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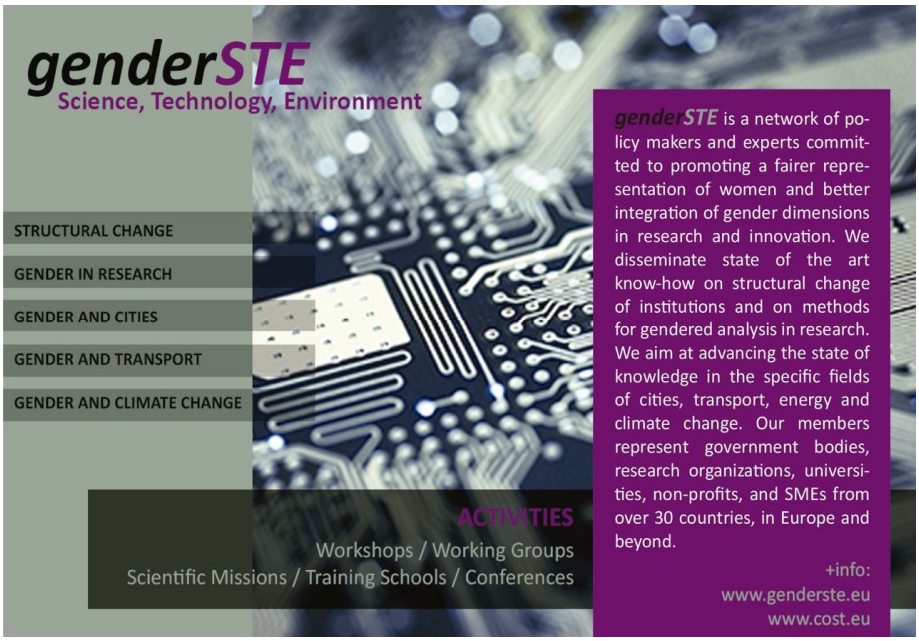
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The Spanish Society for Women's History (Asociación Española de Investigación de Historia de las Mujeres-AEIHM) was founded in June 1991 as a development of the National Commission of the IFRWH (International Federation for Research in Women's History), 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.

Brazilian and Portuguese Writers: Writing, Ideology, Gender

Cláudia Cambraia
New University of Lisbon (UNL – Universidade Nova de Lisboa)
claucambraia@gmail.com

Inter'institutional Research Project
Federal University of Ceará / New University of Lisbon

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.

Team:
Isabel Lousada
Odalice de Castro Silva
Paula Rodrigues
Rita Carvalho
Keila Vieira

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ATTITUDES TOWARDS PARENTAL EMPLOYMENT: A RANKING ACROSS EUROPE, AUSTRALIA, AND JAPAN

RALINA PANOVA
ralina.panova@bib-bund.de
Federal Institute for Population Research,
Wiesbaden
(corresponding author)
ISABELLA BUBER-ENNSER
isabella.buber@oeaw.ac.at
Wittgenstein Centre (IIASA, VID/ÖAW, WU),
Vienna Institute of Demography/
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

ABSTRACT. Based on the Generations and Gender Survey, this paper studies attitudes towards parental employment in 14 European countries – among them ten located in Central and Eastern Europe, – Australia and Japan. In a multivariate framework we examine how the acceptance of the employment of mothers of pre-school children differs across countries and to what extent there is a gender gap. Since the role of fathers in the process of socialization of their children has been underestimated and underinvestigated for a long time, we take the challenge of studying the attitude towards the acceptance of fathers' concentration on work. In multivariate analyses, attitudes towards the statement "A pre-school child suffers, if his/her mother works" are dichotomized in agreement versus an indifferent attitude or disagreement. The same approach is used for "Children often suffer because their fathers concentrate too much on their work." Based on the estimated coefficients of logistic regressions, countries are ranked in high, medium and low level of agreement. The country-specific ranking in terms of traditional attitudes towards employment of mothers with pre-school children is in tune with the expectations derived from the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) theory, with the exception of Romania: Hungary, Georgia, Russia, Bulgaria, Poland are ranked as the most traditional countries; Lithuania, Australia, W. Germany, Romania, France, Austria, and Czech R. hold a middle position relative to the grand mean; Belgium, Japan, E. Germany, Estonia and Norway show the most liberal attitudes. We find a large diversity in the level of traditionalism among the Central and Eastern European countries. Variation in gender differences is substantial, differences being largest where SDT is at an advanced level. Regarding fathers' concentration on work, the majority presumes negative

consequences for children, but the answering pattern shows no clear relation with advancement in the SDT.

Keywords: attitudes; maternal employment; paternal employment;
pre-school children; GGS; gender roles

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1. Introduction

Family attitudes and gender roles are key drivers of changing family patterns (Dommermuth et al. 2015; Frejka 2008; Goldscheider et al. 2015). The attitudes towards maternal employment do not only refer to the family but are also related to gender roles and the distribution of household labor. Research on attitudes towards parental employment and especially the country comparative perspective is very important for better understanding fertility behavior and gender culture. Evidence from panel data indicates that gender role attitudes and family formation are related in a dynamic process, in that gender role attitudes influence family formation and vice versa (Hanappi et al. 2016; Moors 2003). Differences in attitudes towards demographic behavior and values are large across countries (Aassve et al. 2013). The gendered division of paid work and care and individual attitudes towards it are crucial for understanding the gendered nature of welfare states (Haas 2005; Lewis 2002).

The political, social and economic contexts as well as the cultures of care shape individual family attitudes. In modern societies there are dominant social norms and attitudes towards family and gender, which are part of an overall cultural system and embedded in the institutional system of a country.

Parental employment – especially maternal employment – involves the need of external childcare. From various perspectives the relationship between parental employment and external childcare on the one hand and children's wellbeing on the other hand has been studied (Hsin and Felfe 2014; Ruhm 2004). Results indicate a positive effect of early institutional childcare (kindergarten, qualified day-care mother) on children's cognitive and linguistic development (Loeb et al. 2007; National Institute of Child Health and Human Development Early Child Care Research Network 2000; Sylva et al. 2011) their social competencies (Barnes et al. 2009) and no significant association between first-year maternal employment and elevated levels of child behavior problems (Brooks-Gunn et al. 2010). In line, Lombardy and Cooley (2014) conclude that early employment poses no risks on the development of chil-

dren's cognitive skills. Children from families with low and middle income as well as children from families with a migration background benefit the most from the early external childcare and therefore from the early parental employment (Loeb et al. 2007). From an economic perspective, Havnes and Mogstad (2011) report a positive effect of involvement in external childcare on education and labor participation in later life course as well as a lower risk of dependence on social assistance. In addition, the role of familial habitus is shaping children's views of their future employment, as indicated by an intergenerational transmission of non-traditional attitudes from mothers to their children (Johnston et al. 2014). It turned out that daughters are significantly more likely to reach higher school degrees, participate in the labor force, and work more hours if their mothers held non-traditional beliefs. Mothers' attitudes are also significantly associated with sons' partners' (daughter-in-law) labor supply. This could explain an important part of gender inequalities in economic opportunities.

We study attitudes towards the statements "A pre-school child suffers if his/her mother works" and "Children often suffer because their fathers concentrate too much on their work." We adopt the culturalist research perspective as we concentrate on social values and norms in a broad range of post-modern countries (Haas 2005; Pfau-Effinger 1998). The aim of this paper is to contribute to the understanding of cross-country differences in gender roles and family models. By studying not only the attitudes towards combining motherhood and work when children are at preschool-age, but also by addressing the less studied issue of the role of fathers in childrearing, we bring new insights into the perception of parenthood across Europe, Australia and Japan. Of particular interest is the ranking of countries.

Attitudes towards employment of mothers with pre-school children have been used to create indices for family role attitudes, family responsibilities and gender attitudes and thereafter included in multivariate analyses as explanatory factors (Aassve et al. 2013; Aassve et al. 2014; Bolzendahl and Myers 2004; Kjeldstad and Lappegård 2014; Kraaykamp 2012; Matysiak and Weziak-Bialowolska 2013). Some studies have analyzed attitudes towards this statements within one or two countries only (Hanappi et al. 2016; Pailhé and Sinyavskaya 2009; Rindfuss et al. 2004). To our knowledge, however, attitudes towards the statement that preschool children suffer if their mothers work have not been used as single items for international comparison before. Moreover, attitudes towards the statement that children often suffer because their fathers concentrate too much on their work have not been studied at all so far.

Based on the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) we concentrate on country and gender differences in attitudes towards parental employment. Our analysis is guided by two research questions: What is the ranking of coun-

tries according to attitudes towards employment of mothers with pre-school children and towards the fathers' concentration on their work? Are there gender differences? We contribute to the literature by comparing attitudes in 15 European countries, Australia and Japan, and by taking into consideration aspects of both maternal and paternal employment.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1 Second Demographic Transition

The Second Demographic Transition (SDT) approach focuses particularly on cultural elements to explain changes in fertility and family life (Lesthaeghe 1995; Lesthaeghe and Surkyn 2002; van de Kaa 1987). Higher educational levels and higher female labor force participation coincide with changes in values and attitudes related to family life, childbearing and sexuality. Self-fulfillment, personal freedom of choice, personal development and emancipation are established as new driving forces behind individual behavior (van de Kaa 1996). The individualization approach (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1994) goes in the same direction, as it assumes that individuals are freed from the normative constraints imposed by family policy institutions and religious institutions.[1] According to the individualization approach and the SDT, there are considerable differences in social norms with regard to gender and family roles across post-industrial societies (Liefbroer and Billari 2010; Sobotka 2008).

The SDT began around 1965 in the Nordic countries. According to an SDT-index reflecting attitudes and value orientation, Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, UK and Finland score highest whereas Portugal and most former Soviet countries score lowest. Estonia, Hungary and Lithuania hold intermediate positions and are ranked after the Western European countries (Sobotka 2008). The SDT is anchored in Europe, but demographic changes in advanced non-European countries also have been related with this approach, like for the US (Lesthaeghe and Neidert 2006), Australia (Carmichael 2014) and Japan (Rindfuss et al. 2004).

2.2 Previous Empirical Studies

Social norms and attitudes can be shared by the society as a whole or within specific social subgroups (Bergh 2007; Liefbroer and Billari 2010). At the individual level, education and religion are often linked with front-runners in the SDT (Liefbroer and Billari 2010). Socio-demographic characteristics like age, gender, partnership, marital status, parity, labor market participation and family income are associated with attitudes and gender roles (Alwin et al.

1992; Bergh 2007; Merz and Liefbroer 2012; Moors 2003). More generally, interests and exposure contribute to the formation and maintenance of gender role attitudes (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004).

Early research on attitudes towards maternal employment was mainly carried out in the US and in Sweden. It underlined the link between sharing household tasks within the couple and attitudes towards traditional roles and towards maternal employment (Banaszak and Putzer 1993; Hultaker 1981). Throughout the literature, women's labor market participation is associated with family and gender attitudes (Alwin et al. 1992; Kraaykamp 2012). Age is positively associated with traditional attitudes (Hultaker 1981) and in general women have more egalitarian attitudes compared to men (Fodor and Balogh 2010; Kunovich and Kunovich 2008; Lee et al. 2007). It is argued that the gender gap in role attitudes arises from "women's growing understanding of their own self-interest in changing traditional gender norms tied to their changing life situations" (Fodor and Balogh 2010: 293). Moreover, egalitarian gender role attitudes are associated with higher educational attainment (Liefbroer and Billari 2010; Perelli-Harris 2008; Philipov 2008).

Whereas mothers' employment has been taken into account in numerous surveys (e.g. European Value Survey (EVS), International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), GGS), attitudes towards paternal commitment are less often addressed (e.g. Liefbroer and Billari 2010). There is empirical evidence for a positive association between fathers' egalitarian gender attitudes and involvement with children (Bulanda 2004; Hofferth 2003). Only a few studies specifically deal with attitudes toward fathers' role (Beitel and Parke 1998; Gaunt and Ryff 2006; McGill 2014). They suggest that the belief about fathers' role is important for fathers' involvement in child care, rather than abstract gender ideologies. Men with non-traditional fathering attitudes appear to be better able to preserve time with their children than men with more traditional attitudes (McGill 2014). Men's increased involvement in their families is regarded as an ongoing modern gender revolution where first women entered into the public sphere (increased labor force participation) and then men participated more in the private sphere (increasingly active role in their families by contributing to the care of children and homes) (Goldscheider et al. 2014). The new thinking about fathers has been reflected at the political level as well, aiming at a balanced participation of women and men in family and working life (European Communities 2000).

2.3 Institutional and Cultural Context

The approval of combining the status positions of being a parent and being in paid work in the same period of the life course is normatively set. A country's family policy, the institutional setting, the economic development

and the cultural background build a country-specific social environment that not only enables and restricts individual choices but also influences prevailing values and norms (Inglehart and Norris 2003). Individual attitudes are partly related to the present societal and structural conditions and partly to the individual life course experience (Fishbein and Ajzen 1975).

At the macro level, the political and institutional framework is just as important as the economic development, since "the system of social and economic policies implemented by the government will determine the easiness with which individuals can adopt modern values and attitudes" (Aassve et al. 2013: 320). Numerous studies have outlined the major traits of welfare states and family policies across Europe and have derived influential typologies, some of them also including non-European industrialized countries (Esping-Andersen 1990; Gauthier 1996; Gauthier 2002). The Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries are not included in these typologies. They shared similar characteristics with respect to the state socialistic regime and the predominant pro-natalist social and population polices (Frejka 2008). But diversity within these countries is large, owing to long-standing cultural differences present already before the times of communism but also to different political, institutional and economic developments after the fall of communism (Blum et al. 2009; Fodor and Balogh 2010; Katus et al. 2007; Pailhé and Sinyavskaya 2009).

Different normative expectations of mothers' and women's roles and the attitudes towards external childcare are well documented for France, Austria, western and eastern Germany, with a strong normatively grounded "homemaker/breadwinner" family model being dominant in Austria and western Germany (Alwin et al. 1992; Berghammer 2014; Fagnani 2002; Ruckdeschel 2009). Among post-communist countries, individuals in Moldavia, Hungary, Lithuania, Bulgaria and Russia (in this order) turned out to hold more conservative gender role views, whereas those in the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia and Ukraine were more liberal (Fodor and Balogh 2010). Various studies have provided evidence on a large diversity in attitudes and norms among the Baltic countries: Lithuanians tend to hold more conservative views on the family and the division of gender roles, whereas Latvia and Estonia are less traditional (Blum et al. 2009; Katus et al. 2007; Plaat 2003). In this respect, Estonia has even been compared to Sweden, the trendsetter of modern family patterns (Katus et al. 2007). As for Japan, cultural expectations towards wives and the specific dual labor market situation are crucial to understand family life and attitudes in the country (Boling 2008; Fukuda 2009; Ishii-Kuntz 2013; Rindfuss et al. 2004).

3. Hypotheses

Our study is based on the theoretical framework of the SDT and ties in with the current state of research. The STD approach suggests that an increased emancipation and gender revolution that had initially spread across western and northern Europe has led to greater gender equality and a departure from traditional gender roles. Our central assumption is that the cultural-historical context in which persons are socialized, and thus also the country's advancement in the SDT, is associated with the prevailing social norm of combining parenthood and employment.

Hypothesis 1: We hypothesize the attitude towards employment of mothers with preschool children to be more liberal in countries that are more advanced in the SDT than in countries which are still at lower levels of the SDT. More specifically, the most egalitarian countries are expected to be the northern European countries. The German speaking countries are expected to hold a middle position since they are advanced in the SDT but the child care infrastructure was weak during the last decades. We expect traditional attitudes in CEE countries.

Hypothesis 2: We expect large diversity across the former Soviet countries, given the different cultural backgrounds. We expect Estonians to have less traditional attitudes, Lithuanians, Russians and Georgians to have more traditional attitudes.

Hypothesis 3: Given the cultural background and the prevailing lowest levels of fertility, we assume Japan to hold a medium position in terms of SDT and hypothesize that Japan ranks among the countries with medium levels of agreement/disagreement.

Hypothesis 4: We expect gender differences to be smaller in countries that are more advanced in the SDT.

Regarding the attitude towards "Children often suffer because their fathers concentrate too much on their work," we take more an explorative approach, as we see the ambiguity in the statement. If the emphasis were on "children suffer," we would expect higher agreement in countries that are more advanced in the SDT. If the emphasis were on "often," we would expect lower agreement in countries more advanced in the SDT, assuming that because of the egalitarian work–care type, a higher share of fathers is actively involved in childcare, more child-oriented and not strictly work/career-oriented.

4. Data and Measures

The current study is based on the first wave of the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS), carried out between 2004 and 2011. Out of the 18 countries

with available data, Italy and the Netherlands had to be excluded due to missing information on attitudes towards parental employment. The focus is on individuals in reproductive age up to 45 years. In total, 82,955 men and women are analyzed. Information on attitudes towards parental employment is also captured in other surveys, such as the European Value Survey (EVS), but sample sizes for the countries are substantially larger in the GGS. Because of persistent differences in demographic behavior and gender roles Germany is divided into former West and East Germany (Adler and Brayfield 2006; Goldstein et al. 2010; Konietzka and Kreyenfeld 2002; Lee et al. 2007). Table 1 summarizes the sample comprising 17 countries/regions. Data were weighted with calibrated cross-sectional weights and additional weights were calculated so that each country is represented by the same weighted sample size in the pooled sample. We opted for this strategy, as the size of the countries ranges from 1.3 million (Estonia) to 141.9 million (Russia), according to the population size in 2011 (VID-IIASA 2012).

Table 1 Number of records by country

Country	Number of records
Australia (AU)	3,557
Austria (AT)	4,994
Belgium (BE)	3,318
Bulgaria (BU)	7,853
Czech Republic (CZ)	5,210
Eastern Germany (E-DE)	1,014
Estonia (EE)	3,522
France (FR)	4,790
Georgia (GE)	5,208
Hungary (HU)	6,245
Japan (JP)	2,919
Lithuania (LT)	4,875
Norway (NO)	7,144
Poland (PO)	8,371
Romania (RO)	5,017
Russia (RU)	5,144
Western Germany (W-DE)	3,774
Total	82,955

Source: GGS, wave 1; unweighted data

The central variables are attitudes towards the employment of mothers with pre-school children and towards fathers' commitment to working.

The two dependent variables which are analyzed separately are agreement and disagreement with the following two statements:

- "A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his/her mother works."
- "Children often suffer because their fathers concentrate too much on their work."

Possible answers were "strongly agree," "agree," "neither agree, nor disagree," "disagree," "strongly disagree." For descriptive results we combined "strongly agree" and "agree," as well as "strongly disagree" and "disagree." It turned out that Australia, Estonia and Norway have a substantial proportion of non-responders, amounting to 14%, 21% and 34% respectively. In these countries the survey was carried out as a combination of face-to-face interviews or telephone interviews and separate self-administered questionnaires (including attitudes). Non-response in these three countries is high because not all respondents returned the questionnaire. Following Wiik et al. (2012), we used multiple imputation to assign values to the missing data. After imputations for the three countries, the proportion of respondents with missing values, refusals and "don't know" was low (3% in Hungary and 1% or less in the remaining countries). Analyses were run with imputations and without imputations. As results remained stable, we present those including imputations only.

The interpretation of attitudes towards the first statement on maternal employment is rather straightforward: a low level of agreement reflects openness towards early external child-care and egalitarian or modern attitudes towards gender roles; high values are associated with more conservative and traditional attitudes. Furthermore, the individuals' answers might reflect the particular perception of the given institutional framework (Pfau-Effinger 2009). A high degree of agreement with maternal employment having a negative impact on pre-school children might express not only a high degree of traditionalism, but might also be related to inadequate childcare infrastructures (e.g. poor quality or lack of child-care facilities).

As mentioned earlier, the statement regarding fathers is ambiguous. Agreement or disagreement might refer on the one hand to "children often suffer" and on the other hand to "children suffer because their fathers concentrate too much on their work." Unfortunately, this ambiguity is difficult to interpret. Nevertheless, it is worth considering the given responses across countries and to speculate about the outcome. Little is known about attitudes towards fatherhood in a cross-country comparison. We intend to provide some insights in the perception of fatherhood across a variety of countries, or at least give incentives for further discussions.

In multivariate analyses, the central variables were dichotomized for logistic regressions. One possibility is to concentrate on agreement, the other is to focus on disagreement. We opted for both strategies and present the results for the two approaches. First, (strong) agreement was one category, opposed to an indifferent attitude (neither agreement nor disagreement) and to (strong) disagreement in a second category. Missing values were collapsed with the second category. Second, (strong) disagreement was opposed to an indifferent attitude as well as (strong) agreement. To facilitate the interpre-

tation of the country coefficients in the regressions, we did not choose one country as the reference, but used effect coding which tests deviations from the grand mean (Wendorf 2004). An alternative methodological approach is to apply ordered logistic regressions. As we focus on an ordering of the countries and less on the determinants for agreement, disagreement and neutral position, we opted for logistic regressions.

Based on previous research on family and gender attitudes, we included the following control variables in our model: age (16–19, 20–24, 25–29, 30–34, 35–39, 40–45), educational level (low, medium, high), partner status (married, nonmarital cohabitation, living apart together/LAT, no partner), employment status ((self)employed, unemployed, student, parental leave, looking after home/family) and parity (childless, 1 child, 2 children, 3 children, 4 children).

5. Results

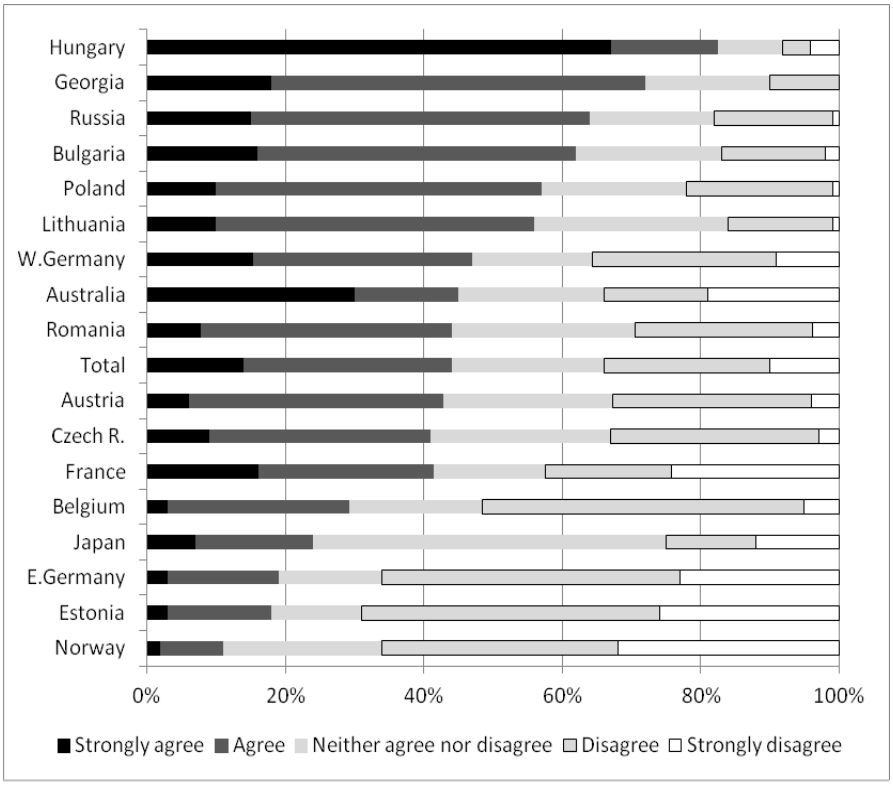
5.1 Maternal Employment

First descriptive results revealed considerable country variations (Figure 1). Agreement that pre-school children suffer if their mothers work amounted to 80% in Hungary and 72% in Georgia. These two countries were ranked with most traditional attitudes, followed by Russia (64%), Bulgaria (62%), Poland (57%) and Lithuania (56%). Western Germany (46%), Australia and Romania (45%), Austria (42%), the Czech Republic and France (41%) were ranked as less traditional whereas agreement was low in Belgium (29%), Japan (24%), eastern Germany (19%), Estonia (18%) and exceptionally low in Norway (11%). At the other hand, "strong agreement" was exceptionally high in Hungary (65%), a further indicator for the outstanding position of this country. In Japan, the group of respondents with a neutral position (neither agreeing nor disagreeing) was large (51%). Similarly in a study on attitudes towards nontraditional family behaviors in Japan, Rindfuss et al. (2004) found that the "neutral" category tended to be the largest, often by quite a large margin. In Lithuania, Romania and the Czech Republic neutral answers were frequent as well (around 25%).

As a consequence, the relative size of those with a neutral position leads to a different ranking when sorting the selected countries by disagreement (in descending order): Estonia, Norway and eastern Germany remained the most liberal countries with highest levels of disagreement (66–69%), followed by Belgium and France (40–50%). Western Germany, Australia, Romania, Austria and the Czech Republic had mean levels of disagreement (around 33%). Disagreement was low in Japan and Poland (one in four) as well as in

Georgia, Bulgaria, Lithuania and Russia (less than 20%). Hungary remained the most conservative country (8% of disagreement).

Figure 1 Attitudes towards employment of mothers of pre-school children by country (in percent), sorted in descending order by agreement



Source: GGS wave 1.

In a next step, we carried out multivariate analyses using logistic regressions[2] (Table 2). First, the dependent variable was the dichotomous variable "(strong) agreement" with the statement "A pre-school child suffers, if his/her mother works" versus an indifferent attitude or even (strong) disagreement. The dichotomous variable was 1 for agreement and 0 otherwise. For ease of describing results, we define "traditional attitude" in the current paper as agreeing with the statement. Positive coefficients indicate higher proportions of agreement and thus more traditional attitudes. The country coefficients depict the deviation from the grand mean.

Table 2 Estimated coefficient for agreement and disagreement with the statements

	"A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his/her mother works"		"Children often suffer because their fathers concentrate too much on their work"	
	Agreement	Disagreement	Agreement	Disagreement
Country				
Australia	0.12***	0.04	-1.20***	1.55***
Austria	-0.09**	0.14***	0.98***	-1.00***
Belgium	-0.54***	0.80***	-0.18***	0.48***
Bulgaria	0.78***	-0.85***	-0.00	-0.04
Czech R.	-0.11***	0.15***	0.31***	-0.46***
E. Germany	-1.13***	1.47***	-0.35***	0.76***
Estonia	-1.25***	1.61***	0.30***	-0.31***
France	-0.07*	0.46***	-0.13***	0.57***
Georgia	1.24***	-1.34***	0.14***	0.06
Hungary	1.70***	-1.71***	0.81***	-1.10***
Japan	-0.91***	-0.24***	0.06+	-0.93***
Lithuania	0.55***	-0.91***	-0.11***	-0.33***
Norway	-1.88***	1.52***	-0.81***	0.56***
Poland	0.61***	-0.52***	0.57***	-0.54***
Romania	-0.03	0.00	-0.82***	0.83***
Russia	0.96***	-0.92***	0.26***	-0.19***
W. Germany	0.05	0.31***	0.16***	0.12**
Gender				
Female	0	0	0	0
Male	0.14***	-0.32***	0.05**	-0.07***
Age				
16–19	-0.12*	0.21***	0.02	0.10
20–24	-0.11***	0.15***	-0.01	0.04
25–29	-0.13***	0.14***	0.00	-0.02
30–34	-0.15***	0.17***	-0.02	-0.03
35–39	-0.08***	0.08***	-0.02	0.00
40–45	0	0	0	0
Education				
Low	0.45***	-0.63***	-0.09***	-0.04
Medium	0.28***	-0.35***	-0.01	-0.05*
High	0	0	0	0
Parity				
Childless	0	0	0	0
1 child	0.02	0.17***	0.07**	0.13***
2 children	0.08**	0.14***	0.08**	0.14***
3 children	0.23***	0.04	0.10**	0.12**
4 children	0.26***	-0.08	0.13**	0.06
Partner status				
Married	0	0	0	0
Nonmarital cohabitation	-0.08**	0.04	-0.08**	0.01
LAT	-0.07*	0.03	-0.00	-0.06
No partner	-0.09***	-0.00	-0.14***	0.01

Employment				
(Self)employed	0	0	0	0
Helping family	-0.04	0.04	-0.20*	0.10
Unemployed	0.10***	-0.21***	0.02	-0.07*
Student	-0.08*	0.11**	0.13***	-0.13**
Parental leave	0.22***	-0.27***	0.16***	-0.15*
Looking after home/family	0.40***	-0.45***	0.18***	-0.13**
Other	0.19***	-0.31***	0.13**	-0.26***
Constant	-0.55***	-0.48***	0.41***	-1.73***
R^2	0.1298	0.1455	0.0554	0.0683
N	82,944	82,944	82,944	82,944

Significance: + p<0.10; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001.
Source: GGS wave 1.

Based on the estimated coefficients, we ranked the countries in three categories: high, medium and low level of agreement (Table 3). Alternatively, we name these groups traditional, medium and liberal. Countries with large positive coefficients were grouped in the "high agreement" group, countries with negative coefficients large in absolute size were classified as "low agreement." The middle group comprised countries with statistically non-significant coefficients on the one hand, and others with significant coefficients that were modest in size on the other. For our analyses, -0.50 and 0.50 turned out to be appropriate thresholds. When focusing on agreement with the statement that pre-school children suffer if their mothers work, the coefficients ranged from 0.55 to 1.70 for the "high agreement" group, from -1.88 to -0.54 for the "low agreement" group, and from -0.11 to 0.12 for the medium group (Table 2, column 1). Hungary turned out to be the most traditional country, followed by Georgia, Russia, Bulgaria, Poland and Lithuania. These countries made up the "high agreement" group. Australia, western Germany, Romania, France, Austria and the Czech Republic ranked in the middle, whereas Belgium, eastern Germany, Japan, Estonia and Norway were the least traditional countries. These results support our hypothesis 1, assuming attitudes to be more liberal in countries which are more advanced in the SDT than in countries still at lower levels of the SDT. Romania constitutes the single exception, as it is less advanced in the SDT but belonged to the medium-attitudes group. We therefore could only partly confirm hypothesis 1. Our results confirmed hypothesis 2, expecting large diversity across the former Soviet countries, with less traditional attitudes in Estonia and more traditional ones in Russia and Georgia. Hypothesis 3 suggesting a medium position for Japan had to be rejected, given the low levels of agreement in that country.

Table 3 Country ranking according to the agreement/disagreement with the statement "A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his/her mother works"

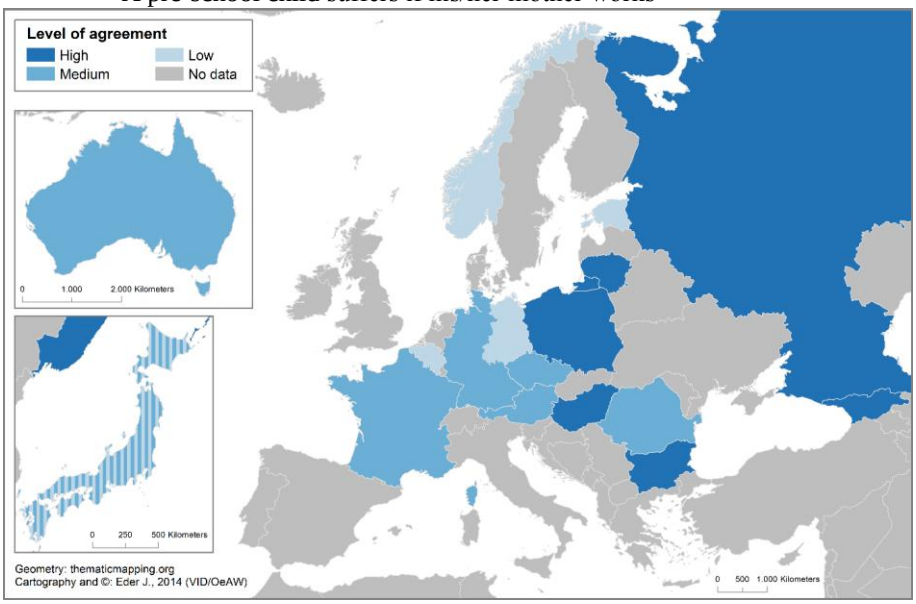
Agreement			Disagreement		
Traditional	Hungary	1.70***	Traditional	Hungary	-1.71***
	Georgia	1.24***		Georgia	-1.34***
	Russia	0.96***		Russia	-0.92***
	Bulgaria	0.78***		Lithuania	-0.91***
	Poland	0.61***		Bulgaria	-0.85***
	Lithuania	0.55***		Poland	-0.52***
Medium	Australia	0.12***	Medium	Japan	-0.24***
	W. Germany	0.05		Romania	0.00
	Romania	-0.03		Australia	0.04
	France	-0.07*		Austria	0.14***
	Austria	-0.09**		Czech R.	0.15***
	Czech R.	-0.11***		W. Germany	0.31***
Liberal	Belgium	-0.54***		France	0.46***
	Japan	-0.91***	Liberal	Belgium	0.80***
	E. Germany	-1.13***		E. Germany	1.47***
	Estonia	-1.25***		Norway	1.52***
	Norway	-1.88***		Estonia	1.61***

Significance: + p<0.10; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001.
Remark: Controlling for socio-demographic characteristics as in Table 2.
Source: GGS wave 1.

Multivariate analyses were carried for disagreement as well (Table 2, column 2). The dichotomous variable was 1 for disagreement and 0 otherwise. This time, positive coefficients indicated a higher proportion of disagreement and thus less traditional attitudes. The coefficients ranged from -1.71 to -0.52 in the traditional group, from -0.24 to 0.46 in the medium group and from 0.80 to 1.61 in the liberal group. As expected from descriptive results, the country ranking changed – especially for those countries with a large proportion of neutral answers. Thereafter, the same six countries were classified as traditional as before, only the position of Lithuania changed within this group and the country turned out more traditional (shifting from rank 6 to rank 4) (Table 3). The main difference between the agreement and disagreement approach was the fact that Japan was no longer classified as liberal, but belonged to the group with medium level of disagreement – and within this group was the most traditional one. Moreover, within the medium group and the liberal group the ranking changed. Norway lost its leading liberal position to Estonia where disagreement was highest now. In the medium group the estimated coefficient for France was 0.46, and thus close to the dividing threshold of 0.50 for the liberal group. Compared to the coefficients in the liberal group (0.80; 1.47; 1.52; 1.61), however, the distance of the French coefficient to the representatives of the liberal group was quite large, thus justifying the classification as a country with medium level of disagreement.

The map in Figure 2 visualizes our classification, Japan holding an intermediate position (liberal/medium).

Figure 2 Country typology based on attitudes towards
"A pre-school child suffers if his/her mother works"



Source: GGS wave 1.

In light of our results based on the disagreement approach, partial confirmation of H1 and support of H2 remained, whereas H3 assuming a middle position for Japan was confirmed in the disagreement approach, as opposed to the agreement approach. Given this ambiguity, we could not confirm H3 and had to reject it.

We now turn to gender differences. In the overall model including all countries, men significantly more often agreed that pre-school children suffer if their mothers work (and significantly less often disagreed). To identify gender differences within the countries, we carried out the analyses for each country separately. The gap turned out to be largest in Austria and Norway, and also substantially large in western Germany (Table 4, columns 1 and 2). In these countries men much more often agreed that preschool children suffer if mothers work. Also in Belgium, the Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Japan and Russia men held more traditional attitudes than women, but differences were smaller in size. In Australia, Bulgaria and Georgia, by contrast, agreement was lower and disagreement was higher among women than among men (although partly at a lower statistical significance level).[3] Our results reject H4 which assumes that gender differences are smaller in countries that are more advanced in the SDT.

Table 4 Gender differences by countries
(estimated coefficients for men compared to women)

	"A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his/her mother works"		"Children often suffer because their fathers concentrate too much on their work"	
	Agreement	Disagreement	Agreement	Disagreement
Australia	-0.37***	0.18*	-0.47***	0.43***
Austria	0.95***	-0.95***	0.49***	-0.43**
Belgium	0.23**	-0.29***	0.33**	-0.27**
Bulgaria	-0.16**	0.15*	-0.11*	0.16*
Czech R.	0.13*	-0.35***	-0.03	-0.01
E. Germany	0.26	-0.24+	0.11	0.08
Estonia	0.21*	-0.31***	0.03	-0.14
France	0.25***	-0.23***	0.18**	-0.14+
Georgia	-0.13+	-0.23*	-0.09	-0.07
Hungary	-0.11	-0.18+	0.01	-0.08
Japan	0.29**	-0.37***	-0.14+	0.38*
Lithuania	0.08	-0.18*	0.00	-0.25**
Norway	0.62***	-0.99***	0.48***	-0.63***
Poland	0.08	-0.17**	-0.09+	0.09
Romania	0.03	-0.04	0.03	0.11
Russia	0.22***	-0.14+	0.00	0.00
W. Germany	0.64***	-0.73***	0.07	-0.15
All	0.14***	-0.32***	0.05**	-0.07***

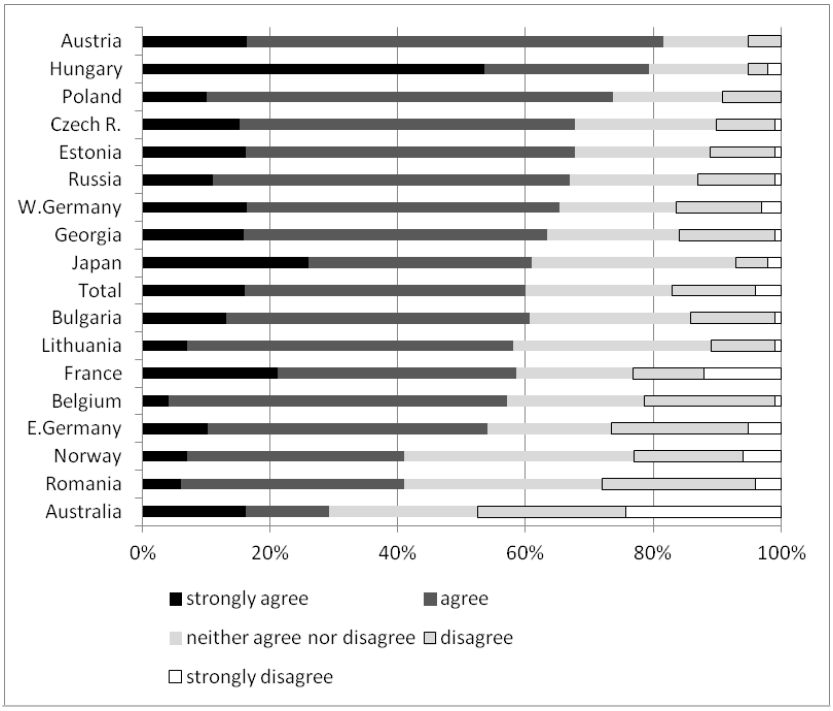
Significance: + p<0.10; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001.
Remark: Controlling for socio-demographic characteristics as in Table 2.
Source: GGS wave 1.

The current study focuses on country and gender differences, and we only briefly mention the results for the socio-demographic characteristics which are in line with previous findings on family attitudes and gender roles. Agreement with the statement that pre-school children suffer if their mothers work turned out higher when respondents were older, lower educated, parents (especially with two or more children), married (as compared to those in nonmarital cohabitation, in living apart together-relationships or without a partner), on parental or childcare leave, or looking after the home or family (as compared to being employed and self-employed) (Table 2). The results for the disagreement approach were in line. Employment status and attitudes towards maternal employment are most probably causally linked, but the current study does not allow for analysis of causality. Gender-specific analyses revealed minor differences for socio-demographic characteristics. For example, educational differences were larger among women, whereas differences by number of children were more pronounced among men. A detailed presentation of these results is out of the scope of the current study.[4]

5.2 Strong Paternal Engagement in Work

We now turn to the aspect of paternal employment. In our study, we analyzed agreement and disagreement with the statement "Children often suffer because their fathers concentrate too much on their work." As mentioned above, this statement is ambiguous, and our analysis remains less detailed and more explorative. According to descriptive analyses, agreement was highest in Austria, Hungary and Poland (80%, 77% and 73% respectively), and lowest in Australia, Romania and Norway (29%, 41% and 41%). In the remaining countries, agreement was between 53% and 67% (Figure 3). Again, "strong agreement" was exceptionally high in Hungary. As with attitudes towards maternal employment, a neutral answer was frequent in Japan and Lithuania (32% and 31%), but this time also in other countries, like Norway or Romania (36% and 31%). When sorting by ascending order of disagreement, these countries changed their position: Japan showed a very low level of disagreement (7%), was close to the lowest levels in Austria and Hungary (5%) and no longer in the medium group. Norway and Romania lost their exceptional position and had disagreement levels similar to Belgium, France and eastern Germany (21% to 28%)[5].

Figure 3 Attitudes towards fathers' concentration on work (in percent)



Source: GGS wave 1.

In the pooled sample, men more often than women agreed on negative consequences of fathers' concentration on work, and less often disagreed. But the estimated coefficients were comparable small (0.05*** and -0.07***), especially when compared to the gender differences in the model on maternal employment (0.14*** and -0.32***) (Tables 4 and 2). Country-specific analyses showed that gender differences were large in Austria and Norway with men agreeing much more often than women that children suffer from fathers' concentration on work. This also holds for Belgium and France, although with less marked differences. In Australia, we observed an opposite association with men agreeing far less often than women on the statement towards paternal employment (the estimated coefficient is -0.47***). In Japan, Bulgaria and Poland men less often agree, too, but gender differences are small in size and of lower statistical significance (Table 5).

Table 5 Country ranking according to agreement/disagreement with the statement "Children often suffer because their fathers concentrate too much on their work"

Agreement			Disagreement		
High	Austria	0.98***	Low	Hungary	-1.10***
	Hungary	0.81***		Austria	-1.00***
	Poland	0.57***		Japan	-0.93***
Medium	Czech R.	0.31***		Poland	-0.54***
	Estonia	0.30***	Medium	Czech R.	-0.46***
	Russia	0.26***		Lithuania	-0.33***
	W. Germany	0.16***		Estonia	-0.31***
	Georgia	0.14***		Russia	-0.19***
	Japan	0.06+		Bulgaria	-0.04
	Bulgaria	-0.00		Georgia	0.06
	Lithuania	-0.11***		W. Germany	0.12**
	France	-0.13***		Belgium	0.48***
	Belgium	-0.18***	High	Norway	0.56***
	E. Germany	-0.35***		France	0.57***
Low	Norway	-0.81***		E. Germany	0.76***
	Romania	-0.82***		Romania	0.83***
	Australia	-1.20***		Australia	1.55***

Significance: + p<0.10; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001.
Remark: Controlling for socio-demographic characteristics as in Table 5.
Source: GGS wave 1.

At the individual level, age had no explanatory power. The association between education and parity on the one hand and attitude towards father concentration on work on the other was smaller in magnitude and level of significance compared to the attitudes towards maternal employment of preschool children (Table 5). The measure of model fit (R^2) was larger in the model on maternal employment (agreement model: 0.1298; disagreement model: 0.1455) than for paternal employment (0.0554 and 0.0683, respec-

tively), indicating a very poor model fit for attitudes towards the fathers' concentration on their work. Moreover, model fit was higher for the disagreement approach than for the agreement-approach.

6. Discussion

We found a substantial variation in the attitudes towards employment of mothers with pre-school children across post-industrial societies, which are at different stages of the SDT. Individuals in Norway, Estonia, eastern Germany and Belgium held the most egalitarian views. Agreement that preschool children suffer if their mothers work was lowest in these countries. Norway as representative of the Scandinavian countries – the forerunners in the SDT – had the lowest levels of agreement, together with the Baltic country Estonia known for its cultural proximity to the Scandinavian countries. Within Europe, enrolment in formal childcare of children under three years is highest in Norway, Belgium and France with proportions above 40% in 2007 and around 50% or above in 2010 (OECD 2014). Moreover, enrolment in formal childcare and pre-school among children aged three to five years is almost universal (OECD 2014). But whereas Norwegians and Belgians rarely saw disadvantages for children, French respondents did so more often. The finding that France did not belong to the less traditional group but to the medium group is therefore surprising, but confirms an earlier study showing that in France roles remain traditional (Almqvist 2008). Overall high enrolment of pre-school children in childcare does not automatically preclude that individuals assume negative consequences for children.

Western Germany and Austria occupied a middle position, which speaks in favor of the prevailing modified bread-winner model (Haas 2005). The two German-speaking countries are known for a lack of public childcare facilities for infants and toddlers, despite some improvements during the last years (Berghammer 2014; Bujard 2011; OECD 2014). Austria, western Germany and the Czech Republic, a further member of the medium group, are less advanced in the SDT than the leading Nordic countries (Sobotka 2008). The well-known gap between eastern and western Germany (Goldstein et al. 2010; Konietzka and Kreyenfeld 2002), was clearly confirmed in our study. Although Romania is classified as one of the least advanced countries in terms of the SDT (Sobotka 2008), agreement that pre-school children suffer if their mothers work, was at medium level in this country. Maternal-leave arrangements and provision of childcare in Romania is comparable to Austria and Germany (Muresan et al. 2008) in terms of maternal leave and it turned out that the ranking in terms of employment of mothers with pre-school children is similar, too. Australia belonged to the medium group as well. The

normative view that young children need constant and sustained parental attention is often prevalent in Anglo-Saxon countries (Craig and Mullan 2011).

The ranking of Japan was ambiguous, due to the large group of persons with neutral answers. Agreement that pre-school children suffer if their mothers work was rather low, and disagreement was at medium level. Therefore, we attributed to Japan an intermediate position, between liberal and medium. Accordingly, Rindfuss et al. (2004) found in a study on attitudes towards nontraditional family behaviors in that country, that the "neutral" category was the largest. The authors concluded that "to the extent that the Japanese attitudinal milieu towards family behavior is changing, the neutral category may be a way on the movement from disapproval of nontraditional family behavior to approval" (Rindfuss et al. 2004: 851). In fact, our results based on GGS data from 2005 provide further evidence that Japan is on its way to a less traditional society regarding family behavior and attitudes.

According to our ranking, persons in Hungary held the most traditional views, followed by Georgia, Russia, Bulgaria, Poland and Lithuania. These countries are also least advanced in the SDT. Fodor and Balogh (2010) explained the conservative views in these countries by the political, institutional and economic situation. Georgia has been characterized as a highly patriarchal society (Blum et al. 2009), Russia as a country with a marked patriarchal pattern (Pailhé and Sinyavskaya 2009). The conservative attitudes in Lithuania and Poland reflect the strong influence of the Roman-Catholic church in the two countries (Höhn et al. 2008; Plaat 2003). An important finding is that there is no common pattern among the post-socialist countries with regard to attitudes towards parental employment, which confirms previous research (Motiejūnaitė 2008). Diversity across CEE countries turned out to be quite large, representing not only traditional attitudes, but also more moderate ones – like in Romania and the Czech Republic – and very liberal ones – like in eastern Germany and Estonia.

Gender differences were smallest in CEE countries and largest in western Germany and Austria, with men being much more traditional than women. In Norway, a forerunner in the SDT and known for its leading position in terms of gender equality, gender differences are substantial, too. We might conclude that especially in countries that are advanced in terms of the SDT, women and men have different attitudes towards employment of mothers with pre-school children and that men are still much more conservative. Australia is the only country, where women significantly more often than men agreed that children suffer if their mothers work. In Australia, issues such as work-family reconciliation and raising children are largely considered private and outside the responsibility of the state, so most formal early childcare is purchased privately (Craig and Mullan 2011). Possibly concerns about the quality

of these childcare facilities might play a role, but further research is needed to clarify.

The wording of the question on maternal employment in the GGS is standard and has been included in several other surveys, though it leaves room for interpretation. When talking about pre-school children, some respondents might primarily think about toddlers others might associate children aged 3 to 5. For mothers' employment, some might have full-time employment in mind, others part-time. Although some surveys make further distinctions, to our knowledge no international comparative data are available that would allow for detailed specification.

We also attempted to examine the barely researched question of fathers' concentration on their work. Overall, the majority presumes negatives consequences for children if their fathers concentrate too much on their work, but the answering pattern shows no clear relation with a country's advancement in the SDT. Agreement was substantially high in the CEE countries and in the German speaking countries. We might speculate that high agreement indicates an awareness of the importance of fathers' presence and their active role in raising children. Possibly, men and women in these societies wish a higher involvement of fathers in childcare, which obviously contrasts with their professional commitment. Agreement is substantially lower in Norway, known for its high level of gender equality. But neutral answers are rather frequent there, too. Possibly, Norwegians less often agree with this statement because Norwegian fathers more often play a very active role in fathering anyway and less often concentrate too much on their work, leaving enough time for the family. Despite the concerns about the wording of the statement, we are convinced to contribute to the discussion on fathers' commitment in a comparative setting. The changing role of fathers has to become more central when discussing gender roles.

Particularly with a view to the process of Europeanization and the further advance of the SDT in the CEE it is important to collect and analyze internationally comparative data with information on cultural and normative values. This is essential when we want to adequately capture normative changes of gender regimes in modern societies.

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NOTES

1. Other theoretical approaches for studying differences in attitudes between individuals and countries are the structural explanation by Wilensky (2002) and the values explanation by Inglehart (1997). For an overview we refer to Bergh (2007).

2. Stepwise models as well as gender- and country-specific results are available on request.

3. In addition, we ran models for men and women separately, revealing similar results regarding the ranking of the countries (results available on request). Thereafter, women in the two German-speaking countries occupy low traditional ranks, men high traditional ranks.

4. Stepwise models as well as gender- and country-specific results are available on request.

5. Results on ranking remains when excluding imputed values for Australia, Norway and Estonia.

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ROMANTIC TERRORISM? AN AUTO-ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF GENDERED PSYCHOLOGICAL AND EMOTIONAL TACTICS IN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE[1]

SHARON HAYES
s.hayes@qut.edu.au
School of Justice,
Queensland University of Technology
SAMANTHA JEFFRIES
School of Criminology and Criminal Justice,
Griffith University

ABSTRACT. This paper draws on the theoretical arguments outlined in Hayes (2014) to frame critical analyses of two real life domestic violence narratives. The authors are both academic criminologists and victims/survivors of domestic violence, but within differing contexts – one a conventional heterosexual relationship, the other a female same-sex relationship. Their experiences are intertwined in an extensive collaborative auto-ethnographic analysis that spans seven years of working and socializing together, in which each provided a sounding board and support for the other. The analysis therefore documents two personal journeys. Auto-ethnography is a methodology that "seeks to describe and systematically analyze (*graphy*) personal experience (*auto*) in order to understand cultural experience (*ethno*)" (Ellis, Adams, and Bochner, 2011). The methodological approach taken by the authors is analytic rather than evocative, in the sense that we focus on collaboratively analyzing our dual experiences, rather than simply narrating them. We occupy the dual role of researcher and researched, and turn our gaze both inward and outward (Olson, 2004: 6). The academic and theoretical are intertwined with the personal and subjective to elicit an evocative and yet empirically validated study. The theoretical underpinnings of romantic love distortion, misogyny and sexism are used to frame these experiences of domestic violence and the differing sexualities of the authors provide a rich context for exploring the ways in which domestic violence victimization experiences are impacted by gender, sexuality, and heteronormative discourses of love, sex and relationships.

Keywords: coercive control; gaslighting; domestic violence; victimization; romantic love; auto-ethnography

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Introduction

The argument put forward in this paper is that terrorists operate in Australia every day. Innocent women are tortured, held captive and/or killed every week in this country and worldwide by people who rely on fear and intimidation to control them. But because these terrorists torture the women they profess to love, their intimate partners (or ex-partners), their behavior is hidden from public sight, it is hardly ever discussed, rarely evokes outrage and has never resulted in governments or anyone else declaring a "war" against it. These terrorists are perpetrators of gender-based violence, particularly those who engage in psychological and emotional tactics of coercive control in intimate relations. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (2016) defines terrorism as "[t]he unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims." While we do not intend to debate the definition, we do aim to introduce important parallels between political terrorism and domestic violence, particularly with respect to "the unlawful use of violence and intimidation." Domestic violence is by its very nature characterized by violence and intimidation, and arguably, if the personal is political, as second wave feminists claim (e.g. Hanisch 1970; Firestone 1970), then the incidence of intimate or romantic terrorism is far more insidious and widespread than the more prolifically discussed, but much less threatening (in terms of numbers of actual victims) political terrorism. Drawing these parallels helps to point up the urgency of the need to address domestic violence and violence against women in general, by ascribing at least the same (if not more) resources as those allocated to national and international defense against religious and nationalistic terrorism.

Domestic Violence as Terrorism

Shortly after the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre in 2001, the Australian government declared a "war on terror." New laws were quickly enacted to combat the terrorist threat posed by Islamic extremists. These new laws were stunning in scope, number and reach; conferring broad powers on government agencies and impacting on the liberty of those involved or suspected to be involved in terrorism (Williams, 2011: 1137). In spite of the fact that the risk and numbers of victims far outweigh the threat of political

terrorism, governments have never so vehemently responded to acts of terror perpetuated against women at the hands of their romantic partners or ex-partners. Indeed, compared to the "threat" posed by political and religious extremists and the damage caused by their terrorist activity, intimate partner terrorism is perceived as much less serious and hardly a threat at all to the social fabric of modern society. Yet is violence against women in the domestic sphere and the supposed sanctity of romantic relationships really that different from populist understandings of terrorist acts and torture in our post-9/11 world?

We conceptualize intimate partner violence as coercive control, a term introduced by Stark in 2007, which has been recently gaining ground in both the scholarly literature and public narratives (e.g. Williamson, 2010; Fisher, 2011; Government of Western Australia, 2012; Evans, 2014; Murphy, 2014, Hayes and Murphy, forthcoming). Stark's model emphasizes purpose (perpetrator intent) and process (perpetrator tactics) as well as victim outcomes. Coercive control is a pattern of intentional tactics employed by perpetrators with the intent of governing a woman's thoughts, beliefs or conduct and/or to punish them for resisting their regulation. Perpetrator tactics may include actual physical and/or sexual violence. However, actual violence inflicted upon victim bodies is conceptualized as a tactic of control.

Coercive control can be distinguished from a bad relationship (in which both partners are abusive toward each other) by identifying a perpetrator's intent to control and the consequent negative outcomes for his or her victim. The victim's experience of coercive control can be likened to being taken hostage; the victim becomes captive in a dreamlike world created by the perpetrator, in which she is entrapped by confusion, contradiction and fear. Coercive control takes away victims' freedom and strips away their sense of self. Much like a hostage held by a terrorist, a woman's bodily integrity maybe violated, but more profoundly she is stripped of her basic human right to freedom of thought and action. Such behavior, we argue, highlights the insidious, terroristic and torturous nature of intimate partner violence (Stark, 2007).

The purpose and process of political terrorism and torture is strikingly similar to intimate partner violence. Perpetrators of intimate partner violence intentionally threaten, coerce and intimidate their partners, who are mostly women, by using discriminatory frameworks based on gender, homophobia and heterosexism (in the case of same-sex intimate partner violence) to advance their own ideological causes. Akin to torture, the aim of this violence is often to obtain information, confessions and to punish. Qualitatively, the consequences of intimate partner violence and associated acts of torture are comparable to terrorism; both result in physical, emotional, social, and economic pain, suffering and harm to individual victims. Quantitatively, the consequences of intimate partner violence, we argue, are even more acute for

victims and society than political and religious terrorism (Copelon, 1994: 298–299).

Thus, we believe the term romantic terrorism encapsulates the torturous and terroristic tactics employed by perpetrators of coercive control within the context of romantic partnerships. As Hayes (2014) has argued elsewhere, romantic love relationships are characterized by the tendency of their participants to identify as a couple, and encourages a sort of fusing together of identities in which each becomes "the other half." The goal of this fusion is mutual nurturing, which usually arises out of a sense of destiny and which is therefore perceived to be enduring. Regardless of whether the couple engages in social rituals of commitment such as engagement and marriage, romantic love is always accompanied by expectations of mutual sharing of lives, and most often, children and possessions. These expectations are mutually beneficial if they are indeed entered into mutually. However, romantic love is also characterized by a darker narrative of pain and tragedy, where it is recognized that the path to true love does not always run smoothly. It is generally socially acceptable, therefore, to anticipate that romance and love will be, by their very nature, "hard work," requiring commitment and a willingness to sacrifice for the sake of the other and the relationship itself. The romantic terrorist knows this, and uses it to his or her advantage. Coercive control is able to flourish in many romantic relationships because offenders intentionally exploit the romantic expectations of their victims. While originally written to describe the dynamics of power and control in heterosexual relationships, recent work by Williamson (2010) demonstrates the clear applicability of the theoretical framework of coercive control to female same-sex relational abuse. Coercive control is a useful theoretical framework that demonstrates that the abuse of women is "inextricably bound up with their standing in larger society" (Stark, 2007). This standing is dictated not only by gender inequity, but also by homophobia and heteronormativity.

Coercive control includes, but goes beyond, an examination of physical violence by considering a plethora of on-going non-physical methods intentionally employed by perpetrators of romantic terrorism to maintain power and control over their victims. We explore some of these power and control tactics below under the following headings: 1) Threats and Intimidation, 2) Humiliation, Degradation and Emotional Unkindness, 3) Restricting Personal Territory and Freedom, and 4) Crazy Making. These categories were constructed from a range of models, including methods of coercive control identified by Stark (2007: 2), perpetrator tactics highlighted by Jones (2000) in her comparative work on terrorism/torture and intimate partner violence, and tactics identified by Murphy (2014; 2009; 2002) in her in-depth interviews with perpetrators and victims of intimate partner violence in Australia and New Zealand.

Methodology

Our research uses a collaborative auto-ethnography of the authors' own lived experiences as victims of intimate partner abuse, to: 1) explore and challenge common understandings of "victims," 2) shed light on the tools and tactics of power and control employed by romantic terrorists, and 3) illuminate the journey to recovery from romantic terrorism.[2] This paper focuses on the first two.

Auto-ethnography is a methodology that "seeks to describe and systematically analyze (*graphy*) personal experience (*auto*) in order to understand cultural experience (*ethno*)" (Ellis, Adams, and Bochner, 2011). The methodological approach taken by the authors is analytic rather than evocative, in the sense that we focus on collaboratively analyzing our dual experiences, rather than simply narrating them. We occupy the dual role of researcher and researched, and turn our gaze both inward and outward (Olson, 2004: 6). We explore our journeys as victims of romantic terrorism by situating our stories within broader social and intellectual contexts to gain an in-depth understanding of domestic violence through the unique lens of self (Chang et al., 2012: 18). Thus, we seek to intertwine the academic and theoretical with the personal and subjective, in order to elicit an evocative yet analytically framed exploration. Traditionally, auto-ethnography has been a solo exercise with collaboration only recently emerging as a realistic extension. In collaborative auto-ethnography the self continues as studier and studied, but analyses are undertaken collectively within a team of two or more researchers. Collaborative auto-ethnographers work together, build on each other's stories and gain insight from collective sharing and by providing various levels of support as they explore their topic of interest. This approach increases data sources from singular to multiple and the questioning and probing of others adds analytical depth (Chang et al., 2012: 21–29).

Although our individual participation and contributions to the study varied at different points, we were both engaged and shared responsibility at all levels of the process until the analysis was completed. In terms of our data sources, we drew on the following: 1) conversational data between ourselves, 2) conversational data with key informants beyond ourselves, and 3) archival documents about ourselves.

At this point it should be noted that, just like other researchers, auto-ethnographers must seek to protect the privacy and safety of others. Protecting the privacy of others within the auto-biographical text is challenging, but crucial. We have subsequently altered a number of identifying characteristics including certain circumstances surrounding particular incidents, locations, places and the personal characteristics of others in our research, including gender, age and name. We have also allocated ourselves pseudonyms within

the text. It goes without saying that we were careful to ensure that the alterations made did not impact on the integrity of our analysis.

In the following section, we describe and analyze our ethnographic journey. We will refer to ourselves as Grace and Joy and our experiences will be outlined in the third person, partly as story, and partly as thematic illustration of the tactics of abuse within the context of romantic love described above. Our experience will be interspersed with insights and analyses that draw on the literature discussed in the previous sections. First we explore the making of a victim, then move on to discuss how the abusive relationship is maintained. We conclude with some poignant observations about the social construction of domestic violence in the public sphere.

The Making of a Victim

Joy, a single mother, met her romantic terrorist, Joe, at an event hosted in another city. She said she found him funny and intelligent and really enjoyed spending time with him. Their newly formed relationship was characterized by all the common trappings of romantic love. They had drinks, dinner, and spent much time together at the event. He told her up front he was a recovering drug addict and that he had a previous problem with methamphetamine, but had subsequently stopped using after attending drug counseling. This first tactic of confession of failure and rehabilitation was aimed at Joy's natural ability to empathize, and was intended to draw her in through the use of honesty and openness, all part of his initial love-bombing of Joy.

> "At the time I thought he must have been a very strong person because he had managed to overcome an addiction to methamphetamine, which I perceived to be a highly addictive drug."

After returning to her home, they remained in telephone contact, and Joe came to visit Joy and her young daughter, Steph. At the time Joe was living with his brother, but subsequently left because, he said, his brother was physically and verbally abusive toward him. Joe went to live with a female friend and her partner. After a couple of months, Joy was invited to apply for a job in Joe's hometown, which she secured, and moved with her young daughter to an apartment there. Joy says she had no intention of living with Joe, but she was concerned for him because he had nowhere to live and was struggling financially, because (he said) his employer failed to pay him his wages on several occasions. Initially, she offered him a place to stay until he got on his feet. She was sympathetic towards Joe because he was charming, she enjoyed his company, and both she and her daughter "had lots of fun with him."

Joe also appeared supportive of Joy's career. He frequently told Joy how clever she was, what a wonderful mother she was and how proud he felt to be with such a beautiful, independent and accomplished woman. Since Joy had only recently moved, Joe was all she had, and she came to rely upon him for emotional support and friendship. She says, "I know that [Joe] also came to love us and similarly relied on us for support." She was in the midst of this relationship when she met Grace at her new workplace. At that time, however, the friendship was quite superficial. It wasn't until both women met again two years later as employees of the same university, that Grace became aware of what by then had become Joy's relationship troubles.

Grace's romantic terrorist was a woman, Lee, who she met through a social group in her hometown some years after Joy's relationship had begun. Lee lived a few hours drive away in another city. Grace also found Lee charming and attractive and Lee was very attentive and kind to Grace in the initial months, demonstrating similar love bombing tactics such as helping her with groceries and other errands, taking her out on picnics and for dinner, and showering her with attention and compliments. She was keen to meet Grace's teenage daughter, Anne, and made great effort to put Anne at ease whenever she was around. Lee held a very good job in a professional organization, in which she had been very successful, one of the top achievers. She seemed to be a "people person," often chatting and laughing on the phone with clients and friends. Like Joe, Lee confessed a couple of major faults, one being a failure to engage in any long-term romantic relationships, which she explained was due to her tendency to fall for the "wrong types." Grace thought she understood because of Lee's second confession – that she had been sexually abused as a child. This prompted much empathy on Grace's part, and she admired Lee for having the courage to try another relationship. Grace was happy, and felt extremely lucky to have found someone so wonderful.

Grace had been a single parent for a few years, and this new sense of fun helped lighten her load somewhat. She didn't think much of it when Lee complained about her job, saying she felt stuck in a rut and couldn't figure out how to move on. Lee had been in her current employment for almost a decade and felt it was time for a move. She started talking vaguely about moving to the country. "She dreamt of living on a farm with lots of animals and space to move, a little house with a long verandah," Grace reports, "I thought it was cute, something one might do in retirement." Lee also spoke about her job not going as well as expected that year due to the global financial crisis, which had affected her ability to draw in clients. Lee blamed the market, her boss, and even her clients for her lack of success. Grace was sympathetic.

Here we have two seemingly ordinary women, both single parents, both glad to find someone with whom they each had something in common, and liked spending time with. Both partners initially appeared to be charming, attentive, and funny – not an unusual start to either relationship. And yet, there were several red flags neither woman identified. The first was love-bombing – that helpless falling into romance we see so often in films and books, fueled by the addictive attention of someone funny and attractive, someone who obviously likes us, admires us, and wants to be around us. The second was that each of their partners had an "issue" that plagued them. In Joe's case it was his history of drug addiction and his financial situation. Lee's childhood had been traumatic, her job wasn't going well and she blamed everyone else for it, and her financial situation was also problematic – she was paying off a mortgage and said she was feeling financial pressure. Finally, the third was that neither Lee nor Joe seemed to have many friends, neither did they get along with their respective families.

In no way are any of these red flags necessarily indicative of potential abuse in and of themselves. These values and behaviors are only red flags in hindsight and in combination with other factors. It is the rapid fall into a relationship accompanied by the inundation of attention and gifts in combination with these issues that is the red flag. Had Lee and Joe both proceeded slowly, getting to know their respective partners over a period of time, they might have given a clearer picture of what they actually wanted from a relationship. They are what Hennessy (2012) calls skilled offenders because they hid their real intentions behind an avalanche of affection and a façade of victimhood. In this way, they each managed to cajole and arouse the sympathies of their partners, and to appeal to their romantic and nurturing side.

When the Honeymoon Is Over

Joy first realized something was amiss about four months after Joe had moved in with her. Joy initially invited Joe to stay until he found a place to live, but after four months, Joy asked him to stay. It was at this point, having cemented his place in the family, that Joe began revealing his true character. "For example," she states, "he would leave whilst I was asleep, take my car, disappear for extended periods of time and not answer his mobile phone."

> "Then he started getting up in the middle of the night and watch pornography until the morning…. The one day when I drove my car to the gym I opened the boot and found a bag of women's underwear. I initially though [Joe] was having an affair. I searched through his bags in the house and discovered transsexual pornography, numerous items of women's clothing, dildos… I also found numerous used syringes scattered through [his] belongings."

After confronting Joe, he admitted he was using methamphetamine again and added, "when I am high I have unusual sexual thoughts." Being a fairly broadminded feminist with friends of many genders and sexualities, the transgender role-playing didn't bother Joy, but his drug use did, so she made him promise he would stop. She started to wonder if maybe Joe was too scared to face-up to his gender identity and used drugs as a way to legitimize going to that place. This made her feel sympathy for him. She wanted to help.

Not long after, they moved to a bigger place, a house in a neighboring suburb, and Joe's brother had agreed to move in with them and pay one-third of the rent. However, after co-signing the lease, the brother changed his mind and pulled out, so Joe asked one of his friends to share with them instead. This turned out to be a huge mistake, as the friend had ready access to crystal meth and Joe's drug use subsequently escalated. Meanwhile, Joy was left as the sole owner of the lease, which she could not get out of, and with most of Joe's money being eaten up by drugs, she found herself responsible for rent and all other household expenses. As a result, she was forced to take Steph out of her private school, and she was $10,000 in credit card debt. The honeymoon was definitely over.

It is not at all unusual for romantic terrorists to wait until their relationship is cemented before beginning to reveal their true intentions. In hindsight, Joe clearly needed a steady supply of money and a safe place to "get high" and act out his sexual/gender fantasies. Nor is it unusual for romantic terrorists to draw their partner into a situation from which the partner will find it difficult to extricate themselves, such as a signed lease on a property. Joe's concurrent refusal to contribute to household expenses is typical of perpetrator's use of controlling behavior to keep the partner in check. She must pay all the bills because the lease and utilities are in her name and she is legally responsible for paying them. The perpetrator, on the other hand, uses his own money to satisfy his need for alcohol, drug and pornography. The partner gets further and further into debt because she doesn't know what else to do. And the perpetrator is just nice and charming enough to convince her he would be fine if he got help with his "problem."

For Grace, the first real kink in the relationship came about two months in, on the day before her birthday. They spoke on the phone as usual, around 7pm, and then Grace and Anne had dinner. Later, they were watching television, when Grace remembered something she had forgotten to ask Lee about. It was only about 8.45, so she went into her room and called Lee to chat. Lee began abusing her the moment she answered.

> "When she picked up the phone and started yelling at me, I was totally freaked out! She started yelling at me, wouldn't let me get a word in, just kept abusing me and talking over me. I can't even

> remember what she said, but it was just a string of abuse! I pleaded with her to calm down, but she hung up on me. I was mortified!"

She went to bed crying, wondering what on earth she had done, and thinking her birthday had been ruined. The next morning Lee called back. "I asked if she was okay. She was very grumpy, told me never to call her late at night again and that she supposed I could still come down. I agreed." Lee explained that she had a kind of "blood disease" that required her to go to bed early during the week, as she needed lots of sleep, and that she didn't like to be disturbed after 7.30pm. Grace agreed not to call her "late" again.

Maintaining Control: Further Terrorist Tactics

Crazy-making

This was the most insidious tactic and most damaging to self-confidence and personal autonomy for Joy and Grace. Above all else, this tactic undermines a woman's sense of self, her mental health, and her confidence in both her memory and her reasoning powers. One powerful example for both Grace and Joy was the way in which their respective partners undermined their confidence in themselves as parents.

When Joy's partner Joe began using methamphetamine more regularly, he started to become verbally abusive, and would often direct his long tirades at her daughter. For example, on one occasion Steph's new kitten had defecated on the floor and Joe had become furious, insisting that she rub the kitten's nose in it. When she refused, Joe picked up the kitten and threatened to break its neck. He subsequently rubbed the kitten's nose it its faeces and threw it back at Steph. Then he called Joy and said "Your daughter has been disrespecting me," and fabricated a story to cover himself, which she believed. It wasn't until much later that Joy learned what really happened.

After this, Joe started to make unreasonable demands on Steph, in an "attempt to teach her discipline." He gave her a list of chores – she was expected to clean the entire house every weekend and then maintain the cleanliness during the week. If she left a speck of dust he would scream at her, outlining over a period of hours what he perceived to be her failings and calling her derogatory names such as "a lazy bitch," "a fucking little smart arse", and "fat."

If Joy tried to intervene in one of Joe's abusive verbal tirades directed at Steph, his abuse would escalate. Joe would begin screaming about Joy's parental skills. At first Joy tried to argue about this with him. But Joe would always deny that he was either wrong or aggressive, saying "Steph is a lazy little bitch trying to cause problems between you and me and you won't back me up in my discipline of her because you are a shit mother."

As a result of this continual verbal abuse and denigration, Joy began to doubt her abilities as a mother: "I mistakenly started to think that Joe was right, that Steph lacked discipline and that maybe she needed more of it." The ability of the skilled offender to make his partner doubt her values, beliefs and herself is a key tactic in breaking down her defenses. Once she begins to doubt one of her very basic identities (her motherhood), he can easily go in for the kill, making her doubt more and more of her beliefs and perceptions.

Grace's crazy-making was more subtle, at least at the start. Lee would complement Grace profusely about almost everything she did, wore, or said. But interspersed with these compliments were little and not so little "suggestions" of "better" ways of organizing her life, such as shopping, for example. Grace was accustomed to dropping into the store near her house almost daily to buy fresh food for dinner, along with whatever else was needed. Lee decided that this strategy was inefficient and hard work for Grace, and proceeded to take over the shopping by going with Grace on the weekend and doing one large shop, buying many items in bulk and then showing her how to store them in her kitchen. Lee would also make suggestions about how she should "deal with" her sixteen year old daughter, Anne, who Lee perceived as overweight, moody and unfriendly. "Anne was hard to get to know," Grace remarks, "but that was because she is an introvert. Of course there are always issues when a mother starts dating someone new, that is to be expected. And sometimes Anne would be jealous of the time I spent with Lee." She tried to explain to Lee that such behavior is quite natural and that all that was needed was a little patience and kindness. Initially Lee responded by taking Anne on as a sort of project, making all kinds of suggestions about how she and Anne could spend time together so they could get to know one another better. When Anne didn't immediately respond to these overtures, Lee became resentful.

> "Anne was in her last year at school and was very stressed about her schoolwork at the time, on top of the fact she had been suffering from depression and anxiety, for which she had been taking medication that didn't seem to be working. Lee couldn't comprehend depression or anxiety, and constantly accused Anne of taking advantage of me, and me of pandering to Anne."

Lee constantly accused Grace of "making a rod for her own back" by allowing Anne to "get away with" being depressed and anxious. She would berate Grace for hours over the phone about her lack of parenting skills, for being a "doormat," and for being duped by her daughter. Predictably, Grace recalls: "She was very persuasive, and I began to think she was right. I'm very ashamed to say I started to accuse Anne of playing me."

After many arguments between Grace and Anne, where Grace tried to "discipline" Anne in ways suggested by Lee, Anne eventually agreed to see a new specialist doctor, who subsequently confirmed the diagnosis of depression and anxiety, and suggested that the medication Anne was taking could actually be worsening her symptoms. He took her off the medication, which ultimately improved Anne's mental health over a short period of time. In addition, she herself had also been to a therapist to discuss how to "deal with" Anne, because (she told the therapist) it was causing friction in her relationship with Lee. After explaining the situation and after much crying, Grace's therapist had assured her that she was a great mother, and that she had been doing all the right things to the best of her ability.

Meanwhile, however, on the day of Anne's doctor's visit, Grace answered Lee's phone call eager to explain to her that Anne hadn't been playing her; that in fact, she was depressed and anxious and that new therapy was needed. However, far from being happy and relieved – as Grace was – at this news, these revelations made Lee furious! She began accusing Grace of all kinds of things, from not trusting her, to deliberately trying to blame her for Anne's problems. She shut Grace down in no uncertain terms and Grace hung up the phone feeling more confused than ever.

Clearly, these behaviors also smack of the group of tactics we label "humiliation, degradation and emotional unkindness," and this is an issue we encountered throughout the entirety of our analysis. Each overlaps with the other because they are used together as a psychological and emotional arsenal by the romantic terrorist against the victim and her family.

Other such method that Lee employed to control Grace included constantly correcting her for making "mistakes" in the form of misunderstandings or miscommunications. In her journal, Grace reports a time when she received a card out of the blue from her ex-partner with a handwritten poem expressing how much she missed her. She threw the card in the bin, then discussed with Lee what it could mean, and whether she should respond in any way. Lee's reaction was typical of crazy-making:

> "She suggested I contact my ex-[partner] re the card she sent, then denied that she did so! She questions or challenges my memories and perceptions of events, etc. I recall something she or I said and she denies it or says it was something different!"

For Joy, the crazy-making was equally insidious, but even more damaging because the relationship persisted for so much longer. After they had been living together for about a year, Joe convinced Joy to become pregnant, claiming that he really wanted to be a father and that fatherhood would help keep him on the straight and narrow, drug-wise. However, about 6 months into the pregnancy, Joe reestablished an old friendship with a man who dealt methamphetamine, and his use of the drug subsequently began to escalate

again. He also began regularly drinking alcohol. Together this combination led him to even more verbally abusive behaviors and classic victim blaming

> "He did not like it when his behavior was questioned, and if questioned he would inevitably turn it around to make it about [us]. Everything was our fault. We triggered his abuse. My inability to parent Steph properly made him angry, dust on the bench-top made him angry. Steph was nothing but a 'fucking lazy little bitch' and I was a 'fucking shit mother.'"

Joe was especially volatile when coming down off meth, and it was at this stage that he began to threaten murder.

> "For example, a month before [the baby, Katie was due to be born, Joe had been out drinking alcohol at his end of year work Christmas party. In the early hours of the morning he phoned demanding that I come and pick him up. I was very pregnant and very tired and asked him to take a taxi home. He replied to me with words to the effect of: Come and get me or I'll fucking kill you! I hung up, then the phone rang again. Joe had accidently phoned me back and both Steph and I listened to what he was saying as he attempted to get a taxi. He kept muttering: I will fucking kill those bitches when I get home, over and over again. Steph and I were terrified."

Joe appeared to abstain from drug and alcohol use after the baby's birth, but after about three month, Joy found evidence of continued use in the form of used needles and cross-dressing paraphernalia. Talking to him about it only made Joe more angry and so eventually, Joy began to close off, going into what she describes as "survival mode." "My entire focus day in and day out was trying to stop Joe from being verbally abusive in front of [the baby] because when he did [the baby] became distressed."

A year or so later, when Joy, Joe, Katie and Steph attended a children's party nearby, Joy found Joe in the bathroom with a group of men, all shooting up methamphetamine. She became angry and tried to leave. Joe followed her as she walked out, refused to give her the keys and jumped in the car, all the while shouting abuse at them. Joy and her two girls had no choice but to get in. The three of them were all sobbing uncontrollably. Joe continued to shout at Joy all the way home, weaving across lanes on the highway, sometimes reaching 200km an hour. Joy was terrified: "I thought we were going to die!" When they finally arrived home, Joy decided she had had enough and went inside to pack her bags. Joe physically restrained her, pushed his forehead into Joy's and said: "You won't be going anywhere with our kid, you fucking cunt. You won't be fucking leaving me. If you wanted to fucking leave me you should have thought about that before you had a fucking kid." She begged him to let her go, then got her phone out to call the police. She managed to make it to the bottom of the stairs before Joe caught her,

dragged her back inside and pinned her to the bed. He had stopped yelling, and said quietly, Joy still pinned beneath him: "I love you. I think you've changed and there's something wrong with you mentally. You need to go see a doctor because you're acting like you've got post-natal depression." Joy recalls:

> "in hindsight I realize that I was so mentally exhausted from dealing with Joe's abusive behavior that I actually believed him when he told me he thought I had changed and needed help. The day before the party I had gone to the supermarket and…. experienced some kind of panic attack…. Joe took me to the doctor the next day…The doctor thought I had anxiety and depression and prescribed anti-depressants."

These wearing-down maneuvers are a typical feature of controlling behavior in general, and of domestic violence in particular. It is also a common characteristic of torture. Constant barrages of abuse, accusations of getting it wrong, deliberately lying or making mistakes are keystone tactics of crazy-making and political terrorism alike. As discussed earlier, victims of terrorism and torture are often subjected to long interrogations under insufferable conditions designed to break the victim, either into confessing or some other form of compliance. Continued barrages, administered abruptly and without warning, keep victims on their toes, careful not to agitate their torturers for fear of abuse. The constant challenging of victims' perceptions can make them feel like they are losing their minds. The threat of murder, however, is probably one of the most effective tools. Whether they mean it or not, romantic terrorists know that threatening to kill their victim will likely terrify them into total compliance. Much like the public threats of random beheadings by religious extremists has caused an exponential increase in the fear experienced, making ordinary people on the street paranoid about bags left on seats and middle eastern men with turbans, threats of murder by an abusive partner or ex-partner can cause extreme terror and paranoia in victims. Yet, the threat of spousal murder is rarely taken as evidence of abuse by the courts (Hennessey, 2012). This makes such threats doubly effective as a controlling tool, especially post-separation when a woman may be seeking a restraining order or trying to defend charges of abuse in court (Robertson et al., 2007). This is particularly true of women who have been in, or are in, psychologically and emotionally abusive relationships not characterized by overt physical violence. People mistakenly believe that where there has been no evidence of physical abuse, there is little risk of death for the victim. The research demonstrates that this is patently untrue. The crowning achievement of crazy-making then, is that, even if you were game to talk about your fears or the abuse, no one will ever believe you.

Restricting Personal Territory and Freedom

We have already seen above how Joy was convinced to become pregnant, found herself in increasing amounts of debt and how Joe enforced a form of domestic slavery on Steph (and to a lesser extend Joy), took Joy to the doctors and then informed him that he thought Joy had postnatal depression These strategies help keep victims under control by restricting their personal territory and freedom.

For example, one particularly easy way of restricting a victim's freedom is to take financial control. Joe managed to control the household finances by failing to contribute any of his wages, instead using his own money to buy drugs and alcohol. Joy was thereby forced to pay all the household expenses, which made things very tight, particularly when she was off work after having their baby, Katie. When Katie was about 6 months old, Joy and Joe decided to buy a bigger car. Joy had determined that their budget would be $2000 because that was all they could afford, and Joe had initially agreed. However, when he showed up to meet them at the car dealership he was drunk, and insisted that they buy a car worth $8000.

Joe frequently shouted at Joy about money. They were struggling financially and he kept expecting Joy to cut back on living expenses. Joy went back to work when Katie was four months old, but for that four months or so when she was off work, when Joe was the "sole breadwinner," she was afraid to ask him for money, and often paid the rent, utilities and grocery bills with her credit card. Joe refused to reduce his spending on drugs and alcohol, but would become abusive if Joy bought toys or clothes for Katie. Joe also insisted on an extremely restrictive grocery budget of $150 per week for their family of four, but then would shout loudly if she didn't buy him the treats he wanted, or provide a different lunch for him each day. On one occasion, he refused to let her pay a telephone bill, which resulted in a black mark on her credit record that took seven years to clear. Joy was also prevented from buying Steph anything including the basic necessities that children need including school shoes, books and stationary. Joe insisted that Steph find employment as soon as she reached 14 years of age and once she started work she was expected to pay board, purchase her own clothes and pay for her school expenses.

Lee and Grace never lived together and so Lee had little access to Grace's finances. However, she skillfully controlled Grace's freedom in other ways. Lee was very strict on herself – one might almost call her a perfectionist. She didn't drink alcohol, eat meat or dairy, and insisted on going to bed at 7.30 at night. While she never insisted that Grace become a vegan like herself, she dropped hints on every possible occasion about the harm caused to animals used for meat, about how fish are able to think and feel just as much as other animals, and about how bad alcohol is for one's health. She would often cite

articles she had read in the news about alcohol causing various types of cancer and so on. After about three months, Grace decided that perhaps she was right about the health aspects, and she certainly knew about the ethical aspects of veganism already, and so decided to try veganism for herself. After 6 months, Grace was so thin from this restrictive diet (and the added stress of psychological abuse) that she was constantly ill with colds, flu, and allergies and looked extremely scrawny.

But diet restrictions were not enough. At one point Lee told Grace she was drinking too much tea. Lee suggested that the caffeine content was bad for Grace, and began to monitor how many cups per day she was drinking. She also disapproved of any drugs whatsoever, including prescription and common over the counter medications such as aspirin. When Grace was prescribed a mild sedative to help her sleep when suffering from symptoms of menopause, Lee was disapproving. When staying over, Grace was forced to wait until Lee was asleep before getting up and stealthily making her way to the bathroom where she kept some of the tablets in her toiletry bag. Lee insisted Grace take herbal supplements for menopause symptoms, and became upset and abusive when Grace stopped taking them.

Lee also monopolized Grace's weekend and holiday time, making it all but impossible to catch up with friends and family. Though Grace had given her a standing invitation to spend weekends at her house, Lee often found excuses not to do so, insisting that Grace come to her instead. She also insisted Grace take the train rather than drive "because it was safer and she didn't want to worry." This resulted in Grace being without a car when Lee had to go into work on the weekends.

> "She never seemed to want to meet any of my friends, although she did come to a family dinner once for two hours. There were always seemingly legitimate excuses, as there were again when I'd ask to meet her friends. If we did make a date with her friends, she would always make an excuse to cancel at the last minute."

Although she had always complained about her job not being fulfilling, a few months into the relationship, Lee began talking about moving "out into the country." She had dreams of owning a rural property with dogs, chickens, and other animals, and of living a "quiet, peaceful life." She began researching areas around where they both lived and eventually decided on a large town nestled in the mountains about an hours drive west from where she lived. Thinking it was just a "retirement dream," Grace was happy to play along, and accompanied her on a trip to the town to scope out places where they might like to live. However after a few more months, Lee decided that she would move as soon as she could find a job at the new town, she would sell her current house and buy a pretty little house for them both to live in. When Grace expressed surprise, Lee said Grace could commute the one and

a half hours each way to her job in the city. Grace said she'd think about it, but in reality, she knew such a move was going to be very difficult, especially for her daughter, who Lee expected to live on her own in Grace's apartment once she left high school.

This attempt to move and thus isolate Grace from her family and friends – even her daughter, who was not yet even 18 – was ultimately unsuccessful, but is another common tactic used by romantic terrorists. Often they will meet a potential partner in another city or even country, and woo them by love-bombing, until they agree to move to the offender's hometown or country. If they meet in the city in which both live, the offender might obtain a job in a far away location in order to accomplish his isolation of her. This geographic isolation of victims takes them away from threatening others who may interfere in the relationship, and provides a breeding ground for total control of almost everything, including with whom she socializes, where she works, and how she lives (Hennessey, 2012).

In Joy's case, Joe utilized a variety of different methods to ensure her isolation from family and friends. When his demand for certain things were not complied with e.g. money and access to Joy, Joe would threaten ringing the Australian Government to embargo Katie's passport. Joy and Katie were thus denied their freedom of movement. They were isolated from Katie's maternal grandparents and uncle who resided outside of Australia. Drunkenness, rudeness and aggression were also employed as tactics by Joe to ensure Joy's social isolation. If Joy invited people over to the house Joe would behave inappropriately so Joy, who found this situation highly embarrassing, stopped asking people around. Any attempts made by Joy to go out by herself were also thwarted. In the early days of their relationship, Joe would use love and connectedness to stop Joy from leaving his side. He would say things like, "please don't go to the gym, I will miss you, please stay home with me." Later, these seemingly somewhat passive pleas to stay with him were replaced by more overtly aggressive tactics. After Katie was born, if Joy suggested catching up with friends, Joe would tell her that she already neglected Katie enough by working and that it was negligent of her to spend any more time away from the baby. As a result, he refused to care for Katie. Joy had to take her everywhere she went.

Humiliation, Degradation and Emotional Unkindness

We have already seen how Joe's treatment of Joy involved humiliation, degradation and emotional unkindness, and this is one of the most common tactics used by skilled offenders, not necessarily to obtain compliance, but to make themselves powerful by disempowering the victim. Humiliating and degrading the victim's family also makes them victims, and is not often tolerated, except by those who have no choice – the victim's children.

Joe's continued abuse of Steph continued until she finished high school and moved out to live with her boyfriend. Prior to leaving the family home, Steph had been subjected to ongoing barrages of abuse such as: "You are a lazy little bitch," "You are a fat little bitch," and 'you stink.'" Being called lazy and fat is incredibly humiliating for a teen, as is the slur about her hygiene. As she grew older she would try to respond to him – Joy had by that time gone into "survival mode" to protect Katie, and had shut herself off from Joe – but Joe considered this to be "back-chatting," which he found unacceptable. Joy recalls,

> "Steph herself was not an unruly teenager. She was a high academic achiever and subsequently won junior dux of her school. Her peer group were also high achievers. When Joe grounded her, the activities she missed out on were going to the gym, going for walks with me and going to the library."

Lee's abuse, on the other hand, was much more concentrated and intermittent, except toward the end of their relationship. On one occasion when she had shouted at Grace for an hour over the phone about her bad parenting skills, Grace had tried to remain calm, trying to counter each accusation with evidence. However, as usual, Lee wouldn't let her get a word in. Eventually, Grace was so frustrated and fed up she told Lee she was intolerant and had no understanding of parenting, to which Lee responded with spite, "Go have another drink" implying that Grace was an alcoholic "just like [Lee's] mother!"

Lee continually blamed Grace for everything that went wrong in her [Lee's] life. At one point, she decided that, rather than changing careers, perhaps changing agencies would make her happier with her work. Grace was doubtful, but kept her doubts to herself. Instead, she was supportive, and encouraged Lee to take up an offer of a job at a competitor agency close by. However, from the first week, Lee complained even more bitterly about her new boss. She also claimed her old boss was unhappy with the move, which was reasonable, and that he was stalking her, which was not reasonable at all, Grace thought. She claimed her former boss was following her in his car, had paid some young people to graffiti her fence, and was sending her threatening letters. In fact, the letters were simply legal advices about communicating with clients of her previous agency, but Lee insisted they were malicious. She became more and more paranoid, agitated and angry. When Grace arrived to spend the weekend, Lee was preoccupied with her stalker, practically ignoring Grace. The next day, she asked Grace to help her fix something on her phone, and while Grace was trying to fix it, the phone went dead. Lee flew into a rage, calling Grace all kinds of names and telling her she broke lee's phone, that she knew nothing about computers and that she "thought she was so smart" but she was "stupid." She left the house, slamming the door behind her, to go and get it fixed.

> "I didn't know what to do. By this stage I couldn't put a foot right and I considered walking down the street to catch a cab to the train station. In the end I decided to go for a walk and see what she was like when she got back. But when I got home she was lying on the spare bed with her dogs, sulking. I asked her how she was, and she grumbled something. I had a bad feeling, so I told her I didn't want to stay the night and that's I'd catch a cab to the station. The she lost it again, saying everything was my fault, I was hopeless and should realize it. She pushed me when I tried to get past with my bag, then demanded to drive me to the station. Against my better judgment, I said okay."

Lee abused Grace all the way to the station, with snidely made remarks such as "Sorry I wasn't much fun this weekend," "You always expect so much," "Some of us have to work you know" and "You shouldn't have touched my phone if you didn't know what you were doing. You're such a know-all." At the same time, she was speeding and driving wildly and dangerously. When they arrived at the station, Grace said, "Please don't be angry. Drive safely." Lee replied that she wasn't angry and Grace went into the station to wait for her train. Ten minutes later Lee walked onto the platform and said "I don't want you to go." Grace recalls:

> "She didn't say, 'I'm sorry I got mad' or anything nice like that. It was just she didn't want me to go. It was all about her! I say 'I think I've been supportive,' and she calmly replies 'I can see you want to leave,' then starts crying. I didn't say anything, even though it was really hard not to, and she left. At this point I just wanted out of there. Five minutes later she calls me from the car and she's sobbing uncontrollably. She said I'm not supportive at all! Then she breaks down completely and I'm so afraid she'll crash the car that I tell her to come back and get me. She says 'no!' and so then I have to beg her!"

Lee ended up saying she's go back, and Grace met her at the car, where Lee kept sobbing and saying she "can't take any more" and that she's "going crazy." After Lee calmed down, Grace drove them back to Lee's house, and stayed overnight.

Lee's tactic of turning her own bad behavior into accusations against Grace is also typical of the romantic terrorist. Lee behaved very badly after the phone incident. She shouted, lashed out, insulted Grace, and stormed out of the house. Even after Grace stayed to see how she was, Lee acted petulantly, saying that Grace was unsupportive, and belittling her attempts to assist. When Grace decided she had had enough and wanted to go home, Lee lashed out angrily again, even pushing her this time, while continually belittling her both in the house and then in the car on the way to the station. When she realized Grace meant business, she used tears and pathetic claims

of going crazy to change Grace's mind. Then, after Grace spent the night comforting her, she lashed out again, calling her "unsupportive" and "not interested in her problems" in an attempt to impose guilt upon Grace. Both these tactics – drawing sympathy and imposing guilt – work because Lee is so good at them.

However, by this point Grace had talked to Joy and another friend about her situation, and had come to the conclusion that she needed to step back and let Lee sort herself out. That night she ended the relationship by phone, to much abuse. This did not put an end to the insults, however. During the following weeks, Grace was subjected to a barrage of nasty, abusive text messages. As we will see in the next section, separation is usually followed by threats and intimidation, tactics used by romantic terrorists to continue to harass and frighten their victims.

Threats and Intimidation

Joy was desperate to move out and "live in peace," but she could not find a way to accomplish this.

> "Joe made it very clear on numerous occasions that if I left him I would be going without Katie and frequently told things like:
> 'I will make sure you never fucking see her again.'
> 'I'll take you to family court and get 100% custody because you are fucking mental.'
> 'I'll fucking kill you.'
> 'I'll slit your fucking throat if you try to leave.'"

Most terrifying for Joy was a veiled murder-suicide threat that Joe made one day. In the midst of a particularly long, abusive episode, Joe looked at Joy with a particularly "evil look on his face" and shouted, "I understand now why men take their children, kill them and themselves." This threat continues to haunt Joy to this day.

Joy finally reached the point where she realized her relationship with Joe was domestic violence, while writing an academic paper on same-sex domestic violence with a colleague at work. Prior to this she had always regarded Joe's behavior as the result of his drug use. "When I was reading through the literature it suddenly dawned on me that research descriptions regarding emotional violence fitted my circumstances." Further, her therapist had convinced her that her anxiety and depression were not caused by some organic mental health problem, but were the direct result of her life circumstances, and particularly the verbal abuse that was by this stage a "normal" part of her life.

> "Through counseling I had come to realize that my relationship with Joe had seriously compromised my mental health and that anti-depressants were not the solution; the only way to stop my

> depression and anxiety was to change my life by ending my relationship."

This was a defining moment for Joy, but she still couldn't work out how to leave. She was in debt and couldn't afford to move, so made an arrangement to continue sharing the house with Joe as "friends." This upset Joe, and his abuse subsided. He appeared to be trying to win her back. Some months later, she had saved enough to move and announced to Joe that she was moving to a small house about 30 minutes drive away. He became so abusive, Joy had to call the police on the day she moved, and they made him leave for 24 hours so she could move their things

Grace's separation was also marred by threats and intimidation, though to a lesser extent than Joy's, as well as more humiliation and degradation. After the initial break up, Lee continued to text insults and abuse to Grace, which she tried to ignore. Grace refused to answer Lee's calls, so Lee would leave abusive voicemail messages instead. She also engaged in much email abuse, where she would send emails outlining many things that Grace had done wrong in the relationship, including being unsupportive, arrogant, and moody. Lee accused Grace of "being nothing but a pathetic drunk" and of making Lee switch jobs so that she would fail. She called Anne "your bitch daughter" who Grace let make "a rod for your own back" and "walk all over you," and blamed Anne for their breakup. Lee called Anne "moody and obnoxious" and Grace "financially irresponsible," though Grace was living quite frugally as a single parent.

When she finally got sick of the abuse and responded, Grace received another barrage of nasty emails accusing her of being "two different people," the "sweet one" and the "nasty one." When Grace answered her emails with counter accusations, she was abruptly threatened with an AVO (Apprehended Violence Order) for stalking and harassment. Then she threatened to throw out the clothes and other belongings that Grace had left at Lee's house unless Grace came to pick them up the next day. Grace said she would, but in the end was too terrified to do so. Lee had promised to leave Grace's things in the kitchen when she went to work and Grace was supposed to use her key to enter and then leave the key behind when she left. However, Grace was sure Lee would be there, so she decided not to go. Sure enough, at 10.30 the next morning – thirty minutes after Grace had said she would be there, Lee texted Grace to ask her why she didn't come, indicating that she had indeed been there waiting for Grace.

> "I replied that I had been called in for a meeting at the last minute, but that I had a friend who lived nearby that could pick my things up after work. I was terrified of being confronted by Lee. By this stage I'd had begun shaking uncontrollably every time I read a text or email from Lee, I'd lost a lot of weight, and was sick with

> anxiety. I had been seeing a therapist almost since the beginning of the relationship, but was still really anxious and upset. I felt I couldn't trust her at all. In the end, she offered to drop the things over to my friend after work and I agreed and gave her the address. When my friend delivered the stuff the next day she said Lee had been 'pleasant and nice,' which was just typical!"

Conclusion

The fact that Lee could come across as very charming was not unknown to Grace – it was what had drawn her to Lee to start with. And this, together with Lee's physical attractiveness, led people to believe she was a "people person." The fact was that Lee was a loner who didn't like most people, complained about everyone behind their backs, and preferred her own company to the company of others. The ability of the romantic terrorist to present as charming and sociable is what helps them quickly lure their victims into relationships. However, their underlying dislike and distrust of people in general eventually shows through in their romantic relationships. Such people generally have few friends and don't reveal too much of themselves to anyone. The pleasant façade hides the kind of character that threatens and intimidates those who won't comply with their very strict view of how things should be. They consider a separation instigated by their victim as a breach of contract that must be paid for by the victim. Hence the continued threats and intimidation months and even years after separation. When they have children in common with the offender, victims may find they almost never rid themselves of any association with them. Thus, while Grace has not had any contact from Lee in over three years, Joy still continues to have contact with Joe because of their shared child, and therefore is still subject to abuse, although much less often.

Clearly, these narratives demonstrate the insidious and terroristic nature of domestic violence. No doubt, those who consider themselves terrorism experts would disagree, not least because political terrorism is often aimed at entire groups of people (such as 9/11) and is politically motivated. However, in answer to this we draw on the work of our second wave feminist sisters and argue that, where domestic violence is concerned, the personal *is* political. Domestic violence is a political issue, one that is plaguing many thousands of women and children (and of course, other types of victims) every day in this country. It is perpetrated by skilled offenders who know exactly what they are doing, and whose aim it is to terrorize their partners and their children into compliance through confusion and fear. This year alone (2015), at least two women per week have been killed by their partners. Only by taking political action against domestic violence as an issue, will we ever be able to come to terms with the extent of the problem, and how to address it.

NOTES

1. The data analyzed in this article were first reported in Hayes, S. and S. Jeffries (2015), *Romantic Terrorism: An Auto-Ethnography of Domestic Violence Victimization and Survival*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

2. We use the term "victim" rather than "survivor" because in our experience, the process of recovering from romantic terrorism is protracted, and there is always the threat of being revictimized when revisiting the abuse. The ability of romantic terrorists to continue victimizing their ex-partner, even in the absence of any contact, needs to be recognized.

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FEMINIZING WORLD POWER: A NEW CONSTELLATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICS?

MICHAEL A. PETERS
mpeters@waikato.ac.nz
University of Waikato;
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

ABSTRACT. This article charts the emergence of women leaders currently in power, the highest it has ever been with 22 female heads of state and political leaders in 2015. It canvases Fukuyama's (1988) sociobiology arguments and those of feminists on questions of women's political representation. It briefly investigates the "critical mass" argument of Kanter (1977) and others to ask whether there is a new constellation of women in politics, especially with Hillary Clinton's possible ascendancy to the US presidency, leading to the possibility of feminizing world power.

Keywords: women; world power; feminine politics; "critical mass"; Hillary Clinton

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It is an interesting time in world politics. Neoliberal globalization seems on the back foot especially after an unexpected Brexit. Europe faces the prospect of realigning itself after the UK vote to leave the EU. The UK suffering from an immediate economic effect of Brexit has to renegotiate its international relations and trading agreements. The EU faces what seem insuperable problems: its Mediterranean economies are in bad shape and the EU is still recovering from the Great Recession of 2007–8. Meanwhile the Middle East is a boiling cauldron of regional, religious and ethnic conflicts involving a new round of US–Russia politics and strategic action over Assad's regime and larger regional bloc conflicts. The Syrian civil war is in its seventh year and refugees from Syrian have made up one of the largest migration crises mainly from displaced refugees in the Middle East since WWII with strong eco-

nomic, social and security consequences for the EU. ISIL continues to grow and extend its influence in the Levant. Militant Islam with all its splinter groups continues to conduct its suicide and car bombing attacks on European civil society. There are also new crises brewing in the South China Seas with China's imperial ambitions as well as international difficulties with so-called "rogue states" like Korea. The likelihood of nuclear proliferation is probably greater at this point historically than any time since the end of WWII.

At the same time the specter of Donald Trump grows larger as the US November elections approach and the rhetoric that spills forth from him on issues of NATO, Russia, and China scare most mainstream foreign policy specialists. His threatened withdrawal of major partnerships and international treaties including the recent Paris environmental agreement poses a real cause for alarm.

The world leadership problems and issues confronting heads of state are probably more complex and intrinsically more difficult than at any time in the past. At the same time it appears that the emergence of women leaders currently in power is the highest it has ever been with the election or appointment of some twenty-two female heads of state and leaders in 2015.[1] Caroline Howard and Michael K. Ozanian (2012) named "The 100 Most Powerful Women" beginning with Angela Merkel, Hillary Clinton, Dilma Rousseff, Melinda Gates, Jill Abramson, Sonia Ghandi, Michelle Obama, Christine Lagarde, Janet Napolitano, and Sheryl Sandberg under the following description:

> There's official power, which comes in the form of a head of state or CEO, and then there's the transformational force of impact, stemming from magnitude of reach and influence. Here are entrepreneurs and early adapters, celebrity role models, activist billionaires and the philanthropists who are healing the world – all ranked by dollars, media presence and impact.

Yet as Swanee Hunt (2007), in an article "Let Women Rule" in *Foreign Affairs*, reminds us, the progress toward leadership and equal power for women has not been easy or straightforward:

> Women have made significant strides in most societies over the last century, but the trend line has not been straight. In recent interviews with hundreds of female leaders in over 30 countries, I have discovered that where women have taken leadership roles, it has been as social reformers and entrepreneurs, not as politicians or government officials. This is unfortunate, because the world needs women's perspectives and particular talents in top positions.

She refers to Francis Fukuyama's 1998 article in *Foreign Affairs* "Women and the Evolution of World Politics" that speculates women's political leadership would bring about a more cooperative and less conflict-prone world

of World Politics. She concludes that Fukuyama's promise has yet to be fulfilled. Hunt (2007) suggests that the shift of women from civil society into government will help to develop a healthier political culture and highlights "the advantages women have over men's brawny style of governance, whether because of biology, social roles, or a cascading combination of the two."

Fukuyama's (1998) analysis was strangely double-edged. His article begins with "Chimpanzee Politics" and a reference to Jane Goodall's primate studies at Gombe in order to set up an argument in sociobiology for the claim that a world run by women would be a more highly evolved kind of leadership – feminized so to speak – and would be less aggressive than one run by men and therefore more peaceful. This constitutes a form of cultural evolution realizable in the West. Fukuyama's sociobiological argument is supposed to be a knock-down argument of the claim that contemporary feminists make using social constructivism. Fukuyama's extends his argument by reference to "The Not-So Noble Savage" to advance counter-claim to feminists' arguments:

> phenomena like aggression, violence, war, and intense competition for dominance in a status hierarchy are more closely associated with men than women (p. 27).

Fukuyama seems to be making all the right moves. He opines:

> possibility of domestic peace between wars. The core of the feminist agenda for international politics seems fundamentally correct: the violent and aggressive tendencies of men have to be controlled, not simply by redirecting them to external aggression but by constraining those impulses through a web of norms, laws, agreements, contracts, and the like. In addition, more women need to be brought into the domain of international politics as leaders, officials, soldiers, and voters. Only by participating fully in global politics can women both defend their own interests and shift the underlying male agenda (p. 37).

Here's the kick-back from Fukuyama explained by Ann Tickner (1999: 3):

> While he sees a possibility of this 'feminized world' being realized in the West, Fukuyama argues for keeping men in charge as protection against the non-Western world where aggressive men will continue to dominate politics. This article claims that, in spite of seemingly sympathetic attitudes toward feminist politics, Fukuyama's argument is deeply conservative and has the effect of not only keeping women out of politics, but also reinforcing recent arguments in IR about civilizational conflicts.

Where feminists locate violence in patriarchal culture Fukuyama's argument locates violence in biology and he wants emphasize how hard-wired we are and therefore how violence is deep-seated and difficult to shift. Tickner

(1999) suggests that Fukuyama's arguments divert out attention away from understanding and taking action against the disadvantages faced by the majority of women in the world including unequal social structures and hierarchical gender structures.

The hard-won gains of women in the last hundred years point to palpable political improvements in the distribution of power and in political, social and economic rights that women have struggled for over many generations. These are now more clearly seen in a global sense than any other time in human history but the explanatory narrative ought to be more about women's solidarity (also sociobiological?) and women's political representation in national and international contexts – a story that inescapably involves education considered in the broadest sense: not only formal education and women's increasing access to all levels but also the active forms of informal education that took place with conscientization and the birth of the modern women's movement that is till unfolding.

Pamela Paxton, Melanie M. Hughes, and Jennifer L. Green (2006) investigating "The International Women's Movement and Women's Political Representation, 1893–2003" begin:

> Women's participation in politics has increased dramatically over the past 100 years. In 1890, women did not have the right to vote anywhere in the world. Currently, only one country, Saudi Arabia, denies women the right to vote. In 1907, Finland became the first country to elect a female member of parliament. Currently, women make up almost 50% of the national legislature in countries such as Sweden and Rwanda. The first country to reach 10% women in its national legislature was the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), in 1946. In 2005, 60% of countries had at least 10% women in their national legislatures. Although women still are substantially underrepresented in politics in most countries of the world (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2006), they certainly have made remarkable gains over time (pp. 898–899).

Their article does not make clear how uneven the progress has been on winning the vote (for example, how late it was in France, 1948 and Switzerland, 1972). Yet they do mention the growth and discourse of the international women's movement that encouraged global expansion of women's political participation global institutionalization of women's equality.

By comparison, Kristina Horn Sheeler and Karrin Vasby Anderson (2014: 474) comments on the lack of representation.

> Women worldwide lack representation in electoral politics. As of February 2013, women account for only 18 of the world's heads of government and approximately 20% of the world's parliaments. The United States has never elected a woman president and recently

> rose to 77th place worldwide in a ranking of women in national parliaments. Rwanda leads the list with 56% female representation in its Chamber of Deputies, the first country in the world to elect a majority of women to its legislative assembly. The 113th U.S. Congress consists of 18% women.

The gender-egalitarian reform of Western societies after WWII began as a set of policies addressing labor market participation and education, and became the basis for the Nordic gender regime "characterized by the ideal that men and women both should be breadwinners and responsible for the upbringing of children" (Gunnel Gustafsson and Kerstin Kolam, 2008: 28). Gustafsson and Kolam comment that "Swedish society is more gender egalitarian than most others" (p. 29). In the 1980s policies of state feminism were formulated to empower women with the expectation that a greater number of women parliamentarians would result in a more gender-equal society. This has generally been the case with female parliamentarians doubling since the 1970s to some 45% and with commensurate numbers of female ministers.

Shattering the Glass Ceiling

It could be argued that the present constellation of female world leaders represents a new high point not only in the election of female world leaders but also the coming exercise of feminine world power in terms of politics that address women's issues (e.g., pay equity, women's rights) and also purported bring a women's style of leadership to bear on complex problems facing the world (Fukuyama, 1997).

At the time of writing Theresa May assumed the leadership of the Conservative Party (on July 11) and the mantle as Prime Minister of UK on July 13th in the immediate aftermath of Brexit. Angela Merkel has been the Chancellor of Germany since 2005 and leader of the Christian Democratic Union since 2000. Janet Yellan is Federal Reserve Chair, Janet Napolitano is Secretary of Homeland Security and Samatha Power is Ambassador of the United States to the United Nations. Park Geun-hye has been President of South Korea since 2013; Erna Solberg has been prime Minister of Norway since 2013; Sheikh Hasina Wajed has been Prime Minister of Bangladesh since 2009; Tsai Ing-wen was elected President of Taiwan in 2016. Nicola Sturgeon is First Member of Scotland since 2014. There are female heads of state in Liberia, Malta, Croatia, Namibia, Mauritius, Nepal, Poland, the Marshall Islands, not counting queens, governors-general, chairpersons of executive organisations, ministers and government secretaries.

In addition, Christine Lagarde has been Managing Director of the IMF since 2011 and some six women are among the twelve candidates currently vying for the top position at the UN in December 2016 including Helen Clarke

the ex-Prime Minister of NZ and current UN Adminsitrator. Perhaps the most important upcoming position is that of the possible election of Hillary Clinton as the next president of the USA to be decided on November 8, 2016. The notion of "the woman card," "the only card she has" as Trump remarked, has become large. Clinton polls better among women (and Trump polls better among man). Clinton retorted: "The other day, Mr. Trump accused me of playing the, quote, "woman card." Well, if fighting for women's health care and paid family leave and equal pay is playing the woman card, then deal me in."[2] Soon after Clinton's campaign team started issuing actual hot pink woman cards for fund and political raising with huge benefits. Clinton's website prominently features "women's rights and opportunity" focusing on a host of issues: close the pay gap, paid leave, affordable child care, increase the minimum wage, enhance Social Security, confront violence against women, planned parenthood and so on.[3]

Should Clinton succeed in her presidential bid it could be argued that the world faces a new feminine regime of power that has developed an extremely pervasive and comprehensive system in the Western alliance. Suzanne Nossel (2016) writing for *Foreign Affairs* an article entitled "The Women on Top Theory" that carries the subheading; "Studies show that when women comprise around 25% of a group, their influence dramatically reshapes culture. Is 2016 the year women change the world?" Nossel (2016) refers to Jay Newton-Small's (2016) book *Broad Influence: How Women Are Changing the Way America Works.* Newton-Small examines how women's roles in the public and private sector have become transforming arguing that once women reach "critical mass," or 20–30%, in a group, change starts to happen for the better. The idea started when she was covering the Senate and their proportion had reached 20% for the first time: They produced 75% of the major legislation that passed in the Senate that year [2014]. As it turns out, Nossel (2016) reports, the "critical mass" idea originated with Rosabeth Moss Kanter's (1977) article "Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women" in the *American Journal of Sociology.* Kanter (1977: 965) who holds the Ernest L. Arbuckle Professorship at Harvard Business School suggests that "Proportions, that is, *relative* numbers of socially and culturally different people in a group, are seen as critically shaping interaction dynamics."

They are some signs that women in public office in each of the three parts of government have or are rapidly approaching the 20% figure. Should Hillary Clinton become the first women in the White House, the question is whether this "critical mass" translates into a change of leadership style that is recognizably feminine and that can de-escalate the current conflicts as well as creating a lasting impact on the evolving global political landscape.

NOTES

1. See http://www.jjmccullough.com/charts_rest_female-leaders.php based on data from Rulers.org, WorldStatesmen.org, or Regnal Chronologies. See also the following sites: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_elected_and_appointed_female_heads_of_state; http://planetrulers.com/category/female-leaders/ and http://www.guide2womenleaders.com/Current-Women-Leaders.htm.

2. Reported in the *New York Times*, http://www.nytimes.com/politics/first-draft/2016/05/02/hillary-clinton-cashes-in-on-donald-trumps-womans-card-comments/. See also Lepore (2016), "The Woman Card."

3. See https://www.hillaryclinton.com/issues/womens-rights-and-opportunity/. Clinton has has been criticized for being a neoliberal espousing hypermasculine values see http://www.huffingtonpost.com/anis-shivani/feminists-stop-obfuscatin_b_9835510.html

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RECONCEPTUALIZING GENDER: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE FROM STRUCTURE TO PROCESS AND INTERSECTIONALITY

APRIL TERRY
anterry2@fhsu.edu
Department of Criminal Justice,
Fort Hays State University

ABSTRACT. An important theoretical advancement in the study of gender has been the interactionist perspective with a body of empirical work focusing on "Doing Gender." This historical review will discuss the roots and development of doing gender as well as review the transition from sex differences to body politics. The literature shows that the body itself has meanings and that gender processes ultimately construct social dimensions of power and inequality. Additionally, this review will look specifically at gendered institutions both as process and as structure while challenging the idea that gender is a property only of individuals. Lastly, a theme throughout the paper will focus on the intersectional paradigm in the study of gender as suggested by Hill Collins and others.

Keywords: gender; doing gender; structure; intersectionality; gender process; sex roles

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Brief Introduction to the Study of Gender

From sex roles to gender, one of the most important theoretical advances in the study of gender has been the development of an interactionist perspective, a body of theory and empirical work that focuses on the "doing" of gender. The study of gender was really a Western invention. With the end of the nineteenth century came the doctrine of equal rights with Engels's work culminating in the idea of a social system with men and women based on a

historical trajectory. However, Engels assumed a naturalness of the categories of women and men; there were views such as "true" men and "true" women (Connell, 1987; 2002). The 1940s produced terms such as "sex role," "male role," and "female role." When studying gender and relationships, it took many decades for scholars to start assessing the continued production of gender inequality in a variety of institutional settings (Connell, 1987). Once this was acknowledged, others began to focus on the intersectionality paradigm which looks at a variety of forms of oppression (e.g. race/ethnicity, sexuality, class) that all interact together; they are not separate forms of inequality but rather additive in nature (Acker, 1988; Hill Collins, 1999; Anderson & Hill Collins, 2007; Kane, 2012; Hill Collins, 2015).

Sex Roles

Sex role theory consists of a large body of literature. Most formulations have five points in common: 1) there is a distinction between the person and the position she occupies; 2) there is an action or role behavior that she is assigned to; 3) the role expectations or norms are defined by the actions of that position; 4) they are held by people occupying counter-positions (e.g. role senders, reference groups); and 5) they are enforced by means of sanctions. Role theory is one approach to studying social structure through the restrictions proposed by stereotyped gender expectations (Hill Collins, 2004). This means that being a man means something different than being a woman. Each individual is expected to respond to different social expectations and connect social structures to the formation of personality. There is a dominant "norm" for behavior; one who departs is seen as personally eccentric or the product of inappropriate socialization (Connell, 1987; Connell, 2002). These individuals are the ones who either consciously or unconsciously choose to move away from the stereotyped "male" and "female" roles. This can be through their appearance, behaviors, jobs, or other outlets of gender expression. Although those who choose to deviate risk the judgment of others as everyone is held accountable for acting/looking like their assigned sex role (Ridgeway, 2011; Kane, 2012).

From Sex Roles to Gender

Millman and Kanter's work sparked the era of feminist thought in the social sciences (Hess & Marx Ferree, 1987). Feminist thought, as a theory, looked at the departure from traditional sex role definitions. Hess and Marx Ferree (1987) reported that the study of men and woman has shifted from an emphasis on sex differences to a preoccupation with sex roles, and finally to

the acknowledgement that gender is a central organizing principle. Believing that there are expected and "natural" roles for the male/female dichotomy is almost an unconscious belief; however, few can refute the research that shows that the male/female dichotomy is socially constructed and far from "natural."

Prior to recognizing gender as an, if not *the*, organizing principle of social life, sex was described in terms of biology and hormones. Gender then, was described in terms of achieved status based on different means (West & Fenstermaker, 1995; West & Zimmerman, 1987). The idea of sex was based on the biological sex which was defined at birth. *Then*, one must learn their appropriate gender role per societal expectations based on history, time, and social context (Chafetz as cited in Meyers, Anderson, & Risman, 1998; Hill Collins, 2015). However, as West and Zimmerman (1987) point out, simply being born one sex assignment did not imply that one would identify with that sex category in everyday life. The idea of sex roles and biological sex determinations left no room for variations in gender identity aside from conforming to stereotyped gender norms. Some believe that it is hard for people to override biological instincts even though some may have awareness of influences outside of biological determinates (Komarovsky, 1992; Schilt, 2010). Those who cannot see past the biological classification of gender typically share a cultural schema of innate differences between men and women being known as natural differences. As will be discussed further throughout the paper, individual choices about certain aspects of life (e.g. family and work) are constrained by social forces which are reinforced through the belief in false natural difference schemas. These decisions then further reproduce and reinforce the embedded stereotyped beliefs in institutional structures (Connell, 1987; West & Fenstermaker, 1995; Fenstermaker & West, 2002; Sprague, 2016).

The twentieth century, particularly the 1970s, was a by-product of the struggles during the previous century which was marked by civil unrest and power conflicts. This by-product led to feminism and gay liberation (Hooks, 1984; Connell, 2004; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Feminists suggested that a woman's disadvantages were based on stereotyped expectations so if the stereotypes could be broken down, inequality would decrease (Connell, 2002). Or at least that was the hope. By 1975, a combination of biological and cultural processes resulted in different structural arrangements proving that there was more to the relationship than just biology. However, research shows that chromosomes do not always fall neatly into female and male categories. People feel that genitalia and the gender identity should align; however, for some people it does not (Schilt, 2010). Some wanted, and still want, to lump sex differences into two categories based on specific traits (e.g. sound of voice) or roles (e.g. female doctor) (West & Fenstermaker, 1995). With some questioning this supposed clear dichotomy, a new perspective of

maleness and femaleness came to light; the awareness of gender. West and Zimmerman (1995) believe that gender cannot be fixed on a set of traits or roles but rather it is the product of doing. This doing is apparent and relevant in almost every interaction. Thus, gender was not "natural" but rather, socially created. Connell (1987) even disagrees that biology *determines* gender. As Lorber (1993: 577–588) puts it, "Gendered people do not emerge from physiology or hormones but from the exigencies of the social order, mostly, from the need for a reliable division of the work of food production and the social (not physical) reproduction of new members." Although, many attempts have been made to prove that there are biological determinations within various social inequalities, no such studies have found this to be true of individual behavior or social institutions (Connell, 1987; 2002). This era of research finally acknowledged that biology does not determine one's gender; gender is a social construction which then holds individuals accountable for acting accordingly.

Doing Gender

Once one comes to realize that gender is socially constructed, one can see how it is based on a set of interactions and behaviors. Doing gender involves ingrained socially prescribed contexts in terms of how someone should express their masculine or feminine characteristics (Hooks, 1984; Acker, 1990; West & Zimmerman, 1995). Doing gender serves the purpose of rationalizing the social arrangements and then legitimizing them through the division of society. All daily activities involve the notion of doing gender; for example, bathrooms are even labeled as "men" and "women" and daily conversations revolve around "gender" specific topics (e.g. men and sports) (Lopata & Thorne, 1987). Even though some may refuse to align their daily activities with their "assigned" sex, they always know the expectation for their role (Hess & Marx Ferree, 1987). Any deviation from the role raises negative questions and beliefs about such individuals. In order to "blend in," one must make regular decisions, throughout day-to-day life, across a variety of settings, which align with their socially ascribed gender expectations (Connell, 1987; Kane, 2012). This is something that *cannot* be avoided as it is based on the social interactions. Stated another way, gender is not something that a person is, it is something that a person does (West & Zimmerman, 1987; West & Fenstermaker, 1995; Fenstermaker & West, 2002).

Society presents the notion of gender dichotomously with male and female behavior which is viewed as a natural process (Connell, 1987; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Staying within the prescribed gender roles is something that is typically learned from an early age; for example, girls are taught more than boys to take value in their appearance (Hess & Marx Ferree, 1987;

Martin, 1998). Children are taught to "be a boy" or to "act like a girl" which conveys different messages about their gendered behaviors. During this process, the boys and girls are able to start monitoring their own behavior and the behavior of others as gender conforming/nonconforming (West & Fenstermaker, 1995). Studies have found that play, game, and school structure encourage the traditional sex-role divisions in society. This encourages teaching boys the appropriate social skills needed for their gender-typed careers while teaching girls the skills necessary for family-based careers (Lever, 1976; Messner, 2009; Rahilly, 2015). This process results in social stratification; men become dominant and women become passive which creates power differences (Hess & Marx Ferree, 1987). A central component to gender inequality is the existence and continued production of male power; power is, from an early age, assigned to males. This power inequality encourages, and continues to recapitulate a societal system based on patriarchy where patriarchy is based on a male-dominated superior role with submissive women (Connell, 2002; Collins, 2009; Ridgeway, 2011).

Do Difference

In a 2007 article by Deutsch, gender was described as a structure which is not stable and therefore, can change (as cited in Kane, 2012). With the belief that gender can change, one must then attempt to understand *how* and *why* gender changes. The notion that society creates the idea of gender typical behavior is similar to the idea discussed by Foucault. He discussed the public spectacle of shaming and punishment which, for a large stent of time, was accepted by the mass. This type of punishment was seen as the norm and thus, individuals did not challenge the technique(s). However, individuals began to refute this process and rebel against those in authority. This type of social movement led to different uses of punishment; moving away from public mockery and shame to the use of prisons. This social movement is similar to the movement needed to "do difference" with gender and other categorizations leading to unequal distributions of power and inequality. Just as Foucault (1977) mentioned the change in treating prisoners to possess specific characteristics, so too does society with attempting to mold gender. Individuals "do difference" when they acknowledge how such categorizations (e.g. race, class, gender) render some socially accountable behavior given certain situations. Overall systematic changes in the gender norms will not take place without conscious efforts on the parts of individuals and institutions (Risman, 2004; Collins, 2009; Sprague, 2016). Some even argue that having the awareness and desire to do difference does not guarantee overall change; doing gender is so engrained in thinking and behaving that it is hard to undo or "unthink" (Acker, 1990; Williams, 1991; Risman, 2004).

Kane (2012) provides an example of challenging mainstream gender norms. Kane interviewed parents to develop different typologies of parenting style as it relates to the idea of the gender trap. She calls the "gender trap" a, "set of expectations and structures that inhibit social change and stall many parents' best intentions for loosening the limits that gender can impose upon us" (Kane, 2012: 3). At times, parents are the focus of instilling attitudes, values, and beliefs into their children. However, parents do not act alone in shaping their children's gender. Social expectations impede on doing gender as does the media, schools, and other social institutions. Many parents saw gender-typical outcomes not as a product of their own beliefs but rather shaped by outside forces such as those listed above. Some parents said they felt it was routine and that they were judged by others for not conforming. Mothers and fathers reported feeling insulted by others, or accused of doing things wrong when they attempted to do difference with gender. Kane's (2012) concluding remarks on the parents who attempted to do difference shows the amount of effort it takes to do difference, respond to others, and still maintain a desired place within society.

The Body and Social Meaning

Society has an idealization about what gender should look like; individuals then express their gender by a script written for such an ideology (West & Zimmerman, 1987). For example, adolescent girls experiment with what they think it means to be womanly. Their childhoods may have even encouraged them to pursue the woman's way of doing gender. According to Williams (2002: 30), "It is this process of anticipating, experimenting, retreating, and resisting that I refer to as *trying on gender*." The act of doing gender suggests some form of action whereas trying on gender is a form of experimentation that occurs during the transitional process from girls to women. Williams (2002) suggests that specific local contexts also play a role in the concept of the gender regime. Time and place intersect with a focus on the community and how this local gender regime may help mold the process of trying on gender. The concept of the gender regime refers to there being gender meanings attached to specific locations. This is typically a product of history, culture, and current gender ideology (Williams, 2002; Williams, Alvarez & Andrade Hauck, 2002). In sum, gender is a powerful ideological device. It is something that is produced, and reproduced which further reinforces a dichotomous gender ideology based on power and inequality (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Collins, 2009; Schilt, 2010). Ideally, society must want to change ideologies of what constitutes gender typical and atypical behavior (Sprague, 2016). Otherwise, being a woman is not a social role but a pervasive identity which will continue to be assigned by others (Lopata & Thorne, 1987).

Since gender construction is a product of patriarchy, there is a lot of control given to the state in dealing with the sexual politics; the state is deeply implicated in the social relations of gender (Connell, 1987; Williams, 2002) although it is supposed to be a neutral arbiter. This is impossible when the state has been, and continues to be, run by males. The state is also the governing official for regulation and domination although it affects sex and gender in the pursuit of class interests since, "the state is from the start a patriarchal institution" (Connell, 1987: 128). For example, the history of contraception shows the term "politics of the body" is not just a metaphor (Connell, 1987). Connell argues that the practical transformation of the body in the social structure of gender is not just something accomplished by symbolism; it has a physical effect on the body as well. Thus, the body is never outside of history. Historically, the term of structure has been purposed in a way that is incompatible with practice. Without practice (history), the politics of transformation no longer makes sense (Connell, 1987; 2010; Hill Collins, 2015). "The paradox of 'human nature' is that it is *always* a manifestation of cultural meanings, social relationships, and power politics" (Lorber, 1993: 158). These cultural meanings remain present based on history, popular culture, and mostly, the embedded stereotypical gender beliefs which exist in all settings, at all times, and acted out and reinforced by most individuals.

The state also attempts to maintain control over women's bodies. In the workplace, women's bodies are ruled out due to childbearing, menstruation, and so forth, while men's bodies are not. This is the ground for control and exclusion (Acker, 1990; Bass, 2015). Even heterosexual behavior is a must for organizational power. "Currently, hegemonic masculinity is typified by the image of the strong, technically competent, authoritative leader who is sexually potent and attractive, has a family, and has his emotions under control" (Acker, 1990: 153). This description of the "ideal worker" does not reflect typical descriptors of female workers. This encourages a larger gender gap in the workplace which results in less hiring, promotion, tenure, and overall rankings for female employees. Since women's lives prevent them from making work the centerpiece of their identities, they are at a disadvantage in the workplace (as cited in Meyers, Anderson & Risman, 1998; Ridgeway, 2011; Christopher, 2012).

Gender Processes in the Construction of Power

Power suggests something much larger than at the individual level; it is a social relationship that creates and maintains power at different levels. Force is important in this process as is the cultural power (e.g. women are weak; homosexuals are ill) (Connell, 1987). Gender inequality is understood from an organizational perspective and power structures (Myers, Anderson &

Risman, 1998; Glick & Fiske, 2001). The main idea is that the system functions the same for everyone, and that everyone agrees on how it works, and with equal outcomes. This static perspective then ignores power, differences, inequality, history, and the like.

Although the construction of gender leads to the construction of power and inequality, Williams (2002) found one common theme in interviewing adolescent girls was to deny that gender was relevant at all. The data suggested three themes; attractiveness (based on Western stereotypical descriptions of a woman's beauty), attachment to men (a sense of need/dependence), and compliance (taking on a submissive role). When trying on gender, girls always monitored others; they feared losing touch with friends and others close to them but they also gained a value in attaching to a boy. Many girls believed that males were their key to success. They were also willing to experiment with them romantically and/or sexually. However, even though this occurred, they were still unsure about having such connections with boys. Yet, they saw boys as increasing their self-esteem, bringing in resources, and creating a sense of belonging. In conclusion of the findings, many were unable to see the gender divide and inequality which produced power dynamics in favor of males and instead, felt that they *needed* males in their life to gain power.

Aside from studies on youth development and the social construction of gender, there is also a large body of literature focusing on the gendered division of labor. In transitioning from youth to adults, studies have shown that both males and females, in low-mobility positions, display similar organizational behaviors (Kanter, 1976; Acker, 1990). When studying leadership attitudes, behavior and the power structure, Kanter (1976) points out that no research evidence exists that can prove a case for sex differences in leadership aptitude or style. Women are less likely to be in close contact within power holding positions and they also have less advantage in location within the opportunity structure (Kanter, 1976; Collinson & Hearn, 1994). Both jobs and hierarchies are abstract categories with no occupants, thus, no body and no gender. Acker (1990) believes that the word "job" is actually a gendered concept as it already comes with a set of beliefs based on the gendered division of labor.

In order to shift the construction of power, one would need to focus on the structure of the organization as a total system (Kanter, 1976). Acker (1990) believes that organizational structure, not gender, should be the focus. Reskin (1998: 60) holds that "dominant groups remain privileged because they write the rules, and the rules they write 'enable them to continue to write the rules.'" This is men's ability to maintain their privileges and guarantee "them the lion's share" (Reskin, 1998: 60). This does not happen just by chance. Rather, there is required motivation and action to see that places

remain gendered (Williams, 2002; Carlson, 2015). This same level of motivation and action must be present to make changes in the inequality and power dynamics between a dichotomized world of males versus females.

From Gender as Process to Gender as Structure

The concept of gendered institutions has transformed thinking about gender, both as process and as structure. In particular, this notion challenges the idea that gender is a property only of individuals. Some suggest that if men and women were in identical situations, gender differences would disappear. However, this would only work if one were to realize that gender is a structure embedded within society. According to Giddens, "social structures shape individuals, but simultaneously, individuals shape the social structure.… Social structures not only act on people; people act on social structures" (apud Risman, 1997: 432). The relationship is very reciprocal and as stated before (many times), a change at both the individual level and institutional level is required to instill lasting equality. According to Risman (1997), in addition to the individual and the institutional domains, there is also the dimension of the interaction as men and women. Change is fluid; if one could change cultural expectations then change would be observed in individual identities. However, change is difficult to accomplish as institutions exist across space and time (Williams, 2002; Rao, 2015). Risman (1997) believes that many researchers waste their time trying to find which dimension is the main piece to inequality and social change. Instead, researchers should try to identify the *processes* and then solutions for change as they operate at a structural level. If one thinks of gender inequality as a social structure, resulting in unequal outcomes between women and men, then one can understand the conditions for such inequality exist and how each is produced and reproduced.

The idea of the reproduction of the gender divide exists in organizations which continue to reestablish such inequalities and systems of hierarchy. The continued organizing, as such, further encourages and develops the "common knowledge" of gender categories (Ridgeway, 2011). There is "common knowledge" about stereotypical gender roles. In short, one should understand that gender is complex with many social processes creating gender (Risman, 1997). For example, in their work with Latina teenagers, Williams, Alvarez, & Andrade Hauck (2002) looked at structural constraints on acculturation which they referred to as gendered social control. The school and family, as institutions, illustrated how Latinas experienced gendered social control. Girls experienced different expectations within the family with some assuming adult roles in the host home. Their findings concluded that identity transformation was reflected by both gender and racial processes. The cultural adjustment was

also shaped by the local gender regime. Gender was/is seen as differentiated within the classroom. Williams, Alvarez, and Andrade Hauck (2002: 579) found that the teenage Latina immigrants felt as though teachers responded to them in a stereotypical fashion. The authors reported that, "gendering interaction and gendered structure are mutually reinforcing." It seems that an interaction of race, gender, and social context mix to create different forms of social inequality. This inequality is based on culture but does exist across all cultures, to varying degrees.

From Gender Process and Structure to Gender and Intersectionality

Many scholars who study gender have come to realize that gender alone, cannot fully explain forms of oppression. Rather, there are *systems* of power that result in certain social beliefs, situations, discourses, and forms of oppression (Acker, 1988; Hill Collins, 1999; Anderson & Hill Collins, 2007; Kane, 2012; Hill Collins, 2015). Even as recent as a decade ago, scholars were concerned that little had been done to understand how class, for example, was accomplished and how it was embedded in racial/ethnic, sexual, and gender meanings (Bettie, 2003). Bettie (2003) pointed out that race, class, gender, and sexual meanings were all ways in which identities intersect. Other systems include nationality, sexuality, religion, and others (Hesse-Biber, Leavy, & Yaiser, 2004). According to one expert in the field, Hill Collins (2004: 11) states that, "Intersectional paradigms view race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and age, among others, as mutually constructing systems of power." Other well-known feminist scholars agree that these systems are typically seen in a fixed dichotomy (e.g. male or female; Black or White) when really they are fluid in nature (Anderson & Hill Collins, 2007). Part of the fluidity is due to the different constructions of these systems based on history and social location. Risman (2004) believes that gender should be viewed as it relates to changes in time; again, history and change are important in studying oppression (Thorton Dill, 1979; Bettie, 2003; Hill Collins, 2015).

The experiences of race, gender, and sexuality are equally as fundamental as the economy and polity as all are embedded within social life which create inequality through a historical construction and current, contemporary reproduction of inequality (Risman 2004). Hill Collins (2009) points out that the intersectional paradigm helps to shed light on how domination is organized as this organization is structured differently in different areas; they are organized through diverse local realities. Therefore, intersectionality can be studied at the individual level, the interactional level, and the institutional level (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Risman 2004; Kane, 2012; Connell, 1987; Ridgeway, 2011). With gender specifically, it is formed in different social situations such as the family, work (Moss Kanter, 1977; Pierce, 1995), school

and religion (Anderson & Hill Collins, 2007b). When looking at race specifically, Williams (1991) sees ordinary racism as occurring in the everyday lived experiences. She points out that this may or may not be intended as it is difficult for people to "unthink" the process that allows racism to persist. Part of the inability to "unthink" these forms of oppression may be attributed to the constant patrolling and policing of "others." Others refers to those who are not part of the mainstream dominate and powerful set of individuals; the individuals who are not, white, middle-class, heterosexual males (Nagel, 2000).

As a review on the work of intersectionality, Hill Collins (2015) sought to review what is "known" in intersectional scholarship. Even as a known expert, she struggled to define exactly what intersectionality means, how it should be studied, in what form, and under what methodology. She even pointed out that some see intersectionality as a method itself while others consider it a perspective, a theory, and a concept. What she does claim to know is that scholars are not paying enough attention to the people who are making changes. She points out that as knowledge travels, it changes, and then loses the core values/pieces. Her concern is that scholars have lost the history covering the intersectional paradigm. She provides the reader with a list of six items that she feels represents intersectional work which will be described *briefly* below. One does not have to do *all* six items but the more that are covered the closer one gets to the origins of intersectional work.

The first tenant is that all forms of oppression go together. One cannot understand one without understanding the other (e.g. one cannot understand what it is like to be a woman without knowing what is like to be a man). The second tenant states that one is being biased if they neglect to talk about one area of oppression. All intersections *need* to be included to get closer to the truth. The third tenant helps individuals who say that biological differences are what make concepts the same (e.g. all Black women the same). This provides a social explanation rather than a biological one. The fourth tenant states history matters (Thorton Dill, 1979; Williams, Alvarez, & Andrade Hauck, 2002; Hill Collins, 2015). The fifth tenant deals with the standpoint theory and problem-solving in general. She acknowledges that there are times in which the only way to solve a problem is to gather the standpoints from a diverse set of individuals; one should pull everyone and their experiences together. The sixth and final tenant is that intersectionality is a knowledge project. It is a compilation of knowledge that changes in tandem with the communities who push them forward. She really believes that the "doing" associated with this field of study is the crux of intersectionality (Hill Collins, 2015).

The sixth tenant provides a lot of insight into what the intersectional paradigm should really be about. Not only is it about understanding the intersecting systems of oppression, but also about what to *do* with this information.

Specifically, strategies and plans should be created to reduce oppression (Hill Collins, 2009). Hill Collins (2009) suggests that women should build relationships with one another, begin dialogue, and empower one another. She points out that for Black women, they cannot be content with nurturing their families when they are oppressed by the injustices in the U.S. political, economic, and social situations. Without transforming social institutions, there cannot be any empowerment of individuals or groups (Connell, 2009). The crucial point here is activism. Activism should first start with an accurate understanding of oppression; not a, this *or* that, form of oppression but rather a, this *and* that, form of oppression. Intersectionality is the only way to really depict the nature of social inequality and thus, the only way to really make changes for the greater good.

Conclusion

The theoretical advancements in the study of gender have grown immensely over the past several decades. Research supports the idea that individuals, as well as institutions, participate in "doing" gender on a daily basis (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Lopata & Thorne, 1977; Connell, 2002). While individuals and institutions continue to do gender, society has transitioned from sex differences to body politics (Hess and Marx Ferree, 1987; Lorber, 1993). The literature shows that the body itself has meanings and that gender processes ultimately construct social dimensions of power (Lorber, 1993; Connell, 2002). One common theme that appears apparent throughout the feminist scholarship in the area of doing gender is that this ongoing process incorporates an intersectional paradigm in the study of gender (Hill Collins, 2009; Williams, Alvarez, & Andrade Hauck, 2002). In order to overcome gendered institutions, it takes an ongoing effort on the part of individuals and institutions to form a cognitive awareness followed by active engagement to combat all intersections of oppression.

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ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC: MIGRATION, GENDER, AND SOCIETY IN CONTEMPORARY IRISH LITERATURE

MARIA AMOR BARROS-DEL RIO
abarros@ubu.es
University of Burgos

ABSTRACT. Contemporary Irish literature has a noticeable interest in women's diasporic experiences in the 20th century. This article analyses the construction process of a new society in America in four selected novels, focusing on the physical and emotional (dis)locations undergone by their female characters. The underlying tensions between their actual experiences and the Irish national discourse are studied from a gender perspective. The depressed Irish context and the existing networks overseas are detected as determinant factors that shape the construction of a gendered society overseas.

Keywords: Irish women; migration; literature; society

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1. Ireland on the Move

For centuries, geographical movement in Ireland has been characterized by rural-urban transfer to be subsequently followed by overseas migration. Only recently has the magnitude and persistence of this phenomenon been acknowledged in some official documents (*Report of the Task Force on Policy Regarding Emigrants*, 2002; *Global Irish: Ireland's Diaspora Policy*, 2015). In the meantime, abundant literature has examined the Irish migration phenomenon from many different perspectives, though little interest has been shown in the relation between female migration and place. Undoubtedly, this is a complex issue that has deserved much academic attention (Gray, 2000;

Martin, 1997; Ryan, 2001; Walter, 2004). More recently, it is the lives of Irish women abroad and their implicit/explicit relations with their homeland that have been the object of scholarly interest (Donkersloot, 2012; Harte, 2009; Miller, 2008; McDowell, 2014; O'Keeffe, 2013).

Border crossing is a significant decision with vital implications that do not affect men and women equally, as the *Task Force on Policy Regarding Emigrants* (Government of Ireland, 2002) indicates. According to Walter (2004), the USA was the preferred choice of Irish women from the early 19th century, whereas in the early 20th century Britain became the most popular destination. Later, the flows to the neighbor country became massive between the 1950s and the 1980s, a trend that changed by the end of the last century when other European destinations became more attractive. These movements necessarily affect the concepts of land and nation as the sense of identity begins to multiply and diversify. Ideologically, the feminine icons of Mother Church and Mother Ireland (or Erin) had been gaining ground since the 19th century for nationalistic purposes, and from the first decades of the 20th century, women were "actively interpellated as national subjects through identification with territory, soil, land and landscape" (Gray, 1999: 205). At the time, paintings, songs and discourses praised the rural Irish woman who embodied "the values of motherhood, tradition and stability" (Nash, 1993: 47). According to Ingman, "nations construct their identity around fixed concepts of gender" (2007: 3), and Ireland was no exception as, for too many decades, the social status of women was framed by institutions that served to oppress them one way or another. These institutions, identified as family and household structures, and employment and welfare policies, were also legally supported in the 1937 Constitution. That Irish gendered project targeted women to limit their access to work and public spaces in order to produce "decent women inhabiting virtuous spaces" (Crowley and Kitchin, 2008: 355). Symbolically, as the new values of the nation clung to the homely rural landscape, virtuous Ireland became the place to be whereas other places such as urban spaces, or destinations such as Britain and the USA were identified as materialistic and threatening (Ryan, 2001: 272–273). In this context, the phenomenon of female migration necessarily implied a break with a particular social model and would involve a menace to the national construction of the Irish Free State, as the numerous debates in the media at the time demonstrate (Ryan, 2003). Furthermore, that "sense of place" which has been identified as "a component of identity and psychic interiority" (Martin, 1997: 92), has for long been disturbing for many Irish women too, as mixed feelings involving duty, love, anger, independence and sorrow have been detected in female migration reports (Ryan, 2008; Walter, 2004). Discomfort might be the word for many women's experiences abroad who felt the tension between an assimilated Irish cultural space and the actual space of opportunities ahead.

Contemporary Irish literature shows a strong tendency to look backwards and evoke those Irish migrants' experiences, an issue that is witnessing much success at present in the form of fictionalized lives of Irish migrant women.

2. Female Migration in Contemporary Irish Literature

In the last years there has been an increasing production of Irish narrative addressing issues of exile and diaspora. That profusion of migrant fiction suggests a need to express cultural identity negotiations, a matter still unresolved, in particular those of women abroad. Although for long underrepresented in history and literature, in recent times the diversity of Irish women's experiences outside Ireland is proving to be an extraordinary source for the study of the ongoing Irish diaspora from sociological, economic and cultural perspectives (Gray, 2002; McDowell, 2014; O'Keeffe, 2013; Ryan, 2008). Even though male autobiographies significantly outnumber women's testimonies (Harte 2009), at present new oral, epistolary and biographical testimonies are being collected, and some contemporary Irish writing has given voice to the Irish female experiences of exile. This tendency was already notorious in the last decades of the 20th century. Ita Daly's *Dangerous Fictions* (1989), Julia O'Faolain *The Irish Signorina* (1984), Leland Bardwell's *That London and Winter* (1981) and Dolores Walsh's *Mad Moon* (1993) are good examples of female exile in fiction. More recently, Sebastian Barry, *On Canaan's Side* (2011), Edna O'Brien's *The Light of Evening* (2006), Colm Tóibín's *Brooklyn* (2009) and Anne Enright's *The Green Road* (2015) share a common focus on women and migration. The first three novels revolve around the memories of female protagonists who have experienced migration, mostly to America. In *On Canaan's Side*, Lilly recalls her voyage in her youth and her life in the new continent in the early 1900s. Similarly, *The Light of Evening* displays with nostalgia Dilly's memories of her time as a young woman in New York. A similar tone can be found in Tóibín's novel as Eilis, the protagonist, leaves Ireland in the 1950s for Brooklyn. On its side, Enright explores the contradictory feelings women who stayed in Ireland have towards migration and its effects. All in all, as evidence shows, there is a particular interest in Irish women's diaspora in the 20th century as well as in the exploration of the different degrees of agency they may have had outside Ireland. Contextualized in a variety of periods ranging from the early decades of the 20th century amid the violent years of partition, to the buoyant years of the Celtic Tiger in the 21st century, this set of novels collects memories of exile and problematizes the symbolic construction of Ireland from a distance. The recreation of space is a distinctive feature frequently used as a device to re-conquer the land through memory. Lyric landscapes contribute to develop plots and ideas where colors, tastes and odors are expressed through a rich vocabulary. Private

and public Irish spaces are remembered once and again, frequently through the letters the emigrated received from their relatives back home. These physical and emotional (dis)locations problematize not only the traditional representations of Irish womanhood and their place within Irish society as "the pillars of the house" (Kelly, 1987), but also the potential roles Irish women might have played in the construction of new societies. Thus, these contemporary novels unveil the real and symbolic contradictions lived by Irish women experiencing displacement and they connect issues of identity with geographical and cultural spatialities. Among the many factors that contributed to a gendered construction of society in Ireland and abroad, the depressed Irish context and the existing networks that facilitated migration deserve special attention.

3. The Depressed Irish Context

Migration is a social phenomenon that has political and economic causes. The Irish Free State cultivated a protectionist national policy based on a self-sacrificing attitude, especially for women (Valiulis, 1995; 2011). Consistent with the migration trends registered from the early 19th century, in many contemporary Irish novels, the USA is depicted as the favorite destination and it is perceived as a land of opportunities. That leak of human resources was so frequent that it became a naturalized feature of Irish daily life in the early decades of the 20th century. In *Brooklyn*, Colm Tóibín insists on the idea of migration as a very common act: "Many she knew had gone to England and often came back at Christmas or in the summer. It was part of the life of the town" (2009: 25). This idea is also present in Edna O'Brien's *The Light of the Evening*. As a child, Dilly already knew about women leaving the country for a better life: "My mother found the note I'd written and hidden under the mattress. It said: 'I want to go to America where I can have nice clothes and a better life than I can have here,' and signed Dilly" (2006: 30). Interestingly, this idealized image of America as a place where everything is positive is also sustained in Anne Enright's novel *The Green Road*. Although its plot is set in more recent times, it addresses Constance's desire to leave Ireland as late as in the 1970s:

> If she had gone to New York she would not be worried about cancer now. She would have been jogging for years, living on wheatgrass, she would have a yoga 'practice,' maybe even a personal trainer, and her children would be – she could not imagine what her New York children would have been like – whiny, at a guess, that mixture of anxiety and entitlement you saw in city kids. Her children would be fewer. Her children would not exist (2015: 87).

This idealization, foolish to a certain extent, may be read as the consequence of an oppressive Irish context, as for these female protagonists the physical boundaries of the homeland shaped the degree of agency they were allowed to have. In a way, Ireland is perceived as an oppressive territory whereas America is usually depicted as a liberatory land. But at the same time, this simplistic fallacy is disclosed in the mentioned novels, thus revealing the inherent contradictions within the actual experiences overseas. In *The Green Road*, Constance gloomily remembers her short trip to New York with her husband: "This was the place you went to get a new whole life, and all she got was a couple of Eileen Fisher cardigans in lilac and grey" (2015: 87).

4. The Existing Networks Overseas

Once these young women had embarked, the certainty that the migrated could count on a network of relatives and friends at the other end of the ocean was a relevant asset in two ways. Firstly, the arrival and survival of the migrant was secured. In these contemporary novels, Irish priests are often mentioned as a reference in the new land. Usually, their role was to attest the migrant's origins and act as temporary work agencies introducing the newly arrived into the American society. Generally, Irish female workers were employed as housemaids, as Lilly in *On Canaan's Side*, Dilly in *The Light of Evening*, or as shop assistants like Eilis in *Brooklyn*. Normally, they had to share accommodation with other female migrants and kept on working until they got married, most commonly with other migrants, and often from Irish or Italian origin. Thus, despite the physical distance between Ireland and America, these Irish protagonists seem to find the same kind of jobs and life prospects they would have encountered in Ireland in terms of economic and civic status. In the end, the same rigid structures prevail, only they are wrapped in a multicultural and fresh context. Secondly, the existing Irish networks overseas also provided surveillance on the new workers' behavior. This way, the Irish morality and codes were naturally transferred to America. Landladies and priests, together with acquaintances and relatives, imported a set of values and moral codes making the land of promises become an extension of the homeland. For example, *Brooklyn* recreates how parishes were used as ballrooms once a week. There, people with similar origins and life history patterns had the chance to meet. Under the watchful gaze of the priest, young emigrated girls and boys fell in love. Also landladies, who had been migrants before and usually kept their bonds with their homeland, adopted a mother-like role and imposed a chaste behavior among their lodgers, as in *On Canaan's Side*. This tight net helped to reproduce the same old habits overseas, to the extent that, in occasions, America also gave a sense of imprisonment, as O'Brien suggests in *The Light of Evening* (2006): "Mary

Kate was crying buckets, for Annie, for herself. Seeing that she had softened a bit, I said, 'Mary Kate, I want to go home.' 'You can't go home,' she said solemnly, and it was like a death sentence" (47). Here, space is presented as a determinant element in the construction of society whose geographical dimension is not enough to alter social boundaries. These novels illustrate how cultural spaces may transcend physical frontiers. Therefore, it does not matter how far these protagonists go, their agency and their capability to construct alternative options for their lives are always limited. In sum, the problematic relation between the political, the economical and the emotional is at the core of an intertwined set of forces that result in a curtailed agency for the emigrated females. While in theory a new future is open to the new-comers overseas, in practice the social and structural organization of life replicates the one left behind. Consequently, most novels eventually depict America as a land of disillusion, a mirage of freedom and prosperity out of reach for Irish girls:

> I could not write back her how strange and false everything was. My cousin drinking in secret and hiding the empty bottles in a shoe box under the bed. My cousin pretending she was a nurse when it turned out that she washed patients and dressed them, her hands pink and raw-looking from all the washing (O'Brien, 2006: 49).

5. Conclusions

The depressed Irish context and the existing networks that allowed migration are two factors that coalesce to strengthen a feeling of belonging to the land left behind. Thus, these novels show how Irish female migrants felt forced to keep a strong bond with their homeland. Equally, they were impelled to behave and submit to the Irish expectations of female behavior in America despite the geographical distance. This indicates that physical distance from the homeland is insufficient to modify engendered cultural spaces. Those social networks of Irish migrants abroad functioned as active social forces that framed their limited scope of agency. Consequently, these novels witness the pressure exerted upon the female migrants as ineluctable forces that molded their position in the new society. This analysis leads to conclude that if the structural frames of social organization are not altered, the construction of society remains biased. Then, any attempt at challenging the norms comes at the expense of personal confrontation. In the end, all the female protag-onists of the selected novels avoid that social and structural conflict and they comply with the social norms of submission. As a result, the construction of a new society overseas follows the same old gendered parameters these migrants had escaped from.

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ORDINARY MEN WITH EXTRA-ORDINARY SKILLS? MASCULINITY CONSTRUCTS AMONG MMORPG-GAMERS

MATILDA HELLMAN
matilda.hellman@helsinki.fi
Department of Social Research,
University of Helsinki;
Department for Social and Cultural Research,
University of Tampere
MAIJA MAJAMÄKI
maija.majamaki@helsinki.fi
Department of Social Research,
University of Helsinki

ABSTRACT. Massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs) involve long term intense social bonds between male players. Still, little is known about how masculinity constructs work as glue in these game communities. This study concerns masculine identities in applications (N=210) for community membership of a MMORPG community in Finland. Drawing on three identity dimensions (virtual, real, and projective) and three masculinity dimensions (heroic, ordinary, and revolting) the study shows that gamers emphasize real-world identity's ordinary and deviant masculinities, while heroic identity constructs are almost non-existing. Constructs of the virtual identity contained attributes and characteristics of the gamers' in-game skills. An ordinary masculine identity was emphasized in view of gamers' suitability as member of the clan and it was further underscored by "geek" and "nerd" characteristics. Being an outsider group (gamers), but still emphasizing the "ordinary" and being the "average guy," deviates from governing media images of gamers' communities as breeding grounds of isolation and aggression.

Keywords: MMORPGs; masculinity construct; identity; (extra-)ordinary; skill

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1. Introduction

The media discussion surrounding digital gaming tends to be risk- and problem-oriented. For example, computer video gaming has been depicted as causing mental health problems (Ahlroth, 2014) and reducing social competence and cognition (Mykkänen, 2013). Such public concerns are often heavily gendered by emphasizing how young boys lose out due to their gaming habits.

Massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs) are an easy target of public concern (see Karlsen, 2015). The gamers, who are mostly men, immerse themselves in the graphical virtual gaming environments about 20 to 25 hours a week (Griffiths et al., 2004; Ng & Wiemer-Hastings, 2005; Smahel et al., 2008), they appear exceptionally demarcated from the outside world. The fantasy and warfare milieus of the games are filled with tasks to be attended to through the coordination of the gamers' input. To advance and get the most out of the games, gamers form guilds that usually play together for several gaming sessions. In the public discourse, these online game communities are sometimes portrayed as breeding grounds for male aggression and lost souls (Walker, 2012; Karlsen, 2015). They have even been presented as a backdrop for the antagonized male offenders in school shootings (see Hoikkala & Suurpää, 2007). Still, not much is known about the masculinity constructs that are upheld through the collaboration and the "we"-spirit of these communities. Although research has covered a myriad of aspects of strong and intense social bonds between players (e.g. Verhagen & Johansson, 2009; Li & Alfano, 2006; Nardi & Harris, 2006; Hsu et al., 2009; Quandt & Kröger, 2013), less is known about how masculinity constructs work as social glue in these processes. There is, no doubt, a need to analyze the masculinity constructs that gamer communities are, in fact, nurturing.

In this study, we inquired into the masculine identities in applications (N=210) for community membership of one of the largest MMORPG gaming communities in Finland. The community has more than 2400 members, of whom less than 6% are women (2016). The study analyzes how the gamers present themselves as persons and as gamers, paying special attention to the nature and functions of their masculine identity. As both identity and masculinity positions are fluent concepts, we employ three gamers' identity positions (*virtual*, *real*, and *projective*, as suggested by Gee, 2003) and three masculinity positions (*heroic*, *ordinary*, and *revolting*, as suggested by Wetherell and Edley, 1999) for creating order and making sense of our observations.

We start by presenting some earlier research on MMORPG as well as our theoretical framework. Then, we report the results. In the end, we discuss our contribution, drawing up a grid that summarizes the masculine identities construed in the community under study.

2. Social and Gendered Worlds

MMORPG gamers typically create and sustain order within gaming guilds and clans by community rules. These rules have been shown to keep the group together and give it a cohesive identity (e.g. Johansson, 2013). Common MMORPG guild rules include being respectful to all participants, avoiding all kinds of discrimination, keeping drama to a minimum, avoiding foul language, and not taking in-game misfortunes too gravely (ibid.). Being a good ambassador for the group, being fair, following the rules, and committing to the group are other highlighted features (Johansson, 2013; similar findings by Foo & Koivisto, 2004).

The community of this study is glocal: it is based in Finland and its communication language is Finnish, but as MMORPGs are web-based and global to their character some English terminology is employed and participation is possible from any part of the world. The community's members refer to it as "The Clan." To join The Clan, gamers must accept the community rules (e.g. showing respect and avoiding foul language) and assure that they are more than 18 years of age. In addition, each applicant is obliged to fill out an anonymous membership application form in which they share certain basic information (age, sex, hours of gaming, etc.). In these applications, gamers are offered an opportunity to insert descriptions of themselves as persons and gamers. Although this part is optional, it tends to entail rather thick descriptions of the aspiring member as a potential co-gamer and friend. These descriptions constitute an interesting cultural material. The aspects accentuated and the discourse applied reveal certain characteristics of the gaming community culture and the social order within which it operates.

The analysis of this study concerns masculinity constructs embedded in the gaming community applications. As a cultural material, they do not only reflect the formal rules and standards for their communities, but certain practices, codes, and norms that are inherent in game designs and narrative as well as the communication and identity work typical for the gamer communities. Research shows that an important reason for gamers to invest their time and energy in the fantasy worlds is the conception of shared values in the group constellations of the guilds and the clans (Park & Chung, 2011). The games offer ways of experiencing togetherness through coordinated goal-oriented action by means of co-experienced and jointly construed narratives. Thus far, the growing literature on self-constructs and social bonds in MMORPGs has mainly concerned avatar building and internal game communication (see, e.g., Eklund & Johansson, 2013). We have not been able to find any research that investigates the expression and negotiation of masculine identities in the presentation of MMORPG gamers' "selves" to their future game community peers.

When it comes to the subject of MMORPG and doing gender, it has been studied through the gendered content of avatars, roles, and characters of the games (Albrechtslund, 2007; Eklund, 2011), in studies on in-game gender swapping (Hussain & Griffiths, 2009; Lou et al., 2013; Paik & Shi, 2013; Martey et al., 2014), and in endeavors concerned with the gender-related motivations to play (Yee, 2006). Taylor (2006) has argued that the nature of identity work in MMORPG – with play designs that are the same for women and men – makes the games potentially a radical framework for challenging stereotypical forms of femininity (ibid., 97). Male and female gamers are basically believed to act in the game world on equal terms, with equal opportunities to express what they want about personal gender adherence. Still, in some games, some classes of avatars are race and gender locked, and recently, the multiplayer game Rust has, for example, started the praxis of assigning gender roles randomly (Webstar, 2016).

The meaning-making of online role gamers' identities is known to be layered and multi-positioned. To be sensitive to this circumstance in our analysis, we draw on two theoretical frameworks. The first stems from Gee's work on video games' values, identity, and embodiment (Gee, 2003; 2007; 2008). According to Gee (2003), the selves and identities of video role gamers (such as MMORPG gamers) involve a virtual identity, a real-world identity, and a projective identity. By identity, he refers to the ability to be recognized as a "kind of person" within a given context. From this perspective, individuals have multiple identities that are connected not to some fixed, internal state of being but to flexible patterns of participation in social events.

The virtual identity is one's identity as a virtual character in the virtual world. The real-world identity refers to the gamer's own identity as a person playing the game. The projective identity is the hardest to grasp, but basically it refers to the concept of "project" in its two significations: the projection of the gamer's values and desires onto the virtual character and thus the virtual character as one's project in the making, creating a certain trajectory through time, defined by aspirations. According to Gee (2003), the projective identity is the most important one for understanding the power of the game (54–55). In the applications the gamers present identities along all of these three dimensions. The projective identities can, in a wider interpretation, be discerned in expectations of what the gaming and the social interaction is going to be like in the community: a project that the gamer envisions (and hopes for) in the future. It indicates projecting values and desires onto the character of the community and seeing the gaming as one's own project in the making (see Gee, 2007).

To grasp the logic whereby masculinity constructs permeate identity constructs in the applications, we employed the three imaginary masculinity positions by Wetherell and Edley (1999): *heroic*, *ordinary*, and *revolting*,

which are commonly used in masculinity discourse analysis and image studies. Subjects who take the heroic position typically align themselves strongly with conventional ideals of men, such as being courageous, physically tough, and able to keep calm and cool. In the ordinary position, the self is described as normal, moderate, or average. Rebellious positions, then, look, at least superficially, like the resistance to hegemonic masculinity. Here, subjects ignore or revolt against what is socially expected; they define themselves as unconventional and their positions involve a flouting of social expectations. We analyzed our material by discerning the main meaning-making traits in the descriptions under study. After these traits were identified, they were positioned in relation to the three masculinity constructs and the three game identities. It is important for the reader to keep in mind that identity categories and masculinity categories overlap. Nevertheless, their separation was important for our analytical objectives.

3. Materials and Methods

We randomly selected 70 applications for each of the three most popular games: World of Warcraft (WoW), EVE, and World of Tanks (WoT), giving a total of 210 applications. The applicants reported the places of residence in different parts of Finland and an age range between 18 and 52 years (mean age of 30 years; the majority in the age range of 21–35 years). Of the 210 applicants, one-third were students, one fourth had a lower-level job (vocational school background), and 13% reported a more academically demanding job (college degree). The rest were out of work, on sick leave, or declared no information.

The application form contains fields for information on background, hobbies, family, personality, game career, etc., but the only compulsory items to fill out are age and acceptance of the community's rules. Although the amount of items may sound unnecessary detailed, this information may potentially be of great interest for the community, as the gamers spend an enormous amount of time together cooperating in sometimes difficult game tasks in different group constellations.

According to the administrator, the application procedure has been put in place to ensure that the community consists of "nice persons" and that members can find "like-minded company". After the applications are posted, the members of the community can post their views on the applications in a comments field. Still, the administrator's approval of the new applicants seems more or less like a formality.

The permission to use the applications as a material for the present study was sought from the site administrator of the community. Furthermore, an announcement was posted on the forum so that all members would have a

chance to react to or oppose the use of the material. Although the applications are anonymous to begin with, all information that could potentially reveal the applicants' identity (place of birth, age, and hometown) was excluded already in the stage of data collection.[1]

In the analysis, we proceeded by reading and rereading the material to find patterns in the constructs and presentations of self. All self-descriptions were marked and coded in the Atlas.ti qualitative software coding program as semantic units. Based on the most common meaning-making logic materialized from the material, all semantic units that referenced to masculinity or the male gender were further categorized into three subgroups: (i) expressing desire to be part of the community, (ii) descriptions of being an ordinary Finnish bloke, and (iii) skills and lack of skills. It is important to point out that gender is a conceptual category that permeates almost all speech, and in the material, there were many accounts that were gendered but still not directly referring to anything related to biological sex or being a man. The references to the community were often gendered in subtle ways, involving presuppositions of a "crowd [of men]," a "bunch of serious [male] gamers." The reliability of the coding was trialed between the two researchers of the study. In this process, different arguments of the ways in which the semantic units could be seen as gendered were spelled out and assessed critically. In the next section, we account for what the three subgroups contained and discuss how they entail masculinity positions and gamer identities.

4. Analysis

Online self-presentation has shown to be a format that encourages the intimate revelations of self and formulations of more deep-seated feelings and thoughts than those made without the intermediation of screens and pseudonyms (see also Rheingold, 1993; Turkle, 1995; Suler, 2004; Henderson & Gilding, 2004; Valkenburg et al., 2005). Furthermore, MMORPGs are known to herald "a norm of authenticity in players' personal narratives unless explicitly stated otherwise" (Valkyrie, 2011: 78). This is also demonstrated in a study by Cole and Griffiths (2007), in which a large amount of MMORPG gamers would report that they discuss sensitive issues with online friends who they would never talk about with their outside-game friends. Our very first overall observation was that this seemed to be also the case in the studied community. The applicants seemed honest and open and shared private things about themselves, such as being shy and withdrawn, or failures in different areas of everyday life. Overall, one can say that the applications emphasized things that are not easily ordered in the category of heroic masculinity.

Desire to be part of the community

The first category conceptualizations in which the gamers expressed masculine identities concerned the reasons for wanting to join the community. In this code, the applicants expressed the desire to be part of a social context and they contain expectations on the added value of the membership. We see this content as mostly part of a projective identity construct, as it entails expectations on the gaming community working together, as a project that the applicant will be part of in the future. Furthermore, and in line with Gee (2003), this category entails hopes and expectations that the applicants are projecting onto the gamer community.

The most common reasons given for applying to the community had to do with the social aspects of gaming: cooperation with other gamers, socializing, getting friends, and hanging out online. The socializing by the gamers is expressed as taking place in an assumed all-male community ("with like-minded guys"), but there were also other shared characteristics that were assumed to make the interaction and cooperation enjoyable.

The age limit of 18 years seemed to contribute to the expectations of a more grown-up and mature style of conversation: "A guild for grown-up Finnish men sounds just like what I've been looking for. Playing EVE on my own is OK, but in a proper bunch it could be even more fun" (EVE, 29).[2] "Adult conversations without any annoying teenage whingers" (EVE, 20). "[I expect] a more mature crowd and some easy-going vibes" (WoW, 39). "It's R-18 and I've heard you really do your stuff seriously but in a relaxed style" (EVE, 29). The grown-up man is portrayed as more calm and mature in view of game tasks and in the overall perspective on his own whereabouts: "I'd really like to find a place where I can play in good adult company in line with my own possibilities and time schedule. A good atmosphere, good jokes, and cooperation – this is what I miss and what makes me happy and activates me as a player" (EVE, 33).

The applicants express hopes of finding a group of [male] gamers that they can fit into, with whom they can identify and experience meaningful interaction. The community seems to have a well-known reputation of being fair, true, and reliable. The applicants say they have heard that the community is convivial, relaxed, and fun to hang around. They express hopes of finding players on "the same laid-back wavelength." These utterances express an appreciation of a moderate and uncomplicated male togetherness in line with the ordinary masculinity position. The applicants convey high expectations of nice, relaxed, and fun times among peers of men. Many even express hopes that they can stay in the guild for a long time, so that they can make long-lasting friendships.

Also, a heroic masculinity position of the community is expressed. The community is known to attract skillful gamers: “I’ve heard it’s a tough clan, with a cool atmosphere” (WoT, 23). “Seems like a geezers’ crowd. [A crowd that] plays for real but not too seriously” (WoT, 50). “I” is presenting himself as a suitable candidate for the in-group. “I” seeks “new acquaintances” (WoW, 30); “good guys” and “nice moments” (EVE, 23); “funny gabbing, just joking/p*ssing off each other” (WoW, 21); “My aim is to find a good crowd with whom I can learn new stuff and have fun” (EVE, 27). The constructs of the community as a forthcoming context to be part of is thus acknowledged simultaneously in terms of a relaxed ordinary masculine position and a heroic coolness and maturity created by its skillful adult male players.

The community’s “brand” and constitution seems to fit well with certain established criteria for high levels of group unity: the image and reputation of the group are favorable, interactivity within the group is positive, and homogeneity seems high (see Ashforth & Mael, 1996; Bhattacharya et al., 1995). The typical assumed gamer company expressed in the applications is by a like-minded male gamer who speaks the same language, is a mature adult, and is known to be serious about their hobby.

A common Finnish bloke

In the applications, the images that the applicants build of themselves as persons are highly gendered. Although these constructs mainly draw on a real-world identity, they will naturally be based on the kind of characteristics the gamers expect to be attractive and useful for the community and its activities. This is likely to be drawn on their cultural knowledge of MMORPG gaming and on their experience of similar social interaction.

Some of the likable personal characteristics especially emphasized are expressed within an ordinary masculinity position. Being humble, uncomplicated, easy-going, and calm are attributes associated to the male gender of the applicants. The characteristic of easy-goingness is expressed by references to “being an ordinary bloke” and “nothing special.” The tone of the application texts is joking, explicitly relaxed, and humorous. The humor is typically Finnish “matter-of-fact” and self-distanced at times: “I am a basic angry Finnish man who drinks beer, games on the computer, and goes to work. I am going to give vocational school a shot in the autumn and find out whether that could be the ‘thing’ for a bloke like myself. Basically, [I am] a relaxed bloke who has no problems getting along with everybody. I live in [name of town] in a suicide cell [=bedsit]. Nothing else. Thank you” (WoT, 22).

The cultural content and the applied short tone above serve as a pastiche of a Finnish man, known to be less talkative and mostly listener-centered in his interpersonal relationships, weighing up his words and speaking truthfully (Carbaugh, 2009; Wilkins & Isotalus, 2009). Being "a normal Finnish bloke" and not sticking out in any way is what makes you someone who people can "count in" and "count on": "I'm a basic yokel", "I'm your usual Finn, pretty flat" (WoT, 43). These accounts are oriented towards being someone who is not sticking out, causing disturbance, taking space, or demanding attention.

A dimension that can be seen as associated with the gamers' virtual identity and ways of fitting in their roles in the game concerns the emphasis on being someone who one can count on. Basically, the signs used for being of male gender and from Finland already connote this feature in the application texts. The most common way of presenting oneself as a reliable person/co-gamer is to describe oneself as "being a good and nice Finnish person": "I am just an ordinary young guy who has gotten hooked on computer games" (WoW, 23). "I am your basic bloke whose activity in the game varies a lot…/…/My life rhythm is dictated by my live-in girlfriend baby/dog/work, and ongoing reparations of an owner-occupied house…/…/I think a lot about things, but [when needed] I can make decisions in a split second" (WoT, 29). Being a Finn of the male gender connotes being nice and uncomplicated as a "real person" but therefore also reliable as a gamer.

The emotional control over character in terms of coolness and emotional control can be seen as part of a traditional heroic masculinity. Still, it seems important not to be someone who crosses the line to taking the gaming "too" seriously, displaying anger or disappointment when the gaming is not proceeding to full satisfactory. Authenticity, shyness, and quietness may be resources in MMORPGs, where cooperation sometimes require a low profile and giving space to others. Still, the comment above about being able to make decisions in a split second could be seen as a typical heroic masculinity construct. The "ordinary" of the real-world identity seems to serve purposes of being a likable person, whereas the same trait of the virtual self needs to be supplemented with comments about skills that are out of the ordinary (being fast, cool, rational).

There seems to be a non-written rule that there should never be any bragging about real-life personal features. Rather, an ironic account of a loser or semi-loser existence seems to be a prevailing grasp of a revolting masculine identity. The applicants diminish and belittle themselves, leaving out mentions of any qualifications and success in life outside the gaming world. "Being ordinary" connotes not only trust, commitment, cooperativeness, and being same-minded with others in the community, but it is also in line with the scholarly literature on nerd culture as a sub-culture that appreciates biographical trajectories that do not appear very aggressive or self-

emphasizing (Woo, 2012). In fact, being ordinary and leaving our status hierarchies of the outside world can be claimed as the most common tactic to gain entrance into this specific community. It seems to serve this sub-cultural field; it may make it easier to relate to one another, speak, get along, and exchange ideas (see also Williams et al., 2014).

When it comes to the applications' real-world identity constructs, a revolting masculinity position is obvious in mentioning a lack of other leisure interests: "Well, I don't have that many hobbies other than sitting in front of my laptop and sipping beer. Sure, sometimes I need to see friends as well. And I need to fix my Opel as it always likes to act up…" (EVE, 23). There is only one mention of a car brand (the Opel in the citation above) and even then the car is used as a sign of "losership". There are no mentionings of leisure activities that could be considered typically masculine (e.g. gym, cars) or sophisticated (e.g. tennis, golf, art, and fine dining). The same goes for career progress or anything that refers to monetary value. Home districts are only mentioned if they serve the game itself, as in the following comment by a WoW gamer (39): "I live in the eastern part of Helsinki, which means I'm familiar with real-life dps (damage per second)". The joking message is that this applicant lives in a lower socioeconomic area with a rough reputation that might be of use in the gaming.

The humble and uncomplicated real-world profile is emphasized among all applicants: "I don't drone on about things unnecessarily" (EVE, 32); "I'm a calm and diplomatic person who rarely speaks, and even when I'm drunk, I know how to behave" (WoT, 34); "I'm a cheerful guy, easy to get along with. In the game, I'm a reliable gamer who listens to others and understands the meaning of group work" (WoT, 31); "I am an easy-going guy who is not always speaking and who probably speaks too much when there's an open invitation to speak" (EVE, 28); "I'm an honest man and a bit shy. I like to be part of a group and get to know others" (EVE, 27); "Calm, uncomplicated, rather quiet" (WoT, 40).

One could imagine that normative low-profile statements would need to be balanced by a distinction to different sorts of otherness/strangeness or just offset by emphasizing some sort of superiority. This is, however, hard to spot in the material, as all inflammable questions are carefully avoided: there are no references to religion, politics, love life relationships, or even popular sports teams. Applicants probably want to avoid controversy and so be agreeable in the eyes of others, but for us a more convincing explanation is that the constructs of being an ordinary "Finnish bloke" and the absence of references to status, high education, and money are all important building blocks of the strong projective "gamer group identity" that unites the members of the community. The result is an open-minded, non-judgmental construction of group unity. Being a man, a gamer, and a Finn is not expressed through a

rejection of non-male, non-gamer, or non-Finns. These categories are not mentioned. The concepts of "commonness" and "friendliness" seem to contribute to a sense of belonging by a same-minded group of persons. The projective image of an uncomplicated friendly community entails no drama. One could assume that this serves the gaming: it is easier to arrange cooperation with a crowd that is relaxed and positive and do not reflect too much on internal differences and real-life status.

Skills and lack of skills

The ways in which the community distinct their sub-cultural identity from the rest of society is articulated in standpoints that reflect common prioritizations and taste. As already shown, the applicants show great skills of self-reflexivity through their ironic self-distancing. Gamers describe their sense of humor as "grim" and say they can overcome their shyness with the help of "a couple of beers". The gamers characterize themselves as geeks and outsiders in a reflective and humoristic way. Mostly, the lack of skills is expressed in a revolting real-life position, whereas the rare mentions of actual skills are expressed in passing and in view of a virtual and projective identity.

The revolting imaginary masculinity position is especially apparent when the topic of sports comes up. Basically, boasting about sports performances or even mentioning them is not a legitimate discursive trait in this community. Some mention that they are regular joggers or have some sort of ball sport as a hobby. However, the most typical way of describing one's own sports performances is to stress how bad one is at sports: "I try to get through the gym program without getting too much muscle pains" (EVE, 27). It is acceptable and expected to talk about sport-related failures, and it is also expected that others in the community have the same low level of interest in sports: "Music saved me from sport" (EVE, 32); "I try to keep up my social relations as much as I reasonably can (provided they don't interfere with my gaming?), and I am currently working out with only low weights ☺" (WoT, 33); "I've been playing [computer games] since I was little. At some point I tried to go out for a jog" (WoT, 23); "I've gymmed a bit, so a very small man -> small man. I am quite skillful with computers" (EVE, 33). These humoristic references to a uniting nerd culture channel a projective group identity of otherness. It can be understood as connoting "we are outsiders in view of societal norms". This is an interesting position, not the least as it seems to be rather heavily gendered.

Again, the above is in line with some sub-cultural characteristics of nerd culture (Woo, 2012); the lack of interest for sports stands in contrast to certain types of masculinity embodiment (see, e.g., Aronowitz, 1992: 58; Wienke, 1998; Gill et al., 2005). Sport activities are known to be social

realms in which men need to partake to keep up the power advantage of patriarchy (Tiihonen, 1999: 89). A "masculine identity validation" is accomplished through the use of the body as an instrument of power, dominance, and control. Especially for males who have less access to abstract forms of masculinity-validating power (economic power, workplace authority), the physical body and its potential for violence have been shown to provide concrete means of achieving and asserting superiority (e.g. Katz, 2002), muscles being an important marker that separate men from one another and from women (Klein, 1993). The downplaying or ignorance of physical performance does not only seem to be a natural result of this being a male community and markers to the female gender thus not being relevant, but also the gaming logic as well as the computer hobby are presented as realms that deviate from traditional masculine hobbies. The MMORPG games demand abstract and intellectual resources typically involving skills to communicate and reflect on situations: gamers need to handle advanced cooperation situations and move between multiple self-positions (real life, avatar, projective).

The revolting position of the "nerd" serves as a contrast to sporting males and is expected to gain resonance in the community: "I am a quiet nerd. My life's mission is to stay put in front of the PC. At the moment I'm working as an electronics installer. Among my hobbies I can mention reading (war, sci-fi, fantasy), listening to heavy metal music, and drinking beer" (EVE, 32). Emphasizing the simplicity of one's life serves the projective identity of the community. It communicates that the gamer is a good fit for the "we" of the gamers' community.

5. Summary of Results

This study has pointed out a rather complex assembly of overlapping identities and masculinity constructs in the applications to the MMORPG-clan under study. The different identities and masculinities seem to support each other and serve different purposes. Our main observations are gathered in Table 1. From the table, it stands clear that the emphasis of the applications is put on the real-world identity's ordinary and revolting masculinities, whereas the only heroic real-world identity construct that we could find was the one of being able to behave even when drunk. The masculinity constructs of the virtual identity contained mostly different attributes and characteristics of the gamers' in-game skills. The semantic units that expressed a projective identity would typically concern expectations of the clan and how well the gamer would fit into this clan as a future project. Whereas the ordinary traits were emphasized in view of their fit in the clan, the "geek" and "nerd"

characteristics were employed in view of the surrounding world and its gendered norms.

Table 1 Masculine identities as expressed in the applications. Emphasis is put on the real-life ordinary and revolting. These serve the virtual and project identities in different ways.

VIRTUAL	REAL	PROJECTIVE
HEROIC * Calm * Making decisions in a split of a second * Control of emotions ORDINARY * Low profile * Reliable * Someone to count in/count on * Listener * Understands group dynamics REVOLTING * Shyness * Quietness	HEROIC * Even when drunk, knows how to behave (one citation) ORDINARY * Fun to hang out with * Identification, sameness * Shyness, quietness * Uncomplicated * Easy-going, calm * Nothing special, ordinary * Usual Finnish bloke * Nice and uncomplicated REVOLTING * Shyness, quietness * Humble "looser" * No hobbies (except for gaming) * No sports, no muscles * Honest * Shy * Geek	HEROIC * Reputation of clan: tough, cool atmosphere * Playing for real ORDINARY * Identification, sameness * Quality of game * Laid back REVOLTING * Geeks * Real-life cred (part of town where gamer live)

6. Conclusions

The analysis shows that the studied MMORPG community is upheld through identity positions with specific gendered expectations and self-descriptions pertaining to the person and gamer. These were positioned in view of the three imaginary masculinity constructs of the heroic, the ordinary, and the revolting (Wetherell & Edley, 1999) and in view of real-world, virtual, and projective identities (Gee, 2003).

The projective identity of the clan contains hegemonic masculinity constructs of the community's gamers being tough, cool, and serious, keeping their temper, and being mature and adult. The applying gamer, on his part, is articulated in the imaginary position of the ordinary or the revolting. He is a Finnish man with a down-to-earth, quiet, and shy personality – a person who is calm and laid-back. Thus, even if constructs of a "real self" are mostly the ones of the common bloke who is shy and uncomplicated, the gaming self is more heroic: he is able to maintain his temper, control emotions, and make decisions in a split of a second. The enhanced favorable heroic characteristics,

including being a Finnish man, seem to work inwards towards a strong group identity of gamers.

The projective collective identity encompasses a group of geeks outside common status connotations and competitions of society. This seems, on its part, to be working both to emphasize a group identity and to distinguish the gamers from the surrounding world of non-gamers.

A likely reason for real-life status signs being excluded in the application is that MMORPGs are explicitly about living an identity, a role, and an avatar. In gaming realms, the real-life identity and personality uniqueness has no supportive function (see Williams et al., 2014) as in-game accomplishments tend to speak for themselves, and it may be wise and beneficial to downplay accomplishments by showing modesty. Although we are aware that a slight underplay of accomplishments is a common technique for creating amiability (Schlenker & Leary, 1982), we still see this humble, uncomplicated, and ordinary position of the self and community as unique for the gamers as a group of men.

The ambivalence of being an outsider group (gamers), but still emphasizing the "ordinary" and being the "normal Finnish man", seems to actively work against a positioning of the self in relation to others through opposing and negative definitions and markers. In its complexity, this positioning deviates from the popular media image of male gamers' communities. A closer examination of the in-game interaction underpinning this stance would be an important focus for future research.

NOTES

1. Each anonymized application received a number code when collected, so that we could trace the content to the collected anonymized application. In addition, as the 210 applications were gathered from a total of more than 1440 applications, it should be impossible to identify the information given in the article to a specific application (see King, 1996; Eysenbach and Till, 2001, for ethical issues considered).

2. The name of the game to which the application applies and the age of the applicant are given in parentheses. For reasons of readability, we have omitted these parentheses when the citation is less than three words long.

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GENDER AND THE LAW

MECHTHILD NAGEL
Mecke.Nagel@cortland.edu
State University of New York, Cortland

ABSTRACT. To what extent does the essentialist Cult of Domesticity still haunt the legal imagination in the United States and elsewhere? This paper scrutinizes the feminist slogan "the personal is political" through a series of reform legal discourses and their repercussions for women and girls in the United States. I question whether feminist demands have actually improved the legal status of cisgender women, trans* and genderqueer people. In my critique of criminal and family court justice, I propose an alternate penal abolitionist path, Ubuntu justice.

Keywords: gender bias; racial bias; criminal justice; cult of domesticity; unities doctrine; Ubuntu justice

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1. U.S. Exceptionalism and States of Captivity

The United States government, business, media, etc., and my students have touted the virtues of its democratic values – it is the *freest* of all countries, and given that immigration continues unabated, it seems to be true! What would folks from the Global South give to win a coveted Green Card!

However, this exceptionalist rhetoric has an ominous underside. No other country has engaged in wars of aggression at the level and intensity of the United States military machine since 1945. In fact, only seven years in its 200-year history have been relatively free from waging war. Hence no U.S. president can be considered a peace president!

There's something very troubling about using bombs to "free Afghan girls" from the Taliban or free the Iraqi people from a dictator who the U.S.

military and CIA propped up in the first place – women have had access to a variety of professional jobs in Iraq – so that invasion for "freedom" campaign couldn't have been executed under the humanitarian mantle of "women's rights." As philosopher Angela Y. Davis has suggested in public talks, whenever George W. Bush exalted in "freedom (and democracy)" speechifying, one would do better by replacing "freedom" with "capitalism" – then his rhetoric actually made sense.

Exceptionalism at any price. The Monroe Doctrine of the imperial 19th Century went eastwards to engulf the entire globe, especially in the wake of the Cold War and its hot expressions across Asia and Africa. So far a brief glimpse into the global, imperial expressions of an empire that considers itself democratic and decidedly export-friendly or zealous to enforce such democracy overseas.

What does democracy mean within this nation-state, especially to all women and to men of color? In fact, as freed man Frederick Douglass exclaimed: What is the meaning of the 4th of July to the American slave? For our purposes, let us remember two important legal ramifications haunting the American republic: one – as presence, the other – as an absence.

It is no secret that the United States confederacy was built on two pillars of violence: genocide of Indigenous peoples and enslavement of peoples captured from another continent. Yet, it basks in spreading "freedom and democracy" far and wide.

Note the *presence* of one underexamined legal fact: the 13th amendment to the U.S. constitution captures the paradoxical nature of American Democracy: enslaved, indentured people are set free, but only if they don't commit a crime (U.S. Const. Amend. XIII)! Thus, the end of the U.S. Civil War in 1865 did not free enslaved Black people but instead ushered in state-sanctioned enslavement. The state captures people and incarcerates them with such enthusiasm that to date the U.S. is the prison nation of the entire world. Having 5% of the world's share of population, it incarcerates 25% of the world's prisoners. And unsurprisingly, of the 2.3 million daily count of US prisoners, a majority of them are Black, even though the Black population stands at 12% of the general population, a distinct minority! Since the racist War on Drugs was propagated by the Nixon administration some 45 years ago, Black women have been alarmingly overincarcerated, even more so than Black men, and Black girls are overpoliced in the pre-kindergarten-to-prison pipeline (Chesney-Lind, 2015; Morris, 2016). The upshot of the 13th amendment is that the U.S. is the only state in the world that legalizes slavery!

The second legal fact concerns an *absence*: In 1982, an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was defeated thanks to the vigorous activism of one conservative white woman, antifeminist Phyllis Schlafly, who enthusiastically supported the (white) woman's right to stay an unpaid homemaker (and sup-

ported Donald Trump for president before her passing in September 2016). Her fear mongering regarding ERA was that an equal protection clause on the basis of gender rights would in slippery slope kind of way also extend rights to sexual minorities, and then they could marry, join the military and other ghastly practices. All of her homophobic fears have of course seem to have come true during the Obama administration! Yet, the U.S. constitution and Bill of Rights still have no dignity clause nor a positive clause that "men and women are equal."

The pressing ethical question is the following: when a nation state is embedded in legalizing slavery and in denying equal rights to women (and genderqueers, gender nonconforming persons, trans* people), what kind of feminist law can be engendered that will truly serve those who were not written into the social contract over 200 years ago?

2. Unpacking a Critique of the Cult of Domesticity

I'd like to begin my exploration of gendered law with several famous sets of feminist slogans. One set, coined by an existentialist philosopher, Simone de Beauvoir is the following: "One is not born a woman, rather one becomes one" clearly delineating a social construction of gender that has been so productive for global feminisms. This slogan can be linked with another philosophical *bon mot* of hers, of what happens in the construction of womanhood: "He's the Subject, she is the Other." *The Second Sex* became an international bestseller and jumpstarted the Second Wave of Feminism internationally. Once it was translated into English, it certainly connected with (white) women in the United States. The other defining motto for the second wave of feminism was inspired by radical feminist theory: "The personal is political!" This seems to me the more problematic one, as I will relate it to the aspect of criminalizing those who have become deviant in any patriarchal and racist society.

From the ancient Greek sexist construction of *Public Man, Private Woman* (Elshtain, 1981) to today's "The personal is open for public scrutiny," feminist agitation seems to have engendered a giant leap for woman-kind! After all, in almost all countries, women have exited the private sphere and now are expected to participate in the labor force, interrupted only by childbirth and paid maternity leave for a few months or several years. (However, West German women still seem to be fairly resistant to the idea of taking up even part-time work while raising a child under five years of age. Of course, they are not particularly encouraged to do so thanks to regressive state policies.)

The emphasis on paid labor seems to signal an end to the Cult of Domesticity, which came to be a cherished ideal for white elite women in the

beginnings of the US industrial revolution. It was such a calamity for elite women like Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who penned the *Declaration of Sentiments* (1848) and decried the fact that women would not be prosecuted in a court of law, as long as they committed a crime in the presence of their husband: publicly accountable man meets his imbecile, unaccountable wife. The upper class women protested, demanding to be also treated like "reasonable persons" (i.e., elite white men) who deserve equal *prosecution* under the law. So, the liberal feminist call for formal equality was set into motion; it begins with a shocking demand: the equal right to be criminalizable! Today, the feminist legal focus has turned to a demand of equal *protection*, which has complicated the right-to-abortion discourse: how does one safeguard the rights of a woman to abort her fetus? Does the fetus also deserve equal protection, and at what stage of gestation?

At first glance, protesting the "domesticated" status of a white woman seems to be a good thing. The suffragists like Stanton protested loudly judge William Blackstone's legal invention of the "unities doctrine" in family law (Williams, 1997). Following patriarchal conventions from Aristotle through medieval and modern church doctrine, the head of family (*pater familias*) was preordained for a special ontological status, of course, not suppressing his wife, but being in a natural *complementary* relationship. Complementarity suggests mutual respect and equality, but as we know in reality, it worked out quite differently. The "unities doctrine" was reformulated as "husband and wife are one and the one is the husband." Its author, Justice Black thus avoids the ruse of complementarity (cf. Freeman, 1995: 466). The heterosexual marriage contract is one of "coverture." Matrimony entails the loss of economic, social, and civic autonomy. As a wife, a woman even gives up her own identity by being "covered" symbolically. She accepts his family name and surrenders her own. In turn, the husband is legally responsible for his wife and children. As a "covered" person, she is prohibited from settling her own economic affairs, she cannot testify in court, nor pursue advanced education or a profession. In other words, as a wife she is reduced to the status of a minor. Upon the husband's death, his male kin will receive all assets so that the wife might very well be penniless depending on kindness of family and strangers. Thus, the "unities doctrine" also guarantees that she is deemed "civilly dead" (Williams, 1997; Nagel, 2013).

So, given this grim social reality, why should I contest the suffragists' grievances? What Stanton, Gage, Anthony and others really wanted is the equal status that their Indian women neighbors of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy enjoyed. Divorce and marriage did not cast Iroquois women into existential crisis or pecuniary misery. Indians also did not use prisons as a sanction for wrong doing against a member of the community. Such natal alienation or segregation would be alien to the prevailing communal ethos of

this oldest still existing participatory democratic confederation (The Six Nations). Even today, Onondaga women are puzzled by (white) American women's infatuation with "women's rights." An individualist, abstract rights-based language is anathema to members of a socio-centric matrilocal, matriarchal nation. Instead, they demand decolonization and return of (sacred) lands to the people from the U.S. government which has never respected their sovereignty.

Even before Stanton penned the women's manifesto, women were actually criminalized for a variety of offenses. She clearly must have had amnesia about her Black sisters who were brutalized and raped on the plantation; for daring to resist, enslaved girls and women were tortured or sent to the work house (e.g., the prison in Charleston, SC) condemned to the treadmill even with babies on their back. Throughout the 19th Century, women's reformatories sprang up, sentencing women to do time for which men wouldn't have been incriminated. As late as 1930, a Northern chaplain observed "To be a male convict in this prison would be quite tolerable; but to be a female convict, for a protracted period, would be worse than death" (Dodge, 2006: 14). In the South, the convict lease system installed after the end of the U.S. Civil War, was unparalleled in brutality. It did not spare imprisoned Black women, after the Southern politicians and planters reestablished the slave codes: now, they were labeled black codes. Mortality rates for freed blacks who were convicted of a (trivial) crime were higher than during slavery. Northern white suffragists were not terribly concerned with these atrocities, it was up to the Black women's movement and journalist Ida B. Wells-Barnett to address the horror of lynchings, extra-judicial punishments reserved for Black men and women. In short, there are multiple legal realities at stake, depending what racialized (and economic) social group one belongs to. This has not changed dramatically, even after the passage of the Civil Rights legislation in the 1960s in response to the Black struggle contesting heinous Jim Crow segregation, leading a legal scholar to exclaim that a new racial caste has replaced the old: The New Jim Crow or racialized mass incarceration (Alexander, 2010).

To date, one must scrutinize the progressive sentiment under which the laws have changed. To what extent is it problematic to cast into doubt that the "personal is public"?

I offer two cases. One deals with criminal court, the other with family court.

A. Prosecuting Domestic Violence

Cathy Marston, a white unemployed woman with a PhD, calls the police while breaking free from her batterer. The police answers the call, the abuser hangs up the phone and continues to beat her for 90 minutes. The police

never come. During a chokehold, Marston is able to wrestle free by biting him in the arm. He takes her out on the street, throwing her face down into the pavement which rips up her face. A neighbor calls the police who finally come in the midst of this violent beating, only to arrest her! The white male officer taunts her to walk, even though by now her foot is broken. The hospital staff wonders why her batterer is not arrested. Marston spent 6 months in jail and the psychiatric unit, pleading guilty to assaulting him – he, after all, had a bite mark on his arm! Today, she is "free" after spending over nine years in prison, after surviving a second attack of the ex-boyfriend and his male friend's, again in front of the police, who chose to arrest her and not the violent men (Marston, 2015). After her release from prison, the ex-partner showed up in court demanding an extension of the Order of Protection that he had served on her when she was locked up! She is still fighting this charge to date, and he was never arrested for any of the assaults.

According to the Texas Council on Family Violence, Marston's criminalization as a battered victim is not an aberration. In 20% of cases when Texas' police officers respond to a "domestic violence" call, they arrest the female victim, not the male attacker (2015: 39). In the county where Marston was charged, the arrest rate of women is double the rate of the state of Texas! While incarcerated, she met a number of women who defended themselves and killed their male abusive partners. They have no prior criminal records (just like her), and they serve long sentences, echoing national trends:

> For a small group of women, their abuse ends when they kill their batterer. These women typically sought out the help of the criminal justice system numerous times in their attempts to leave their violent relationships. The very system from which women unsuccessfully sought assistance now treats these once-victims as criminals and works to punish them for their crimes, despite their documented history of abuse, outreach for assistance, and lack of a criminal history of violent behaviors (Mallicoat, 2012: 144–145).

Liberal and radical feminists have demanded mandatory arrests in domestic violence cases. What they did not foresee is that the demand for protection (by a kindly patriarchal state) would be twisted to again benefit the male batterers. Prior to mandatory arrest laws, the police considered the "dispute" as a domestic affair. Once police departments got sued successfully by families whose daughters got killed by (former) spouses, mandatory arrest laws were passed to eliminate police discretion in arresting disputing parties. Appealing to a patriarchal state has not (yet) shifted the terrain towards a state feminist proactive approach. Instead, women get psychiatrized by prosecutors and wardens and face forced injections of drugs while trying to defend themselves from malevolent charges (Marston, 2015). Furthermore,

mainstream criminologists report that arrests of male batterers have mostly helped middle class white women. No "benefit" of arrests has been noted for poor whites nor for Latino and Black families, prompting the authors to demand a repeal of mandatory arrest laws (Schmidt & Sherman, 1996: 51). In fact, while arrests may backfire on the battered victim, court-ordered counseling and other treatment provisions for batterers has had beneficial effects on victims who reunited with the accused parties (Miller, 2000: 298).

Marissa Alexander, a Black woman with a MBA degree, broke free from her batterer and used her gun to set off a warning shot (it went into the ceiling). She was not afforded protection under the "Stand your ground" law of Florida, the same law that helped George Zimmerman's acquittal – he shot unarmed Black male teenager Trayvon Martin. His acquittal set off the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States. Alexander, by contrast, was tried and then retried with a pending charge of 60 years, which forced her to take a plea bargain for aggravated assault for 3 years (Marston, 2015).

Yet, the U.S. government has taken notice about the escalation of relationship violence. The U.S. Surgeon General declared domestic violence to be the number one health concern (Carmona, 2003) and the Obama Administration's "Dear Colleague" letter to universities (in 2011) instructing them to protect women students from sexual assaults and rape has certainly got the attention of all universities, including the elite ones. A first-year cis female student faces a 20 percent chance of being raped on campus. Around the country, students are being trained to see the signs of relationship violence, and one prominent organization is the One Love Foundation, set up by a white mother, whose daughter Yeardley Love was killed by her ex boyfriend at an elite university. The manual *Escalation* (2016) points out that legal recourse such as an Order of Protection may actually escalate violence instead of stopping the abuse. In other words, feminist or other advocates have learned to be skeptical of the beneficial effects of using the protective arm of the state to curb relationship violence. Moreover, it has produced the opposite effect, namely, that women who are battered are much more likely to be killed if they appeal to the police for help. In *Queer Injustice* (2011), we learn that trans and gender nonconforming victimized people are singled out for further criminalization, which is especially true for Black persons. Transphobia certainly plays a role in targeting this group, not yet a protected class, but also because they often are socially unconnected due to homelessness and being neglected by their kin.

B. Family Law and the creation of the overprotected child

The United States is the number one jailor of the world. It is also number one in placing children into foster care. Hundreds of thousands of kids get placements each year, and often Child Protective Services immediately start

the process to terminate the biological parent's right by coercing the foster carers into adopting the foster child. The state continues to pay the adoptive parent. In 2013, the U.S Department of Justice supported a class action law suit against South Dakota which placed hundreds of Indian kids into foster care. The "trial" often was terribly brief, and before the parents knew, they had lost their parental rights to mostly white parents. Such trans-racial foster care has been curtailed since the multicultural social justice movements of the 1960s and 70s. The Appellate Court found that the local judge and Child Protective Services violated federal law and the Indian parents' due process rights and ordered the child be returned to the parents (*Oglala Sioux Tribe v. Van Hunnik, Dist. Court, D. South Dakota*, 2015). In addition, the Obama administration released new guidelines safeguarding the parental rights of Indian families: http://adoptioninstitute.org/news/bia-releases-new-icwa-guidelines-to-protect-native-families-and-children/

Regarding Indian history, this latest legal kidnapping of children presents a haunting reminder of the "boarding school" experiment set up in the U.S. and Canada "to kill the Indian and save the man." Shockingly, many children went "missing," being killed on these missionary school grounds in unmarked graves (TRC of Canada, 2015).

The new ruse is "protecting the child" at all cost, even if it means breaking up a family that goes through the typical challenges of the 21st Century: chronic unemployment, multiple addiction and mental health diagnoses indicating that parents are unstable, and with a special focus on poor mothers who are mad or bad. Either way, they do not deserve rights to their children. The Cult of Domesticity is a prevailing dogma, internalized by zealous child protective service social workers, many of whom do not have a social work degree, nor children to take care of. The "protected child" may rotate through several placements, and if the parents are lucky, they get the child returned – with mental illness diagnosis and often, the children are on several psychotropic drugs. In Cortland, NY, such legal kidnapping is so pervasive that it has double the foster placement numbers of the entire state. So, either all of our poor parents in town are indeed really poor parents, or the system has gone terribly wrong. I would prefer the latter conclusion.

Family Law Courts were created by liberal-minded politicians. Such court governing custody and divorce decrees were meant as a diversion from criminal court proceedings and with the explicit aim of serving the family unit. Foster placement of children was supposed to be done in extreme cases where "imminent harm" is present. Its run away effects have now produced collateral damages: if the parents fail to pay child support, they are whisked off to the debtors' prison without recourse to counsel (unlike in criminal court). They may also be indicated for suspicious appearance: skin blemishes or missing teeth attributed to methamphetamine use, erratic behavior in the

court room (due to their legal psychotropic medications "being off"), or other non-compliant, suspicious attitude: all may be grounds enough to face a jail cell for a few months and never to see your child again. Even when the child is fostered out, the grieving parent still must pay child support to the state. Statistics clearly show that the generational cycle of imprisonment continues. The grieving child becomes angry and joins the well-documented foster placement-to-prisons pipeline. This is particularly true for Black children, who face racist barriers in all institutional settings. They are also at risk of losing the right to see their long-term incarcerated parents ever again, given a federal law (Adoption and Safe Families Act, ASFA 1997) that proscribes rights of a biological parent to their children if they have not made an effort to see the kids within 15 months – again, the 13th Amendment looms large – the publicly sanctioned practice of enslavement, which also means that parentage is not a human right. The Department of Social Services is not particularly in a hurry to enable locked up parents to receive visitation rights to their kids, who may be hours away from the federal or state prison; this is especially dire for Black children whose long journey from their city home to the rural prisons where their parent is locked up is prohibited (Nagel, 2008). Again, the ASFA act was meant to do right by foster kids expediting adoption proceedings and giving the kids stability, but it had the effect of completely ignoring the rights of a parent whose behavior never presented "Imminent harm" but the ties are cut because they are imprisoned.

What are some other effects on parents who lost their parental rights? They are told not to associate with anyone with a criminal record (dating a former prisoner is out of the question!). It means for advocacy groups such as United Voices of Cortland (which I cofounded) to be extra careful where we meet (currently in a church), and avoid the gaze of the state. Of course, it is unconstitutional to forbid people socializing in a group setting where others have criminal records, but then again, it can be used very quickly as grounds for never seeing your child again. Put through a feminist lens, Child Protective Services is the batterer/abuser writ large. The non-custodial parent is never quite sure what tricks will be imposed next, it feels quite similar to the battered woman's conception of "walking on egg shells." This is exemplified through supervised child visitation, where the case worker may be overheard snickering about the parent in front of the children. Or, in another nefarious setting: family planning reviews. These can be star chamber interrogation rooms, where the mother is confronted with a phalanx of case workers and their supervisors, the agency's attorney (who is building a case against the mother!), and even the foster carer who usually is not in an amiable relationship with the mother. These "reviews" never include family counseling providers who work directly with the mother to overcome the real (or imagined) obstacles.

Only within the last years, a critique of the "overprotected child" has been published in mainstream media. The cases highlighted tended to be those of upper class children, who enjoy freedom and autonomy to roam the neighborhoods and interesting high-risk playgrounds (Rosin, 2014). When children from wealthy, socially connected homes are taken by social service workers all of the sudden some of the public interest legal community is interested in pursuing these cases of "free-range parenting," which had no lobby when the zealous focus was on poor "neglected" children (Goldberg, 2015) or on immigrant parents who harbor the "wrong" social outlaw (actually, Christian) family values, as in the case of a Romanian couple who lost custody of their four children because of their Christian teachings being out of step with Norwegian hegemonic civic virtues (Whewell, 2016).

3. The Way Forward: Ubuntu Justice

What if feminist advocates gave up the need to criminalize behaviors? With just two cases, we have seen how unintended consequences have had devastating effects on girls and women, facing criminal law or family law court proceedings. Family law is so fraught with problems that penal abolitionists like myself need to start paying attention to it and ask for its dismantlement *before* even addressing criminal law injustice issues.

I am turning to tried and true models of Indigenous justice world-wide, inspired by the Indian sentencing circles across North America and by Ubuntu ethics from Southern Africa. From a socio-centric world view, it is nonsensical to separate the world into victims and offenders, perpetrators who deserve punishment, or discarding people as if they were objects through the worst offenses, life imprisonment and death penalty.

Ubuntu ethics is guided by the (Zulu) proverb and recognition that I am only human by recognizing you as human. In other formulations this has been expressed as the inversion of the Cartesian cogito: I am because we are and because we are, I am. My (ludic) Ubuntu spiral model exemplifies this transgression or transformation from ego-based primitive justice (the current criminal injustice crisis) to a we-based transformative justice model, where even "justice" as a concept is no longer needed. What if our model were simply focused on harm reduction (as we know it from the better drug treatment programs and practices)? Ludic or playful Ubuntu promises a perspectival ethic, which makes coherent and legible the level of engagement with conflict (or resolution) at each of the five phases. It is a dynamic model which is inspired by Elisabeth Kübler-Ross's (1969) five stages of grieving: denial, anger, bargaining, depression, and acceptance. It is also a playful attempt of making sense of different justice models and even validating these models as appropriate expressions for their assigned level in the spiral of life:

1. Rage and retribution; denial of being one (vengeful justice)
2. Facing shame, *ressentiment*, guilt (debtor's justice)
3. Expressing moral outrage (plea/bargaining or HipHop justice)
4. Transforming rage into forgiveness (restorative justice)
5. Loving what is; laughter, comic relief; being interconnected (transformative justice).

The quite simple (and yet most difficult) remedy for addressing harm is to *celebrate playfulness* like a 2-year child. Many faith traditions also resonate with the peaceful approach, of overcoming revenge through forgiveness. When I see a picture of Amy Biehl's mother hugging and laughing the now grown person who killed her daughter (Amy), I am encouraged about the human condition, of transcontinental transformative justice (from South Africa to the United States). Not forgetting, but forgiving, breaking bread and sharing a laughter with somebody who has clearly done a harm. At this point, justice is about transforming oneself and in relation to others. No external adjudication is needed at this point. This sentiment also emanates from a great writer and *mensch* – Victor Frankl, in his bestseller memoir *Man's Search for Meaning*. Frankl, a holocaust survivor, is able to paint in vivid colors those who do sadistic things, and then transform by showing remorse and treating others kindly (in a prison camp no less). What kind of feminist law can be engendered? As a penal abolitionist, I am not sure if more "progressive" laws will be salutary, but I know that whatever legal reforms we pursue, we ought to evaluate carefully the unintended or run away effects of such law, ensuring that it does not ensnare cisgirls, ciswomen, trans persons while it ostentatiously liberates us from heteropatriarchal justice systems.

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EMPLOYER SPONSORED FERTILITY PRESERVATION: DEBATING INSTITUTIONAL PROMOTION OF REPRODUCTIVE PROCRASTINATION OR CHOICE

SHELLEY GRANT
s.k.grant@qmul.ac.uk
Department of Sociology,
University of Washington

ABSTRACT. Increased interest in fertility preservation, informally called "social freezing," prompted high profile US technology companies in 2014 to add coverage for the retrieval, freezing and storage of sex cells of eligible employees electing to delay family building. Although an extension of the generous family and health care benefits routinely awarded to tech sector workers, fears of hidden gender inequity and coercion now foreground sponsorship debates. Statistics on the negative effects of population infertility and the limited rate of preservation success by aging females are used to verify concerns. These considerations obscure realities of widespread ART use by US females and ethical recommendations for providing early counseling on preservation options to young oncology patients. To reconcile facts with perceptions, this paper considers dynamics of institutional change to evaluate corporate decisions to expand coverage. This review on preservation additionally examines challenges to employer support for women seeking access to similarly intended fertility control processes that alter the timing and spacing of births. Ultimately, it argues that aspects of isomorphism reframe reservations on corporate motives and expose the potential for tech worker fluencies to materially expand reproductive options through processes of organizational change.

Keywords: fertility preservation; employer coercion; neoinstitutionalism; bioethics

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Introduction

Elective fertility preservation, colloquially called "social freezing" or "egg freezing," has revived debates on the social norms, policy provisions and medical standards that govern the use of assisted reproductive technologies (ART). Essentially, "social freezing" is a trend in family planning strategies that repurposes existing ART techniques. The expression describes the election of presumably fertile females at peak childbearing ages to retrieve, cryopreserve and store sex cells as either unfertilized oocytes or gametes (fertilized eggs) for use in later childbearing attempts (ASRM, 2013). Although tissue and cellular freezing is used in numerous reproductive and non-reproductive medical procedures (Pegg, 2015), "social freezing" specifically connotes the socially motivated suspension of child creation processes for reasons such as partnership formation, career attainment or achieving economic stability. Some commentators have called fertility preservation the "ultimate type of family planning for today's professional woman" (Lockwood, 2014) because it allows the creation of genetically related children, while reducing the biological imperatives for early childbearing (Strathern, 2005). These benefits add to the relative lack of regulation on preservation processes. Cryopreservation processes are not restricted by the universalized standards that govern child adoption processes or the process bans or restrictions that have lead to jurisdictional inconsistencies in the recognition of surrogacy arrangements. In contrast, fertility preservation technologies (sometimes referred to as FTP) have developed into an unproblematic and routinely recommended medical effort to offset fertility loss resulting from treatments against potentially life threatening diseases such as cancer. Expanded interest in using preservation to retain fertility capacities in non-life threatening situations has been a key reason for the rise in public concern on the need to create rules that control patient access to this novel option. Although similar to earlier debates on ART ethics, reservations on preservation can be understood as distinct in several respects. Among them, concerns on women's ability to successfully postpone the onset of family building link to equally unresolved questions on health care entitlements, protections for reproductive choice and institutionalized gender inequity. Few events allow so clear a view of these intersecting concerns as the pivotal announcement of a pioneering decision by high-profile, global technology corporations to pay for the cryopreservation costs of eligible employees.

In mid-October 2014, the leading Silicon Valley technology company Facebook, Inc. (based in Menlo Park, CA) announced to major US news organizations details on a plan to fund two cycles of "egg freezing" or sex cell cryopreservation for eligible employees (Molina and Weise). Shortly afterwards, Apple, Inc. announced a similar decision to extend the same

level of cryopreservation coverage to their employees (Frier and Higgens, 2014). This is believed to be the first attempt by large-sized publicly held companies to add cryopreservation coverage to existing health care and family benefits, despite unverified rumors of earlier sponsorship programs launched by privately held firms (Nicolette, 2016). By early 2015, both tech companies provided employees up to $10,000 USD per cycle for two cycles of oocyte freezing plus annual storage fees. This per cycle figure falls within the $10K to $15K range of estimated average fees charged by US providers for cell retrieval and freezing. Apple also included $500 USD per year for storage fees, or the approximate mode of US storage costs that range between $275 and $1000 USD year (ASRM, 2013). The public statements did not disclose information on awards for routine supplementary costs such as material transfers or restrictions on total storage periods (Tran, 2014).

The stated corporate rationale was to give employees a personally and financially valuable perk, access to a full range of current health care options and the capacity to make family decisions across "multiple life phases" (Ogden, 2015). Despite corporate justifications that the extension responds to the surveyed demands of current employees and potential female recruits (Sandberg, 2014), the change also has drawn significant global media attention and intense public scrutiny. Skeptics ultimately challenge the motives of tech sponsors, countering that coverage of processes known to facilitate childbearing postponement constitute an "anti-family" policy. Within the group of detractors, some further charge the seemingly generous benefit hides a more profound need and obligation for industrial leaders to actively work towards reducing systemic work life imbalances created by unreasonable performance expectations and lifestyle mandates (Gerson, 1985). A *Business Insider* comment by Sabrina Parsons, CEO of the start-up tech firm Palo Alto Software, implies a related claim about the lack of corporate awareness about the impact of industry norms on the lives of workers. Parsons writes, "the not-so-subliminal message that a company sends a woman when egg freezing is a benefit, and the fact these companies don't see that message, is an example of how far we have not come" (Oct. 20, 2014). Backing this view, other critics argue that sponsorship is likely to incentivize female employees to postpone family building, a step that would validate accusations of gender discrimination by workers at multiple firms in the sector (Vasallo et al., 2016; Bardzell, 2010; Moore et al., 2008). Despite these public objections, other US tech leaders as well as major non-tech US employers have or have considered adding identical levels of cryopreservation coverage.

This paper critically analyses key themes in cultural responses to sponsorship of fertility preservation technologies by high profile, globally operating US-based tech sector employers. It particularly examines changes in preservation access that could mean a diffusion of tech industry values to other US

industrial sectors. This mixed-method review weighs key arguments contained in the testimonies of leaders in the tech industry, medical and bioethics communities against a survey of infertility care statistics and public health concerns. This comparison grounds a review of trends in US corporate coverage of reproductive health care that involves fertility control. Beyond examining coverage norms, it additionally considers the capacity for industry leaders to counter the traditional influence of employers and to literally expand the reproductive choices for employees beyond the general public. This evaluation of institutional change references theories on institutional and organizational dynamics of diffusion and isomorphism (Di Maggio and Powell, 1983; Zucker, 1987). Since the cryopreservation phenomenon is new, this initial investigation seeks merely to foreground future studies on the normalization of reproductive technology use. Contributing to this, the work especially attends to the possible connections between gendered personal technology use, reproductive decision making and expansions in technology industry jobs. It considers the capacity for unlikely pockets of progressive extensions in fertility and sexual health care to inspire or inform broader changes in reproductive options.

Beyond these immediate analytical aims, the methods of this review additionally help to align and typically siloed studies on infertility across research on population, workplace inequity and social reproduction. This addresses gaps in population research on the factors presumed to effect women's capacity to realize fertility intentions formed earlier (Filipov et al., 2006; Billingsley and Ferrarini, 2014; Gauthier, 2007). It also argues the comparability of ART processes with seemingly opposite aims. The argument of comparability assumes that infertility prevention is a form of fertility control that influences the timing and spacing of births (Brewster and Rindfuss, 2000). Although infertility is not a gender-restricted concern (Skakkebaeck et al., 2006) and workplace benefits are increasingly gender inclusive, this study aims to expose unintended gender differences in the care debate. Ultimately, satisfying these broader aims challenges denunciations that maintain the plan is merely coercive. It questions the Fordist-based understandings of productivity, technology and gender upon which this conclusion is premised. In studying sponsorship critiques, I explore the alternative hypothesis that shared values for and fluency in personal technology use may pervade tech workplace cultures. In turn, these institutional norms may have the capacity to spread to other institutions and influence understandings of choice to a greater extent than is reflected in current discourses.

Situating Workplace Policies among Public Health Concerns and Population Needs

Preservation techniques essentially add to the reproductive health care coverage or family assistance plans of employers. Despite indications of infertility prevalence, coverage for treatment remains a novel addition to the range benefits routinely provided by major employers. Although concerns on paid preservation are varied, a lack of US public awareness on the causes of infertility, its prevalence and the negative impact of chronic infertility contributes to the ambivalence in responses. Medical infertility in females is defined as the failure to conceive after 12 months of unprotected intercourse. Infertility in the US and most developed countries is prevalent. Only recently have population analysts expanded research on the effects of chronic infertility. The US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), World Health Organization (WHO), the ASRM and similar professional agencies now define infertility to be a "disease" (CDCP 2014). As explained at the start of the US CDC *National Public Health Action Plan for the Detection, Prevention, and Management of Infertility* (2014) "the ability to have children represents more than a quality-of-life issue" (4) and further regard chronically high infertility as a "public health crisis" that compromises the psychological and emotional health of communities (Mascarenhas, 2012). Motivated by the interests of supporting national population replacement interests and improving public welfare overall, national health care agencies have increasingly sought to educate on fertility health and infertility prevention (CDC, 2008; 2014). This adds to a growing number of clinical studies that aim to analyze, what has historically been, a culturally sensitive and complex health care area. Such research looks at disparities in access to care and lifestyle factors causing infertility across female populations of varying races and socio-economic levels (in Wellons et al., 2008; Kelly-Weeder, 2010; Huddleston et al. 2015, and others).

Agency initiatives recognize the need to identify and address the main causes of fertility loss or decline in female populations. Historically, expert attention on fertility loss has been primarily directed at maintaining family building capacities for cancer patients of both sexes as they undergo potentially life-saving chemical or surgical oncology treatments. At present, major research by leading US and international medical organizations on preventative techniques for oncology-related infertility is vast. Recent studies span analyses on methods for cancer-specific preservation treatments (Lambertini et al., 2015), gendered fertility preservation strategies (Chiles and Schelgel, 2016) and using preservation as criteria for cancer care decision making in post-puberty adults (Blumenfield et al., 2015). Until recently, preservation ethics primarily addressed the duty of caregivers to advise patients on the

side effects oncology care, particularly with younger cancer patients such as pre-puberty children or young adults (Wallace et al., 2015; Trudgen and Avensu-Coker, 2014). This extends to studies on the support required to help emergency care patients to develop fertility care strategies under severe time constraints (ASRM, 2012). In distinction from "social freezing," medically related infertility frequently referred to as "involuntary" fertility loss.

Statistics on the incidence of diagnosed infertility in the US and estimates on care verify agency concerns on the prevalence of this disease. The Reproductive Health Survey of the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS) estimates that 6% of US women between the ages of 15 and 44 are infertile, totaling nearly 1.5 million women. Another 10.9% of US females have been diagnosed with impaired fecundity, which is defined as a difficulty in getting pregnant or carrying a pregnancy to term within a year. Impaired fecundity impacts an estimated 6.7 million US women. In comparison with global figures, the World Health Organization estimates that infertility affects between 3.5% and 16.7% of the total female population in developed areas. Alongside data on diagnoses, statistics on infertility care also verify the extent of concern. In 2010, the European IVF Monitoring Group (EMI) with members from the European Society for Human Reproduction and Embryology (ESHRE) and the International Committee for Monitoring Assisted Reproductive Technology (ICMART) reported that high ART activity is responsible for the births of an estimated 350,000 children annually. The EMI further estimates that US providers administer among the most ART treatment cycles per year of any developed country and estimate that 7.4 million US females aged 15–44 have ever used infertility services (NCHS, 2010). In figures, the EMI estimated that US practitioners provide 142,435 cycles per year, which are thought to produce 1% of all children born in the US.

Along with suggestions of high ART activity, studies indicate that access to care may be inadequate, a finding that can lead to an underestimation of ART need. In a survey on ART activity across economically developed countries, the EMI found an "unmet" demand for infertility treatment providers. This estimate was based on measures of provider density in regions with already high ART activity (EMI, 2010; 2012). Related patient surveys estimate that 56% of infertile women in developed areas seek infertility treatment, but only 22.4% of prospective patients eventually obtain care (Biovin et al., 2007). The causes for this care gap were not detailed. Related studies by US associations of reproductive health care providers show that the leading causes for inadequate infertility care include high procedure costs, advanced patient age and low accessibility to providers with the required level expertise among other population specific concerns (ASRM,

2015). These facts indicate that ART access may be restricted by high costs and that reductions in ART costs may result in higher levels of use.

Many concerns on infertility care access also respond to the fact that birth postponement and infertility among the female population of developed countries is widespread. Exhaustive demographic research further verifies that the prevalence of fertility postponement is caused by access to and use of fertility control including contraceptive devices and medial or surgical abortion (Lee, 2003). Effective fertility control that is motivated by social interests including career pursuits is known to result in delays in childbearing until after the period of peak biological fecundity (normally between the ages of 20 and 32). Studies indicate that career-oriented women routinely wait until "late life" (35–40 years old) or even "very-late life" (over 40 years old) to begin pregnancy attempts and to start seeking out infertility care (Balasch, 2000; Billari et al., 2007). Declines in female childbearing capacities are caused by a combination of evident and imperceptible biological changes that require expert consultation to measure. Fertility loss can involve diminished organ capacities, damage to sex cells and increased abnormalities in fetuses created with older eggs, which is known to be a leading trigger for spontaneous miscarriages in older women (Beets et al., 2011). Postponed infertility care is also known to reduce the effectiveness of treatments overall. Experts estimate that childbearing delays decrease pregnancy completion rates for women over 35. Studies also indicate that age-related declines in pregnancy completion rates apply to pregnancies created through artificial (ART) or natural methods (Hirschfield-Cytron, 2012).

Since the negative effects of aging on fertility can vary, public knowledge about the extent to which aging can contribute unsuccessful pregnancy attempts after childbearing postponement remains low. Gaps in patient knowledge on fertility loss compound expectations that postponement runs counter to the goals of workers considering preservation strategies. As implied in a sharp critique by Nitasha Tiku for the tech industry blog ValleyWag, "I imagine most working women would exercise this option in a heartbeat because of the huge financial and personal cost of continuing to hustle, crush it, and shut up in their careers while biologically constrained" (2014). She suggests that improved access to preservation capacities is likely to reinforce the current decision making patterns of female employees, rather than generating earlier awareness of alternative strategies. Only recently have researchers begun to evaluate the effects of fertility awareness on infertility levels, decisions to continue care and elections to cease childbearing attempts (Williamson, 2014; Daniluk and Koert, 2014). This research indicates that awareness of fertility decline provided before delays and through various channels has some potential to alter not only patient decisions but also expectations for treatment success. That said, the study further indicated that

increased knowledge may not directly influence personal decisions on treatment or treatment duration, due to the possibility that female fertility intentions may change over time and in response to a variety of interrelated factors. Although research fails to establish a direct correlation between female fertility intentions and process decisions, it is possible to evaluate sponsorship as part of a public awareness building process. Viewing the effects of corporate policy as knowledge building and sexual education complements public health aims. Even further, one effect of sponsorship policies that involve the development of fertility awareness is the discontinuation of current family building behaviors through expansions in access to new technologies and options.

Process Ambiguities and the Cultural Mediation of Cryopreservation Capacities

Variations in responses to "social freezing" are compounded by the inherent complexity of reproductive processes and advances in techniques. Use of ART for fertility preservation, in particular, blurs the clear and assumed separation between processes of contraception (or fertility control) and conception (or efforts to achieve pregnancy). According to proponents, "social freezing" essentially enables women to use knowledge on existing preservation capacities to address socially motivated and legally permissible birth planning aims. Although the tailored use of multipurpose techniques is commonplace in medicinal sciences, ambivalence on elective preservation arises when science is used to advance fertility control aims that have historically included divisive processes of pregnancy termination and practices to prevent conception. If understood as a type of fertility control, the recent debates on preservation sponsorship can then be regarded as an invigoration of familiar concerns on women's access to a traditionally contested array of reproductive options. Even further, the disquiet about preservation can be seen to extend beyond unfamiliar processes themselves or the unforeseeably negative consequences of technology use on families. The concerns imply added fears about women's faculties in using advanced technologies and knowledge to achieve culturally debated aims for fertility control.

This furor on social reproduction and bioethics (Franklin, 1995) also obscures the realities of cryotherapies. Cryotherapies are defined as medical treatments involving the use of tissues at very low temperatures. Freezing cells and tissues is a well-established process that is comparable to the naturally occurring and chemically based survival responses of non-human organisms exposed to near freezing temperatures. In humans, cryopreservation is medically induced for a variety of applications (Gage, 1998). The use of freezing to arrest cellular activity and preserve biological or tissue functions

in humans was initially developed during the first half of the 20th century. Cryotherapies were first successfully used in reproductive medicine during the late 1950s, predating the development of techniques for *in vitro fertilization* (IVF) and implantation in 1978 (Steptoe and Edwards, 1978). The first recorded success with freezing and thawing human semen occurred in 1953 (Ombelet & VanRobays, 2015). The first human birth resulting from a frozen embryo occurred in 1984, and the first human birth from a frozen oocyte was reported in 1986 (ASRM, 2013; Stoop et al., 2011). In current practices, freezing can take place at steps before or after fertilization through *intracytoplasmic sperm injection* (ICSI), Gamete intrafallopian transfer (GIFT), Zygote intrafallopian transfer (GIFT) and similar fertilization and implantation techniques. With substantial research indicating that ART processes that include cryopreservation have no negative influence on neonatal outcomes, specialists have begun to compare the effects of using preserved and non-preserved cells ("fresh") on overall success rates.

In many respects, growing concerns on fertility preservation question the motives of recipients beyond the originally intended target patient group of cancer survivors. Before the "social freezing" phenomenon, attempts to preserve fertility almost exclusively focused on granting family building options to cancer and other patients anticipating what many regard as "involuntary" or "medical" infertility. As early as 2006, ASRM, the American Society of Clinical Oncology and similar organizations expressed the psychological and ethical importance of providing cancer patients with "a multidisciplinary education" on preservation options. They further frame education on and access to preservation options as a critical component of "informed consent before cancer therapy" (Ethics Committee ASRM, 2013). Following this decision, cancer treatment protocols included fertility counseling to patients undergoing radiation therapy chemically based cancer treatments or non-therapeutic exposures to toxins that cause gonadal toxicity and fertility loss (González et al., 2012; Rodriquez-Wallberg and Oktay, 2014). Experts have particularly attended to addressing toxicity related fertility loss in young (pre-puberty, childbearing age or early menopause) through the development of new treatment strategies and new preservation options (Keegan et al., 2010; Zebrack, 2009). As survivor rates among young cancer patients have improved, experts are further motivated to add options to address growth in this infertile population. Medical efforts to support the future family building desires of young oncology patients has prompted the development of trials involving mature ovarian tissue freezing and grafting of immature ovarian tissue (OTC) as well as unsuccessful attempts at whole organ freezing (ESHRE, 2015; Bedaiwy and Falcone, 2010).

Recent modifications in freezing techniques, known as vitrification, are responsible for measurable increases in pregnancy success rates and increased

patient interest in preservation capacities. Vitrification alters the rate of freezing and warming of sex cells or embryos, which causes reduced damage to biological materials in comparison to unaltered processes. Before vitrification became a widely used process, low survival rates for cryopreserved oocytes and low pregnancy completion rates using frozen cells caused professionals to classify preservation as an "experimental" strategy (SART, 2014). Following extensive research, proof of increased success through vitrification prompted the ASRM in 2012 to change the classification of this technique to "established" (2013). Increased clinical use of the vitrification modifications by US providers has been linked to moderate overall increases in pregnancy success rates for women at all ages. Before vitrification was widely used in the US, a 2010 SART survey of affiliated US clinics reported overall success rates of 32% to 40% completed pregnancies per cycle for women under 35. A European-based study suggested that uptake of vitrification methods added to other process protections to result in a high 89% completed pregnancy rate per transfer of vitrified oocytes for women of all ages (Nagy et al., 2009). In companion research, clinical studies have addressed questions on the safety of vitrification to suggest that ART success rates using vitrified oocytes is comparable to success rates of ART using non-frozen ("fresh") cells (ASRM, 2013; Bloockell, 2016). Although studies do not prove that vitrification eliminates all cellular damage, the method has been shown to improve cellular integrity after thawing, which correlates to higher overall pregnancy success rates using vitrified cells (ASRM, 2013).

Despite evidence on the merits of the method, reproductive experts have failed to arrive at a consensus on patient recommendations for preservation electives. Before widespread vitrification use, bioethicists and specialists cautioned that "oocyte freezing for fertility preservation without a medical indication should not be encouraged" (Shenfield et al., 2004). Following the development of vitrification and other improvements, some experts predicted capacity for cryopreservation developments to "revolutionize IVF practice." They heralded cryopreservation as "a promising strategy for circumventing the age-related decline in human fertility" (Paulson, 2006). In contrast, other experts have continued to caution patients against interpreting technologies as panacea for the "threat of time" on pregnancy success (Dondorp et al., 2012: 1237). Echoing the divergence in expert recommendations, public reviews on "social freezing" reflect further concerns on the ethics of decisions on capacities with confirmed variations in success. This adds to expert reservations on lack of access to infertility care overall as an impediment to their fulfillment of ethical responsibilities to provide care for established diseases (Omurtang et al., 2009; Mladovsky and Sorenson, 2010). Reasons for the division in expert opinion include variations in pregnancy success rates across patient populations and an absence of longitudinal research.

Concerns on the limited success rates with aging patient populations add to an absence of definitive knowledge on the use of cells after long-term freezing. Specifically, there is insufficient longitudinal data to derive optimal storage periods and variations in expert estimations on limits using available data. This lead SART to recommend the use of stored reproductive materials with 28 months (2013), while established storage facilities for biomaterials in the US such as ReproTech, Ltd., Cryogenics Laboratories and others suggest usage is possible within a 2 to 20 year period. In contrast, internationally respected monitors for reproductive ethics and process review such as the Human Fertilization and Embryology Authority (HFEA) suggest that safe storage of sex cells is unlimited. Countering this, the organization adopted the *2009 Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Statutory Storage Period) Regulations* that breaks the periods of storage using compliant methods into successive 10-year periods, up to a maximum of 55 years storage (2016).

Questions on cryoprocesses are distinct from concerns that freezing is an unsuitable method to counter infertility caused by poor egg quality. Research suggests that reproductive aging is systemic. An early 2010s survey with SART affiliated US clinics reported that IVF success rates using *intracytoplasmic sperm injection* (ICSI) procedures with cryopreserved material only result in 32% and 40% completed pregnancies per cycle for women under 35. With increased maternal age, the reported success with cryopreserved materials declined considerably. The success rate declined from 37.8% for women ages 35–37 to 28.6% at ages 38–40, 18.8% at ages 41–21 and 8.9% at ages over 42. At present, the clinical pregnancy rate using preserved oocytes ranges from 57% in the US to 24.9% in Europe. Evidence of marginal success with certain patient categories and the absence of information on process limits add to systemic effects of aging complicate evaluations on patient decisions to rely primarily upon freezing to further their postponement strategies.

Aside from procedural factors, social factors can inform preservation decisions in ways that impact the likelihood of success. For instance, the estimated success rates with ART created pregnancies using cryopreserved oocytes is lower than the estimated success rates using cryopreserved gametes or embryos (Hirschfield-Cytron, 2012; Stoop et al., 2011; Rudick et al., 2010). Yet, oocyte cryopreservation or the freezing of unfertilized cells is more frequently elected in "social freezing." This results from female patients who, at the time of freezing, lack a male partner or have not identified a suitable sperm donor. Women may also elect to freeze oocytes, based on a refusal to freeze embryos for religious or ethical reasons. Such socially informed decisions contribute to inconclusive success results and complicate the development of coherent expert recommendations on preservation technology use.

In the end, the conditionality of pregnancy success and novelty of the technology increase the changes that family building decisions seem risky or irrational, as evaluated earlier work on family decision making by Gary Becker (1981; 2009) and other behavioral theorists. Inconclusive findings on preservation efficacy leave room for divergences in the interpretation of freezing value as a personal elective, rather than statistically directed or generalized process. Clinical studies show that elective cryopreservation activity increased following the 2012 change in process status. Similarly, evaluations on the preservation motives of patients at SART-affiliated US clinics estimated that 64% of patients obtained oocyte preservation for "social" reasons, while only 18% cited planned IVF treatments and 18% for unspecified medical reasons (SART, 2014). Trends in use are furthered by estimates that 50% of US clinics offering ART treatments also routinely provided oocyte cryopreservation (ASRM, 2013). Despite indications of prevalence, many critics challenge patient use of cryopreservation as a form of fertility "insurance" (Nicolette, 2016: 341). Examining this point further, the objection implies the presumption that patient decisions to freeze are somehow counterfactual and that their efforts to sustain future family building options amidst competing biological realities and professional interests are unrealistically broad.

Although statistically sound, this denunciation leaves out the potential for patient goals to serve flexible reproductive goals, changing values and simultaneous interests beyond childbearing. As suggested a personal account of her cryopreservation processes, Sarah Elizabeth Richards spoke to the ways that the freezing process supports multiple aspects of her identity. She stated "I once heard a doctor at a conference speculate that women could become addicted to egg freezing. That makes sense to me on some level. That sense of security and control over my life was one of the best feelings I have ever experienced. I had been given a second chance, a reprieve" (2015). Summing up her views, she acknowledged the complexity of the decision and perceived successes besides literal pregnancy completion. For Richards, the resulting feelings of anxiety about future fertility decisions accompanied positive and valued results of a sense of empowerment and control.

Reservations on activities that seem to promote preservation with limited expectations for success involve social evaluations of individual responses to risks involving pregnancies. The notion of social involvement in patient evaluations of medical risks is explored in the work of anthropologist Barbara Katz Rothman (2014) on the medicalization of pregnancy care. Rothman especially notes the modern tenancy for the biological process of pregnancy to be defined through public evaluations of behavior based on knowledge of potential "risks" of harm to mothers, the developing fetus and even the postnatal health of children. She links increased medical knowledge on pregnancy

to heightened social doubts on the capacity for prospective mothers to address reproductive uncertainties without constant medical and social engagements and feedback. Rothman suggests that the medicalization of pregnancy is activated by suggestions of risk for improper decisions. To interrupt equations of pregnancy with risk, she differentiates between actual and socially perceived risks of harm. She alternatively suggests that critical reviews on socially mediated understandings of reproductive success are needed to provide "a glimpse into the ways in which people intelligently, creatively, determinedly balance risks" (Rothman, 2006: 1). Seen thusly, the social electives that influence reproductive "success" – and thus the processes themselves – form a nearly inseparable continuum of fertility planning decisions that span and connect previously distinct processes of family control and building.

Comparing Employer Involvement with Fertility Control to Infertility Care

Media accounts on the sponsorship decision have referred to the novelty of the shift as "a pivotal moment for women in the workplace" (Lewis, 2014), inviting further consideration on the validity of presumptions about the impact of changes in access. This involves a review on the potential for this event to prompt expansions in infertility care coverage from current norms and the history of corporate positions on and norms for infertility coverage. Studies in the mid-1990s found that employers were generally disinclined to pay for infertility treatments, based on the belief that infertility care constitutes a social elective, rather than a medical need (Hirschfield-Cytron, 2012). In comparison to other economically developed areas, the level of insurance coverage for infertility care is lower and experts suggest that the absence of coverage limits US patient access to infertility care. In particular experts acknowledge that infertility treatments involve high direct-costs to patients (Bitler and Schmidt, 2012; Katz et al., 2011).

Although many US employers currently offer comprehensive health care coverage that may include reproductive procedures, only 11% offer full or limited reimbursement for infertility treatments (SART, 2013). A groundbreaking collaborative study by the US-based National Infertility Association ("RESOLVE") with consulting researchers at Mercer Health & Benefits detailed variations in coverage across employment sectors. The survey evaluated a range of employee benefits provided by 931 US employers across multiple sectors. They found that 605 employers offered some infertility care coverage, while only 326 employers offered no infertility care coverage. It further determined that 20% of polled employers provided at least limited reimbursement for IVF, while 10% of employers additionally covered less

commonly used procedures. The study concluded that the level of infertility coverage increased in proportion to employer size. Specifically, over 54% of companies with over 20K employees covered infertility treatment, while less than 29% of small employers (10–499 employees) provided coverage beyond initial diagnostic evaluations. Researchers additionally concluded that the level of infertility coverage rose in relationship to the annual salary of covered employees. Yet, coverage was restricted overall through the addition of per employee caps on expenditures. Such limits included lifetime maximums between $1,500 and $50,000 and limits on the number of covered treatment cycles.

A third avenue for assessing the sponsorship extension is to compare employer reception to preservation with employer responses to covering other fertility control methods. The functionality of "social freezing" in delaying conception is arguably similar to other fertility control methods. This premise is based in demographic understandings on the effects of increases in use of abortion and contraceptives, rather than non-preventative ART uses (Davis and Blake, 1956; Bongaarts, 1982; Bongaarts and Potter, 1983; Martin, 2000; Rindfuss et al., 1996). Historically, employer interest in covering infertility care sharply contrasts with employer interests in paying for fertility control methods. As a reproductive care category, fertility control is most frequently excluded from or restricted in employer benefits. Despite cultural traditions that respect family privacy, bans on employer funding of fertility control was affirmed in the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Roe v. Wade* (1973) that initially legalized abortion access. This ruling preceded the *Hyde Amendment of 1976*, which imposed a ban on the use of any US federal funds (or recipients of federal funds such as educational institutions, non-government entities and government contractors) for abortions. This rule primarily impacted low-income women depending upon Medicaid as their primary source of health care coverage. In 1980, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Harris v. McRae*, 448 U.S. 297 upheld the constitutionality of Hyde Amendment for the reason that "a woman's freedom of choice [does not carry] with it a constitutional entitlement to the financial resources to avail herself of the full range of protected choices." The high court further stated that the federal government could encourage childbirth over abortion because childbearing was "rationally related to the legitimate governmental objective of protecting potential life." These rulings collectively indicate a failure of the courts to support instances of workplace funding for reproductive care aimed at fertility control.

To address the limitations of this decision, The Affordable Care Act (ACA) was enacted in 2010 with the aim of expanding health care access and addressing the restrictions of earlier court rulings and variations in state mandates on insurance coverage. Yet, studies by the US Guttmacher Institute (2013; Boonstra, 2013), a leading research organization on trends in repro-

ductive health care and policies, indicates that the ACA has done little to expand funding for culturally contested processes of reproductive health care that include infertility care. Several post-ACA statutory measures further restrict employee access to contraceptives through coverage linked to employment. Just after the ACA was signed into law, the US Congress passed the *Hyde Amendment Codification Act S. 142* that required organizations planning to receive federal funds to keep them segregated from any funds for abortion services. Under *S. 142*, insurers must bear the burden of segregating funds by service type and eliminating services not eligible for federal funding. This distinction is not based on the legality of processes. The *S. 142* rule caused insurers competing in state marketplaces to elect out of abortion coverage with some or little notice of change to patients or affiliated employers. As of 2013, eight states banned abortion coverage in all private health care plans including those in ACA created marketplaces and 15 additional states upheld bans limited to insurers competing in the ACA marketplace. Guttmacher and other advocates for reproductive rights have challenged the rule with the argument that patient access correlates to procedural legality. They state that US federal government has a responsibility to "ensure that coverage for abortion services is included in the health care insurance it provides to women and arranges for employees and their dependents. Moreover, there should be no government restrictions that prohibit or otherwise interfere with abortion coverage in private health insurance plans." (2013: 8) They argue that statutory restrictions on insurance provided through employers question the legitimacy of abortions as a legitimate medical procedure and patient decisions on imperatives for access.

The trend in employer involvement with the fertility control decisions of workers has been towards greater restrictions on assistance in accessing contraceptives and contraceptive devices. In a 2014 ruling, the US Supreme Court decided in *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby*, 573 U.S. ___ (2014) that "closely held" for-profit corporations may be exempt from the opposition of owners based on their religious convictions and providing other means for supporting the law are accessible. The *Hobby Lobby* decision struck down an earlier ACA provision that required employers to cover approved contraceptives for female employees. Following *Hobby Lobby*, several categories of small and independent employers and university health plans (depending on the level of reliance on state government funding) are exempt from requirements to cover contraceptives.

In contrast with contraceptives, there are no US statutory restrictions on employer coverage of infertility care or fertility preservation techniques. Infertility care is not universally covered across the US. Only 15 US states require insurers to provide infertility treatments as part of basic or elective plans. One cause for the state-by-state variation in rules is the failure of the

Family Act, S 881/HR 1851 in 2014 that proposed to establish a federal tax credit of $12,970 for diagnosed patients to receive "qualified infertility treatment expenses" (Sec. 2, Art. 5). Initially introduced in 2011 and again in 2013, the proposed *Family Act* would have allowed tax reimbursement for "at least two cycles" of IVF treatments provided by licensed US physicians. The proposed credit was aimed at providing around 50% reimbursement for estimated total IVF costs. The aims of the proposed measure were to lower overall patient costs for "cost prohibitive" infertility care and to broaden access to care across female populations with a high incidence of infertility. The measure additionally aimed to address gaps in infertility coverage of employees at small sized employers and to establish realistic minimum coverage levels for effective treatment (Sec. 2 Art. 7). The declared reason for the failure of the measure stemmed from Congressional concerns on the use of tax reform to fund infertility care, as expressed in the response "tax reform is not a high priority for Congress at this time." Since the final attempt, advocates have not initiated alternative measures for expanding infertility care coverage.

Despite reservations on the influence of employers on decisions, the inclusion of preservation coverage may have an unrealized capacity to expand family assistance and decision making capacities of employees beyond current state mandates (Campbell et al., 2006). If this is true, then critical views on preservation benefits may be more representative of cultural ambivalence about ongoing expectations for the rational, outcome based decision making of patients (Becker, 1981) than objections on employer capacities to maintain access to options to evolving technical capacities.

The Relationship between Tech Values and Reproductive Options

Objections to the offer also stem from public reservations the cause for tech employer efforts to expand access to preservation. Public doubts surround the sincerity of sponsorship motives set forth by firms repeatedly accused of gender discrimination (Prescott and Boggs, 2013; Archibald, 2006; Gerson, 2010). These cases include a number of celebrated reports on claims involving sexual harassment, restrictions on advancement and biased hiring by Ellen Pao (Lowrey, 2015), Katie Moussouris (Rao, 2015) and others. Gender inequity is also reflected in estimates that 65–70% of the workforce at Apple, Facebook and Google is male. In a censuring October 20, 2014 *Business Insider* commentary issued shortly after the initial announcement, Sabrina Parsons suggests that sponsored egg freezing misrepresents work discrimination as fertility choice. In Parsons' words, the new egg-freezing policy "sends the wrong message to women." She argues that expanded access to "egg freezing" tacitly sanctions the "embodied" cultural characteristics of the

male dominated high tech industry, calling up the ideas of sociologist Joan Acker (1990).

The architect of the pioneering Facebook cryopreservation benefit, COO Sheryl Sandberg, maintained that the decision to sponsor preservation satisfied multiple purposes. One key purpose was to support the family building interests of female co-workers undergoing cancer treatment but unable to afford costly preservation costs (Bloomberg Press, 24 April 2015). Another purpose was to help attract and retain prospective female employees and recruits. Sandberg pointed out that preservation sponsorship added to an existing range of "generous benefits that don't just follow the market, but follow the needs of our employees" (24 April 2015). This coverage extends to the partners and spouses of eligible employees. Following the Facebook and Apple offers, other major companies have followed similarly progressive cryopreservation plans. This includes launches of cryopreservation sponsorship by other tech leaders such as Intel (Odgen, 2015). It also extends to a pilot program started in May 2016 by the US Department of Defense (Schmidt, 2016). The added employers also cite a similar intent to use preservation coverage to help attract and retain the service of younger employees.

The addition of new employers seems to fit with predictions that the initial Facebook and Apple offers would "pressure other corporations to follow suit" (Tiku, 2014). However, the elective expansion in coverage across different employers for similar reasons more accurately reflects processes of institutional mimicry, as detailed in Di Maggio and Powell (1983), rather than coercion by tech firms. These shared evaluations of employee benefits across diverse institutional contexts points to a similar interpretation on the demands of valued employees. This exemplifies dynamics of institutional isomorphism, involving institutional changes through transfers of values and patterns. They describe this process of exchange as "the emergence and structuration of an organizational field as a result of the activities of a diverse set of organizations" (148). Understood here, the spread of preservation coverage relates less to reproductive technologies than institutional interests to retain desirable categories of employees through the extension of a particular technology use. Here, the extension of choice is through institutional processes rather than the protection of explicit legal interests and social roles, in contrast with other forms of fertility control.

A third, equally though provoking, purpose for the extension detailed by Sandberg is the corporate desire to perpetuate a set of cultural values involving technology use. This presumes that workplace norms and technical fluencies factor into the range and valuation of assorted benefits. It is broader understanding of what coverage constitutes family policy than earlier analyses on the effects of extensions in gender-neutral childcare and parental leave allocations (Rindfuss et al., 2010) and the impact of flexible work times on

family development patterns (Lutz, 2014). Instead, I argue that high tech values for the options created by fluent technology use are an integral aspect of corporate approaches to benefit structuring. Generous cryopreservation coverage adds to already substantial benefits typically provided by tech industry employers (Lockwood, 2014). These so-called "hyped-up" tech company benefits include a $4,000 cash bonus for family building through any method, up to 14 weeks of paid paternal and maternal leave and coverage for non-preventative infertility treatments, child adoptions and child surrogacy arrangements (Melina & Weis, 2014; Werntz, 2014).

This interpretation of sponsorship as a function of value for technology differs from claims that the offer coerces female employees to perform in accordance to the norms of a male dominated work place. One interpretation of coercion takes preservation as an uneven trade off, involving women's pursuit of potentially unsuccessful fertility preservation efforts (Czarnaiwska, 2006). Alternatively, the valuation of technology recognizes the persistence of women's approaches to and values for work and family over time as a function of their personal interests, values and lifestyle preferences rather than responsive to coercive influences (Vitali et al., 2013). Theorizing on this opposition, Marcy Donovsky, executive director at the Center for Genetics and Society, described "when you're in a situation of your employer offering you a choice, you really have to be careful that you're distinguishing between something that's an expanded option and something that's actually subtle or even explicit pressure to do what your employer wants you to do" (Kennedy, 2014). The difference between the processes of gendered coercion and the sharing of institutional values is difficult to segment without recognizing the intervening value of technology to individual employees.

In speaking at a 2015 World Economic Conference alongside representatives of leading tech firms, Facebook COO Sheryl Sandberg articulated tech industry values and regard for technologically assisted lifestyle choices. She detailed the sector's willingness to champion the successful, even if sometimes imperfect, use of technology as a tool for positive social and economic outcome on personal levels. A broader benefit of sector's willing embrace of flexibility she detailed involved the promotion of gender equity through capacity building, evoking an entrepreneurial style of decision-making. In her words, tech industry leaders have an "important" mandate to "use technology to make everyone's life better, not just the people who are well educated and who can code" (24 April 2015). Under this new norm, she claims the policy change addresses the questions "why would we only cover this for women with cancer? Why wouldn't we cover this more broadly?" Rather than seeing preservation as encouraging birth postponement in women, she instead suggests that preservation sponsorship addresses care inequities. She frames the extension in relationship to coverage restrictions that benefit

only employees with infertility resulting from select circumstances and conditions. Her presumption of technical fluency correlates to policy equity.

Conclusion: Affecting Choice through Sponsorship

This analysis on responses to the public announcement of tech leaders Apple and Facebook to sponsor preservation by female employees evaluates the evolving impact of employer benefits in the provision of infertility care. The corporate interpretation of the offer differs from critical commentaries in ways that evoke meaningful concerns on dynamics of institutional change. Public concerns span fears of coercive gender inequity, yet institutional transfers between employees and sectors have resulted in benefits extensions that yield material gains in women's access to costly and contested reproductive options. As observed by Di Maggio and Powell, seldom are institutional dynamics easily teased apart for direct cause-and-effect analyses.

The distinction between tech firm and publicly mediated reviews on preservation sponsorship suggest theoretical differences in views on the relationship between society and technology. In short, tech leaders propose that the evolution in the human-technology relationship is non-oppositional, as explored in works by Judy Wajcman (2009) and Judith Butler (1990). With a similar understanding, Donna Harraway (1989: 3–8) argues that western science is better understood as set of stories that assign significance to technical capacities. Given the long history of concerns on ART use across various technologies, the habituated social interpretation of reproductive technology use forms patterns and narratives over time. Framing preservation discourses as a social process motivates this analysis on the flows of values perpetuated by technology companies through social relationships, cultural innovations and institutional contexts.

It is unclear whether concerns on shifting cryopreservation motives will persist long term. Ongoing technical advances stand to impact required protocols for preservation in ART use and add to the longevity of debates through "freeze-all" policies (Blockeel, 2016). Looking beyond improvements in technologies, the technical fluencies of female patients contribute to the spread of coverage. This is occurring through the unlikely channel of corporate sponsorship. Unlike contraception, emerging debates may be less motivated by concerns on family growth than by disquiet over undervalued patient proficiencies in using technologies across more diverse aspects of contemporary life.

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IS THE DECREASE IN THE GENDER WAGE GAP THE PRINCIPAL DRIVER OF THE SUSTAINED RISE IN FEMALE LABOR MARKET PARTICIPATION?

RAMONA MIHĂILĂ
ramona.mihaila@gmail.com
Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University, Bucharest

ABSTRACT. Over the past decade, there has been increasing evidence describing the increasing female participation in the labor market, the function of social norms concerning women's performance in influencing observed gender outcomes, and the labor market effects of gender dissimilarities in conduct and comparative advantages. The purpose of this article is to gain a deeper understanding of particular hindrances that women confront in the labor market, gender disparities in choices and psychological characteristics possibly associated with labor market success, and the consequences of gender gaps in the labor market on aggregate productivity and income per person.

Keywords: gender wage gap; female labor market participation

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1. Introduction

Women have made important advances in labor markets lately, bringing about well-defined merging in human capital investment (Androniceanu, 2015a, b) and hiring expectations and end results compared with men. Technological advancement in the workplace and swifter capital accumulation (Peters, 2015a, b) have increased the value of non-manual or non-routine abilities compared with manual/routine abilities, increasing female relative wages and

involvement. Marketization of home services is a decisive strength (Popescu, Comănescu, and Sabie, 2016) causing both significant female involvement and the increase in market services. Women might have a reasonable superiority in producing services, and consequently structural transformation intensifies pressure for female labor inputs (Nica and Potcovaru, 2015), or they might have a powerful inclination for service positions than men, and therefore the increase in female involvement may invigorate the development of the industry that advantageously assists working women. (Olivetti and Petrongolo, 2016)

2. Gender Dissimilarities in Labor Market Behavior and Outcomes

There is an inverse-U link between the degree of advancement of an economy and its income losses generated by gender breaches, while there is an adverse link between the advancement degree (Bratu, 2016a, b; 2015) and the income losses generated only by gender breaches in entrepreneurship. There is a beneficial impact of rises in income per person on gender impartiality (Buber-Ennser, 2015) and a detrimental impact of gender disparity on economic growth. Less trained women, or unfairness in women's education, may bring about diminished female labor force involvement and women being played down in entrepreneurship. Gender breaches in entrepreneurship have important consequences on the distribution of resources (Devine, 2015) and therefore on aggregate output (Lăzăroiu, 2015a, b, c; 2014), whereas the breach from labor force involvement has a considerable impact on income per person. The expenditures related to gender breaches in the labor markets are significant. (Cuberes and Teignier, 2016) (Figures 1 and 2)

3. Gender Disparities in Executive Compensation

Female executives are moved up in the same proportion as males with comparable qualification features and work-related experience. Women are moved up more swiftly internally, excepting that this is balanced by an inferior external promotion level, and tend to agree to inferior-ranked jobs (Nica, Manole, and Brişcariu, 2016) with other companies. Compensation in executive administration is unquestionably associated with rank, women are remunerated to some extent better than males for any certain rank (Cesaroni, Sentuti, and Buratti, 2015) and qualification, and the entire degree of promotion is not determined by gender. Depending on age, instruction, working practice with the company (Ionescu, 2016), hiring and firing rate, decision-making experience, position, company size and industry, women are remunerated better than males, and take advantage of lower wage

volatility as a result of abnormal returns. Notwithstanding their significant wages and fairness in promotions, female executives are more expected to quit by stress than their male counterparts. The proportion of the latter moved up to the former promoted furthers with position (Popescu and Predescu, 2016): males in the profession are paid better than females typically. (Gayle, Golan, and Miller, 2012)

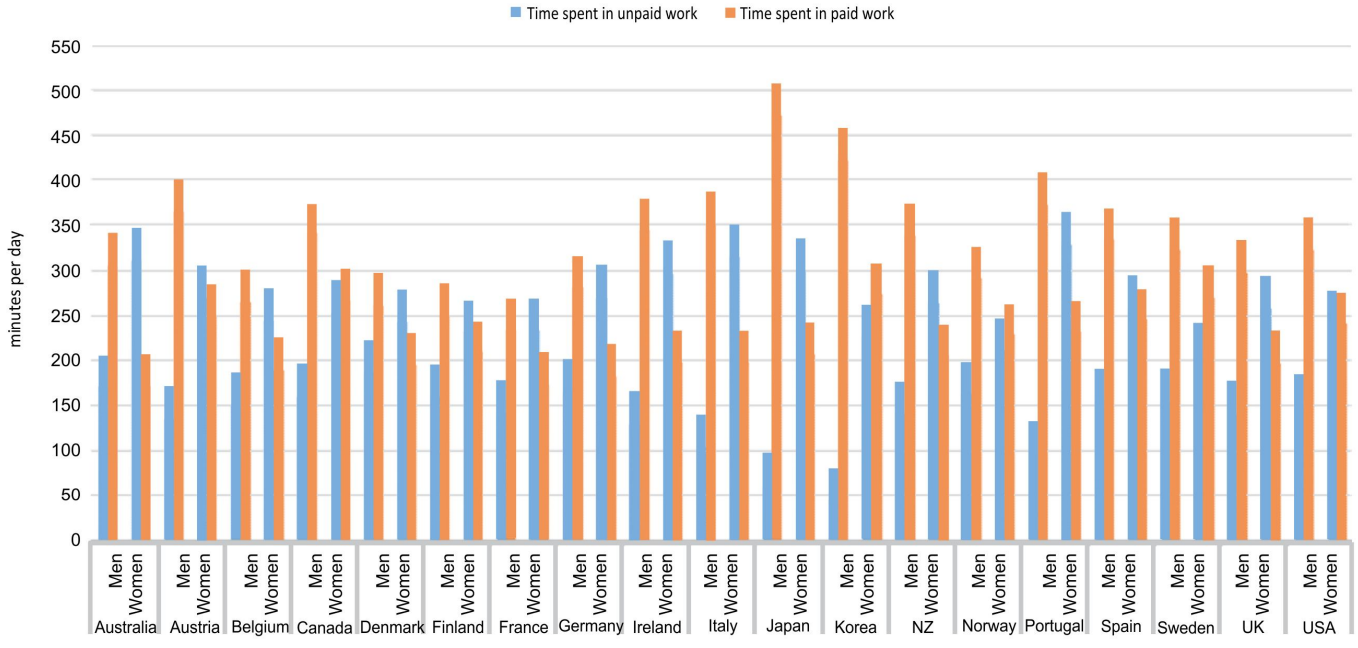
4. Human Biology and Gender in the Labor Market

Hormonal processes might influence labor market results via their function in impacting risk, time, or social choices and positions concerning competition. Reproductive hormones are related to the risk-taking and competitive conduct (Pera, 2015) of women in addition to men. Genetic markers have been classified for a variety of choices, qualifications, and outcomes (Kets de Vries, 2015) that may be effective in grasping heterogeneity in labor market results. Sensory performance and time-space assessments are most unequivocally associated with gendered labor market results (Nica and Molnar, 2016) via their impact on men's and women's instructional and work-related preferences. Human biology may furnish the only noticeable shared denominator with the aptitude to clarify the omnipresence of the breach. Improvements in reproductive technology and a reduction in the relative reestablishment of brawn diminished men's biological superiority in the labor market (Popescu, 2016a, b) at a moment when women started to advance in closing the breach. (Cobb-Clark, 2018)

5. Conclusions

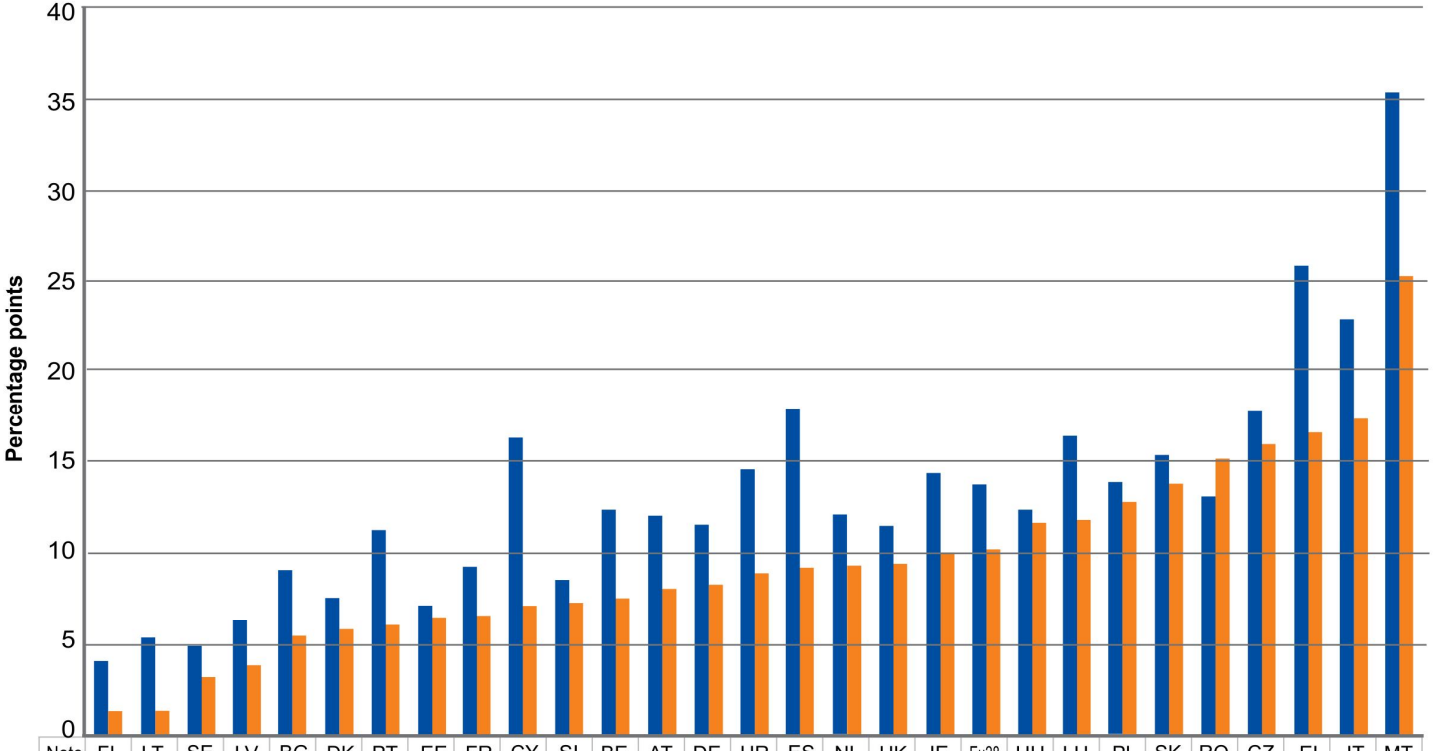
Gender dissimilarities in quantity and quality of amount produced count in long-term performance. Gender disparities in carrying out under competition and choices for the latter differ throughout various kinds of settings: men exhibit a superior compatibility for competition and function more effectively in stressful mathematical settings, while women tend to self-select into competition and display superior efficiency (Popescu Ljungholm, 2015a, b, c, d) in somewhat lower-pressure verbal settings. Women prefer jobs that encompass rather less on-the-job stress (Nica, 2016; 2015) and that are of verbal character, and the gender gap in earnings (Zaharia and Zaharia, 2015) is less noticeable in those environments compared with the demanding mathematical settings. Women underperform men in competitive environments each time two kinds of requirement are under consideration: task stereotype and time limitations. The impact of competition on gender-specific results is determined considerably by the setting within reach. (Shurchkov, 2012)

Figure 1 Time spent in paid and unpaid work by gender



Source: Jim Rose (2016), OECD (2014), and my estimations.

Figure 2 Percentage point gap in employment rates between men and women, EU member states, 2008 and 2016



Note	FI	LT	SE	LV	BG	DK	PT	EE	FR	CY	SI	BE	AT	DE	HR	ES	NL	UK	IE	Eu28	HU	LU	PL	SK	RO	CZ	EL	IT	MT
2008	4.1	5.4	4.9	6.3	9.0	7.5	11.3	7.1	9.3	16.3	8.5	12.4	12.0	11.5	14.6	17.9	12.1	11.5	14.4	13.8	12.4	16.4	13.9	15.4	13.2	17.8	25.8	22.9	35.2
2016	1.4	1.4	3.3	3.9	5.6	5.8	6.1	6.5	6.6	7.2	7.4	7.7	8.2	8.4	9.0	9.3	9.4	9.5	10.1	10.3	11.8	11.9	12.9	13.2	15.2	16.2	16.7	17.8	25.4

Source: EU-LFS (2014) and my estimations. The gender gap is calculated by subtracting the female rate from the male rate.

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GENDER INEQUALITY AMID EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION IN INDIA: AN ANALYSIS OF GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE ATTAINMENT OF READING AND MATHEMATICS SKILLS

GREGORY WHITE
gregw@umd.edu
University of Maryland, College Park
(corresponding author)
MATT RUTHER
matthew.ruther@louisville.edu
University of Louisville
JOAN R. KAHN
jkahn@umd.edu
University of Maryland, College Park
DIAN DONG
diandong@terpmail.umd.edu
University of Maryland, College Park

ABSTRACT. This article analyzes gender differences in the attainment of reading and mathematics skills among Indian children ages 8–11 using data from the 2005 India Human Development Survey. This dataset, collected at a time when India was nearing universal educational enrollment and gender parity in primary education, provides an opportunity to investigate areas of persistent gender inequality against a backdrop of rapid educational expansion. Employing descriptive statistics and ordered logistic regression techniques, this study examines how social background, access to learning resources, time devoted to formal learning activities, and cultural attitudes are associated with areas of continued gender inequality in learning outcomes. We hypothesize that gender inequality persists in social contexts characterized by traditional attitudes regarding the education of girls that lead certain parents to prioritize sons' education over daughters' education. Educational inequality may also be due to a hidden opportunity cost of engaging girls in activities (e.g. providing childcare for younger siblings) that have economic value for the family, particularly for girls in rural areas and from the lowest income families. The results provide some evidence to support these theories. Relative to boys, the presence of younger siblings reduces the likelihood of girls advancing in both reading and mathematics. In addition, higher levels of household assets increase the likelihood of

girls advancing in reading. Unfortunately, mixed findings related to rural/urban status provide less insight than desired regarding this factor. Finally, attitudes supportive of female education are found to benefit girls' reading achievement.

Keywords: gender; India; education; inequality; reading; mathematics

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Introduction

Gender inequality in education is a persistent problem in Indian society, especially for girls from rural areas and lower socioeconomic backgrounds. During the past several decades, India has achieved success in moving toward universal school enrollment and in enacting policies to address educational inequalities such as those based on gender. However, education gaps still exist. This paper seeks to identify the factors through which educational gender inequality continues to operate and the social contexts that are associated with girls, who may be left behind academically.

Using data from the 2005 India Human Development Survey (IHDS), this study analyzes how social background factors, access to learning resources, time devoted to formal learning activities, and cultural attitudes regarding the education of girls contribute to ongoing gender gaps in learning. This study is an attempt to go beyond more commonly found descriptive studies of country-wide achievement and attainment patterns by measuring a more diverse set of indicators available through the IHDS dataset, including the identification of statistical interactions among key variables. We hope the results will provide increased insight into the status of educational gender inequality in India, offer useful information to policymakers as they develop targeted policies to address areas of gender inequality where it persists, and identify areas for further study using more fine-grained analyses among a narrower range of variables.

Prior research reveals educational disparities by various demographic and school-related factors such as gender, social background, and access to educational resources. To build on this foundation, additional research is needed to further examine factors that are associated with gender gaps, and to assess how the effects of India's increasing educational attainment, public policies targeted to girls, and changing educational landscape are having an impact.

Several important questions emerge from the literature regarding gender inequality in education. For example, although socioeconomic and other family background factors have been shown to influence educational attainment, it is less clear how these factors differentially affect boys and girls. Time devoted to learning and other educational resources are also important to investigate, and it may be the case that parents are prioritizing sons' education over daughters' education through the allocation of these factors. Finally, the role of attitudes toward the education of girls is underexplored. Female students with parents who look favorably upon the education of girls might be expected to exhibit higher educational achievement relative to those without such parents. In order to answer these questions, this paper will explore the relative contributions that social background factors, learning resources, time devoted to learning, and cultural attitudes make to academic outcomes.

Educational Expansion in India

Attempts to increase the educational achievement of girls are taking place amid a backdrop of sweeping educational expansion in India. During the last half of the twentieth century, India made great strides in improving its education infrastructure – an achievement representative of a worldwide educational expansion by newly independent states and the importance of education within the emerging nation-state model (Meyer, Ramirez, and Soysal, 1992). This has included a rapid expansion in the number of primary schools in the decade preceding the IHDS data collection in 2005 (De et al., 2011).

India's educational expansion is also reflective of the United Nation's Economic, Social, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) program Education for All and the push to achieve universal primary education by the year 2015 under the Millennium Development Goals program (Govinda, 2002; United Nations, 2010; 2015). In addition, expansion efforts are guided by India's Constitution, which mandates universal education for those under the age of fourteen, as well as court decisions and policies that secure the right to education and increase educational investments for girls and other disadvantaged groups. Complementing these policy imperatives are government and NGO efforts to universalize enrollment, improve learning, and promote gender equality in education. Specific policies have included the expansion of educational funding, the provision of free educational resources such as textbooks and uniforms, an increase in the number of female teachers, and the introduction of local schools, single sex schools, and special facilities (including in non-formal settings) for girls and the non-enrolled (Government of India (GOI), 2000; Govinda, 2002; Kingdon, 2007; Nayar, 2002; Rao, Cheng, and Narain, 2003; and Vaughan, 2013). Finally, increased availability of early

care facilities has the potential to improve the school attendance of girls who provide childcare for younger siblings, as does the decline in fertility rates in India overall (GOI, 2000; United States Census Bureau, 2014).

A primary outcome of this increased focus on education and learning has been a significant improvement in primary school enrollment rates, which approached universal levels and included the achievement of near gender parity at the time that the IHDS was conducted in 2005 (De et al., 2011; UNESCO, 2016b).[1] Expanded access was not universally shared, however, with rural girls in particular continuing to be less likely to be enrolled than their female urban counterparts or their male peers (De et al., 2011).

In addition to this progress in enrollment, there was a sizable increase in literacy rates among the Indian population as a whole from approximately 18% to 65% in the fifty years ending in 2001. However, a significant gender gap of nearly 22% still remained at the beginning of the 21st century (GOI, 2000; GOI, 2011). According to census estimates, the literacy rate has continued to climb to 73% in 2011; although, the gender gap has narrowed only slightly, with women still at literacy levels 16% below men (GOI, 2011). Literacy rates among youths age 15–24 were higher still, at 81% in 2005–2008, yet a 14% gender gap remained (UNESCO, 2011).

The continued presence of educational gaps despite improvement in educational access and infrastructure is perhaps unsurprising given the historical prevalence of gender inequality in a patriarchal Indian society (Desai et al., 2010). Notwithstanding recent progress, educational quality and learning outcomes also remain major concerns (United Nations, 2015). Educational disparities in India are also striking given their contrast to a worldwide pattern of less marked gender inequality in education. The gap in reading skills in India is especially noteworthy as girls in most other countries typically outscore boys in reading as measured on international tests of comparative educational achievement (Baer et al., 2007; Lynn and Mikk, 2009; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2012; Thompson et al., 2012).

It is imperative to remedy educational inequalities since they can lead to inequality in economic and other adult domains. Education is linked to increased future wages for women (Kingdon, 2007), and is seen as a protective factor that is associated with child investments as well as other health and civic outcomes (Desai et al., 2010). Education can also help women realize their full participation and leadership potential in economic, social, and political life (UNESCO, 2016a). Importantly, educational inequalities have been shown to be amenable to remediation through policies geared toward increasing girls' academic achievement (Marks, 2008).

Factors Associated with Educational Achievement

Social background factors

The education research literature has focused on the relative contributions of both social background and school environment to learning and academic achievement. In the United States, Coleman et al. (1966) were among the first to establish the importance of students' family backgrounds to the academic success of children. In India, despite improvements in educational access over the past several decades, social background is also found to be associated with learning outcomes. Achievement gaps based on gender, region, and social background factors often arise in primary school, and many Indian children still struggle against historical inequalities such as those based on gender and caste (Azam, 2015; De et al., 2011; Desai, Adams, and Dubey, 2009; Desai et al., 2010; Desai and Thorat, 2013; Probe Team, 1999; Rao, Cheng, and Narain, 2003). First generation learners and those from impoverished backgrounds may also enter school with a diminished readiness to learn (Kaul, 2002).

Within India, large regional differences in educational outcomes also exist, with rural females and those living in urban poverty historically representing those who are illiterate and those who are not enrolled in school (Nayar, 2002). Sundaram and Vanneman (2008) consider regional variation in educational achievement and find that the level of economic development is associated with a narrowing of gender gaps in literacy, with level of district wealth as well as number of teachers in a district largely responsible for this difference. Additional state specific initiatives (not addressed by this analysis), such as the successful social and political efforts to promote female literacy and education in the state of Kerala, have also resulted in the achievement of higher literacy levels for both boys and girls (De et al., 2011; Probe Team, 1999).

Access to high-quality education resources

Educational research highlights the importance of school-level resources in student learning (Greenwald, Hedges, and Laine, 1996; Hedges, Laine, and Greenwald, 1994), although some question whether additional resources are associated with improvements in school quality and educational outcomes once family background factors are considered (Banerjee et al., 2007; Hanushek, 1989, 1995, 1997). In addition, research indicates that the influences of socioeconomic background and learning contexts and resources are often interrelated (Duncan and Murnane, 2011). Moreover, research in developing countries indicates that quality schooling can be especially influential in promoting the academic achievement of students (Gamoran and Long, 2006; Heyneman and Loxley, 1983).

School quality is important to consider given research that suggests Indian girls may experience lower quality school environments than boys. Research finds that despite the expansion of private school enrollment in recent years, a persistent gender gap remains (Chudgar and Creed, 2016; Maitra, Pal, and Sharma, 2016; Woodhead, Frost, and James, 2013). In addition to being enrolled in private schools at somewhat lower rates, girls may also be less engaged with private tutoring. Together these factors contribute to higher overall education expenditures for boys than for girls, even with the existence of special fee reduction policies for girls in some areas (De et al., 2011; Desai et al., 2009; Desai et al., 2010).

Girls' under-enrollment in private schools is of special concern given that private schools and government schools differ in educational quality and outcomes (De et al., 2011; Gouda et al., 2013). Controlling for student intake factors, attendance at a private school is associated with a higher level of student achievement (Desai et al., 2009; Kingdon, 2007), with higher beneficial returns of private school attendance for lower income students (Desai et al., 2009). Chudgar and Quin (2012) also find that private school attendance is associated with better learning outcomes, although much variability in quality exists among private schools.

Educational discrimination based on gender also results from fewer intra-household resources allocated to girls (Saha, 2013; Zimmermann, 2012). Lower-income parents can experience the additional cost of sending a child to school (e.g. paying for school materials, uniforms) as a financial hardship in addition to the opportunity cost of girls not fulfilling other time intensive household and child care responsibilities (De et al., 2011; GOI, 2000; Probe Team, 1999; Rao, Cheng, and Narain, 2003). An additional financial resource is money for private tuitions, and as Banerji and Wadhwa (2013) find, this supplemental help can also raise educational outcomes.

Finally, differences in educational expenditure between boys and girls are related to level of urbanization. Kingdon (2005) finds that inequality in educational expenditure within households in rural areas is primarily the result of enrollment differentials between boys and girls. Azam and Kingdon (2013) also reveal that gender disparities in educational expenditure are more prevalent in rural areas and within certain states. In addition, these authors suggest that an important factor related to gaps in education expenditure is the higher level of private school enrollment among boys.

Time devoted to school-related learning activities

Historically, Indian girls enrolled in school at lower rates than boys (GOI, 2000), and when they did enroll, they tended to "enter late and dropout earlier" (Nayar, 2002). Girls also did not progress to or enroll in upper primary levels at the same rate as boys with major impediments to their

continued progression being the lack of a nearby upper primary school, cultural attitudes toward female education, and being diverted to household and childrearing tasks (De et al., 2011; GOI, 2000; Probe Team, 1999).

More recently, girls have achieved near enrollment parity with boys at the primary school level as India approached having universal primary enrollment levels for all children (De et al., 2011; UNESCO, 2016b). Despite this progress, however, certain subgroups of Indian girls (such as those from rural backgrounds) may be at higher risk for school withdrawal or absenteeism due to cultural beliefs about gender roles. They may also devote less time to out-of-school learning activities such as completing homework. Reasons for diminished engagement in school-related activities include the need to fulfill household responsibilities such as domestic work and caring for younger siblings. These competing demands for girls' time could present an opportunity cost for parents who wish to employ girls in activities that permit the economic survival of the family. Additional reasons cited for girls dropping out or spending less time in school-related activities include the burden of school expenses, a lack of parental interest in educating girls, the dearth of female teachers, girls not being allowed to travel to distant schools, and the scarcity of early education and care facilities, which can have particularly negative consequences for older girls in large rural families (De et al., 2011; Govinda, 2002; Kambhampati and Rajan, 2008; Kaul, 2002; Nayar, 2002; Probe Team, 1999).

Motiram and Osberg (2010) add further insight into the time available for learning in their analysis of the Central Statistical Organization of India's 1999 Indian Time Use Survey. Overall, they find that girls attending school shared a higher burden for performing household chores than did boys, regardless of age or urban/rural status. These authors also found that the overall time devoted to household chores for both rural and urban girls increased with age. However, rural girls (ages 6–14 and who were attending school) devoted more time to household chores than their urban counterparts. Rural girls also experienced the lowest rates for both enrollment and school attendance, with higher percentages of rural girls missing from school as they got older. In addition, the percentage of all children who do any homework is lowest for rural girls. This provides evidence for the hypothesis that the opportunity cost of sending children to school (as opposed to engaging them in household activities) is higher for girls than for boys, and highest for rural girls.

Cultural attitudes regarding the education of girls

There is a fairly robust research literature that establishes the link between cultural attitudes and academic achievement. Weiner (1985) finds that achievement motivation, or the striving and persistence to learn, is related to

an individual's own belief, as well as the beliefs and attributions of others that one can be a successful learner. According to the expectancy value model, girls' achievement-related decisions are also influenced by whether learning is consistent with self-image, and whether learning fits with other interests and the perceived utility and cost of engaging in learning activities (Eccles, 2005). In addition, Steele (1997) finds that expectations of gender roles and gender stereotypes can have an effect on an individual's educational achievement. And finally, the beliefs and aspirations of parents and teachers in particular are found to influence perceived self-efficacy, and the perception of inequity can reduce girls' self-confidence in their capabilities as learners (Bandura et al., 1996; Bussey and Bandura, 1999).

Gender differences in educational outcomes are also related to community and family attitudes regarding the education of girls. These attitudes are embedded in cultural norms and are influenced by marriage and kinship patterns that may lead parents to invest more emotional and financial resources in educating sons rather than daughters (Desai et al., 2010). The centrality of preparing girls for marriage is particularly pronounced in the north of India, where parents have historically held lower aspirations for educating daughters rather than sons (Probe Team, 1999).

Several factors influence negative attitudes toward the education of girls. One concern relates to savings for dowry, which may limit the amount of funds that parents have to spend on daughters' education or create a fear that having educated daughters could result in having to pay higher marriage costs and dowry. In addition, differences in educational investment may result from parents' reliance upon a son's support in old age, leading to a differential investment in the child who would be responsible for the parents' financial security as they grow older (Desai et al., 2010; Probe Team, 1999).

Within schools, girls historically experienced a less challenging curriculum than boys, reflecting the traditional expectation that schools should prepare women for a more gendered role of homemaking and motherhood. In addition to this alienating curriculum, girls may have had fewer female teachers to serve as role models (especially in rural areas) and experienced gender stereotyping and less attention from their teachers (Basu, 1996; Jeffery and Basu, 1996; Nayar, 2002; Probe Team, 1999; Rampal, 2002).

An emphasis on promoting a more diverse curriculum and increasing female teachers is an attempt to reverse gender bias that girls experience in schools (GOI, 2000). At the same time, rising educational aspirations overall and social changes are challenging traditional beliefs and practices in the home. Education is increasingly seen as important in the marriage prospects of girls, who may be valued for their higher earning potential as well as their improved ability of marrying into modern families, although these factors are still subject to community specific norms. In addition, education is seen

as a social norm of good child rearing, and the skills developed through education can serve as a protective factor for financial independence, especially in widowhood (Behrman et al., 1999; De et al., 2011; Desai et al., 2010; Probe Team, 1999; Rao, Cheng, and Narain, 2003). In light of these changing social norms and trends, an open question for research is how cultural attitudes toward female education in India are currently associated with girls' learning outcomes.

Given historical gender discrimination in India, and a research base showing the negative influence that cultural attitudes can have on educational achievement, it is important to understand how and under what circumstances gender bias is associated with the educational outcomes of Indian girls. India has experienced large gains in expanding educational access to its children nationwide. The result has been the achievement of nearly universal primary school enrollment for boys and girls and reduced gender differences in literacy and other educational outcomes. However, previous research reviewed in this section has also shown persistent educational gaps based on gender and other social background factors, such as caste, income, and level of urbanization. Rural girls appear to be the most disadvantaged, as research indicates that they spend the least amount of time in educational activities. Given the trend toward improved educational access and equity over the past few decades, and taking into consideration these persistent gaps, it is important to understand how factors historically linked to educational inequality for girls, including the financial and emotional investments that parents make, are currently related to girls' educational achievement.

Conceptual Framework

This analysis explores factors related to gender bias in Indian education with a specific focus on the development of literacy and numeracy skills. The preceding review indicates that despite improvement in educational access, many Indian girls experience lower quality school environments, are afforded fewer educational resources to support their learning, and struggle with family attitudes that do not encourage them to excel academically. Girls' time may also be diverted to household and childrearing tasks, leading to a decreased amount of time available for learning. As a population of special concern, girls from rural areas appear to have the least time devoted to learning, and have the lowest rates of enrollment, school attendance, and homework completion.

Given that the quality of learning opportunities available to girls may be fundamentally distinct from those of boys, gender serves as a primary factor to be analyzed in this study. This paper explores the impact of four sets of factors thought to influence the educational outcomes of boys and girls.

These factors include social background and socioeconomic status, access to learning resources, time devoted to formal learning activities, and cultural attitudes regarding the education of girls. Social background and socioeconomic status are quantified by the child's age, number of younger siblings in the household, rural/urban residence, level of household education, family assets, and caste. Access to learning resources is measured by the type of school attended and the level of household educational expenditures. A child's time available for learning is assessed by homework completion rates, school absenteeism, and amount of accumulated schooling. Lastly, household cultural attitudes will be explored to determine whether higher aspirations for girls' achievement translate into improved educational success. Cultural attitudes are measured by two relevant variables available in the dataset: an adult household female's attitude regarding girls' education, and a school distance variable, which is considered important since many families are reluctant to permit girls to travel long distances.

We hypothesize that areas of persisting gender inequality in education result from negative cultural attitudes regarding the education of girls, as well as parents choosing to prioritize sons' education over daughters' education due to a hidden opportunity cost of engaging girls in out of school activities that have practical and economic value for the family. Given these competing demands for girls' time, we further hypothesize that gender differences will be the highest for girls for whom time demands are the greatest, which would include girls from rural environments, girls with a larger number of younger siblings, and girls from families with lower incomes. These hypotheses lead to the following research questions to be explored. First, in what ways is continued educational inequality influenced by social context, and are gender differences in educational outcomes affected by presence of younger siblings, income, and level of urbanization? Second, how is access to school resources (e.g. type of school attended and educational expenditure) and the time devoted to formal learning activities (e.g. homework completion and school attendance) associated with learning outcomes? Finally, to what extent are family aspirations for girls' learning responsible for differences in the development of reading and mathematics skills? Since gender roles emerge from interdependent social influences, including the roles played by both parents and schools (Bussey and Bandura, 1999), this analysis investigates the unique contribution of each independent variable and explores how inequality may result from the intersection (or in statistical terms "interaction") of multiple categorical dimensions of social influences (Riley and Desai, 2007).

Data and Methods

The data used in this analysis is from the 2005 India Human Development Survey (IHDS), an instrument designed and administered by researchers from the University of Maryland and the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) (Desai, Vanneman, and NCAER, 2005). The comprehensive nature of the social, economic, and cultural variables that are measured in the IHDS provide an excellent opportunity to expand the educational research literature in India by permitting the investigation of how social and contextual factors influence educational outcomes based on gender.

The IHDS was administered by trained interviewers to 41,554 households within 1,503 villages as well as 971 urban neighborhoods located throughout India. The survey includes embedded reading and mathematics assessments that were administered to household children ages 8–11. In all, the dataset includes 12,356 children who completed the reading assessment and 12,306 children who completed the mathematics assessment. Children with missing data on either the reading or mathematics assessments are excluded from each respective analysis.[2] Reasons for missing data include lack of consent from parents and/or agreement to participate by children and lack of time to administer the assessment after a long household interview (Desai et al., 2009). Finally, given the complex sampling design of the IHDS, a design weight is included in statistical analyses.

Broad administration of reading and mathematics assessments is difficult to perform in India given the wide disparity of educational attainment among children. To address this concern, survey designers based the reading and mathematics assessments on those that have been successfully developed and used by Pratham, a non-governmental organization that conducts the Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) (Desai et al., 2009; Pratham, 2005). The reading and mathematics assessments in the IHDS were designed to be simple enough to be administered across a wide range of ability, and the educational assessments were also translated into twelve languages common among the sampled population in addition to English. Finally, interviewers were carefully trained by Pratham to administer the assessments, and were taught to distinguish behaviors such as shyness, which may have affected the ability to complete the academic assessments (Desai et al., 2009).

The *dependent variables* used in this analysis are literacy and numeracy skill assessment scores for children ages 8–11 and who are residing throughout India. The reading assessment score is a five-level ordinal variable that reflects the following assessment determination made by the interviewer administering the reading test: 0=*Cannot Read*; 1=*Recognizes Letters*; 2=*Recognizes Words*; 3=*Can Read a Paragraph*; and 4=*Can Read a Story*.

As the dependent variable for the second set of analyses, the mathematics assessment score is a four-level ordinal variable that represents the following assessment determination made by the interviewer administering the mathematics test: 0=*Cannot Perform Mathematics*; 1=*Recognizes Numbers (above 10)*; 2=*Can Perform Subtraction Problems*; and 3=*Can Perform Division Problems*. Although both measures are coded as ordinal variables, they represent latent underlying continuums within each learning domain.

Independent variables that are explored in these analyses represent socio-economic, time for learning, school resource, and attitudinal factors that may have an impact on how gender interacts with the development of reading and mathematics skills. The social background factors that are examined include: gender, age, number of younger siblings, level of urbanization based on census designation (*Rural, Urban*), highest level of household education for any adult age 21+ in the household (*None, 1st–4th Standard, 5th–9th Standard, 10th–11th Standard, 12th Standard-Some College, Graduate*), a household asset index (an SES measure coded as a numeric index of the number of household possessions held by a family from a standard list), and caste (*Higher Castes, Other Backward Classes, Dalit, Adivasi, Muslim, Other Religion*). The following independent variables measure time engaged in learning factors: average number of hours spent on homework and private tutoring in a week, average number of days absent per month, and highest education level attained by the student. School resource factors that will be explored include type of school attended (*Government, Private, Other*) and per child expenditure on school-related fees (measured continuously). Finally, an attitudinal measure is included that represents an attribution that an adult female in the household makes regarding the importance of educating girls relative to boys (*Same, Boys Should be More Educated, Girls Should be More Educated*), as well as a variable measuring the distance between home and school (*Less than 1 km, 1–2 km, More than 2 km*).

An ordered logit model is used to assess the relationships between gender and other covariates with the two outcome variables, the reading assessment score and mathematics assessment score. An ordered logistic regression model can estimate ordinal outcome values along an underlying continuum as a function of each model's independent variables in which the latent outcome variables (ranging from $-\infty$ to ∞) are mapped to observable ordinal outcome variables (Cohen et al., 2003; Long, 1997; Winship and Mare, 1984). The model is described by:

$$y_i^* = x_i \beta + \varepsilon_i \text{ where } y_i = \text{m if } \tau_{m-1} \leq y_i^* < \tau_{\text{m}} \text{ for m = 1 to J}$$

The notation τ represents cut points or thresholds of moving from one ordinal category to another (Long, 1997).

An important assumption underlying the ordered logit regression model is that of proportional odds, in which the effect of a covariate on the odds of moving from one outcome to the next is the same between all possible outcomes. Because this assumption may be violated in this data, generalized ordered logit models, which allow the coefficients to vary between outcomes, are also run (Williams, 2006).

The results of the ordered logistic regression models are presented in full model form and include the results of tested gender interactions. Models stratified by gender are also presented to facilitate a comparison of effects for boys and girls. The results from the generalized ordered logit models, which largely support the findings from the ordered logit models discussed in the next section, are shown in Appendices A and B.

Results

Table 1 displays the mean values (or distributions) by gender for each of the explanatory variables used in the analysis. Girls and boys are both well represented in the survey, with boys representing a slightly higher proportion (53%) of the sample. The majority of the sample is rural, and the children are predominantly enrolled in government schools.

Tables 2a and 2b present the distribution of reading and mathematics assessment scores broken down by age and gender and display the percentage of each group attaining a given score category. A Wilcoxon non-parametric test is performed on these results and shows that boys outperform girls at every age except age 9 in reading and at every age in mathematics.

Table 1 Descriptive statistics (sample distribution)

		Total	Females	Males
Age		9.480	9.477	9.482
		(1.067)	(1.054)	(1.079)
# Younger Siblings		1.373	1.520	1.243
		(1.330)	(1.361)	(1.289)
Rural/Urban	Rural	76.3%	75.9%	76.7%
	Urban	23.7%	24.1%	23.3%
Highest Household Education	None (*Ref*)	24.6%	24.0%	25.1%
	1st- 4th Std	9.6%	9.4%	9.8%
	5th-9th Std	34.6%	35.9%	33.4%
	10th – 11th Std	13.9%	13.1%	14.6%
	12th Std – Some College	8.1%	7.8%	8.4%
	Graduate	9.3%	9.9%	8.8%
Household Asset Index		10.656	10.625	10.683
		(5.671)	(5.670)	(5.672)
Caste	Higher Castes (*Ref*)	18.9%	18.3%	19.5%
	OBC	36.3%	35.7%	36.8%
	Dalit	23.7%	25.1%	22.5%
	Adivasi	6.5%	6.6%	6.5%
	Muslim	12.8%	12.7%	12.9%
	Other Religion	1.8%	1.7%	1.8%
Type of School	Gov. (*Ref*)	69.1%	71.3%	67.1%
	Private	30.0%	27.8%	32.0%
	Other	0.9%	0.8%	0.9%
Educ. Expenditure		1109.547	1004.701	1202.852
		(2166.702)	(1813.777)	(2434.537)
Hrs. Homework & Tutoring/Wk.		8.242	7.968	8.486
		(7.441)	(7.471)	(7.406)
Days Absent/Mo.		3.669	3.642	3.693
		(6.187)	(6.220)	(6.158)
Education Level		3.073	3.069	3.077
		(1.498)	(1.518)	(1.480)
School Distance	Within 1 km (*Ref*)	83.0%	84.7%	81.5%
	1 to 2 km	7.7%	7.4%	7.9%
	Beyond 2 km	9.4%	7.9%	10.7%
Adult Female Attitude	Educ. Same (*Ref*)	84.8%	86.0%	83.7%
	Boys More	13.0%	11.3%	14.4%
	Girls More	2.3%	2.7%	1.9%

Notes:

[a] N=12,356; 5,798 Females (46.9%) and 6,558 Males (53.1%)

[b] Distributions are based on the sub-sample used for the reading assessment score outcome variable. The sub-sample used for the mathematics assessment score outcome variable produces a nearly identical distribution.

Table 2a Distribution of reading assessment scores by age and gender

Reading Assessment		% of Group Obtaining Score				
		0	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
All Ages	Female	10.3	13.7	19.8	21.7	34.6
	Male†	8.1	12.4	20.5	22.1	36.9
Age 8	Female	16.3	19.0	25.1	19.6	20.1
	Male†	12.8	18.0	27.3	20.4	21.6
Age 9	Female	9.0	12.9	19.5	25.6	32.9
	Male	7.7	14.4	22.0	22.3	33.7
Age 10	Female	8.7	12.2	19.7	20.9	38.5
	Male†	6.9	10.0	17.9	24.5	40.8
Age 11	Female	6.7	10.4	13.3	21.2	48.4
	Male†	4.6	7.3	14.5	19.9	53.8

N=12,356 (5,798 Females and 6,558 Males)

Notes:
[a] The reading assessment score is a five-level ordinal variable: 0=Cannot Read; 1=Recognizes Letters; 2=Recognizes Words; 3=Can Read a Paragraph; and 4=Can Read a Story.
† Males score significantly ($p<0.05$) higher than females based on Wilcoxon-Mann-Whitney non-parametric test.

Table 2b Distribution of mathematics assessment scores by age and gender

Mathematics Assessment		% of Group Obtaining Score			
		0	**1**	**2**	**3**
All Ages	Female	19.7	31.9	26.9	21.6
	Male†	14.5	31.9	28.2	25.4
Age 8	Female	26.9	39.2	24.2	9.7
	Male†	22.3	41.4	24.3	12.0
Age 9	Female	18.0	33.4	29.6	19.0
	Male†	14.8	32.7	32.9	19.6
Age 10	Female	17.8	29.6	27.1	25.5
	Male†	11.9	29.1	29.0	30.1
Age 11	Female	15.4	24.6	26.8	33.2
	Male†	8.5	23.3	26.8	41.5

N=12,306 (5,777 Females and 6,529 Males)

Notes:
[a] The mathematics assessment score is a four-level ordinal variable: 0=Cannot Perform Mathematics; 1=Recognizes Numbers; 2=Can Perform Subtraction Problems; and 3=Can Perform Division Problems.
† Males score significantly ($p<0.05$) higher than females based on Wilcoxon-Mann-Whitney non-parametric test.

Table 3 shows odds ratios and gender interactions from the ordered logit model for the reading assessment score, with models stratified by gender shown in Table 4.

Table 3 Odds ratios and significant gender interactions from ordered logit model of reading assessment score on set of independent variables

	Full Model		Significant Gender Interactions
Gender *(Female=1)*	0.887		NA
	(0.107)		
Age	1.168	***	NA
	(0.032)		
# Younger Siblings	1.016		***
	(0.032)		
Rural/Urban *(Urban=1)*	0.893		
	(0.080)		
Highest Household Education			
1st- 4th Std	1.316	**	NA
	(0.133)		
5th-9th Std	1.342	***	NA
	(0.099)		
10th – 11th Std	1.768	***	NA
	(0.178)		
12th Std – Some College	1.924	***	NA
	(0.249)		
Graduate	1.993	***	NA
	(0.275)		
Household Asset Index	1.031	***	*
	(0.009)		
Caste			
OBC	0.865		NA
	(0.068)		
Dalit	0.667	***	NA
	(0.064)		
Adivasi	0.899		NA
	(0.107)		
Muslim	0.650	***	NA
	(0.063)		
Other Religion	0.982		NA
	(0.164)		
Type of School			
Private	1.596	***	NA
	(0.117)		
Other	0.783		NA
	(0.260)		
Education Expenditure	1.000		NA
	(0.000)		
Hrs. Homework & Tutoring	1.040	***	NA
	(0.005)		
Days Absent / Month	0.984		NA
	(0.009)		
Education Level	1.644	***	NA
	(0.039)		
School Distance			
1 to 2 km	1.155		NA
	(0.127)		
Beyond 2 km	1.328	**	NA
	(0.128)		
Adult Female Attitude			
Boys More	0.885		NA
	(0.068)		
Girls More	1.452	*	NA
	(0.240)		
N=	11,238		

Notes:

[a] Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[b] Reference groups: *Household Education=None; Caste=Higher Castes; School Type=Government; School Distance= <1 km;* and *Attitude=Educate Both Genders the Same.*

[c] Gender interactions tested with the following variables: *# of Younger Siblings; Rural/Urban;* and *Household Asset Index.*

Table 4 Odds ratios from ordered logit models of reading assessment score on set of independent variables (stratified by gender)

	Girls Only		Boys Only	
Age	1.204	***	1.138	***
	(0.048)		(0.041)	
# Younger Siblings	0.855	***	1.014	
	(0.027)		(0.034)	
Rural/Urban *(Urban=1)*	1.096		0.878	
	(0.104)		(0.078)	
Highest Household Education				
1st- 4th Std	1.377	*	1.288	
	(0.183)		(0.180)	
5th-9th Std	1.295	*	1.412	***
	(0.149)		(0.134)	
10th – 11th Std	1.708	***	1.867	***
	(0.239)		(0.272)	
12th Std – Some College	1.844	***	2.021	***
	(0.280)		(0.412)	
Graduate	1.707	*	2.394	***
	(0.386)		(0.354)	
Household Asset Index	1.057	***	1.025	*
	(0.011)		(0.010)	
Caste				
OBC	0.871		0.864	
	(0.093)		(0.089)	
Dalit	0.739	*	0.612	***
	(0.092)		(0.073)	
Adivasi	0.956		0.862	
	(0.147)		(0.130)	
Muslim	0.656	***	0.643	**
	(0.082)		(0.092)	
Other Religion	0.924		1.053	
	(0.248)		(0.215)	
Type of School				
Private	1.451	***	1.716	***
	(0.152)		(0.167)	
Other	0.604		1.013	
	(0.217)		(0.515)	
Education Expenditure	1.000		1.000	
	(0.000)		(0.000)	
Hrs. Homework & Tutoring	1.038	***	1.043	***
	(0.006)		(0.006)	
Days Absent / Month	0.984		0.985	
	(0.010)		(0.013)	
Education Level	1.688	***	1.617	***
	(0.059)		(0.049)	
School Distance				
1 to 2 km	0.930		1.367	*
	(0.150)		(0.180)	
Beyond 2 km	1.719	***	1.115	
	(0.255)		(0.138)	
Adult Female Attitude				
Boys More	0.890		0.885	
	(0.091)		(0.092)	
Girls More	1.520	*	1.367	
	(0.315)		(0.374)	
N=	5,255		5,983	

Notes:

[a] Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[b] Reference groups: *Household Education=None; Caste=Higher Castes; School Type=Government; School Distance= <1 km;* and *Attitude=Educate Both Genders the Same.*

In reviewing the results related to social background, the reading assessment model shows a positive association between level of household education and reading skills with increasingly larger odds ratios as household education level increases. The full model also shows a strong negative association of lower caste background and reading scores for Dalit and Muslim children. Indeed, both Dalit and Muslim children are approximately a third less likely than those from higher castes of moving from one reading assessment category to the next highest level. In addition, level of urbanization does not appear to have a significant association with reading attainment.

In measuring access to high-quality resources and its impact on reading skill differences, there is a strong positive relation between private school attendance and reading skills. Children attending private school are approximately 60% more likely to be in a higher reading assessment category than are their government-schooled peers. However, educational expenditure appears to exhibit little relation with reading score net of the effect of other factors included in the model.

In terms of time available for learning activities, the number of hours per week devoted to both private tuitions and homework appears to have a small positive association with reading score. In addition, the number of days absent per month does not bear a statistically significant relationship. Not surprisingly, education level attained by the child has a strong positive relation with reading score.

The next set of reading results relate to the extent that family aspirations for girls' learning and school distances are responsible for differences in the development of reading skills. The full model shows a strong positive association between prioritizing girls' education and reading skill development. Children who have an adult female in the household agreeing that girls should be educated more are approximately 45% more likely to be in a higher reading assessment category than are children with an adult female who does not hold this belief. Lastly, there is an unexpected finding in that boys and girls who live more than 2 km from school have a 33% increased likelihood of being in a higher assessment category.

While the coefficient for gender is not significant, several interesting gender interactions are found and reported with the full model of reading assessment score on the set of independent variables. There is a highly significant interaction between being female and number of younger siblings. With each additional younger sibling, girls are less likely than boys to move from one reading assessment category to the next. There is also a significant gender interaction with the household asset index variable, suggesting that an increased level of household assets benefits the reading scores of girls to a greater extent than boys.

A similar set of analyses were conducted using mathematics assessment score as the dependent variable. Table 5 displays the results from the full model and associated gender interactions, and Table 6 shows the gender-stratified models.

Table 5 Odds ratios and significant gender interactions from ordered logit model of mathematics assessment score on set of independent variables

	Full Model		Significant Gender Interactions
Gender *(Female=1)*	0.682	**	NA
	(0.088)		
Age	1.203	***	NA
	(0.032)		
# Younger Siblings	1.009		**
	(0.032)		
Rural/Urban *(Urban=1)*	0.850		*
	(0.078)		
Highest Household Education			
1st- 4th Std	1.199		NA
	(0.115)		
5th-9th Std	1.274	**	NA
	(0.096)		
10th – 11th Std	1.804	***	NA
	(0.191)		
12th Std – Some College	1.938	***	NA
	(0.242)		
Graduate	2.257	***	NA
	(0.255)		
Household Asset Index	1.029	**	
	(0.010)		
Caste			
OBC	0.826	*	NA
	(0.063)		
Dalit	0.650	***	NA
	(0.061)		
Adivasi	0.714	**	NA
	(0.086)		
Muslim	0.677	***	NA
	(0.064)		
Other Religion	0.796		NA
	(0.130)		
Type of School			
Private	1.518	***	NA
	(0.123)		
Other	1.465		NA
	(0.362)		
Education Expenditure	1.000	**	NA
	(0.000)		
Hrs. Homework & Tutoring	1.048	***	NA
	(0.005)		
Days Absent / Month	0.976	***	NA
	(0.007)		
Education Level	1.552	***	NA
	(0.038)		
School Distance			
1 to 2 km	1.172		NA
	(0.126)		
Beyond 2 km	1.185		NA
	(0.103)		
Adult Female Attitude			
Boys More	0.835	*	NA
	(0.076)		
Girls More	1.196		NA
	(0.180)		
N=	11,191		

Notes:

[a] Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[b] Reference groups: *Household Education=None; Caste=Higher Castes; School Type=Government; School Distance= <1 km;* and *Attitude=Educate Both Genders the Same.*

[c] Gender interactions tested with the following variables: *# of Younger Siblings; Rural/Urban;* and *Household Asset Index.*

Table 6 Odds ratios from ordered logit models of mathematics assessment score on set of independent variables (stratified by gender)

	Girls Only		Boys Only	
Age	1.161	***	1.236	***
	(0.044)		(0.047)	
# Younger Siblings	0.901	**	1.008	
	(0.029)		(0.035)	
Rural/Urban *(Urban=1)*	1.145		0.831	*
	(0.113)		(0.077)	
Highest Household Education				
1st- 4th Std	1.239		1.185	
	(0.174)		(0.146)	
5th-9th Std	1.281	*	1.294	**
	(0.146)		(0.128)	
10th – 11th Std	2.025	***	1.680	***
	(0.312)		(0.241)	
12th Std – Some College	1.942	***	1.969	***
	(0.314)		(0.352)	
Graduate	2.100	***	2.527	***
	(0.331)		(0.376)	
Household Asset Index	1.049	***	1.026	*
	(0.013)		(0.011)	
Caste				
OBC	0.842		0.830	
	(0.087)		(0.090)	
Dalit	0.771		0.565	***
	(0.108)		(0.064)	
Adivasi	0.802		0.665	**
	(0.141)		(0.102)	
Muslim	0.738	*	0.635	**
	(0.107)		(0.091)	
Other Religion	0.739		0.868	
	(0.158)		(0.194)	
Type of School				
Private	1.423	**	1.602	***
	(0.169)		(0.153)	
Other	1.110		1.842	
	(0.296)		(0.678)	
Education Expenditure	1.000	*	1.000	*
	(0.000)		(0.000)	
Hrs. Homework & Tutoring	1.044	***	1.053	***
	(0.007)		(0.007)	
Days Absent / Month	0.983		0.971	*
	(0.010)		(0.012)	
Education Level	1.577	***	1.539	***
	(0.056)		(0.046)	
School Distance				
1 to 2 km	1.103		1.222	
	(0.165)		(0.183)	
Beyond 2 km	1.528	**	0.999	
	(0.205)		(0.127)	
Adult Female Attitude				
Boys More	0.820		0.850	
	(0.116)		(0.088)	
Girls More	1.115		1.305	
	(0.227)		(0.289)	
N=	5,236		5,955	

Notes:

[a] Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[b] Reference groups: *Household Education=None; Caste=Higher Castes; School Type=Government; School Distance= <1 km;* and *Attitude=Educate Both Genders the Same.*

The significant full model odds ratio for being female is 0.682 ($p<0.01$), which translates to girls being 32% less likely than boys of moving from one mathematics assessment category to the next. There is again a significant negative interaction between gender and the number of younger siblings; with each additional younger sibling, girls are less likely than boys to move from one mathematics assessment category to the next. Unlike the results for reading, the mathematics assessment results show a positive interaction between gender and urban status with urban girls more likely to be in a higher assessment category than their male peers. Although the gender-stratified models reveal that urban girls are not significantly more likely to move to a higher mathematics category than are rural girls, urban boys are significantly less likely to do so than are rural boys. Household education again exhibits a pattern of increasingly larger odds ratios for higher levels of household education. Lastly, the full model for mathematics confirms a negative association between lower caste background and mathematics score, as well as a small positive association between household assets and mathematics score.

In terms of educational resources, the full model yields a similarly strong positive association between private school attendance and mathematics skill attainment, with both boys and girls benefiting from private school attendance. As with reading, time devoted to private tutoring and homework appears to have a small positive association with mathematics score. However, unlike reading, the full model for mathematics generates a statistically significant, small negative relation between number of absences per month and mathematics score. Education expenditure again appears to have no discernible impact.

Finally, the association of gender attitudes on mathematics skill development is similar to that found for reading. However, in this model there is a statistically significant negative association between mathematics assessment score for all students and the presence of an adult female in the household who agrees that boys should be educated more.

Discussion

The results of this analysis reveal that in 2005, 8–11 year-old Indian girls were underperforming boys on tests of reading and mathematics achievement. The results also reiterate findings from the Indian educational literature that show persistent learning gaps operating along social and contextual lines despite India's progress in improving its educational infrastructure and expanding educational access for girls and other disenfranchised groups.

The descriptive statistics and ordered logit regressions performed in this study also offer insight into the factors historically linked to gender inequality

in education and provide evidence to address the research questions that have motivated this study. First, it does appear that the development of reading and mathematics skills is influenced by social context, and that gender differences are more pronounced for girls burdened with increased time demands outside of school. Girls with a larger number of younger siblings are less likely to advance to higher levels of reading and mathematics than boys from similarly sized families. As family size grows, many girls may be disproportionately spending time caring for their younger siblings at the expense of their academic learning. In addition, the interaction related to household assets (for reading) points to this variable serving as a factor that may encourage girls' achievement, since those from more resourced homes have an elevated chance of being in a higher reading assessment category than their male peers. Finally, the set of interaction results related to gender and urban status provide less insight than desired. While a significant gender interaction indicates that urban status increases the likelihood of girls advancing in mathematics relative to boys, the results do not provide clear evidence regarding the association of level of urbanization on girls' achievement overall. In fact, urban boys are found to be faltering compared to their rural counterparts in mathematics and may be a population of special concern for further research.

This analysis provides mixed results regarding the roles of high quality school resources and time devoted to formal learning activities. The findings strongly indicate that students who attend private schools are scoring higher in reading and mathematics. This result illustrates a major theme in the sociology of education literature in that schools themselves can serve as sources of inequality, especially given financial barriers that some families face to provide their children with higher quality learning environments. Beyond type of school attended, the level of educational expenditure does not appear to exhibit any discernable relation once other variables are controlled for in the models. Furthermore, time devoted to homework and private tuitions has modest positive associations with both reading and mathematics scores, while the number of school absences has a small negative association with mathematics only.

The last set of results address the role of family attitudes and aspirations in promoting achievement, and in particular, whether pro-female attitudes may be beneficial for the educational development of girls. For the ordered logit models focused on reading, there is a strong positive association between an adult female prioritizing girls' learning and reading skill development overall, although this outcome appears to be most consequential for girls. There is also a negative association between mathematics score and having an adult female in the household agreeing that boys should be

educated more, revealing that such an attitude depresses mathematics skill development.

In summary, this analysis adds further evidence that gender inequality persists in the development of reading and mathematics skills for 8–11 year-old children in India. The research findings confirm that gender gaps remain for girls with many younger siblings who are faring worse academically than similarly situated boys. In addition, the results show that household asset level is associated with girls advancing in reading, and that having a positive attitude towards girls' education may be an important contributor to learning outcomes, especially for the reading achievement of girls. Unfortunately, the results related to rural residence yield less understanding than desired for this hypothesized factor.

Future investigations can build upon these findings and further explore the effects of socioeconomic, cultural, and other schooling factors on girls' academic achievement in India. This analysis can also serve as a baseline for comparative studies using subsequent waves of IHDS data. In addition, the results are potentially useful to policymakers in developing targeted policies to address gender inequality where it still remains, particularly in support of lower income girls and those with many younger siblings. Finally, this study reveals the importance of attitudes that prioritize girls' education, and the positive consequences that these have for learning.

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NOTES

1. The gender parity index in primary level gross enrollment was .97 in 2003 and .98 in 2007. Source: UIS.STAT Data Base, UNESCO Institute for Statistics. http://data.uis.unesco.org/?queryid=142.

2. There is potential concern that children not attending school (and who may have thus scored the lowest on these assessments) may be disproportionately missing from the data. An earlier analysis of this data performed by Desai, Dubey, Vanneman, and Banerji (2009) determined that children not enrolled in school had the lowest proportion completing the reading and mathematics assessments. These authors did not otherwise find large differences in test completion between children of different background characteristics including gender.

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Appendix A Odds ratios from generalized ordered logit model of reading assessment score on set of independent variables

	0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4
Female	1.318	0.919	0.927	0.852
	(0.301)	(0.159)	(0.140)	(0.129)
Age	1.166 ***	1.122 ***	1.159 ***	1.225 ***
	(0.056)	(0.042)	(0.040)	(0.041)
# Younger Siblings	1.063	1.055	0.972	1.016
	(0.075)	(0.043)	(0.031)	(0.035)
Rural/Urban *(Urban=1)*	0.719	0.894	0.993	0.867
	(0.150)	(0.115)	(0.104)	(0.091)
Highest Household Education				
1^{st}- 4^{th} Std	1.004	1.398 **	1.337 **	1.351 **
	(0.171)	(0.190)	(0.155)	(0.178)
5^{th}-9^{th} Std	1.120	1.331 ***	1.420 ***	1.348 ***
	(0.139)	(0.123)	(0.130)	(0.123)
10^{th} – 11^{th} Std	1.497 *	1.790 ***	1.655 ***	1.906 ***
	(0.344)	(0.246)	(0.194)	(0.239)
12^{th} Std – Some College	1.235	1.892 ***	1.994 ***	2.110 ***
	(0.436)	(0.356)	(0.289)	(0.274)
Graduate	1.225	2.042 ***	2.264 ***	2.089 ***
	(0.567)	(0.474)	(0.359)	(0.285)
Household Asset Index	1.083 ***	1.030 **	1.037 ***	1.023 **
	(0.024)	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Caste				
OBC	0.617 ***	0.743 **	0.856	0.966
	(0.115)	(0.096)	(0.083)	(0.084)
Dalit	0.558 ***	0.611 ***	0.599 ***	0.758 ***
	(0.115)	(0.076)	(0.076)	(0.077)
Adivasi	0.828	0.963	0.853	0.808
	(0.210)	(0.168)	(0.134)	(0.124)
Muslim	0.531 ***	0.666 ***	0.604 ***	0.619 ***
	(0.128)	(0.093)	(0.076)	(0.079)
Other Religion	0.902	1.230	0.818	1.077
	(0.541)	(0.337)	(0.168)	(0.210)
Type of School				
Private	1.708 ***	1.342 ***	1.554 ***	1.689 ***
	(0.278)	(0.136)	(0.139)	(0.139)
Other	1.337	0.371 **	0.742	1.393
	(0.619)	(0.150)	(0.243)	(0.482)
Education Expenditure	1.000 *	1.000	1.000	1.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Hrs. Homework & Tutoring	1.053 ***	1.053 ***	1.040 ***	1.034 ***
	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Days Absent / Month	0.960 ***	0.982 *	0.986 **	1.001
	(0.013)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Education Level	1.702 ***	1.605 ***	1.737 ***	1.559 ***
	(0.079)	(0.051)	(0.053)	(0.041)
School Distance				
1 to 2 km	1.015	1.112	1.322 **	1.078
	(0.267)	(0.179)	(0.187)	(0.119)
Beyond 2 km	1.530	1.605 ***	1.314 *	1.245 **
	(0.402)	(0.244)	(0.189)	(0.131)
Adult Female Attitude				
Boys More	1.174	0.862	0.911	0.785 **
	(0.162)	(0.086)	(0.094)	(0.082)
Girls More	1.432	1.323	1.280	1.598 **
	(0.442)	(0.286)	(0.229)	(0.294)
Female * # Younger Siblings	0.785 ***	0.820 ***	0.857 ***	0.866 ***
	(0.069)	(0.052)	(0.040)	(0.041)
Female * Urban	2.106 ***	1.293	1.076	1.169
	(0.588)	(0.237)	(0.148)	(0.155)
Female * HHA Index	0.961	1.017	1.024 *	1.021 *
	(0.027)	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.011)
N=11,238				

Notes:

[a] The reading assessment score is a five-level ordinal variable: 0= Cannot Read; 1=Recognizes Letters; 2=Recognizes Words; 3=Can Read a Paragraph; and 4=Can Read a Story.

[b] Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[c] Reference groups: *Household Education=None; Caste=Higher Castes; School Type=Government; School Distance= <1 km;* and *Attitude=Educate Both Genders the Same.*

Appendix B Odds ratios from generalized ordered logit model of mathematics assessment score on set of independent variables

	0-1		1-2		2-3	
Female	0.843		0.689	**	0.612	***
	(0.167)		(0.117)		(0.110)	
Age	1.119	***	1.233	***	1.274	***
	(0.043)		(0.040)		(0.046)	
# Younger Siblings	1.107		0.962		1.052	
	(0.050)		(0.037)		(0.038)	
Rural/Urban *(Urban=1)*	0.706	**	1.106		0.776	**
	(0.106)		(0.114)		(0.090)	
Highest Household Education						
1^{st}- 4^{th} Std	1.216		1.279	*	1.101	
	(0.163)		(0.161)		(0.173)	
5^{th}-9^{th} Std	1.085		1.412	***	1.344	***
	(0.109)		(0.120)		(0.147)	
10^{th} – 11^{th} Std	1.492	**	1.856	***	2.003	***
	(0.262)		(0.233)		(0.251)	
12^{th} Std – Some College	1.390		1.979	***	2.293	***
	(0.281)		(0.253)		(0.321)	
Graduate	4.188	***	2.242	***	2.456	***
	(1.208)		(0.340)		(0.348)	
Household Asset Index	1.047	***	1.026	**	1.024	**
	(0.016)		(0.012)		(0.011)	
Caste						
OBC	0.756	**	0.948		0.756	***
	(0.108)		(0.088)		(0.070)	
Dalit	0.631	***	0.740	***	0.559	***
	(0.109)		(0.081)		(0.060)	
Adivasi	0.670	**	0.843		0.610	***
	(0.124)		(0.119)		(0.108)	
Muslim	0.691	**	0.732	***	0.592	***
	(0.115)		(0.083)		(0.085)	
Other Religion	1.528		1.307		0.541	***
	(0.640)		(0.330)		(0.115)	
Type of School						
Private	1.169		1.477	***	1.567	***
	(0.157)		(0.141)		(0.139)	
Other	1.424		1.039		2.150	***
	(0.537)		(0.340)		(0.593)	
Education Expenditure	1.000	***	1.000	***	1.000	**
	(0.000)		(0.000)		(0.000)	
Hrs. Homework & Tutoring	1.037	***	1.051	***	1.047	***
	(0.009)		(0.006)		(0.005)	
Days Absent / Month	0.953	***	0.981	***	1.017	**
	(0.008)		(0.006)		(0.008)	
Education Level	1.546	***	1.513	***	1.596	***
	(0.058)		(0.043)		(0.046)	
School Distance						
1 to 2 km	1.294		1.152		1.126	
	(0.243)		(0.160)		(0.139)	
Beyond 2 km	1.803	***	1.218	*	0.968	
	(0.388)		(0.131)		(0.115)	
Adult Female Attitude						
Boys More	0.941		0.802	*	0.732	***
	(0.113)		(0.096)		(0.084)	
Girls More	0.950		1.399	*	1.161	
	(0.218)		(0.263)		(0.207)	
Female * # Younger Siblings	0.858	**	0.092		0.911	*
	(0.052)		(0.051)		(0.049)	
Female * Urban	2.026	***	1.211		1.196	
	(0.431)		(0.163)		(0.182)	
Female * HHA Index	0.978		1.021	*	1.021	*
	(0.022)		(0.012)		(0.013)	

N=11,191

Notes:

[a] The mathematics assessment score is a four-level ordinal variable: 0=Cannot Perform Mathematics; 1=Recognizes Numbers; 2=Can Perform Subtraction Problems; and 3=Can Perform Division Problems.

[b] Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[c] Reference groups: *Household Education=None; Caste=Higher Castes; School Type=Government; School Distance= <1 km;* and *Attitude=Educate Both Genders the Same.*

cost EUROPEAN COOPERATION IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY genderSTE Universitatea Creştină Dimitrie Cantemir Facultatea de Limbi şi Literaturi Străine

CAPACITY BUILDING WORKSHOP FOR RESEARCHERS
COST TARGETED NETWORK TN1201

25TH APRIL, 2016

VENUE: DIMITRIE CANTEMIR CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY, BUCHAREST, ROMANIA

TOPIC:

GENDER IN RESEARCH:

INTRODUCTION, METHODS AND PRACTICAL EXAMPLES



REGIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL – MEMBERS FROM NEARBY COUNTRIES (FROM THE BALKANS AND SOUTH-EAST OF EUROPE)



SUMMARY OF THE WORKSHOP

In the framework of the activities of the COST Policy Driven Action "genderSTE – Gender, Science, Technology and Environment," Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University (DCCU) organized in Bucharest, on the 25th April 2016, a Capacity Building Workshop on Gender in Research. The workshop "Gender in Research: Introduction, Methods, and Practical Examples" was addressed to senior and junior researchers from ministries, universities and other research organizations and companies, interested in learning about the integration of gender as an analytical category in research.

The training program of the workshop was developed jointly by the local organizer, Ramona Mihăilă, and the Grant Holder of the Action, Sonia De Gregorio Hurtado. The program aimed to introduce the audience to gender in research through two lecturing sessions (Part I: *The Relevance of the Gender Dimension in Research* and Part II: *Introducing Gender in Research. Methods and Examples*) followed by 3 case studies: "Analyzing Policy Documents from the Perspective of Gender: The Example of the Urban Policy of the European Union" (Sonia De Gregorio Hurtado), "Analyzing Gender in Social Sciences: From Prejudices to Gender Violence" (Mădălina Tomescu), and "Analyzing Gender in Engineering: The Example of Urban Mobility" (Elena Zucchini) in which researchers from different countries and backgrounds showed the attendees how gender had been introduce in their work and the added value and relevant results achieved from the gender perspective.

The agenda was finalized with a lecture on "Gender as Content in Research in Horizon 2020" (María Amor Barros del Río) in which trainers were introduced on how they had to address the introduction of the gender dimension in the Horizon 2020 projects.

The event was inaugurated by the Dean of Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Ramona Mihăilă, who welcomed the capacity building workshop to Bucharest, and Sonia De Gregorio, who introduced the audience to COST and particularly to genderSTE's objectives and work.

Many of the trainers of the workshop were genderSTE members, that had developed STSMs in the context of the Action and that had enhanced their knowledge and skills on gender in research in the context of genderSTE. This dimension was particularly addressed by the designers of the program, in order to give place to an event in which young researchers trained by genderSTE were given the opportunity to contribute to this activity.

The trainers were the following: Efstratia Oktapoda (Paris-Sorbonne University), Ramona Mihăilă (Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University) (genderSTE grantee), Karolina Lendák-Kabók (University of Novi Sad) (genderSTE STSM grantee), Susanne Hochreiter (University of Vienna), Sonia De Gregorio Hurtado (Technical University of Madrid) (genderSTE grantee), Mădălina Tomescu (Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University), Elena Zucchini (independent researcher), María Amor Barros del Río (University of Burgos) (genderSTE STSM grantee). The managing board of the university, Professor Ph.D. Corina Adriana Dumitrescu, President of the Senate of Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University, and Professor Ph.D. Cristiana Cristureanu, Rector, was very supportive in organizing the conference and the workshop. They welcomed the trainers and discussed about future European collaborative projects.

The first part of the workshop was dedicated to the relevance of the gender dimension in research. Efstratia Oktapoda discussed "The Dimension of Gender in Research. Institutional, National and European Challenges," with a focus on French institutions, while Ramona Mihăilă introduced trainees to "Post-Communist Approaches to Gender in Education: Romania's Case." Aimed towards a renewal of French and European feminism, the presentation of Efstratia Oktapoda framed the French scientific institutions that approach genders studies, among which The Institute Emile du Chatelet, an entity that develops studies on gender studies and nondiscrimination, organizing seminars on gender studies and sexuality, CNRS, which deals with gender studies, race and violence, sexuality and religion, MAGE, a group focused on gender studies and so many others. Efstratia Oktapoda also reflected on gender programs offered by French Universities and French associations aiming gender equality and studies dedicated to some great woman. She closed the presentation by mentioning the political parties and ministries focused on women's rights and equality. In later panel discussion on the topics addressed through the day, the audience argued on how we see cross-gender approach in research. Can we call it cross-disciplinary-gender or is it enough to refer to it as cross-gender and, like a star, each field crosses its borders to reach gender issues while developing and growing? In an historic overview, Ramona Mihăilă presented the "Post Communist Approaches to Gender in Education: Romania's Case," pointing that at the first master programs in Romania, a little number of students were enrolled and that, unfortunately, there are no gender studies programs in the country, but gender studies are embraced by a great number of researchers.

The second part of the training, dedicated to the methods and examples in gender research, opened with Karolina Lendák-Kabók's (University of Novi Sad) "Understanding Gender in Research." The author focused on the concept of gender, sex, biology and gender, culture and intersectionality. She also approached the legal issues regarding discrimination, recalling the movie about Anita Hill and gender stereotypes. Other addressed topics were gender in research, the implementation of gender equality. One of the conclusions was the invitation to fix the system, instead of fixing the women. Bearing in mind that Germany has become Europe's first country to allow babies with characteristics of both sexes to be registered as neither male nor female and that parents are now allowed to leave the gender blank on birth certificates, thus creating a new category of "indeterminate sex," the questions in later debate were *How to reach gender balance*? *What do you think is more important: the family way of bringing up children or school education*?

Susanne Hochreiter (University of Vienna) presented "Images and Text: Reading Gender." The proposed code of analysis was text/ author/ reader. Reminding the audience that sex has always been gender, as Judith Butler said, Susanne Hochreiter argued upon what kind of concepts do images generate: Gender and Genre? The trainees were presented the image of Loren Cameron, transgender, from a different perspective, as the speaker introduced the specialized terminology highlighting the fact that we stereotype when we lack of terms.

The panel *Practical Examples of Gender in Research* grouped three cases: "Case 1: Analyzing Policy Documents from the Perspective of Gender: The Example of the Urban Policy of the European Union," presented by Sonia De Gregorio Hurtado

(Technical University of Madrid), "Case 2: Analyzing Gender in Social Sciences: From Prejudices to Gender Violence," Mădălina Tomescu (Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University), and "Case 3: Analyzing Gender in Engineering: The Mobility of Care," Elena Zucchini (independent researcher).

All three researchers, with different backgrounds, have explained how they introduce gender in their work. They focused particularly in the selection and explanation of the methods used and the added value in which has resulted the integration of gender as an analytical category in their research (in the findings, in the identification of research gaps, etc.) That is how topics like mobility of care and gender bias, stereotype-prejudice-discrimination and cases of jurisprudence were approached from different perspectives, but all based on the gender research method. At the end of the day, María Amor Barros del Río (University of Burgos) offered a comprehensive presentation on "The Gender Dimension of Research and Innovation in Horizon 2020" and invited the trainees to form work groups that drafted a proposal for a project, presented before the trainers by the leader of the group. There were three teams and all the proposals were gender aimed and very well grounded, confirming that the training was a success.

The event was moderated by Onorina Botezat (Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University). She also moderated the last session that consisted in a discussion on the topics addressed during the workshop based on a participative format in which attendees worked together analyzing a particular case among those presented.

Afterwards the conclusions of the discussion were presented to the whole group which, in turn, gave place to new comments. The session was very participative and allowed trainers and trainees to interact and address issues that had been identified as relevant during the presentations.

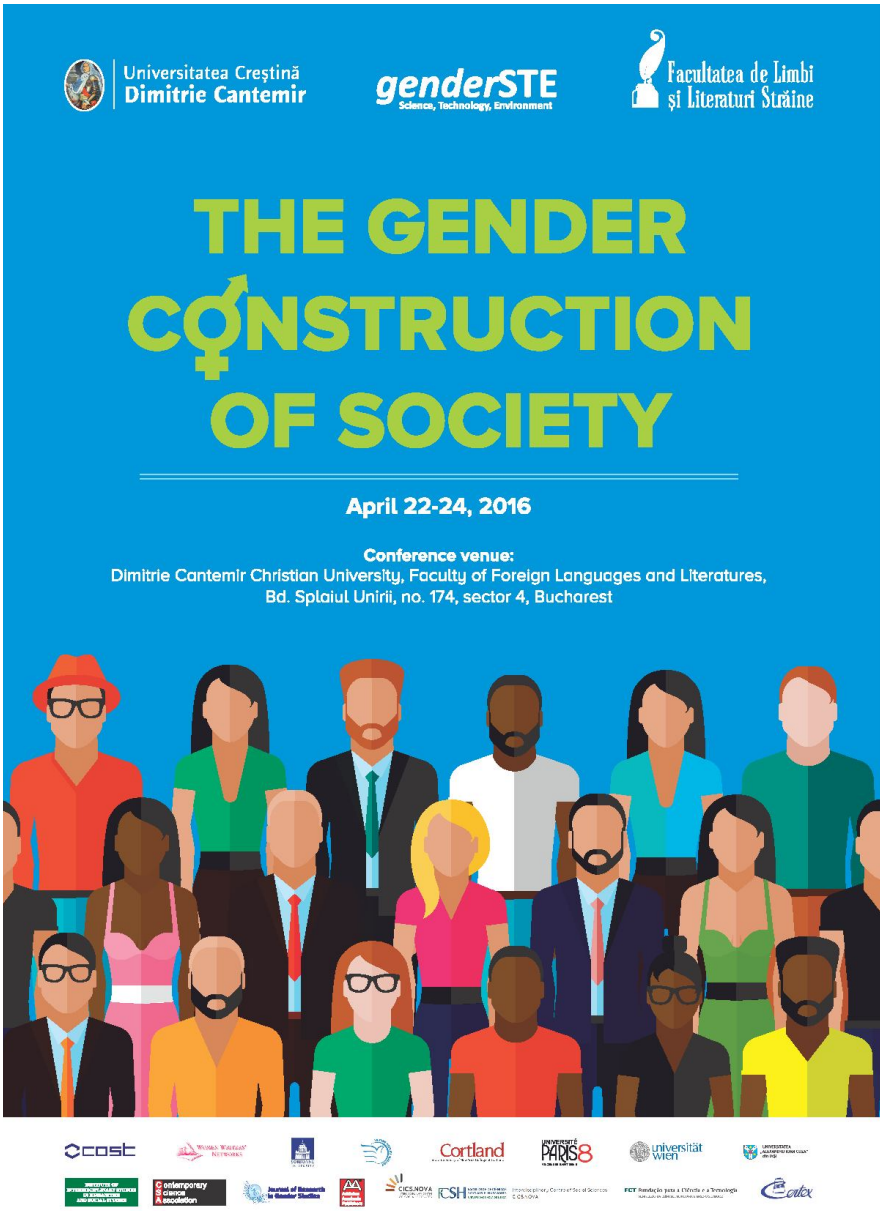
The workshop counted on the attendance of 31 trainees, coming from Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Turkey. The process of invitation included sending the information to different research organizations, government bodies and COST-action members in the South Eastern Europe.

RESULTS OF THE SEMINAR

The impression that the local organizer got from participants' feedback was that in general the seminar was interesting and well organized. Participants enjoyed the presentations. They interacted with the presenters and asked a lot of supplementary questions. The presentations covered a large range of subjects concerning gender in research. The role of the moderator was considered important in engaging participants in discussions.

The workshop took place after a 3-day conference *Gender Construction of Society* (with participants from 19 countries all over the world), organized by Ramona Mihăilă, at the same institution, Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University, Bucharest. Many participants in the training session also attended the conference.

Ramona Mihăilă (Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University)
Onorina Botezat (Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University)


Universitatea Creştină
Dimitrie Cantemir
genderSTE
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şi Literaturi Străine
THE GENDER
CONSTRUCTION
OF SOCIETY
April 22-24, 2016
Conference venue:
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Association

The international conference *The Gender Construction of Society*, organized by Ramona Mihăilă, Dean of the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures, at Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University, continues the tradition of gender-focused conferences and was held in Bucharest on April 22–24, 2016. Partners of the conference were: GenderSTE – Science, Technology, Environment, GENDER, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENT – GENDERSTE, TN 1201 COST PROJECT, The National Research & Development Institute for Textiles and Leather, Bucharest, Women Writers in History, Huygens Institute, The Hague, The Department of German Studies (University of Vienna), Département d'Études des Pays Anglophones (DEPA), University Paris VIII, Paris-Sorbonne University, New University of Lisbon, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, CICS.NOVA– Interdisciplinary Centre for Social Sciences, The Vietnam Women's Academy, Department of Romanian as a Foreign Language, Faculty of Letters, Al. I. Cuza University, Iaşi, Center for Gender and Intercultural Studies, SUNY Cortland, New York, The Contemporary Science Association (New York), The Institute of Inter-disciplinary Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences (New York), and Addleton Academic Publishers (New York).

Welcoming over 100 participants, with 83 submitted papers, from 21 different countries, the program organizers from the Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University: Agata Popescu, Mădălina Tomescu, Gabriela Iliuță, Mihaela Mateescu, Roxana Mareş, and co-organizers Sara Hunziker (University of Bucharest), Isabel Lousada, Researcher (Nova University, Lisbon), Luiza Oancea (University of Bucharest), Ludmila Branişte (Al. I. Cuza University, Iasi), Gina Nimigean (Al. I. Cuza University, Iasi), scheduled three days of parallel sessions and keynote speeches.

The conference opened with the plenary lecture of Mechthild Nagel, "Gender and the Law." Her speech scrutinized the feminist slogan "the personal is political" through a series of reform legal discourses and their repercussions for women and girls in the United States. She questioned whether feminist demands had actually improved the legal status of cisgender women, trans* and genderqueer people. In her critique of criminal and family court justice, she proposed an alternate penal abolitionist path, Ubuntu justice.

The first day gathered four different sections: *Gender Representations in Pluralist Contexts*, chaired by Athena Enderstein in the morning and by Maria Boatcă in the afternoon, *Women's Spaces in Theatrical Discourse*, chaired by Carmen Ghinea, *Women's Representation in Romanian Politics – Underrepresentation versus Positive Discrimination*, chaired by Maria Cernat, "*They wrote too*," chaired by Isabel Lousada, in two readings: "Voices (Un)heard" and "Claims, Fights and Figures" in the morning, and by Ilarion Țiu in the afternoon.

The second day of the conference welcomed the plenary speech "'Love. Respect. Conchita' or: Queering Europe" delivered by Susanne Hochreiter (University of Vienna). The author talked about the "beardy queen of Europe," "communicator of the year," "ambassador for tolerance" versus "national shame," "pervert," "spawn of the devil" and the most offending element of her performance, the real beard of the artistic character that led to intensive international debates concerning the question why her choice for facial hair meant for many people such a threat and provocation

in terms of gender studies and gender politics between gender mainstreaming and reinvigorated nationalism.

The conference speeches were divided into six parallel sections and chaired by the following scholars: *Feminine Identities Reflected in Literature* (Estella Ciobanu), *Identity Representations of Gender* (Efstratia Oktapoda), *Gender Roles in Private and Public Spaces* (Sara Hunziker), *Women Writers in a Transnational Context* (Gaetano Sabato), *Gender Representations in French Spaces* (Arnaud Paturet) and *Gender-Related Issues in Linguistics* (Onorina Botezat).

The last day of the conference brought together participants of three parallel sections: *Feminine and Masculine Roles*, chaired by Iulia Waniek, *Gender Representations in Society*, chaired by Codruța Mirela Stănișoară, and *Gender Readings – Contemporary Intersections*, chaired by Gabriela Iliuță.

As a cross-disciplinary field, gender was approached by the participants from a wide range of perspectives, addressing the topics of gender representation in public television, politics, post-colonial literature, EU equality legislation, political context, education and family life, university management, gendering Western Societies, homophobic attitudes, gender quotas, stereotypes and representations of women in TV ads, for the social level, and gender trouble in classical Japanese literature, gender, translation and the system of patronage in Elizabethan England, women of letters in Portugal and Brazil, women translating women, Romanian women writers and their reception across the world, for the literary field.

After the closing remarks, the participants visited the Mogoșoaia Palace (now museum) that belonged to a famous Romanian writer, Princess Martha Bibesco.

Ramona Mihăilă (Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University)
Onorina Botezat (Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University)

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