommaert 2005; 2007) – a process which interlaced vertical / asymmetrical scalar values and more horizontal / symmetrical, perspectives.

This framework situates sexuality and other identity processes as dynamic textual phenomena subjected to construction, deconstruction and reconstruction (cf. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). In times of fast circulation of people and information, signs and discourses (organized in the form of texts) tend to follow unexpected itineraries and bump into "otherness" more frequently – a form of contact that may cause either shock or different levels of interchange. In this essay I argue that considering the textual factor and textual mobility in relation to contemporary identity studies may help us scrutinize, at the micropolitical level – both iteration of traditional understandings of sexuality and its reinvention potential.

Textual Circulation and the Logic of Difference

Meanings and their textual life are not static; they are always in motion, being the outcome of their circulation and trajectories across different layers of social life – temporal, spatial, situational, institutional etc. Moreover, they

emerge out of intense processes of reflexivity – human beings' unique capacity to, upon establishing social relations, simultaneously engage in pragmatic and metapragmatic communicative activity (Agha 2007). Individuals, in their semiotic relationship with physical, intersubjective and social surrounds, place all kinds of signs (linguistic, gestural, imagistic etc.) in the world, while indicating how they are to be interpreted. On the one hand, they intermingle, for instance, ways of talking, looking, moving and gesticulating; they coordinate other people, gadgets, times, places, social voices and beliefs; they make use of specific facial expressions, pieces of clothing, accessories, and so on. On the other, they imbue these diverse *object-signs* with symbolic values that index normative codes, social types and standardized practices (Agha 2007: 23) – that have to be rendered "recognizable to others (and ourselves)" (Gee 1999/2005: 23).

It is the co-occurrence of such signs that leads authors like James Paul Gee (1999/2005) to employ the term Discourse (with a capital "D") to refer to all socially situated semiotic activity as language interlaced with "other stuff" – ways of

> combining and integrating language actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity (p. 21).

By the same token, Blommaert (2005: 207) conceives of identities as a semiotic potential, i.e. particular sign configurations organized in specific repertoires. A few observations on the construction of the homosexual couple in the above-mentioned soap-opera – *Em família* – may help delineate such approach a little further.

Clara and Marina amalgamate a series of signs related to race, gender, class, beauty patterns and bodily regimes. Both are white, educated, upper-middle class, "feminine," slim, and fit; besides, they dress smartly and circulate (and act) in trendy spaces and social events (restaurants, parties, art galleries, fashion shows and so on) associated with sophistication, glamour and faddism. Resources such as music, food, drinks, clothing, hair style and technical elements such as framing, angle, illumination and the like (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996) contribute to project a voguish atmosphere, produced by an indexical complex that can be easily identifiable by the target audience[3]. Metapragmatically, such semiotic choices attend to contemporary gay and lesbian movements, and (trans)national political Discourses and public policies towards sexual rights[4]. Pragmatically, however, they find a way of harmonizing indisciplined corporeal practices and heteronormative ideologies that replicate narrow understandings of race, class, gender and sexuality – a phenomenon captured by one of the posts in the focused online forum:

> Comment(a): Cassandra[5]
> Para a situaçao ficar aceitável colocam duas mulheres bonitas, queria ver se colocassem uma mulher feia de cabelo curto, calçando um tênis masculino, com uma bermuda caindo, se teria alguma torcida. Para esta situaçao parecer normal dentro dos nossos lares colocam um pouco de beleza. Mas no meu lar nao. tenho um controle nas mãos para mudar de canal na hora desta palhaçada!
>
> *To make it more palatable they choose two babes, I'd sure like to see the reaction if instead they chose some ugly woman with cropped hair, wearing a pair of men's sneakers and some loose-fitting, low-waisted destroyed cut-offs, if they'd get much support. So the situation can generate more acceptance they add a little glamour. But not at my place. I've got the remote in hand precisely to change channels when this crap comes on.*

One could thus argue – after Duggan (2002) and Puar (2007; 2013) – that alternative sexualities and body practices fall prey to a kind of homonormativity, regimenting what it means to be "properly homo" and thus "othering" non-white, poor, stout, unfashionable corporealities within the LGBTTQs culture. What the above post seems hence to confirm is the idea that transgression is tamed by liberal gay rights Discourses while preserving a traditional and hierarchical moral order. Valorizing and stratifying strategies of this kind can be associated with the notion of *scale*. I tackle this issue for a moment below.

Blommaert (2007; 2006) employs the term (taken from the field of social geography) to allude to the fact that social events evolve amidst different scale-levels that run from the strictly local (region, neighborhood, home and family, for example) to the more macro domain (state, country, the media, religion etc.) with several intermediary layers. To this spatial image of horizontal spread, the concept of *scales* adds the idea of verticality, suggesting that "processes of distribution and flow are accompanied by processes of hierarchical ordering" (2007: 1). Besides this view of power-invested spaces, implied in the conception of stratification, the scale metaphor approaches time and space as deeply connected dimensions, so that every instance of interaction would have at once a one-time, unique and trans-temporal quality, condensing and anchoring historical time in a specific site and moment. The enmeshed dimension TimeSpace is objectified in everyday communication through semiotization processes which are reflexive in nature: our daily interactional encounters and the TimeSpace moves they entail indexically point to the social order, different centers of authority, patterns and valorizing systems (i.e. Discourses) interlocutors are attending to. The following interaction, extracted from my data, provide a compelling example.

When the soap opera show *Em família* is recontextualized in an online opinion article (to which I will turn later), it originates the following exchange in the comments section:

> Comment (b): Berta
> Nossa que coisa mais ridícula, a mulher larga o marido pra ficar com a outra mulher e ainda quer que o filho pequeno aceite essa relação (...)
>
> *How ludicrous, the woman leaves her husband for another woman and above all wants her young kid to accept it (…)*
>
> Comment (c): ROY
> Definição de família. ('Homem e Mulher e Filhos'). O resto é gambiarra.
>
> *Definition of family. ('Husband and Wife and Children'). All the rest is patch up job.*

The interactant in the first comment positions herself emphatically against the program's narrative plot, orienting to the situation at hand – the televisual event in focus, four specific characters, and the social roles they play (wife, husband, lover and son). The sign she employs to qualify the experience – *ludricous* – indexes the heterocentric parameters guiding her critical performance. Roy, on the other hand, operates a scale-jump, moving from the here-and-now of the show to a wider, more general sphere. He does so by calling forth a stereotypical definition of family which he presents between quotation marks as if citing from a source of "authority" – a dictionary, or perhaps the Bible. This move indexicalizes a "superior" epistemological status, so to speak, projecting marked asymmetry between Roy's contribution and Berta's. Moreover, he capitalizes the nouns (*Husband*, *Wife* and *Children*), ascribing them universal values. These actions perform in two different ways; besides dislodging the conversation from individual stances toward taken-for-granted powerful centers of credibility, they make explicit the higher post the concept of traditional family occupies in the invoked TimeSpace scale. "All the rest" – a sign that excludes and disallows other possible meanings – is repudiated as sheer "patch up job."

This brief exchange illustrates people and texts moving in social spaces through a continuum of layered horizontal-vertical sites which engage them unceasingly in power relations crossed by scale-alterations – scaling, rescaling, out-scaling, and so on. Individuals and their semiotic production are ranked according to prevailing norms and valorizing systems, which, besides varying from context to context, pursue pluridirectional paths. The more multiple their itinerary the more shifts, and consequently, the more textual attrition they trigger.

The frame drawn above, therefore, characterizes reflexivity and meta-semiotic activity in general, as a central facet of meaning-making. The every-day local enactment of identity-difference performances is entangled with wider frames of reference, i.e. perduring formations such as social structure, norms, patterns, culture, power, and ideologies, configuring a relationship that may support, challenge or transform social organization. Otherwise put, the perceivable world we inhabit come into existence trough semiotic displays that entextualize sociohistorical canons and circulating Discourses which we adapt – with different levels of awareness, or no awareness at all – to specific interactional moments.

Such an understanding of (meta)semioses may well characterize Discourse as one of the Foucauldian apparatuses (Foucault 1980), as Agamben (2009: 14) does in his expansion of the concept:

> I shall call an apparatus literally anything that has in some way the capacity to capture, orient, determine, intercept, model, control, or secure the gestures, behaviors, opinions, or discourses of living beings. Not only, therefore, prisons, madhouses, the panopticon, schools, confession, factories, disciplines, judicial measures, and so forth (whose connection with power is in a certain sense evident), but also the pen, writing, literature, philosophy, agriculture, cigarettes, navigation, computers, cellular telephones and – why not – language itself, which is perhaps the most ancient of apparatuses (…).

If one accompanies the authors discussed in this paper in their perception that Discourse practices and their complexly interwoven elements produce dynamic semantic chains – in spite of their regimentation by wider systems of knowledge –, one can invest not only in the identification of apparatuses but also, and more importantly, in the pursuit of new ways to disassemble their apparent inertia. I believe that theoretical concepts such as *communicability* (Briggs 2007a; 2007b) and *repetition* (Deleuze 1968/2004) may provide a step forward in the understanding of how the dialectical transaction between discursive and metadiscursive features of communication may rearrange durable constructions.

Communicability and Repetition

Under the rubric of fields of communicability, Charles Briggs sheds light on two aspects of contemporary fast circulation of signs, texts and ideologies. Firstly, it refers to the way texts themselves project "their own point of origin, modes of circulation, intended audiences, and modes of reception" (Briggs 2007a: 556). In the imagined itinerary across different locales, social realms, scales, and genres, texts find audiences, putting forward, along the

way, communicable cartographies that, doing boundary work (Briggs 2005), interpellate interlocutors into inhabiting particular sociocultural constructions and positions. Sign users, in turn, may accept, doubt, refuse, or challenge the suggested semantic design and projected territory. Secondly, communicable maps are contagious and, like microbes and viruses, have the capacity to disseminate, metapragmatically conceiving of communication as a linear path between two fixed points – as the Saussurean "speaking circuit" (Saussure 1959/1916: 11) might suggest. Nevertheless, from a pragmatic point of view, epidemic spreading is necessarily unpredictable and more rhizomatic in nature. Thirdly, such multidirectional movement does not happen in scale-free social fields. Rather, communication takes place amidst tensions, struggles, friction and chance, being not so much a matter of mere transmission of thoughts, ideas or messages but rather a complex process of creation-in-transformation.

Those familiar with digital media domains and with the propagation of viral phenomena they promote may have a good grasp of Brigg's virality metaphor. Furthermore, if one associates the latter with Clough and Puar's considerations below, on virtual text infections and the interplay between repetition and change they entail, the implicit comparison becomes even more tangible. According to the authors (2012: 14),

> the viral is transformative; it has an open-ended relation to form itself. In this sense, the viral takes on characteristics, albeit selectively, which usually are attributed to the virus. At play is the virus's ability to change itself as it replicates and disseminates. (…) In its replications, the virus does not remain the same, nor does that which it confronts and transits through. Viral replication swerves from the performative 'repetition with a difference;' it is replication without reproduction, without fidelity, without durability. It is this generative differentiation that is repeated. It is the repetition that *is* the difference…

The above Deleuzian-inspired delineation makes it possible to think of texts as continuously folding, unfolding, refolding over themselves, producing complexes of "repetition" that keep reshaping meanings. The essentialist opposition between identity and difference is thus called into question. Both would be sense-making operations exercised over a field Deleuze (1968/2004) refers to as the domain of "indifference" (p. 36) – a space of complete indeterminacy and nothingness upon which semioses imposes itself, capturing in meaning a state which is in fact an "undifferentiated abyss." In such amorphous and swampy scenery, difference is individuating; it is a productive force, drawing boundaries and projecting infinite and repetitive specifications (Hughes 2009). This process produces incessant discriminations, classifications, determinations and over-determinations by way of a limited

repertoire of representational strategies, among which identity occupies a central role – the others being analogy, opposition and resemblance. Identity is hence produced through processes of differentiation, the former having no privilege over the latter (Deleuze 1968/2004) – a proposition which overturns long-standing assumptions concerning the logic of difference.

What is perceived as fixed identities would thus be forged differentiations which keep returning as "the same" – ignorant of the very representational transactions occurring in an open, limitless and imprecise space; unknowing of the recurrence of difference; and, unaware of the repetition-difference dialectics. What "reappears" as a "clearly-defined" sociocultural entity, or as a "bounded" identity, is not identity but historically-produced difference – perhaps a strategy to deal with the sense of vulnerability fluidity and imprecision may occasion. No wonder, therefore, the philosopher qualifies the identity procedure as a "poor recipe for producing monsters," i.e., imagined overarching organisms which maintain a "unilateral and precise relation to the indeterminate" (Deleuze 1968/2004: 37). They make distinctions, delineate their contours and perfect them through repetition hence rendering them livable and perceivable as "harmonious" concepts, against which all difference is measured. The etching and crafting practices that brought them into existence are forgotten, though, and they tend to be experienced as having been always there, in identifiable social realms. In a Derridean vein, we can say that, pragmatically, the iteration (i.e. repetition) of semiotic resources across multiple sites, temporalities and scales of social life produces both identity stabilization – some level of fixity being operational on a daily basis – and differing transit. Iterability retrieves and repeats available signs and simultaneously reconstructs them anew (Derrida 1977). And meanings emerge out of this particular mode of circulation.

To address this complex movement – which tends to gain more and more scalar contours on virtual landscapes, as people (re)blog, (re)tweet, (re)post, (re)tumblr all kinds of semiotic artifacts – one has to move, Agha (2005) suggests, from a concern with bounded communicative events, and with the production of "clear-cut" differences I would add, to a concern with semioses across encounters, placing Discourse practices within an ample sociohistorical framework. Going beyond the here-and-know of communication precipitates one upon the nomadic realm of meaning-making, in which differentiating acts are maneuvers to cope with indeterminacy.

In what follows I will try to elucidate these arguments, by operationalizing them as analytic lenses. I will look in detail at how repetition-difference occurs on an Internet article commenting on the Clarina love affair.

Textual Friction, Scale Jumps and Resemiotization Potential

Discussions involving the Clarina phenomenon occurred in many different digital sites and generated a profusion of texts whose trajectories I tried to follow as a methodological strategy to investigate sign circulation, repetition and differentiation. In this pursuit I have tracked different paths many of which integrate a large corpus, generated through different techniques (print screen and video recordings, for example). Here I would like to consider a specific destination: the website of a daily wide-circulating Brazilian newspaper – *Extra online*. I will refer to the cultural section of the publication – titled *Telinha* (a rough translation could read "Small Screen") – which includes information on TV celebrities and on-screen programs, soap-operas, sitcoms, variety shows and, according to its editorial, "everything that happens on stage and behind TV cameras."[6] All-encompassing formulations of this kind contribute to delineate the publication's projected profile[7].

It positions itself as being committed with "knowing, producing knowledge and informing" and to "report on facts, analyze them, provide opinion, consciously trying, as far as possible, to be free of any kind of bias." These actions would characterize good journalism, good quality, and social responsibility. Although the editorial acknowledges the impossibility of "100% impartiality," it tries, by adopting a "pluralistic approach," to provide different angles and viewpoints on facts, not favoring specific opinions, themes or events. "There cannot be taboo issues. Everything that is in the public interest should be published, analyzed and discussed," it goes on, always discriminating fact from opinion, in a "transparent" way. The alleged target readership, including "people with all levels of instruction," leads to the employment of "clear language about issues that interest all."

Stances of this kind – which indicate the communicability at play – justify the inclusion of taboo topics such as sexuality and new family formations on the vehicle's agenda, as well as the avoidance of "all forms of prejudice;" by the same token it contemplates direct communication with the audience by providing interactional spaces to "listen" to readers – the comments section in *Telinha* being one such space. These brief guidelines suggest a communicable cartography which seems to orient towards the idea of a smooth linear flow between the newspaper, "good quality" information (i.e., clear, transparent and correct), and the public.

It is within this communicable map that, on June 3, 2014,[8] Carla Bittencourt, the journalist in charge of *Telinha*, posted an opinion article whose main headline read "'*Em Familia*' [In the Family]: Clara and Marina start going out together but haven't yet kissed." The direct reference to the soap opera show, referred to above, was framed by an image of the two characters, in which Marina kisses Clara on the cheek. Right below, the first lines of the

report announced: “The public reaction to the couple Clara and Marina couldn’t be worse, so much so, that Manoel Carlos [the author] was never given the green light to write up the scene of the soap in which they finally kiss.” By so shaping the entertainment product into journalistic discourse, the columnist constructs a tabloid frame, projecting a communicable cartography which positions the public in agreement with the alleged public repudiation, thus mapping, in a linear fashion, the text’s itinerary in a specific TimeSpace domain, its sensationalist circulation, and readers’ responses to it.

The post generates 377 comments, promoting iteration, recirculation and resignification of signs indexing gender, sexuality and family traditions. By and large, contributors divide themselves into two opposing poles, either resisting or accepting the projected subject positions on the communicable map. Others take an intermediary stand. It is noteworthy, however, that a significant number of posts (177 to be more precise) questioned the epistemic value of the news with statements of the following nature:

> Comment (d): Luiz
> QUEM DISSE QUE HÁ REJEIÇÃO DO PÚBLICO? PORQUE VOCÊS INSISTEM NISSO, SE A GRANDE TORCIDA É POR CLARINA.
>
> *WHO SAYS THE PUBLIC REJECTS THEM? WHY DO YOU INSIST IN SUCH A POSITION, IF PEOPLE ARE ROOTING FOR CLARINA.*

Besides displaying emphatic approval (signaled by the use of capital letters) of the relationship between two women and challenging the text’s preferred reading, several other interlocutors (like Lucia below) enact critical performances regarding an enduring sociocultural taboo, questioning comments whose content index prejudice, intolerance and homophobia:

> Comment (e): Lucia
> ‘Os loucos, às vezes, se curam. Os imbecis, nunca.’ (Oscar Wilde)
>
> *‘The insane are sometimes known to recover. The foolish, are never.’* (Oscar Wilde)

By posting an ironic quote attributed to the famous writer Oscar Wilde, Lucia promotes an interesting scale shift. She positions any dogmatic contributions and their authors within a specific group “the foolish,” a sign indexing narrow-mindedness and ignorance. This generalization, encompassing society at large, constructs bigotry as an incurable disease, even worse than madness, the long-standing prototype of social deviance, according to Foucault (1961/2009). The differentiation-producing grading system operates perhaps on a diagonal scale, as it constructs verticality in an oblique way. In rejecting all sorts of insulting remarks which precipitate in the encounter on *Telinha*, it juxtaposes vertical and horizontal layers, calling for more symmetrical social

positions in detriment of hateful ones. Comment "f" below is but one example out of the 86 contributions which perform injurious acts against which Lucia seems to be reacting:

> Comment (f): Maria Brito
> Esses autores deveriam pensar que existem milhares de pessoas que não são gays e que não gostam dessa exposição exagerada desses casais em novelas, querem enfiar goela abaixo do telespectador essa COISA, não deixo minhas filhas assistirem.
>
> *Writers should keep in mind that there are millions of people out there who aren't gay and who don't approve of this overt exhibitionism of couples such as these in soaps, they want to force-feed us this THING, I won't let my daughters watch it.*

Such stances are extremely violent and destructive in that they index a bodily ontology – an expression I borrow from Butler (2009: 2) – which discriminates "livable lives" and bodies that matter against precarious and dehumanized ones, not worth living. The deictic resources "that THING," besides indicating the ranking system at play, give visibility to how the apparatus of language and the apparatus of sexuality (Foucault 1980) lock together, and capture people's actions, reactions and perceptions in their ordinary practices and minute activities. Here, repetition-difference works according to the thoughtlessness of *habitus* (Bourdieu 1991). Usual stratification and orienting power centers seem to stand on a "petrified" ground, upon which any differentiation move seems to be impossible as calcified distinctions keep "re-appearing." Observe how the identity, analogy, opposition and resemblance strategies (referred to earlier) work in full blast.

> Comment (g): CANDY
> Nada a ver essas duas. Papeis ridículos de uma novela mais ridícula ainda. Todas as lésbicas que conheço, tem uma certa masculinidade. Essas duas não convencem. Isso não é homosexualismo, é pouca vergonha mesmo.
>
> *These two are a joke. Two characters that are a joke in a soap that's even more of a joke. All the lesbians I know have a certain macho-quality. These two are way off. That's not homosexuality, it's sexual immorality*.
>
> Comment (h): Keyla
> Para CANDY e outros com a mesma opinião. Quer dizer que se a mulher gay não é masculina é pouca vergonha? Independente de novela, rotular como a pessoa deve ser ou se vestir por ser gay é preconceito. Sou lésbica, não sou 'masculina' e minha namorada também não! (...)
>
> *For CANDY and others of the same opinion. So in your opinion if a gay woman is not macho-like then it's sexual immorality?*

> *Leaving the soap aside for a moment, labeling how a person should be or should dress is simply prejudice. I'm a lesbian, I'm not 'macho' and neither is my girlfriend!* (…)
>
> Comment (i): ROY
> Podem espernear, gritar, tiras as calças pela cabeça, mas não adianta, falar que é homofobia, preconceito, ignorante. Não é normal. Claro que a vida é deles, a minha é a minha e eu afirmo não é normal.
>
> *You can fret and fuss all you want, scream your head off, it's no use, call it homophobia, prejudice, ignorance. It isn't normal. Sure it's none of my business, it's their life, my life is my own and I say it isn't normal.*

The social category "lesbian," the resemblance "macho-like," the implicit regimenting analogy between lesbians and men, and oppositions such as true/fake lesbians, macho/feminine, heterosexuality/homosexuality, morality/immorality and "their/my life" keep iterating an order of submission and subordination, in a repetitive web whose articulation is difficult to be broken. CANDY's assertive performance, signaled by moral judgments (such as "*a joke*" and "*it's sexual immorality*") and all-encompassing propositions (as in "*All the lesbians I know*" and "*These two are way off*") index powerful essentialist discourses which recycle the language and sexuality apparatuses. The latter, the driving force of governmentality, administer and regulate living beings, but without ever completely dominating them as Keyla's stance illustrates. Her contribution, "*I'm a lesbian, I'm not 'macho' and neither is my girlfriend!*", projects an alternative conceptual game which, in escaping the traditional semantic chain at play, produces some kind of differentiation – and a more flexible one – in apparently solidified identities. Its meaning-potential is, nevertheless, undermined in face of an infelicitous perlocution. Roy, in a similar move to a previous performance (cf. statement "c" above), once again invokes "normalcy" as the familiar anchor to pin drifting meanings down into a "firm" soil (comment "i").

The terrain is vibrant, though, and if we examine other contributions, we are able to detect incessant sign recontextualizations, resemiotizations, and differences producing intermediary and transgressive positions – as the transit between scales follow unexpected tracks. All in all, they resist the communicable map projected by the online article whilst envisaging other possible routes. In alternative paths, horizontality may prevail over, or run parallel to, verticality and construct more nuanced scalar effects. Due to the limited scope of this paper I will concentrate on only one emblematic instance.

Observe comments (j)-(p):

Comment (j): Daniela
Sabe o que vc faz com a sua filha? Educa! Explique pra ela que existe outras formas de amor, sem ser o heterossexual. Que pessoas do mesmo sexo podem sim se amar e não tem nada de errado nisso. Que caráter é muito mais importante que orientação sexual.

You know what you do with your daughter? Teach her! Explain to her that there are other kinds of relationships besides heterosexual ones. That people of the same sex can indeed fall in love and there's nothing wrong with that. That reputation is much more important than sexual orientation.

Comment (k): Clara
A Globo agora em toda novela é falando o homossexualismo Deus me livre, quer forçar a gente a aceitar pouca vergonha até nojo.

Globo network nowadays every soap is always plugging homosexuality Lord almighty, they wanna make us accept this indecency [makes me] wanna puke.

Comment (l): full-of-it
Antes de fazer qualquer comentário envolvendo o nome de Deus, as pessoas deveriam primeiro ler a Bíblia! Deus deu o livre arbítrio a todos. Se homo sexualismo é errado segundo as Sagradas Escrituras, cabe a ele julgar, e só a ele!

Rather than make comments in the name of God, people ought to read the Bible first! God gave everyone free-will. If homo sexuality is wrong according to the Holy Scriptures, it's up to him, and to him only, to judge!

Comment (m): Madalena
Pros ignorantez de plantao: relaçao homoafetiva é parte do conceito de familia, conforme decidido pelo STF com efeito vinculante ha 2 anos atras. Nao gostou? Corre pra igreja mais proxima e paga o dizimo! E nao desconte a sua falta de sexo criticando Clarina, pq isso é recalque puro!

In case the dumb trollz haven't heard: homoerotic relationships are categorized as family as determined by the Supreme Court's binding resolution 2 years ago. Have a problem with that? Run to your nearest congregation and pay the tithe! And don't take it out on Clarina for your pathetic love life coz that's a major hang-up!

Comment (n): Lia
Parem de usar o nome de Deus pra justificar o que é certo e errado. Ele ama a todos por igual, independente das nossas escolhas. Tem tanta guerra acontecendo, pessoas passando fome e morrendo, crianças morrendo que eu dúvido que Ele está preocupado com a opção sexual de cada um. Se situem.

Stop using God's name to justify what's right or wrong. He loves us all equally, in spite of our choices. There are so many wars going on, people starving and dying of hunger, children dying that I doubt He is worried about people's sexual preferences. Get a hold of yourselves.

Comment (o): Pedro Castro
Minha preocupação agora é com a Heterofobia. O mesmo respeito que vcs gays querem os heteros também querem. Afinal somos de uma geração – de bem pouco tempo atrás, diga-se de passagem – de que homossexualismo era feio e nojento. OK OK OK agora não é mais ?!? Paciência para a desconstrução de ANOS de crenças. Dentro desse contexto, quem está sendo preconceituoso com quem? TENHAM PACIÊNCIA GAY E LÉSBICAS – Crenças não se destrói da noite para o dia, mesmo que se queira.

What worries me nowadays is Heterophobia. The same respect you gays demand we heteros also demand. After all we're part of a generation that – from not so long ago if you don't mind my saying – thought that homosexuality was ugly and disgusting. OK OK OK now it's no longer?!? A little patience with tearing down YEARS of social values. In this context who is discriminating who? GIVE ME A BREAK GAYS AND LESBOS – beliefs don't change overnight, even if you want it.

Comment (p): Kátia
(...) Podemos e devemos viver respeitando as diferenças, porém, neste assunto, o melhor aliado é o tempo (...)

(…) *We're willing and able to live together respecting differences, however, regarding this topic, you gotta give it time* (…)

Upon reconstructing the gay storyline, many participants show no complicity with dominant formations. Daniela's comment in (j), which addresses a previous remark produced by Maria Brito, in (f) above, disprivileges binary oppositions such as man/woman and homo/hetero and, defying the vertical axis of normative sexuality, challenges her interlocutor to change her daughter's conservative mindset through education. One could argue that she strategically repeats elements of the family apparatus, adapting them to surrounding co-texts and using them in reverse. When she brings in a highly-valued sign (*reputation*) in the traditional moral order, she seems to be disengaging from repressive power and putting it at the service of more symmetrical relations – a move that "makes a difference" in the sense that it counterattacks moral normativity on the same discourse ground, thus highlighting its contradictory logic. This reversal strategy is even more compelling in the following exchange involving Clara, full-of-it, Madalena and Lia.

In (k), Clara invokes the authority of "*Lord almighty*" – a scale-shift operated by many other participants –, downgrading homosexuality with signs

that index ideas of subalternity, inferiority, sin and abnormality. Contrariwise, full-of-it (l), Madalena (m) and Lia (n) employ the same biblical and religious repertoire, but add new authority centers, invoking the Holy Scriptures, a legal register (as, for example, in the reference to the *Supreme Court's binding resolution*) and human-rights discourses. Such elements index a different apparatus and achieve alternative scalar effects as they enhance more collective and communal perspectives, thus sidestepping traditional power and its asymmetrical *modus operandi*. Their remarks in favor of *homoerotic* relationships are indexical of scalar rearrangements which, in line with contemporary discourses concerning democracy and social equity, conceive of sexual freedom and free bodily practices as valid parameters for all. The hitherto enacted power game is somehow briefly suspended, giving way to empathy and a sense of responsibility to the other – a phenomenon Silva (2015) has identified in an ethnographic study carried out in a different context.[9] This kind of sign circulation, according to which people start talking more horizontally, gradually gains ground – even in face of offences such as "*dumb trollz*," "*Run to your nearest congregation and pay the tithe!*," and "*pathetic love life*" in (m).

Pedro Castro and Kátia, in (o) and (p), tellingly remind us that change (or differentiation concerning identity "monsters," for the purposes of our discussion) does not take place all of a sudden, especially when it involves historically solidified social values. However, when Pedro asks for "a little patience" in his assertive position against what he names "Heterophobia," he somehow acknowledges the limitations and obstacles created by apparatuses of all kinds, which obstruct, but never completely curb, possibilities of transformation – a move followed by Kátia in "*you gotta give it time.*"

It is curious how the two interlocutors call upon the slowness of time vis-à-vis the accelerated TimeSpace of contemporary exchanges. In their reference to a specific kind of temporality, they project a universal communicable path, according to which hetoronormativity, a long-term tradition, is being debunked by one single couple, at the micro level. This sort of scale shift – and the hasty logical leap from local experience to generalization – is at the basis of stereotype and discrimination formations, whose operation depends on the regimentation of social time, circulation, space and even change. Whether we call these processes governmentality (Foucault 1991) or bio communicability (Briggs 2011), what seems to be at stake in the performed sociabilities of Pedro and Kátia is how minutest actions in ordinary situations may exercise micropower, by condensing and sustaining historical boundaries and struggles.

However, amidst epidemic stagnation, there is always room for detours and micro resistance, as meanings are always wandering about, producing some level of differentiation or transmutation. Hence, some participants seem to

smooth along when they suggest that their interlocutors abandon the polemic debate and resemiotize it. While Pedro and Kátia appeal to the sluggish passage of time, Ana and Vanessa below resort to other abstract concepts:

> Comment(q): Ana
> quem não quer ver desliga a tv ou muda o canal....MAS PRA QUEM SE PERMITE DELEITE-SE QUE É LINDOOOO O AMOR
>
> *if it bothers you, turn it off or change channels… BUT FOR THOSE WHO ARE FREE… ENJOY COZ LOVE IS BEAUTIFUUUULLLL*
>
> Comment (r): Vanessa
> (...) É uma oportunidade rara de mostrar na televisão que homossexuais são gente de verdade, gente que sente, que ama. Um final positivo é imprescindível pra derrubar preconceitos.
>
> (…) *It's a one in a million chance to see homosexuals portrayed as common, everyday people on TV – people with feelings, people who fall in love. A happy ending is more than welcome to help do away with prejudices.*

The general signs employed, alluding to love, freedom, feelings and personhood, iterate taken-for-granted universal values, which are, notwithstanding, presented as tools against prejudices, characterizing a more positive encounter with alterity, bypassing the dominant communicable map. Indeed, the identity strategy keeps being reanimated as an orienting criterion and drawing boundaries between differences. Social categories like homosexual, heterosexual, lesbian, gay, macho, woman, man, husband, wife, family, couple, people, public and so on are insidious throughout. However, despite recycling all-embracing classifications, they modify, at least locally and capillary, a contagious regimen, since each time they re-appear they get inserted amidst accompanying co-texts that, besides pushing them into less travelled routes, make them act differently, in more flexible and pluralized ways.

Toward an Ethical Politics of Desire

This paper has examined how repetition-differentiation, as the propeller of constant circulation, is a crucial and potent element in meaning-making. Focusing on text trajectories as a methodological strategy, it has explored the way signs, amalgamated in texts, become themselves figures of repetition in repetitive millieux. Rather than identical doubles, this mobility produces infinite differentiations and spaces – quite invisible in their subtlety, but nonetheless significant – that can shake structural understandings of the social world.

The adopted epidemiological framework, materialized in the concept of communicability, has been spawning in indicating that, in their multidirectional comments, interlocutors both iterate cemented signs and signal the swampy ground they stand on, interlocking contagious interpellation and agentivity. One can thus say that in spite of its projection of infectious linearity, the concept of communicability also encompasses degrees of unpredictability and serendipity which, eschewing overdetermination, operationalize, from an analytical standpoint, the Deleuzian and Derridean reflections concerning repletion-difference and iterability-transformation.

The analysis of interactions and performances on the *Extra online* website have made visible how repetition in communication brings in different rhythms, intensities and metric, configuring a complex of differences where sameness and identity "are said only of that which differs" (Deleuze 1968/ 2004: 69). In the case at hand, in observing how ordinary communicative acts keep producing different texts about different texts, within complexes of repetition-differentiation, the analytical movement could detect the articulation of new registers that dislodged traditional approaches to gender and sexuality. Furthermore, it has shown that the maintenance of social organization and of surveillance apparatuses has more to do with provisional and adaptable arrangements than with the mere reproduction of powerful social structures. It has also indicated that, if these agreements are constructed through restless semioses and intense reflexivity, they are prone to become more malleable and change over time, as ceaseless circulation and replication of signs are refractory to immobility, even when they get entangled in habitual semantic nets.

Difference can thus be said to be a productive force, whose emergent qualities in interaction are worth noting. Operationally, it projects discriminating borders onto indeterminacy, forging the bounded social objects and "identities" we are familiar with. Micropolitically, on the other hand, as the borders are fluid and their plasticity can acquire new configurations through semiotic activity, it acts in the preservation, reorganization or dissolution of social apparatuses. The skill with which some of the interlocutors in the focused encounter crafted new ways to deal with the verticality of power relations, gearing it towards horizontality and reversing historically sedimented matrices guiding desire conventions highlight micropolitics in the making. Although this kind of turnaround can be said to be fleeting, the way many participants indexicalized more flexible regimes concerning gender, sexuality and bodily practices projects visibility onto the workings of replication-renovation that incisively governs our semiotic experiences. Differentiating boundaries have continued to be drawn; identity claims have been laid; but they have seized to be givens and have emerged as possible

choices (cf. Beck in Slater and Ritzer 2001). The identity beast is thus humanized and briefly discontinued as plurality and imprecision stop terrorizing.

Such local movement can be extended to viral communicative events in general. Rather than creating a patterned tapestry of discourses, well aligned with one another, it projects a multiscalar semantic web which, continually folding and unfolding over itself, produces complex, disarticulated and unstable arabesques. The latter, besides disrupting dichotomous thinking and imploding regimes that allegedly tell the truth about genders and sexualities, cannot be captured by positivist descriptions or statistical procedures. As sign mobility occurs, upon a closer look, in a non-linear fashion amidst ambiguity and constant flux it can only rely on methodologies with a queer potential. I believe that following text trajectories, observing communicable maps and exploring processes of difference/iterability have shown to be fruitful pathways.

Therefore, by scrutinizing audiences' meaning-making strategies and sign reorganization, the study has shed light on oscillating movements regarding meanings attributed to gender and sexuality – from territorialization and normalization toward fluidity and renegotiation –, showing that communicable cartographies can be called into question, alternative meanings explored, and cemented plots re-imagined. It is part of such reinvention-potential the way some participants can be said to have envisaged a new politics of desire, one that is more diverse, integrative and creative, and thus more ethical.

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NOTES

1. According to the Urban Dictionary, the term "shipper" "comes from supporting a relationship. To ship something means a person wants two characters to get together and/or shows support for two characters already together." Fans who believe two characters should be together (from books, movies, television, video games, and even actors/actresses) call themselves shippers. <http://pt.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Shipper>

2. A quick glance at international events in the beginning of 2015 sets a gloomy scenario. The Charlie Hebdo attack in Paris, Boko Haram massacre in *Nigerian* city of Maiduguri, and the intensification of Islamophobia, xenophobia, and of the Western "War on terror" are examples of reciprocal acts of racism and extreme violence in a rapidly changing world.

3. As one of the largest media companies in Brazil, and in the world, Rede Globo (Globo Network) and its broadcast programs have the capacity to cover almost all the Brazilian territory, reaching a high percentage of the country's population. In the case of the telenovelas – one of its most popular products – the number of potential viewers escalates, including people of very different social backgrounds.

4. In Brazil, consider, for instance, the Estatuto da diversidade sexual (Charter for sexual diversity), elaborated in 2011 by the Comissão Especial da Diversidade Sexual (Special committee for sexual diversity); and the 1st Conferência Nacional LGBT – Direitos Humanos e Políticas Públicas (the first national LGBT conference in Brazil) in 2008, demanding new relations between the state and other areas of social life, beyond the health system – education, culture, entertainment and human rights in general.

5. All nicknames have been altered to preserve participants' anonymity.

6. The editorial can be accessed at <http://extra.globo.com/principios-editoriais/.>

7. *Extra online* is linked to Globo network.

8. The news report can be accessed at <http://extra.globo.com/tv-e-lazer/telinha/em-familia-clara-marina-comecam-namorar-mas-sem-beijo-12692082.html?exibirFormulario=true>

9. The study investigates competing communicative models emerging within the project of making Rio de Janeiro a safer place for the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics.

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FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND GENDER WAGE DISCRIMINATION

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ABSTRACT. The objective of this paper is to emphasize the causes and consequences of female labor force participation, the impact of female managerial representation on gender integration, and the gender specific changes in wage discrimination. My analysis complements the growing literature on organizational and establishment-level schemes and practices as crucial drivers of work-based gender inequality, gender-driven labor market outcomes, and the manner in which the relative wages of men and women differ within labor market spheres. The overall results provide strong evidence for the effect of global trade on the gender pay gap and female labor force participation, the gender dissimilarities in labor market outcomes, and the function of gender in the labor market. The literature on the relationship between the occurrence of female organizational leaders and diminished inequality, the determinants of the gender wage gap, and the gender disparities in the rise in wage discrimination is relevant to this discussion.

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1. Introduction

On the whole gender dissimilarities in labor market experience comprise a relevant segment of the gender wage gap. Reductions in the gender experience gap assist in explaining the comparable decrease in the gender wage differential. Established gender roles and women's more significant accountability for nonmarket performance (Howe, 2015; Nicolaescu, 2015) may adversely influence their labor market outcomes apart from their effect of

labor force attachment. A diminished share of women at important levels may be as a result of bias or sophisticated obstacles confronting women but may also indicate important work–family disputes for them that cut down their efficiency and/or concern for high-level jobs. If wages are variable, inequity may generate inferior pay for women, but create little or no discrimination. If biased segregations against women in conventionally male occupations are both powerful and rampant (Popescu, Comănescu, and Sabie, 2016), women are likely to be eliminated from these sectors. If such discrimination takes place, it may or may not be related to gender pay gaps. In the occurrence of adequate hiring chances in the female sector, fairly competent women may gain no less than men. (Blau and Kahn, 2016)

2. Organizational and Establishment-level Schemes and Practices as Crucial Drivers of Work-based Gender Inequality

Gender dissimilarities in wage-related features give a reason for the inferior wages earned by women at the bottom of the wage allotment. The dispersion of relative wages in the public sphere chiefly indicates the relative labor market position of low-wage individuals and is unclarified by the wage-related features of high-wage employees. Gender dissimilarities in labor market experience fully clarify the inferior relative wages of women hired in the private sphere. (Barón and Cobb-Clark, 2010) A significant characteristic of the gender wage differential is its advancement throughout the life cycle as a role of labor market experience. The gender wage differential is rather insignificant when employees are inexperienced and it amplifies with their age, whereas the gender wage differential for employees who work uninterruptedly full time declines with age. Human capital acquired with labor market experience is instrumental in clarifying the gender earnings gap. Employment expenses increase the gender dissimilarities in options and skills (Ionescu, 2016a, b) and is the most relevant component influencing the gender earnings gap. Signaling is a significant element in labor force participation: women take part less when data is balanced than they participate when it is private. The most relevant component influencing the gender earnings gap is the gender dissimilarities in human capital acquired in both the labor market and at home. (Gayle and Golan, 2012)

The discrimination of jobs and occupations is the imminent reason of numerous types of gender disparity. Women's access to organizational power arrangements is associated with models of workplace inequality. Granting magnitude may boost bureaucratization and diversity in the division of labor (Nica and Molnar, 2016), it is progressively associated with both external, normative constraints toward gender assimilation and particular organizational practices that operate internally to neutralize attribution. Large organizations

may supply a setting that fortifies any beneficial impacts of female managers on the integration rate by furnishing the means for them to enforce impartiality in employment and promotion. Growth alters the structure of labor lines within establishments (Lăzăroiu, 2015a, b), boosting managers' competence to make important workforce decisions. Endeavors by ambitious and well-positioned female managers to produce change may be hindered by inactive or declining chances for women. (Huffman, Cohen, and Pearlman, 2010) As a result of the relationship of congeniality with powerfully stipulated and contrasting interactive patterns for men and women (Popescu, 2016), the impact of congeniality on earnings may be pretty distinct for women than for men. From the supply side, individuals high in congeniality may not turn their human capital into financial benefit (Lăzăroiu, 2015a, b) as thoroughly as individuals low in congeniality. Admitting pleasant individuals are popular, their friendliness may weaken assessments of their proficiency compared with their bad-tempered fellows, who may be no better qualified for the position. Objectionable conducts, especially in environments where competitiveness and determination are appreciated, indicate proficiency and commitment. Even though unpleasantness may be adequate both men and women in their seeking of extrinsic accomplishment, it should principally do so for the former, as bad-tempered men have the supplementary superiority of complying to gender role requirements. (Judge, Livingston, and Hurst, 2012)

3. The Gender Specific Changes in Wage Discrimination

There is no propensity in the lack of a minimum wage for companies and industries to offer unvarying minimum wage levels. Women are likely to be positioned in industries where payments are low and may not profit to the same degree from the distributing of payments in industries where these are considerable. National minimum wages might diminish inequalities between male and female dominated industries and organizations (Nica and Molnar, 2016), thus being instrumental in a reduction of the gender pay differential. There are important disparities between societies – associated with their industrial relations organizations and their position to gender balance – that affect the degree of women's exposure to unsatisfactory wage and the demand for minimum wages to enhance their stability. (Rubery and Grimshaw, 2011) Notwithstanding the area of hiring, the gender wage differential among low-paid employees (Popescu, 2016) is thoroughly clarified by gender dissimilarities in output-related features. Recognition of the particular elements of the gender wage differential brings to light that discrepancy in educational requirements and demographic traits are usually insignificant in clarifying the wage gap, whereas dissimilarities in men's and women's labor market experience are instrumental in clarifying relative private-sector than public-

sector earnings especially for employees in the bottom half of the wage dispersion. Gender discrepancies in labor market position supply a relevant clarification for the somewhat unsatisfactory earnings received by women. (Barón and Cobb-Clark, 2010)

Developing organizations may display more gender assimilation either as growth enables them to employ individuals who are earlier in their professions, and are thus less expected to be proficient and skilled in gender-typical positions, or as their growth provides chances to advance into jobs that are not up till now gender-typed within the establishment. Organizational disparity to a great extent indicates organization-level mechanisms (Lăzăroiu, 2015a, b) that influence position assignment, advancement chances, and the sharing of incentives. Women's expanded managerial representation may influence employees' assessments and convictions encompassing women leaders. Discrepancy in organizations' institutional, legal, or labor market setting is powerfully associated with the potential for organizational alteration (Nica and Molnar, 2016), thus influencing both degrees of assimilation and the link between internal demographic mechanisms and gender-based attribution. Female managers have more significant capacity for impact when chances for upward mobility are generated via job growth. (Huffman, Cohen, and Pearlman, 2010) Global trade, by influencing demand for male and female labor, affects the gender pay differential and thereby female labor force participation: when trade increases areas concentrated in female labor, aggregate female labor shares decline. Female labor and male labor are inadequate equivalents (Popescu, 2016): they are different factors of production that are aggregated furthermore with capital in a technology that displays a more powerful reciprocality between capital and female labor than between capital and male labor because a boost in the capital stock confines the gender pay differential. Female labor supply boosts as the gender wage gap closes, but is autonomous of the level of real wage as comparable raises in male and female wages have compensatory income and substitution consequences. (Sauré and Zoabi, 2014)

4. The Manner in which the Relative Wages of Men and Women Differ within Labor Market Spheres

Ineffective regulation is likely to raise wage distribution while more harmonized wage setting procedures are likely to cut it down. The absence of a propensity with regard to a law of one price in establishing wages for comparable employees indicates that minimum wages may boost congruity in wages between industries, thus in theory diminishing the possibility for gender disparities to become embedded in particular wage structures of industries or companies. The degree to which women's exposure to low wages

is apparent in certain industries, companies, professions or contract types (Lăzăroiu, 2014) is greatly reliant upon the industrial relations systems. Industrial relations and hiring systems are active in nature and the capacity for hiring women at low pay may come out as a component in mechanisms of restructuring. (Rubery and Grimshaw, 2011) Noncognitive skills influence considerably the likelihood of hiring in numerous professions in manners that vary by gender. Men and women with comparable noncognitive skills enter professions at distinct rates. Women have lower pay typically not as a result of performing in other professions than men do (Popescu, 2016; 2013), but to a certain extent as they gain less than their male fellows hired in the same profession. Women's noncognitive skills offer them a negligible wage advantage. There is little link between the magnitude of the gender wage differential and the degree to which the profession is assimilated. Discrimination into some professions arises from the tremendous dissimilarities in hiring tendencies for men and women with comparable skills. Women are more expected to enter some and circumvent other professions than men with comparable cognitive and noncognitive skills. (Cobb-Clark and Tan, 2011)

While people aiming more relevant extrinsic rewards may be counseled to be more ambitious and egoistic, women's endeavors may be counteracted as such undertakings infringe gender norms. Nearly all women who are low in congeniality may have acquired via experience that competitive conduct is not regarded as feminine and may have endured negative feedback regarding such conduct at work (Nica and Molnar, 2016; Nica, 2013): they may moderate their conduct, considering it a better scheme for attaining their objectives. Men gain a considerable premium for being bad-tempered, whereas the same conduct has little impact on women's income. Granted the beneficial contributions made by pleasant individuals, the income penalty for congeniality is unreasonable with its performance consequences: for men and for women, the impacts may be more as a result of requirements for conduct suitable to one's gender. (Judge, Livingston, and Hurst, 2012) An economy that is subjected to a significant increase in trade will undergo a relevant decrease in female labor force participation. Trade-induced specialization cuts down the latter in a capital-rich economy (Nica and Potcovaru, 2015a, b) while making male employees change sectors. Female labor force participation declines as a result of the reduction in the relative cost of mental labor, which may be related to higher education. Expansions and contractions of areas that employ female labor effectively influence aggregate female labor force participation. When global trade develops areas generating female hiring, female labor force participation declines, and conversely: male employees gain higher wages than women and are formally hired. (Sauré and Zoabi, 2014)

5. Conclusions

The underrepresentation of women in particular professions and managerial jobs may be an indicator for the constant gender labor market gaps. An expanded proportion of women in decision-making positions may both promptly assist in closing the gender wage differential (Lăzăroiu, 2015a, b; 2013) and narrowing the wage dissimilarities between male and female subalterns via numerous indirect routes. The link between female managers and the gender wage differential chiefly goes through the selection of workers into male and female-led organizations. Skill sorting is more relevant than dissimilar handling of similarly productive employees (Popescu and Ciurlău, 2016) in clarifying the relationship between female managers and the gender wage differential. A growing amount of women who disregard established gender functions on the labor market can inspire other women to follow related career routes. Dissimilarities in workplace practices may affect the selection of women into organizations, which can bring about a route-dependence in the provision and representation of female managers in several establishments. (Hensvik, 2014)

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THE ROLE OF WORK ORGANIZATIONS IN THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER

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ABSTRACT. The purpose of this article is to gain a deeper understanding of the social construction of gender, the implication of gender as an establishing principle at the level of organizations, the intricacies of gender dynamics in the framework of organizational cultures, and gendered types of oppression in work and establishments. The results of the current study converge with prior research on the gendered propensity of organizational structures and mechanisms, the various manners in which gender and organization interact, the obstacles women tackle in obtaining access to positions of organizational power, and the correlation between the gendered social setting and the developing people.

Keywords: work organization; social construction; gender dynamics

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1. Introduction

In this paper I am particularly interested in exploring gender as a social construction, gendered organizational mechanisms, practices and values, gender discrimination in labor markets and work organizations, and the gendered organization of work. The theory that I shall seek to elaborate here puts considerable emphasis on gender segregation and barriers to the accomplishment of equal chances in work organizations, the implication of organizational culture and representation in influencing gender criteria and identities, the status of gendered organization, and gender relations in the workplace.

2. The Intricacies of Gender Dynamics in the Framework of Organizational Cultures

The affective route of "becoming-woman" may be activated for an affective policymaking in gendered entities. Becoming-woman provides an assenting evaluation of phallogocentric power in the framework of gendered organizations, and discharges affective flows and likelihoods that overstep the intricate and conflicting operations of the gendered entity in current activity and performance. Via becoming-woman, an affective and assenting policymaking capable of counterattacking the impacts of gendered organization is feasible. The latter highlights that gender is constructed into the arrangement and culture of organizations (Constantin, 2015; 2012), and admits that people undergo entities via gendered advantage and disadvantage. Organizations are gender-blind, being intrinsically and culturally masculine, but permeated with a flawless representation of men's and women's bodies and corporeal dissimilarity which is self-evident, and which conceals the unreasonable sharing of advantages and disadvantages between women and men. (Pullen, Rhodes, and Thanem, 2016) Gender discrimination diminishes women's position in organizations. Gender-integrated work contexts are likely to supply less biased and more sympathetic settings for women. If the latter participated more equitably in organizational power, that would undermine hegemonic position doctrines (Popescu and Predescu, 2016) and diminish gender-linked organizational disparity among subalterns. Women in positions of organizational power might disintegrate gender-linked disparity among subalterns (more women in leadership positions might be related to decreased gender discrimination). The decision-making power and long-term impact of women at the highest ranks may have a beneficial influence on the gender arrangement of positions and professions throughout corporately associated organizations. More significant percentages of women on corporate boards and in executive positions may be related to inferior levels of nonmanagerial discrimination in organizations. Companies requiring gender dissimilarity on corporate boards and in executive positions are connected with the most important levels of workplace-level gender discrimination. (Stainback, Kleiner, and Skaggs, 2016)

Neutralizing sex segregation and established gender models may facilitate a more coherent manner of employing, retaining, instructing and furthering labor. Gender balance is not in antithesis to the standard of the long workweek for individuals in important positions or career tracks. In most situations, organizations set in motion and fortify established gender models when supporting and using powerfully career-oriented individuals. Even though women's proportion of management positions has boosted (Popescu, Comănescu, and Sabie, 2016), the gender pecking order in organizations has not

been modified considerably. The gendered separation of labor is the outcome of an expanded historical mechanism, with women and men occasionally in opposite roles (labor markets and work entities are shared out conforming to gender). While sex-typing indicates that some positions are characterized as appropriate only for men or women, gender symbolism deals with the social and personal convictions and meanings supporting such typing. (Alvesson and Billing, 2009) Both gender connections and organizational dynamics relate to the attainment and preservation of power. Gender bias, subservience at work and the practice of being socially and professionally disregarded (Ionescu, 2015a, b) impact ordinary experience and become assimilated into an understanding of subjectivity/identity. With the intention of persisting psychologically, to advance outside the confines of attributed gendered conducts, to improve outstanding capacities and skills and to impact social and political alteration, people should attain grasp into their subjective experience. (Nicolson, 1996)

3. The Implication of Gender as an Establishing Principle at the Level of Organizations

The gendered organization requires constant expansion of how individuals can react to the discriminations that arise. Realizing that the body links ordinary experience and political undertaking, the gendered entity becomes a place of affective position, likelihood and experience which operates via and between separate bodies. Gendered organizations influence circumstances of activity and performance (Popescu, 2015a, b) in manners that replicate unbalanced and unreasonable links (Lăzăroiu, 2015a, b, c) between women and men, supplying a relevant site for investigating, typifying and developing the affective in objective and tangible terms. Adverse affective experiences are unconstructive (Ionescu, 2016a, b) and can bring about mechanisms of becoming-woman as they activate individuals to shape novel practices and capacities by exploring what bodies can perform, in opposition to and beyond abusive and tyrannical schemes of power and subjectification. (Pullen, Rhodes, and Thanem, 2016) Gender is an intricate, incomplete, continuing and inconsistent achievement that advances at the connection of communication and establishing. Communication is the active, established and tangible mechanism of producing arrangements (Nica, 2015a, b) of gendered meanings and individualities by calling to mind, integrating and altering achievable discourses. Inspecting gendered identity requires grasping the manners in which social participants initiate specific discourses, challenge others, and influence others for their own certain completions. A communicology lens concerns how work individualities and connections are gendered by macro-level established participants, in addition to how that gendering mechanism becomes communicatively

tangible in or opposed by social participants at the level of ordinary habit and interplay. (Mumby and Lee Ashcraft, 2006)

Management and leadership may be socially established in masculine terms, making it hard for a female manager to harmonize between being perceived as a proficient organizer and as adequately feminine not to be seen as rejecting gender requirements. The social articulation of education and positions in relation to masculinity and femininity and of the gender classifications as conflicting is decisive for how men and women are situated in the labor market and in entities. Within a specific profession there may be distinct requirements and self-grasps (Nica, Manole, and Brișcariu, 2016; Nica, 2013) for males and females (the gender symbolism is produced and/or replicated in dissimilar types). Gendered notions and meanings are involved in the constitution of managerial performance (Popescu and Ciurlău, 2016), comprising competitive disputes between organizational specialisms for accomplishing positions of power and standing. The gender meanings of positions are regenerated, loosely linked to the degree to which positions are being occupied by a certain sex or a combination of the sexes. (Alvesson and Billing, 2009) Being a woman is played down in the professional setting, which requires the capacity to develop gendered schemes. Women and men are gendered individuals in their work entities or communities. Gendered bodies have a meaning and are disposed within the social organization. Gender connections are the ground for power disputes (Nica and Potcovaru, 2015a, b, c) and power-based rivalries in work entities. The private psyche and the social sphere are arranged on well-defined gendered configurations (Popescu, 2016; 2013), and there is an inherent association between gender and experience. Biology, social setting, tenets and the practice of being a gendered individual all are instrumental in grasping practiced acculturation and the culture of entities. (Nicolson, 1996)

4. The Gendered Propensity of Organizational Structures and Mechanisms

The affective route of becoming-woman functions against intrinsic propensities towards individualism. The masculine structure of gendered organizations re-assigns itself over and against their unambiguous promises for gender balance and dissimilarity. Gendered organizations are constructed on the marginalization of those built as other (Kets de Vries, 2015) and established on limited grasps of gender. Via becoming, otherness appears as a constructive force that mobilizes disregarded groups in organizations and undermines the ascendancy of gendered power connections and arrangements. The gendered organization is reconcatenating and recreating itself via tokenism and seemingly gender-blind effectiveness. (Pullen, Rhodes, and Thanem, 2016) The

link between gender and work is exposed to unstable and normally conflicting cultural, political and economic forces. Social participants create gendered realities that become refined and adapted in time, indicating the capacity of the powerful to associate them with their own values and concerns. The communication mechanism gives discourse a material character (Mircică, 2014; 2011) as it assigns discursive configurations on the body and activates them in definite practice: communication and discourse establish and enable feasible material alterations in the world. (Mumby and Lee Ashcraft, 2006)

Organizationally unaccommodating types of gender performativity are predetermined within the corporate cultural setting. Organizations have a dynamic function in influencing gender performativity because the body undertakes an implication that is more relevant than its own applicability (Lăzăroiu, 2016; 2014; 2013) and the propinquity of its own representation, but which is undergone and performed via that representation. The applicability of the body is moderated by an instrumentally established condition of representation which comprises the gendered subject chiefly, organizationally predetermined manners that at the same time do and undo gender. (Hancock and Tyler, 2007) Gender imagery is not limited to the labor or profession but relates also to the social sphere and organization in addition to particular undertakings. Gendered identities are constructed in and introduced into organizations: there is a variety of gendering institutions and processes of power functioning on men and women in organizations. Individuals in organizations are often doing gender (Cesaroni, Sentuti, and Buratti, 2015), taking part in gendered identity arrangements and power actions at workplaces. Particular organizational cultures constitute balanced fabrics of meaning that ingeniously advise and inspire individuals to dry up gender in particular manners and prevent them from doing so in fashions that are not socially approved. One-gendered workplaces are constructive for the clarification of several types of femininities and masculinities which define organizations, but which are rarely obviously noticeable in intricate, culturally multilayered organizations. (Alvesson and Billing, 2009)

5. Conclusions

This research makes conceptual and methodological contributions to gender mechanisms in organizations, the gendered character of organizational activity, selective practices and gender favoritism in organizations, and the domineering structures of gendered organization. I focus on the connections between gender, power and organizations, the creation of gendered subjectivities, communication as a way of grasping the fabric of gendered identity and links, and sex-typed conducts related to gender relations in professional activity.

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